

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GEN COLLECTION

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



01833 01749 3970

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

GENEALOGY

974 .8

P3859

1886



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013



Lambbadwulady

X 597578

The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. X.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLICATION FUND OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.
1886.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME X.

	PAGE
Colonel Lambert Cadwalader. A Sketch. By <i>William Henry Rawle, M.A., LL.D.</i>	1
Early Printing in the Middle Colonies. Address Delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, December 11, 1885, to commemorate the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Introduction of Printing into the Middle Colonies of North America. By <i>George Dana Boardman, D.D.</i>	15
Extracts from the Letters of Samuel Cooper, 1777-78. By <i>John W. Jordan</i>	33
A Visit to Voltaire. From the unpublished Journal of <i>Dr. John Morgan</i>	43
Journal of Miss Sally Wister. (<i>Concluded from Vol. ix. p. 478</i>)	51
The Early Government of Philadelphia, and the Blue Anchor Tavern Landing. Evidence of Organized Government of Philadelphia prior to the Charter of 1701, as shown in a document in the Office of Recorder of Deeds, pertaining to the Blue Anchor Tavern Landing. By <i>Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose</i>	61
Bi-Centennial Anniversary of the Introduction of Printing into the Middle Colonies	78
Correspondence between William Strahan and David Hall, 1763-1777	86, 217, 322, 461
Genealogical Sketch of General W. S. Hancock. By <i>Howard M. Jenkins</i>	100
The Williams Family	107
Notes and Queries	115, 233, 350, 474
Notes of Travel of William Henry, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, to Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum, in the Early Summer of 1797. By <i>John W. Jordan</i>	125
Before Quebec, 1776	158
Christopher White. By <i>Barclay White</i>	163
Narrative of the Journey of the Schwenkfelders to Pennsylvania, 1733	167
Additional Facts concerning Sir Edward Plowden. By <i>Rev. E. D. Neill</i>	180

	PAGE
Amusements and Politics in Philadelphia, 1794. By <i>William John Potts</i>	182
Extracts from the Letter-Book of James Claypoole	188, 267, 401
Contemporaneous Account of the Battle of Trenton	203
A Summer Jaunt in 1773. By <i>Rev. George Morgan Hills, D.D.</i>	205
Some Notes on Matinneconk, or Burlington Island. By <i>William Nelson</i>	214
German Emigration to the American Colonies, its Cause, and the Distribution of the Emigrants. By <i>Andrew D. Mellick, Jr.</i>	241, 375
The First Newspaper published in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. By <i>John W. Jordan</i>	251
St. Thomas' Church of Alexandria, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. By <i>Henry Race, A.M., M.D.</i>	256
Engagements at Trenton and Princeton, January 2 and 3, 1777	263
An Englishman's Opinion of the Bostonians in 1774	265
The Attitude of the Quakers in the Provincial Wars. By <i>Charles J. Stillé</i>	283
Thoughts on the Situation of the Inhabitants on the Frontier. By <i>Hon. James Tilghman</i>	316
Letter of William Ellery	320
An Index to the Obituary Notices published in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," from 1728-1791. By <i>Charles R. Hildeburn</i>	334
Andrew Allen. By <i>Charles P. Keith</i>	361
William Whipple's Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Hampshire in the Summer of 1777	366
Thomas Whaley of Virginia and Theophilus Whale of Narragansett. By <i>Robert Patterson Robins, M.D.</i>	392
The Lancaster Assembly of 1780. By <i>D. McN. Stauffer</i>	413
Occupation of New York City by the British	418
The Federal Constitution of 1787. Sketches of the Members of the Pennsylvania Convention. By <i>William Henry Egle, M.D.</i>	446
Meetings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania	487
Officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania	490
Extract from the Report of the Finance Committee to the Council	492
Index	495

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. X.

1886.

No. 1.

COL. LAMBERT CADWALADER,

A SKETCH.

BY WILLIAM HENRY RAWLE, M.A., LL.D.

The paternal emigrating ancestor of Lambert Cadwalader was his grandfather, John Cadwalader, who, after his arrival here, joined one of the settlements of his Welsh countrymen near Merion, a few miles west of Philadelphia. He is said to have been a man of high character and much literary culture. His marriage, in 1699, with Martha Jones, appears among the records of the Radnor Monthly Meeting, and the names of those who, according to the custom of Friends, subscribed the record as witnesses, eminently suggest all that was Welsh in their parentage.

The father of Mrs. Cadwalader was Doctor Edward Jones, an emigrant from Merionethshire. Her mother was the daughter of Doctor Thomas Wynne, "sometime of Caerwys, Flintshire, South Wales, surgeon," who, an eminent and

successful physician both at his home and in London, came over with Penn in the "Welcome," was made Speaker of the first Provincial Assembly held at Philadelphia, and was, Proud tells us, a preacher among the Quakers, a person of note and good character, and an author in defence of his sect.

From Merion, John Cadwalader removed to Philadelphia. In July, 1705, he was admitted a freeman of the city; in October, 1718, he was elected a member of Common Council, and in 1729, a member of the Provincial Assembly, which offices he held until his death in 1734.

His children were four—three daughters, and one son, Thomas Cadwalader.

The son, who was born in the year 1707, adopted the profession of his maternal grandfather. He began his medical education at his home, and, what was at that early day somewhat unusual, completed it in London. He returned to Philadelphia, rose to professional eminence, and in 1738 married, in Trenton, "after the manner of the people called Quakers and according to the good order used among them." His wife was Hannah, daughter of Thomas Lambert, "late of the county of Burlington, in the western division of New Jersey, deceased," and the names of Andrew Hamilton, John Dagworthy, Thomas Hopkinson, Owen Jones, and a score of others are found upon the record as relatives or friends of the contracting parties.

After his marriage, at least for a time, he made Trenton his home. He became a large land-owner in and near the town, and in 1746 was elected its first chief-burgess after it had received its borough charter. In 1750 he offered a great part of his land for sale, and returned to Philadelphia. There he was chosen a member of the Governor's Council (an office held only by those foremost in the colony), and so continued until the fall of the proprietary government in 1776.

From the beginning of the troubles between the colony and the mother country down to the day of his death in 1779, his patriotism and his devotion to the country of his birth were unswerving. Of his liberal education, his professional eminence, his prominence as a citizen both in

Trenton and Philadelphia, his energy in starting and fostering institutions which are to this day among the best in the land, his social intimacy with the first men of his time, his public spirit, his gentle, courteous manners and his great personal coolness and courage, there is much which is both matter of history and of tradition.

Of the seven children of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, two were sons; John, the distinguished general officer of the Revolutionary army, and Lambert, the subject of this sketch.

Lambert Cadwalader was born at Trenton in the year 1742. Both the brothers received in Philadelphia, after their father's removal there, a fine literary and classical education. The first record of the stand which afterwards distinguished them is their signature, near that of their father, to the Non-Importation Agreement of 1765. Of Lambert's intense feeling upon what was becoming the great political question of the time, something may be judged from his letter in the following year to his friend, George Morgan, afterwards a distinguished officer in our army.

"I have now," he wrote, on May 18, 1766, "the pleasure of communicating to you the joyful news of the repeal of the stamp act; news that almost calls back youth to the aged, gives health and vigour to the sick and infirm. The act to repeal the stamp act received the royal assent on the 18th March, and a copy was brought here in a vessel from Poole. If ever the Americans should fall into paganism, place dead men among their gods and worship them, there is scarce any one that will have a better chance of being enrolled in the number of them than Mr. Pitt. This great man, by his abilities, virtues and extraordinary courage, has gained a never-dying name. . . . America is again free! God bless her; long may she remain so. As to the act asserting the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, we shall regard it as waste paper. Let us only enjoy liberty but half a century longer, and we will defy the power of England to enslave us."

The country had not to wait so long. Within less than eight years, the day on which the Boston Port Bill was to

take effect was observed throughout the continent as one of fasting, humiliation and prayer, "to implore the Divine interference to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights and the evils of civil war, and," in the same breath, "to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppose every invasion of their liberties."

What followed is trite history. Boston's hope for aid and comfort from Pennsylvania was fulfilled. Governor Penn declined to convene the Assembly, and the people acted without it. The committee to correspond with the other counties and provinces led to the convention which met at Philadelphia in July, 1774, and this to the Congress of Delegates and the Committee of Superintendence and Correspondence. To the last, both John and Lambert Cadwalader were sent from Philadelphia. The latter was also a member of the Provincial Convention which met the next January. Both brothers promptly responded to the call to arms which rang through the land after the tidings of the battle of Lexington. When they reached Philadelphia an indignant meeting resolved "to associate together to defend with arms their property, liberty and lives against all attempts to deprive them of it," and military companies were forthwith organized. Four of them were called "The Greens," and of one of them Lambert Cadwalader was chosen captain.

Before going into actual service, he was still actively employed in public civil duties. His name is seen as one of the commissioners on the bills of credit authorized by the Provincial Assembly. He was re-elected to the Committee of Correspondence. And later in the year the war began in earnest.

The Congress of Deputies called on Pennsylvania for four battalions. The Committee of Safety at once selected the officers, and Cadwalader's name headed the list of those sent in on the 3d of January, 1776, for lieutenant-colonelcies. The appointment was promptly confirmed, and he was attached to the battalion commanded by Colonel Shee. The other Pennsylvania battalion which served with Shee's was

commanded by Colonel Magaw. There were early difficulties as to recruiting, but toward spring the two battalions were well filled, well armed and well officered, and constant and steady work made their drill and discipline exceptional. Graydon, a captain in Shee's battalion, says, in his striking memoirs, with pardonable pride, that in point of all exteriors by which military corps were tested, "ours was on a footing with the most promising on the continent."

It would seem that, whether from hearsay or observation, this was known to the commander-in-chief. For in May, Washington had left his headquarters at New York on the visit to Philadelphia to which Congress summoned him, and on his return, expecting, as he wrote to his brother, "a bloody summer in New York and Canada," he sent word to Congress on the 10th of June, 1776: "I submit [*i.e.*, question] the propriety of keeping the two continental battalions under the command of Colonels Shee and Magaw at Philadelphia, when there is the greatest probability of a speedy attack upon this place from the King's troops." The suggestion was at once acted upon by Congress, the battalion transported by water to Trenton, thence marched to Elizabethtown, and again transported by water to New York. On the 18th of June General Heath wrote in his diary: "The Pennsylvania regiments, commanded by Colonels Shee and Magaw, were arriving in the city. They have the appearance of fine troops." There they met a somewhat motley army, remarkable for "irregularity, want of discipline, bad arms and defective equipment in all respects."

Meanwhile, Washington had determined upon the lines of defence. "I have been up to view the grounds about King's Bridge," he wrote to Congress on the 20th of June, "and find them to admit of several places well calculated for defence, and esteem it a place of the utmost importance. I have ordered works to be laid out, and shall direct part of the two battalions from Pennsylvania to set about their erection immediately. I will add to their number several of the militia when they come in, to expedite them with all possible dispatch."

In the last days of June, the battalions marched toward Kings-bridge, were placed under the command of General Mifflin, and encamped on a site where they were at once set to work to erect, under the direction of Colonel Rufus Putnam as engineer, Fort Washington. Here, for many weeks, they worked with the spade, with no great help, says Graydon, "to our improvement in tactics, which, nevertheless, was assiduously attended to. In the course of three weeks our labors had produced immense mounds of earth, assuming a pentagonal form, and finally issuing in a fort of five bastions." But it had no ditch, casements, well, or barracks, no outwork except an incipient one to the north, it required no parallels to approach it, and at a short distance back of it there was ground at least as high. On the right bank of the Hudson, opposite and crowning the Palisades, was soon erected another work, at first called Fort Constitution and afterwards Fort Lee, and these two, together with a line of sunken hulks and *chevaux-de-frise*, would, it was thought, command the river and prevent communication above and below. The heavy work, under the sun of a hot, dry summer, and in clouds of dust, told heavily, and by August scarce half the troops were fit for duty. But those who were so, were very fit. "General Mifflin," writes Heath to Washington, on the 17th of that month, "has about five hundred men at a moment's notice to aid you in case of need. They were the last evening drawn out, when I reviewed them. They are of Colonel Shee's and Magaw's regiments, and the best disciplined of any troops I have yet seen in the army."

Within ten days they were sent for in haste. Washington was fighting the battle of Long Island, which was not going well. An urgent messenger commanded the immediate march of Shee's and Magaw's regiments to New York. When they reached there in the afternoon, the battle had been lost and the firing had ceased. Early in the morning of Wednesday, the 28th, Mifflin crossed the East River and reached the camp. "He brought with him," says Irving, "Shee's prime Philadelphia regiment and Magaw's Pennsylvania

regiment; both well disciplined and efficient, and accustomed to act together. They were so much reduced in numbers, however, by sickness, that they did not amount in the whole to more than eight hundred men." With them came Glover's Massachusetts regiment,—Marblehead fishermen and sailors, mostly. Cheers went up as the detachment briskly marched along the line and was posted on the left of the Brooklyn intrenchments extending to the Wallabout.

A dismal day and night followed, with a drizzling rain, no shelter, fire nor cooked food. All that sleepless night Washington and Mifflin went the rounds, for the enemy had at evening encamped in front of our works, and in the night broke ground within a few hundred yards of them. By dawn on Thursday, Washington saw the intention to force his lines by regular approaches, and then, confiding only in Mifflin, issued through him two orders for water transportation.

Later in the day, all having been arranged for the retreat, a council of war was called, and Mifflin, as had been arranged, proposed it. Though ignorant of what had been already done, it was unanimously approved, and Mifflin claimed from Washington his promise that if a retreat should be agreed upon he should command the rear, and if an attack, the van. All day there had been incessant skirmishing, and when night came the regiments were, to their amazement, still kept under arms. Worn out and dispirited, their arms wellnigh useless from rain, many hurriedly made nuncupative wills while they awaited the word of command. Mifflin's men were to remain at the lines to cover the retreat. By eight o'clock the embarkation commenced, Glover's regiment manning the boats. The rawest troops were sent off first, and all night Washington watched the embarkation. Some time before dawn, in his anxiety he sent to hasten all the troops that were *on the march*. The aid blundered, and gave the order to Mifflin also. Pickets and sentinels were hastily called in, and down came the covering party towards the ferry. "Great God, General Mifflin," cried Washington, "I am afraid you have

ruined us by so unseasonably withdrawing the troops from the lines!" "I did it by your order!" he retorted. The mistake was soon seen, and the command hastily resought the lines which had been left uncovered for nearly an hour. "The order to resume their posts," says Bancroft, "was a trying test of young soldiers; the regiments wheeled about with precision, and recovered their former station before the enemy perceived that it had been relinquished." Nearer dawn, a heavy sea-fog rolled in, shrouding the British camp. At last all but the covering party and Washington himself had embarked. He was the last of all to leave. The fog lifted and the enemy rushed in, but the retreat had been effected. This was on the morning of Friday.

Next day, Mifflin's detachment marched beyond Kingsbridge towards the Sound. While here, Colonel Shee went home on leave of absence and did not return. The Third Battalion, originally enlisted for a single year, in October re-enlisted for the war, and was called the "Fourth Regiment of Foot in the Army of the United States," and Cadwalader, who had been in command since Shee had left, was, on the 25th of October, commissioned its colonel.

Before this, the battalion had been marched to its old ground at Fort Washington, upon which deep interest was now beginning to centre. Early in the erection of the works which were to command the river,—as far back as the 12th of July and while Fort Lee was still incomplete,—two English ships of war, the "Phoenix" and the "Rose," had, with their tenders, run up the river with a fair wind and tide, passed the forts with an exchange of fire and anchored in Tappan Bay. Here they lay until the 18th of the next month, when, after a gallant attack upon them by fireships, they ran down the river, passed the batteries without material harm, pushed through the obstructions where the passage was still open, and joined the fleet below. Again upon the 9th of October, three ships with their tenders stood up the Hudson, received a brisk fire from both Forts Lee and Washington, and passed beyond in safety. The mortification was great. At once Congress

instructed Washington, "by every art and at whatever expense," so to obstruct the river as to prevent the regress of these vessels or their receiving succour from below. Then came a council of war on the 16th. There was much discussion,—it was conceded that the works had proved insufficient,—it was thought impossible to prevent communication being cut off, of which the result must either be to fight at all disadvantages, or to surrender at discretion,—but the order of Congress seemed imperative, and it was agreed that Fort Washington should be retained as long as possible. Accordingly, Washington's solemn instructions to Magaw were to defend it to the last extremity.

Eleven days after, two frigates moved up from below toward the fort, while Lord Percy's troops appeared on Harlem Plains, and all opened fire. But the ships were driven back by the guns from both shores, and the troops by the garrison at Fort Washington. The belief of Greene and Lee and Putnam in the strength of the works increased, and the former, at Putnam's earnest request, strengthened the garrison, at first by a few hundred men, and a few days after by the Maryland rifle regiment. But from the first Washington had not been deceived either as to the possibility of the forts successfully commanding the river, or of their own defence from an attack properly conducted. And he was now, from Howe's movements, sure that the latter was intended. As it was Congress who had ordered Fort Washington to be held, so to Congress he wrote on the 6th of November, his belief that "the enemy would bend their force against Fort Washington and invest it immediately." Almost as he wrote, three vessels—a frigate and two transports—passed the obstructions with supplies for Howe's army above. And then, on the 8th, Washington wrote to Greene the well-known letter: "The passage of the three vessels up the North river is so plain a proof of the inefficiency of all the obstructions thrown into it, that it will fully justify a change in the disposition. If you cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it

answer to attempt to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am, therefore, inclined to think that it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington, but as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders as to vacating Mount Washington as you may judge best, and so far revoking the order given to Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last."

Greene drew from this letter an option which its writer never intended, and when Washington, after his visit to the Highlands, returned on the 13th to Fort Lee, he found, to his surprise and grief, that Fort Washington, instead of being evacuated, had been reinforced. And then it was too late. Two nights after, thirty gunboats passed undiscovered up the Spuyten Duyvel Creek, and on the 15th, Howe summoned the garrison to surrender, with a threat of no quarter in case of refusal. Magaw may have been deficient in judgment (for he had, before this, assured Greene that the fort could stand a siege till December), but he was not in bravery, and retorted that he would defend his post to the very last extremity. He had about three thousand men, of whom the fort itself would hold less than a third, and the whole line of defence extended from south to north about two miles and a half. The heights to the north were to be defended by the Maryland regiment. Magaw was at the fort, with a small reserve, and the lines to the south were intrusted to Cadwalader with the two Pennsylvania regiments. These numbered together less than eight hundred men.

Howe had planned four separate and simultaneous attacks,—on the north, and the main one, by Knyphausen and the Hessians, who, though nearest the fort, were separated by rough and wooded ground,—the second, by four battalions under General Matthew, who was to cross the Harlem River in flat-boats and land on the right of the fort,—the third, intended as a feint, by Colonel Sterling with the Forty-second Highlanders, who were also to cross the Harlem and land to the left of the lines, and the fourth, by Percy and his English and Hessian troops, on the south.

"Howe," writes Graydon, "must have had a perfect knowledge of the ground we occupied. This he might have acquired from hundreds in New York, but he might have been more thoroughly informed of everything desirable to be known from one Dement, an officer of Magaw's battalion, who was intelligent in points of duty, and deserted to the enemy about a week before the assault." Save an intimation to this effect in one or two of the German accounts, this has passed unnoticed by history; but Mr. de Lancey's recent research has shown that the traitor who deserted on the 2d of November had furnished Percy with plans of the fort and full information as to the numbers and disposition of the garrison.

About noon of the 16th the attack was made. Knyp-hausen had hard work. The fight on the wooded heights was severe, and again and again he was driven back. Meanwhile, Matthew crossed the river, landed in safety, climbed the hill, stormed the battery, drove back our troops to the fort, and tried to cut off Cadwalader, who was between himself and Percy. Percy's attack was made with two brigades, and their numbers drove in an advance post defended by but twenty men. Cadwalader held him in check for an hour and a half, though greatly outnumbered. Both sides were fighting under the eyes of their respective commanders-in-chief, for Howe was himself present with Percy's troops, and Washington watched the fight from the opposite side of the Hudson. "Nothing encouraged him more," says Irving, "than the gallant style in which Cadwalader, with an inferior force, maintained his position." "It gave me great hopes," he wrote to Congress that night, "the enemy was entirely repulsed." But, meanwhile, Howe ordered Sterling with the Highlanders, supported by two battalions of the second brigade, to land in rear of Cadwalader's lines and convert his feint into a real attack. Accordingly he crossed the Harlem and, as he was seen to approach, Magaw from near the fort, and Cadwalader from below, each detached about a hundred and fifty men,—all that could be spared in the unequal contest. Magaw's

detachment did not arrive in time, and Cadwalader's under Captain Lennox, had, unassisted, to oppose the landing. The fight was severe at the water's edge, but the Highlanders, though near a hundred men were killed and wounded in their boats, made good their landing, and fought their way to the top of the hill. When their guns were heard by Percy, he again attacked. Sterling, seeing the enclosed bastions of the line now entirely undefended, hesitated. Cadwalader took advantage of the delay, and retired toward the fort with the main body of his command, Percy following closely his retreat. He made his way back, but found the fort crowded with men, for Knyphausen had just won his fight and reached it from the north, driving back the defenders. As they still poured in, Magaw and Cadwalader in vain tried to rally them. The crowd and confusion in so cramped a space defied discipline, and just then Knyphausen sent in a summons to surrender. Half an hour's grace was all that was accorded. During it, a daring messenger brought word from Washington that if they could but hold out till night, he would then try to bring them off; but it was too late, and soon "the sight of the American flag hauled down and the British flag waving in its place, told Washington of the surrender."

The loss in killed and wounded was surprisingly small, but the prisoners numbered nearly three thousand, half of whom were good soldiers. The reverse was the worst which had yet befallen the cause. "And," as Washington wrote to his brother, "what adds to my mortification is that this post, after the last ships went past it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinion, as I conceived it to be a hazardous one," and if, as some have thought, it is still one of the unsettled problems of history whether the fort should have been abandoned or defended, this is chiefly owing to the magnanimity of the commander-in-chief, who, in Bancroft's language, "took the teachings of adversity without imbibing its bitterness, and never excused himself before the world by throwing the blame on another."

The captured garrison was marched off to New York,

where Cadwalader at once received a return of a great kindness which his father, the doctor, had shown to General Prescott when a prisoner in Philadelphia, by being released without parole and sent home. He considered himself, however, under the honorary obligation to procure the release of some other officer of equal rank before again taking up arms, and this was for long a source of great trouble to him. There were those who, without knowing the exact facts, thought that no such obligation existed. It was natural that the English should think he could not serve, but officers of high rank whom he consulted on our side agreed in this, and finally the matter was laid before the commander-in-chief, who gave him authority to request General Prescott to name some officer of equal rank with whom he could be exchanged. But then came the general order issued in retaliation for the treatment of General Lee by the enemy, that no field-officer be released at all. Of course, its result was that he was forced to remain inactive, and finally, in January, 1779, unable to get into service, and unwilling to stand in the way of others' promotion, he resigned his commission.

In the familiar political conflict which followed the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, Cadwalader took a prominent part. Some of its crudities excite surprise at this day, and although he, and those who thought and acted with him were then unable to obtain the alterations they worked for, yet the soundness of their judgment was shown by the short life of the system.

In 1784 he was elected a Deputy to the Continental Congress and took his seat in January, 1785. He served through that and the two succeeding Congresses, speaking little but working efficiently. Among other committees he was one of the Grand Committee to which was referred the report of the Annapolis Commission, recommending the calling of the Federal Convention, the result of whose deliberations is the present Constitution of the United States.

Upon the adoption of this Constitution, Cadwalader was

again elected as a Representative from New Jersey, and on the 4th of March, 1789, took his seat in the First Congress. He again served in the Third Congress until March, 1795, when he retired finally from public life.

In March, 1776, he had purchased what was probably (though the state of the records leaves the identity somewhat uncertain) a portion of the fine estate near Trenton which had formerly belonged to his father, and which the latter had sold on returning to Philadelphia. He called it "Greenwood," and here, after he left the army, he resided, dispensing largely the hospitality of the times,—a virtue which he both inherited and transmitted,—and where one of his chiefest pleasures was to receive the repeated visits of Washington.

As to his personal characteristics, it was said by a contemporary, "To the good breeding, courtesy and elegance of the gentleman he united the advantages of early education and the acquisition of an enlarged and cultivated understanding, regulated by classical taste and improved by habits of general reading. Few were so happily gifted with the power of pleasing and the disposition to be pleased; few have enjoyed in an equal share the friendship, respect, and affection of all around them."

Further of his domestic life it need only be said that in 1793, he married Mary, daughter of Archibald McCall, of Philadelphia. He died on the 13th of September, 1823, at his home of Greenwood, and was buried in the Old Friends' burying-ground at Trenton. He had but two children, of whom one died young. The other survived him,—the late Thomas Cadwalader,—who through a long and singularly happy life equally enjoyed the friendship, respect, and affection of all around him, and in the fulness of time, surrounded by "that which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends," died on the 16th of October, 1873, at the place which was his father's, and was buried by his side.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 11, 1885, TO COMMEMORATE THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO THE MIDDLE COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D.D.

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Francis Bacon, treating of History in his immortal "De Augmentis," compares antiquities, or remnants of histories, to the spars of a shipwreck, when, though the memory of things be decayed and almost lost, yet industrious and sagacious persons, by a certain pertinacious and scrupulous diligence, out of genealogies, calendars, titles, monuments, coins, proper names and styles, etymologies of words, proverbs, traditions, archives, and instruments, as well public as private, fragments of histories scattered about in books not historical, do, I say, from all these things, or some of them, rescue and conserve somewhat from the deluge of time.¹

These words of the great philosopher happily describe, at least in part, the functions of such institutions as the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. They serve as the collectors and museums of "shipwrecked spars," scattered archives,

¹ "Antiquitates, seu historiarum reliquiae, sunt tanquam tabulae naufragii; cum deficiente et fere submersa rerum memoria, nihilominus homines industrii et sagaces, pertinaci quadam et scrupulosa diligentia, ex genealogiis, fastis, titulis, monumentis, numismatibus, nominibus propriis et stilis, verborum etymologiis, proverbiiis, traditionibus, archivis et instrumentis tam publicis quam privatis, historiarum fragmentis librorum neutiquam historicorum locis dispersis; ex his inquam omnibus, vel aliquibus, nonnulla a temporis diluvio eripiunt et conservant."
—*De Augmentis Scientiarum, liber secundus, caput vi.*

historic relics, and the like. And in thus garnering the past they do an immense service. For, as the future is rooted in the present, so the present is rooted in the past. Just because the past is our sire, the past often speaks to us as a venerable and authoritative oracle. We love to talk of "the logic of events,"—the phrase is as profound as it is frequent,—but events have their logic because the logic itself is often largely genealogical. The experiments—that is to say, the experiences—of our fathers have come down to us crystallized into formulas. What they worked out into maxims we inherit as axioms. All honor, then, to our Historical Societies, for they are in an eminent sense conservators of a mighty past.

And in thus conserving the mighty past our mightiest helper is the art of printing. For, to use the powerful imagery of Thomas Carlyle, "this noble art is like an infinitely intensated organ of Speech, whereby the Voice of a small transitory man may reach not only through all earthly Space, but through all earthly Time."¹ Or, more briefly, the art of printing is "the art conservative of arts." Most fitting, then, it is that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania should seize the two hundredth anniversary of the Introduction of the Art of Printing into the Middle Colonies of North America as an occasion for formal and enthusiastic commemoration. My only regret is that he whom you have so courteously selected to be your orator this evening is so little worthy of the honorable distinction you have generously conferred on him. Nor would he have presumed to accept the honor had he not remembered that, by the "logic of events" to which he has adverted, he is genealogically connected with our past, being permitted to serve a church which was founded in 1698,—a church which has had among her illustrious ministers the Reverend Ebenezer Kinnersley, an intimate associate of Benjamin Franklin in his scientific discoveries, and whose worth is commemorated in a memorial window in the University of Pennsylvania; a church which has had among

¹ Carlyle's "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays," Vol. II. page 399.

her illustrious pastors the Reverend Morgan Edwards, the prime mover in founding Rhode Island College in 1764, and the Reverend Doctor William Rogers, a Brigade Chaplain in the Continental Army of the Revolution, and for twenty-two years professor of Oratory and Belles-lettres in the University just mentioned; a church which has had among her illustrious laymen the Honorable John Holme, who, sitting as one of the judges at the famous trials of George Keith and William Bradford for issuing libellous and seditious papers, and dissenting from his brethren on the bench, was the first here to maintain judicially the momentous doctrine of the Freedom of the Press. And yet, notwithstanding this honorable historic ancestry, I cannot hope to be able, Gentlemen of the Historical Society, to add a single item to your erudition, for you live in a historic atmosphere, where every detail of biography and chronology and topography is, so to speak, a familiar. For me, then, to attempt in this presence historic information would be as doltish as to attempt to teach Minerva, or to illumine the sunbeam. All that I may venture to undertake is to recall to your memory some of the salient points suggested by the significant event we are gathered to commemorate. But before undertaking to do this it will be needful for me to say a few words about our first printers, our first books, our first magazines, and our first newspapers. Let me gratefully add that for the details of this part of my address I am indebted to the kind hints of our indefatigable librarian, Mr. Frederick D. Stone.

It is true that the art of printing was introduced into the New World, at the City of Mexico, as early as 1536. But to William Bradford belongs the honor of introducing the art into the Middle Colonies of British America. Excepting, indeed, a feeble and transient introduction into Virginia in 1682, he was the first to follow his calling on the American continent south of Massachusetts and north of Mexico. Distinguished as Bradford's service was, it is not needful that I go into detailed particulars of his life, his character, or his work; for these have been fully and with

rare grace set forth by our late accomplished President, Mr. John William Wallace, in his Commemorative Address before the New York Historical Society on the occasion of the Bradford Bi-centenary. Enough that I remind you that William Bradford, "The Caxton of our Middle States," was born in Leicestershire, England, May 20, 1663; that he emigrated to this country in 1685, bringing a warm and quaint letter of testimony to the Society of Friends from George Fox; that he was the intimate friend of William Penn; that in December, 1685, he printed the first book issued in the Middle Colonies, a circumstance to which I shall presently refer; that in 1690 he, in conjunction with the Rittenhouses, built near our own beautiful Wissahickon the first paper-mill erected in America, this venerable structure being the theme of a valuable and most interesting monograph of our accomplished Vice-President, the Honorable Horatio Gates Jones; that he was the first man to maintain, as he bravely and acutely did in 1692, the freedom of the press against arbitrary power; that in 1693 he removed to the Province of New York, and, setting up his press in Manhattan Island, introduced the art of printing into that great Province; that he henceforth lived in the city of his new adoption, holding the honorable office of Printer to the Crown for the Province of New York under the reigns of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and the first two Georges; that on May 23, 1752, in his ninetieth year, he closed his long and busy and wholesome career, loved and revered by all who knew him; that his remains were interred in the historic grounds of Trinity Church; and that on May 20, 1863, the Historical Society of New York celebrated with imposing ceremonies his two hundredth birthday. And if it was meet, as it surely was, that our noble friends of New York should commemorate the two hundredth birthday of the first Printer of these Middle Colonies, it is still more meet that we of Pennsylvania should commemorate, as we do to-night, the two hundredth anniversary of the introduction of the Printing Art itself.

And now let me say a few words about the first book

printed by William Bradford. It was, strange to say, an Almanac. And yet it is not strange; for the almanac is, in a certain sense, to the days of the year what the clock is to the hours and minutes of the day. And therefore the two books most likely to be found in a Christian household are an almanac and a Bible. True, the first American almanac was printed in 1639 by Stephen Day at Cambridge, Massachusetts; but no copy of it has come down to us. The earliest Pennsylvania almanac extant was printed by William Bradford in December, 1685. Only two copies are known to exist. One of these is in the rich collection of our own Pennsylvania Historical Society, and was bought for the judicious sum of five hundred and twenty dollars. Here it is (showing the relic). It is an opusculum of twenty unpagged leaves. The title reads thus:

"Atkins. (S.) Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense, or, America's Messenger. Being an Almanack For the Year of Grace, 1686. Wherein is contained both the English & Forreign Account, the Motions of the Planets through the Signs, with the Luminaries, Conjunctions, Aspects, Eclipses; the rising, southing and setting of the Moon, with the time when she passeth by, or is with the most eminent fixed Stars: Sun rising and setting, and the time of High-Water at the City of Philadelphia, &c. With Chronologies, and many other Notes, Rules, and Tables, very fitting for every man to know & have; all which is accomodated to the Longitude of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Latitude of 40 Degr. north, with a Table of Houses for the same, which may indifferently serve New England, New York, East & West Jersey, Maryland, and most parts of Virginia. By Samuel Atkins. Student in the Mathematicks and Astrology. And the Stars in their Courses fought against Særa, Judg. 5. 29. Printed and Sold by William Bradford, sold also by the Author and H. Murrey in Philadelphia, and Philip Richards in New York; 1685. 12mo. pp. (49)."

More interesting still is Bradford's personal "inaugural,"
as follows:

“THE PRINTER TO THE READERS.

“Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America believing it may be of great service to you in several respects, hoping to find Encouragment, not only in this Almanack, but what else I shall enter upon for the use and service of the Inhabitants of these Parts. Some Irregularities, there be in this Diary, which I desire you to pass by this year; for being lately come hither, my matereals were Misplaced, and out of order, whereupon I was forced to use Figures and Letters of various sizes, but understanding the want of something of this nature, and being importuned thereto, I ventured to make publick this, desiring you to accept thereof, and by the next, (as I find encouragement) shall endeavor to have things compleat. And for the ease of Clarks, Scrivniers, &c. I propose to print blank Bills, Bonds, Letters of Attourney, Indentures, Warrants, &c. And what else presents itself, wherein I shall be ready to serve you; and remain your Friend,

“W. BRADFORD.

“PHILADELPHIA, the 28th
10th Month, 1685.”

Such was the humble precursor of that famous and sententious series of annuals which, under the pseudonymous title of “Poor Richard’s Almanack,” was begun in this city in 1732, and continued twenty-five years, by the illustrious journeyman-printer, Benjamin Franklin. But what a colossal advance from the astrological Almanack of 1685 to the Astronomical Ephemeris of 1885! Despise not, then, the day of small things.

Let me pass to say a few words about the first newspapers printed in the American Colonies. As in the case of Almanacs, so in the case of Newspapers, Massachusetts takes the chronological lead. The first journal issued in this country was published in Boston by Benjamin Harris on September 25, 1690, under the title of “Publick Occurrences both Foreign and Domestick.” Twenty-nine years afterwards, namely, December 22, 1719, Andrew Bradford, whose career has been worthily set forth by our honored Vice-President, Senator Jones, founded in Philadelphia the

first newspaper of the Middle Colonies. A copy of the second number is in the collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and bears the following title :

“The American Weekly Mercury, Tuesday December 29, 1719. Philadelphia Printed, and Sold by Andrew Bradford, at the Bible in the Second Street and John Copson in the Market Street, 1719.”

In 1728, Samuel Keimer started *The Universal Instructor in all Arts and Sciences*; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which a few months afterwards he sold for a song to Benjamin Franklin, who made it a decided success. The first daily paper issued in America was published in Philadelphia on September 21, 1784, under the title of *The American Daily Advertiser*,—a venerable sheet, which still honorably survives under the title of *The North American*.

I ought not to leave this matter of periodicals without at least adverting to our early Magazines. For, although Lord Macaulay affects to sneer at them in his brilliant paper *On the Athenian Orators*, yet George Washington had a different opinion. Writing to our own Mathew Carey, who had established, in 1787, *The American Museum*, Washington says :

“I entertain an high idea of the utility of periodical publications: insomuch that I could heartily desire copies of the Museum and Magazines, as well as common Gazettes, might be spread through every city, town, and village in America. I consider such easy vehicles of knowledge more happily calculated than any other to preserve the liberty, stimulate the industry, and meliorate the morals of an enlightened and free people.”

This extract, let me add, very fitly serves as the motto on the covering of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. It is with pride that we remember that the first two magazines issued in America came from the press of Philadelphia: the first, called *The American Magazine*,

was published by Andrew Bradford, February 13, 1741; and the second, called *The General Magazine*, was published by Benjamin Franklin three days later.

And now we come to the first publications in America of the Book of books. As early as January, 1688, our own William Bradford, while still living in Philadelphia, proposed "to the Half Year's Meeting of Friends held at Burlington," to print "a large House Bible in folio, in fair character, on good paper, and well bound with the Apocraphy, and useful marginall notes:" the subscription price being "twenty shillings per Bible," and the pay being "half Silver. Money and half Country Produce at Money price." (Here is the original sheet.) The story of the discovery of this proposal is graphically told us by Mr. Wallace in his Commemorative Address.¹ But there is no evidence that Bradford attempted to carry his proposals into effect; indeed, it would have been illegal for him to attempt it: for at that time the British Government claimed the monopoly of publishing God's Word, having conferred it as a royal privilege upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1743, Christopher Sauer published in our own Germantown an edition of the Bible in German, it being Luther's version. It was a large quarto, in German long primer type: being the largest work that had issued from any press in the Middle Colonies, and unequalled for many years after. (Here is a copy of the first edition.) This is the first Bible printed in America in a European tongue; European, I say:

¹ "The only known copy of this sheet has a curious history. It has been used, by some early binder, Bradford himself perhaps, as the inner lining of the cover of a quarto volume. Here, about 1843, it was discovered by Mr. Nathan Kite, who succeeded in removing it almost uninjured. While he lived, Mr. Kite treasured this relic of Bradford's enterprising spirit above all his other bibliographical possessions. After his death, his widow gave it to a person whom she had employed in moving some of her furniture, in payment, I presume, for his services. Its new owner left it on exhibition in the Museum, at Independence Hall, for nine years, but finally, in 1883, sold it to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania."—*Hildeburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press,"* Vol. I. pp. 9, 10.

for the translation of the Bible into the language of the aborigines of Massachusetts by John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," had already been published at Cambridge as early as 1663. The first English Bible printed in America was published by Robert Aitkin, in our own city of Philadelphia, in 1782: it being one of the rich first fruits of our American Independence. It bears on its fly-leaf the following resolution, passed by the First Congress, September 12, 1782, upon the petition of the publisher and the certificate of its chaplains, Bishop William White and Reverend Doctor George Duffield, to whom it had been referred :

"Whereupon, *Resolved*, That the United States in Congress assembled highly approve the pious and laudable undertaking of Mr. Aitkin, as subservient to the interest of religion, as well as an instance of the progress of arts in this country, and being satisfied from the above report of his care and accuracy in the execution of the work, they recommend this edition of the Bible to the inhabitants of the United States, and hereby authorize him to publish this Recommendation in the manner he shall think proper."

It ought to be added that the first edition of the Douai Bible was also published in Philadelphia by Carey & Stewart in 1790.

Thus it was here, in our own Philadelphia, that the first printer in the Middle Colonies began his glorious career: it was here that the first book and the first newspaper of the Middle Colonies were printed; it was here that the first magazine in the American Colonies was issued; and it was here that the first German Bible and the first English Bible printed in the United States were published. Gentlemen of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is not this a record to be proud of?

Such is a very meagre sketch of the first publications, representing various kinds of literature, issued in our Middle Colonies. I cannot close this historic part of my address without adverting to a volume which has appeared most

opportunately. It is a noble quarto of three hundred and ninety-two pages, bearing the following title :

“A Century of Printing The Issues of the Press 1685-1784 By Charles R. Hildeburn Vol. 1, 1685-1763 Philadelphia MDCCCLXXXV”

To use the author's own words : “The design of this work is to present, as far as possible, full and strictly accurate descriptions of the titles, with collations, of every book, pamphlet, and broadside printed in the Province and State of Pennsylvania, during the first hundred years of the operations of the press within their limits.” And nobly has the author accomplished his purpose : for he has collected more than forty-five hundred separate titles of publications issued in Pennsylvania between 1685 and 1784. The Preface to his work is quite a model of condensed, characterizing, and suggestive statement. As a specimen of the interesting archives it enshrines, let me refer you to page 28, containing the following title of a book printed in 1693 : “An Exhortation and Caution To Friends Concerning buying and keeping of Negroes.” This “Exhortation” of the “Philadelphia Meeting of Keithian Quakers,” Mr. Hildeburn declares, was “the first protest against slavery printed in America.” Let me recall to you the interesting fact that the protest of our Germantown Friends, presented in 1688, is the basis of John G. Whittier's beautiful poem on Francis Daniel Pastorius, entitled *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*.

Having given this very imperfect sketch of typographical beginnings in our Middle Colonies, let me now enter what I venture to think is a larger and more important field, namely, some of the results which have flowed from the significant event we are celebrating to-night. Indeed, I suspect that the real reason why you have selected me to be your orator is precisely this : I am not an antiquary, like your honored selves ; I am simply a public teacher. In other words, you wish me to survey William Bradford's historic

enterprise from a moral platform. Let me remind you of what in this connection is a significant circumstance: William Caxton, who introduced the art of printing into Great Britain about the year 1477, established his printing-office in a *religious* locality, namely, Westminster Abbey.

"Already the precincts of Westminster had sheltered the power which was to outshine the hats of cardinals, and the croziers of prelates, and to bring out into a new light all that was worthy of reservation in the Abbey itself. 'William Caxton, who first introduced into Great Britain the art of printing, exercised that art A.D. 1477, or earlier, in the Abbey of Westminster.' So speaks the epitaph, designed originally for the walls of the Abbey, now erected by the Roxburgh Club near the grave in St. Margaret's Church, which received his remains in 1491. His press was near the house which, according to tradition, he occupied in the Almonry, by the Chapel of St. Anne. This ecclesiastical origin of the first English Printing-press is perpetuated in the name of 'the Chapel,' given by printers to a congress or meeting of their body. Victor Hugo, in a famous passage of his '*Notre Dame de Paris*,' describes how 'the book killed the Church.' The connection of Caxton with the Abbey gives this thought another and a kindlier turn. 'The Church (or the Chapel) has given life to the Book.' In this sense, if in no other, Westminster Abbey has been the source of enlightenment to England beyond any other spot in the Empire."¹

It is another and splendid illustration of the truth that Christianity, in the genuine sense of this august word, has ever been the grand supporter of all real progress.

Were I asked what I thought is the greatest of human inventions, I should answer: First, the invention of the art of Writing; and, secondly, the invention of the art of Printing. Mr. Motley, the historian, refers to this invention in a passage so classic that I must indulge in the luxury of citing it:

"At the very epoch when the greatness of Burgundy was most swiftly ripening, another weapon was secretly forging,

Dean Stanley's "*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*" (pp. 458, 459).

more potent in the great struggle for freedom than any which the wit or hand of man has ever devised or wielded. When Philip the Good, in the full blaze of his power, and flushed with the triumphs of territorial aggrandizement, was instituting at Bruges the order of the Golden Fleece, 'to the glory of God, of the blessed Virgin, and of the holy Andrew, patron saint of the Burgundian family,' and enrolling the names of the kings and princes who were to be honored with its symbols, at that very moment, an obscure citizen of Harlem, one Lorenz Coster, or Lawrence the Sexton, succeeded in printing a little grammar by means of movable types. The invention of printing was accomplished, but it was not ushered in with such a blaze of glory as heralded the contemporaneous erection of the Golden Fleece. The humble setter of types did not deem emperors and princes alone worthy his companionship. His invention sent no thrill of admiration throughout Christendom; and yet, what was the good Philip of Burgundy, with his Knights of the Golden Fleece, and all their effulgent trumpery, in the eye of humanity and civilization, compared with the poor sexton and his wooden types?"¹

Of course, I do not pretend to vouch for Mr. Motley's accuracy when he ascribes the invention of printing to Lorenz Coster rather than to John Gutenberg. The question as to which was the inventor will probably never be answered in such a way as to command universal assent. This thing, however, is certain: In the list of human contrivances, next to the invention of writing, the invention of printing must be ranked as the most powerful factor in civilization. It is the invention which, to a large extent, makes possible the knowledge of all other inventions; and not only inventions, but also arts, sciences, philosophies, theologies, literatures, humanities, industries, economics, legislations, ameliorations, morals, progress; in a single word, civilization: making all these and kindred boons the world's common property. The printing-press registers, conserves, and diffuses the world's thought and feeling and

¹ Rise of the Dutch Republic, Vol. I. p. 45.

act, turning the knowledge of the present and the past into a universal and immortal heirloom. The tyrant Jehoiakim could burn up Jeremiah's prophecies so long as they existed only in the form of a single manuscript scroll. But all the tyrants of the world cannot now destroy the book of Jeremiah,—the multiplying power of the printing-press is too much for them. Moreover, it is an occasion for devout thanksgiving that the element of carbon is incapable of being affected by the atmosphere, and is insoluble in any liquid, for carbon is the chemical basis of printing-ink. The letters of the first Bible ever printed, now nearly half a millennium ago, are as black to-day as they were the day they were impressed. Types are the Manes of past millenniums.

But the printing-press is not only a preserving and diffusing force, it is also an impelling and educating force. Recall what it achieved at the very outset. From the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens at the beginning of the seventh century, when the Egyptian papyrus almost ceased to be imported into Europe, to the close of the tenth century, about which time the art of making paper from cotton rags seems to have been introduced, there were no writing materials except parchment,—a substitute too costly for popular use. In 1274 the price of an English manuscript Bible was fifty marks, or thirty-three pounds; that is, say, one hundred and sixty-five dollars. Reckoning the value of money in that age to be twenty times its present value, that Bible must have been worth, say, six hundred and sixty pounds, or three thousand three hundred dollars.¹ This costliness of parchment compelled our mediæval ancestors to cultivate a singular economy of words. For example: "In the tower of London," says Sismondi, "we may see in the Rolls of Fines that each contract for sales of lands is always comprised in a single line; and from the eighth century to the tenth the annals of the Franks, written in the convents, followed the same rule. Whatever the number or the importance of

¹ Words, Facts, and Phrases, page 444.

events, these annalists were forbidden to exceed the one line for each year. The excessive price of parchments for manuscript compelled the writers of that period to cover the margins of ancient books with their contracts, and they often erased the most sublime works of Greece or Rome for the purpose of substituting some private agreement or some legendary absurdity.”¹

Now, this scarcity of books produced a state of ignorance almost incredible. Hallam’s chapter on the state of Europe during the Middle Ages is a melancholy picture of an ignorance as general as it was profound. But with the invention of printing, and the consequent multiplication of books and their reduction in price, burst forth a wonderful quickening of intellect. Men suddenly turned to letters, and thence to progress. From that time the printing-press has been the special and sensitive organ of that majestic thing, Public Opinion; the sublime instrument of that limitless possibility, Human Progress. Accordingly, the “myriad-minded” bard of Avon, exercising his marvellous power of divination with a subtlety so characteristically keen as to make his slight anachronism pardonable, represents Jack Cade, the ignorant rebel against Henry VI., as saying to the accomplished courtier, Lord Say,—

“Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee, that usually talk of a noun, and a verb, and such abominable words, as no Christian ear can endure to hear. Thou hast appointed justices of peace, to call poor men before them about matters they were not able to answer. Moreover, thou hast put them in prison; and because they could not read, thou hast hang’d them: when, indeed, only for that cause, they have been most worthy to live.”²

¹ History of the Italian Republic.

² Henry VI., Part II., Act IV., sc. 7.

And the ignorant insurgent was right. The printing-press it is which, in an eminent sense, is, or at least ought to be, and can be, and largely has been, and still is, the educating, shaping, uplifting force of society. Friends, I love my calling. I honestly believe that the ministerial vocation is a divine appointment, and that, so long as the present economy lasts, it is absolutely indispensable to the welfare of society. Nevertheless, I must admit, and I cheerfully do admit, that there is a preacher who exercises a vaster influence than the preacher in the pulpit; it is the preacher in the press-room. The man who writes a true book—a book which is loyal to God and to men—is a preacher whose voice transcends the limits of church walls and Sundays. Like the oratory of the firmament, “there is no speech nor language where his voice is not heard: his line is gone out through all the earth, and his words to the end of the world.” Authorship is in an eminent sense a bishopric. Alas, how many bishops profane their solemn office!

While what I have said concerning the influence of publications is true of books, it is especially true of newspapers. Allow me, then, to say a few words touching journalism. And the topic is most important. Were I asked what I thought is the most influential factor in our American life, I would unhesitatingly answer, the newspaper-press. You may say that the mother is more influential; but the mother dies. You may say that the school is more influential; but the school is only for our boy-days. You may say that the church is more influential; but, alas, the church, practically speaking, reaches only a part of the community. But the newspaper is perennial and ubiquitous. In this year, 1885, there are issued in the United States 11,314 periodicals, having a circulation of 31,779,686, and paying wages amounting to \$28,559,336.38. What an advance upon the year 1685, when in all these Middle Colonies of North America there was not issued a single periodical; the only publications being two pamphlets of forty pages each! Verily, the little one has become a thousand, and the small

one a strong nation. And what a power Journalism is! For the journal comes to its readers not only as a news-teller, but also as a sort of oracle. For the moment one sees a statement in a paper, it somehow takes on a dignity and importance which it might not have possessed had he only heard it from the lips. Thus the newspaper not only reflects public sentiment, it also largely shapes it. It makes a man or it unmakes him by the motives which it assigns to him. It often outlines the plans of individuals, the methods of institutions, the policies of corporations, the polity of a nation. Edmund Burke once said, "There are three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sits a Fourth Estate more important than the other three." What Cincinnatus was to Rome, what the first Napoleon was to France, that the Newspaper is to America: it is America's Dictator. The Journal is Columbia's natural Censor; I wish it were always as just as Cato of Rome.

Thank God, many are the editors who are true to their great vocation. They are brave to denounce wrong-doing in conspicuous places; swift to recognize merit in public life; chivalric to defend the oppressed and set right the misunderstood; strong to cheer those who are burdened with great responsibilities; wise to guide the perplexed; skilful to build up society: in brief, like the apostle Paul, exercising their authority for building up and not for casting down. Alas, I cannot say this for all editors. Gentlemen of the Press, the warmth of my tribute to you justifies me in speaking plainly. There is too much of catering to morbid tastes; too much intrusion into the privacy of home-life; too much indulgence in personalities; too much publicity to mere rumors; too much detailed accounts of crimes and brutalities and scandals; in brief, too much news that is not news, and which, if it were news, had better never have become news. "Ah," you tell me, "the people demand this kind of reading." Alas, what you say is too true. But, Gentlemen of the Press, it is your glorious vocation to marshal the people, not to follow them; to lift them up,

not to kneel to them. If you must have a scandal column, label it at the top with the words: "Beware of deadly poison."¹

Such is the tremendous power of the journal, such the awful responsibility of the newspaper. The press is the tongue multiplied a myriad-fold, speaking through a trumpet which may be heard around the world. The press immortalizes statements whether true or false. Spoken words are evanescent, dying away with the receding aerial vibrations. But printed words are immortal. Journalism it is which moulds that subtle, colossal thing we call Public Opinion. And when journalism soars, as it often does, to its true vocation as the upbuilder of human society; when at your breakfast-table you open your morning journal, and find it mainly devoted to what is pure and generous and noble and inspiring; or when you return from your daily toil at nightfall, and feeling weary, open your evening journal, and find that it is mostly devoted to what is mentally refreshing and morally exhilarating; then will the Press stand forth as the bright harbinger of the Millennium. God speed that day!

In view of the tremendous, and in the main beneficent results which have flowed from the invention of the Art of arts, I cannot close better than in the words of the "Song of the Printer":

¹ Benjamin Harris, the pioneer journalist of America, in issuing the prospectus of his *Publick Occurrences both Foreign and Domestick*, published September 25, 1690, quaintly announces what he conceives to be the duties of an editor. Among these duties he mentions the following:

"Thirdly, That some thing may be done towards the Curing, or at least the Charming of that Spirit of Lying, which prevails among us, wherefore nothing shall be entered, but what we have reason to believe is true, repairing to the best fountains for our Information. And when there appears any material mistake in anything that is collected, it shall be corrected in the next."

What a blessing it would be were every modern editor as conscientious as old Benjamin Harris!

"THE SONG OF THE PRINTER.

Pick and click
 Goes the type in the stick,
 As the printer stands at his case :
 His eyes glance quick, and his fingers pick
 The type at a rapid pace :
 And one by one as the letters go,
 Words are piled up steady and slow,—
 Steady and slow,
 But still they grow,
 And words of fire they soon will glow :
 Wonderful words, that without a sound
 Traverse the earth to its utmost bound ;
 Words that shall make
 The tyrant quake,
 And the fetters of the oppress'd shall break ;
 Words that can crumble an army's might,
 Or treble its strength in a righteous fight.
 Yet the types they look but leaden and dumb,
 As he puts them in place with finger and thumb ;
 But the printer smiles,
 And his work beguiles
 By chanting a song as the letters he piles,
 With pick and click,
 Like the world's chronometer, tick ! tick ! tick !

Oh, where is the man with such simple tools
 Can govern the world as I ?
 With a printing-press, an iron stick,
 And a little leaden die.
 With paper of white, and ink of black,
 I support the Right, and the Wrong attack.

Say, where is he, or who may he be,
 That can rival the printer's power ?
 To no monarch that lives the wall doth he give :
 Their sway lasts only an hour ;
 While the printer still grows, and God only knows
 When his might shall cease to tower."

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF SAMUEL
COOPER.

1777-78.

(CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.)

[The original letters from which the following extracts are taken will be found in the "New Jersey MSS., 1664-1853," Library Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and were, with one exception, written by Samuel Cooper, of Cooper's Point, opposite to Philadelphia, to his friend John Litle, of New Mills, now Pemberton, while Philadelphia was occupied by the British army.

William and Mary Cooper, the first of the family of that name to settle in West Jersey, came from Hertfordshire, England. They had a son, Joseph, born 1666, who, in 1688, married Lydia Riggs. Joseph and Lydia had a son, Benjamin, who married first, Rachel Mickle, and second, Elizabeth, widow of Jacob Burcham, and daughter of Samuel and Mary Coles. Benjamin and Elizabeth Cooper had a son, Samuel (the correspondent of John Litle), born June 25, 1744, who married Prudence Brown. Their children were Joseph, who married Susan Buckley; William, who married Rebecca Wills; Mary Margaret, who married Richard M. Cooper; Sarah, who married Henry Hull; Benjamin, who married Elizabeth Will. In 1769, Benjamin Cooper conveyed to his son Samuel about thirty-eight acres of land, on a part of which, in 1770, he erected the ferry-house (the second one in the history of the ferry), which still stands at the northwest corner State and Water Streets, Camden, and in the west gable of which may be deciphered

C
S P
1770.

Samuel Cooper died September 21, 1812.

John Litle, in addition to being interested in the manufacture of salt at Little Egg Harbor with Samuel Cooper, was engaged in making camp-kettles, nails, and other iron-work for the Continental army.—J. W. J.]

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I received your long letter which afforded all the News and more too, but in regard to the lies you hinted at, I

VOL. X.—3

need not Write any for I have sent more in one of these papers than you will find true in seven years. . . . Miller assures me upon his Honor that last Thursday he and James Carson went down to Schuilkil to see the Floating batterayes, that one had been launched two days and was built in such a hurry or by such bad workmen, that she sunk and they left work at the other.

Your friend

SAM. COOPER

October 8, 1777.

MOORS TOWN, Nov. 18, 1777.

4 o'clock.

SIR—

I take the opportunity by the old Frenchman to acquaint you that our People this morning Evacuated Fort Mercer and are now with the main Body of the Troops at Haddonfield. It is said they Intend to make that place head Quarters. The Waggon with Sick and Lame have been passing through our Little Village all this afternoon. Yesterday Morning General Knox, General St. Clair, some other Officers & about 20 of the Light Horse, went down to the Fort and Returned this morning to General Washington's Camp. I have nothing more at present worth Communicating to you. The Letter for S. Cooper I sent this morning by safe hand. He has mov'd some of his Effects and I expect he will move the whole.

I'm S^r yours to Serve

WILL^m. COX

MR. JOHN LITTLE.

WILLIAM COOPER'S NEAR HADDONFIELD.

November 28, 1777.

ESTEEMED FRIEND

When I saw John Wilson this morning I concluded not to write to you being in some trouble concerning moving which I am not Determined to go or stay. If the hell-hounds as they Stile themselves should retreat back to Pennsylvania I shall move, If they come on I shant have time and I must trust my fate. . . . We have had some

skirmishing over at Kensington allmost every Day but yesterday was the hottest and lasted two Hours and when it was over I saw John Dickkeson's¹ fine House on German-town rode all in flames with two others just by. Their shipping comes up fast. As to news I will refer you to the bearer and the paper which Willson has got. If you can get an opportunity to come down I shall be glad to see you but Don't run any resk; but all will be right by an by, they never will be suffered to run much further.

From

SAM. COOPER

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

. . . I wrote the foregoing last Sunday to send by Mrs. Runnels but was disappointed. Nothing new since, but Howe at the head of his Whole Army crossed the Schuilkill Monday morning 4 o'clock on another Expedition,² but I have heard nothing since from town. I am sorry to inform you the Friends have been so foolish as to take up the remains of *Molesworth* on Sunday last and buried him in Friends burying-ground.³ I was told by some who saw it that they reached three squares in a solid collum. . . .

December 24, 1777.

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I received your short letter and am very sorry that paper is so scarce with you that you could not afford me onehalf Sheet, but now you have got a Reinforcement of paper I expect you will make a little freer with it and give me a hint how things go on at Egg Harbor, for you know I can't leave Home till the Ice gets in the River and then I shant be afraid of our Neighbours coming over. There is little Danger at present for their Army is chiefly over Schuilkill, but what they are about we cant learn, but there

¹ John Dickinson's Fair Hill mansion.

² See Diary of Christopher Marshall, p. 149.

³ James Molesworth was executed as a spy in Philadelphia, March 31, 1777. See Life of Joseph Reed, Vol. II. pp. 30-33; Prov. Arch., Vol. V. pp. 270-282; Col. Rec., Vol. XI. p. 197.

is more or less firing every Day. I have several droll jokes to tell you about some of our old Acquaintances going out a *foraging* as they call it, but it is what an Honest man calls PLUNDERING. There is scarce a night but some of these gentry is taken and Brought to Haddonsfield.

John Cunningham that kept the Centre and Capt. Taylor that kept the Bull and Dog, is both Prisoners in Haddonsfield. Bill Austin with 23 others went down to Dutch Creek to plunder flour. They went in a schooner they gave £500 for on purpose for the trade, with a small schooner as a tender and 4 Barges. They got 200 barrels of flour on board and was going down the Creek, but they were overtaken by the Militia, when a smart firing begun and in a short time Capt. Austin put to the oposite side of the Creek leaving the Schooner and Barges and taking to the mud. In this affair every man but himself and three more was either killed, wounded or taken Prisoners. Poor encouragement for a young Beginner! This I had from his own mouth, so you may guess where I saw him. I send you one lying Paper more. . . .

December 27, 1777.

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I received your letters and am glad to hear the works are in such forwardness. . . . This day there was a Grand Attack made by all the Shipping in the Harbor with Cannon and Small arms upon a poor Empty Barrel that was floating in the ice which they Imagined to Be some kind of Fire Works.¹ But the Barrel came off unhurt. The attack began at Warder's Wharf,² with the tide at Ebb and till the Barrel reached the Old Fort,³ and then the tide turned and brought the poor Barrel back through the midst of a hot fire, but we have not heard of any lives lost. I think we shall have it in the Burlington Gazette. My wife

¹ The "Battle of the Kegs."

² Race Street.

³ The old Navy-Yard below Washington Avenue covered in part the site.

sends much love to Polly and at same time Please to accept of mine.

January 5, 1778.

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I just Received yours and am sorry to hear that you are so Poorly. If I had Expected you would not have been able to gone Down to the Works, I should have staid longer, but Allen said you would be Here in two Days and brought News that the English was Crost over to my House, and that hurried me Home. . . . My Waggon is gone off this morning with 8 Bushels Petatoes for the use of the Works and Sundreys for the men which they stand in great need of. For my part I Don't know how they have stood it so long in such a cold place and nothing but Green pine wood to Burn. I told Tomme to get oak wood let it cost what it would, for Mark's wife has done more than ever I could Expected considering the bad Wood and cold Kitchen and neither sugar, tea, nor milk, and two young Children. The men has likewise stood it admirable Concdiering wet feet from morning til Night and no Rum, an Article they have been so much used to, but I have supplyd all their wants for awhile. . . . I understand you are about to be concerned in several works more, but I would not advise you to lay your money out too Largely til you see me, for I think I can inform you of some intelligence which I have received from Philadelphia in regard to the Salt Works which you wont like, so for my part I think the sooner they pay for themselves the better.

January 20, 1778.

ESTEEMED FRIEND

I received yours and am glad to hear you are getting better, but my Doctor tells me that a Change of air is better than the loss of Blood, so I hope you will consider of it and try Our Clymate. I think the Sight of Philadelphia with a few Glasses of my Madeira and a Bowl or two of good Lemon Punch will Do you a great Deal of good,

and I shall expect to see you in a few Days. I am very sorry your Wife could not come Down last week as I had spoke to the Colonel for a pass for her and he was very free to give it, but now he has got Strict Orders from the Governor not to grant passes to none but what he knows well and not to suffer any kind of provisions to go over (I saw a pair of fowls taken from William Hirst to-day) but if you Come Down I can get a pass for Polly to go over but she wont be allowed to take anything over.

January 28, 1778.

FRIEND LITTLE

. . . My expectations is so great of making a fortune out of the works that I have partly agreed for a Plantation to purchase for ten thousand pounds and I think if they are carried on as they have been till Christmas you & I may venture to begin a ship of at three hundred ton to be Ready for Sea next March. No more, but I shall be Ever obliged to you for the Great fortune which I am like to make by Salt Works. . . .

January, 1778.

P.S. I hope to see you here tomorrow as we intend having a Supper of Oysters & a bottle of the best, for we can aford it if any body can, since it all comes by Salt Works.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I received yours just as the Boat was going off and gave the Letter to Hugh Moor for your Sister, and if Bill had taken my advice I should not have answered yours to me, for I saw 20 Flatbottomed Boats hawled off out of the Dock which I am sure is for an Expedition in the Jersey, but what part is uncertain (I saw them put oars and sails in them all) but I think it is up or Down the River, but perhaps they may convince me to the contrary before morning. When I left your House I had a teadious time through

the hail, Snow and mud,¹ to Leeds', where I was obliged to leave my Horse and when I got home I was taken bad with a cold & cough, but next day I was something better, and Janey was in a Deal of trouble because she could not get over. I got a sleigh and went to Haddonfield to try to get a Pass for her but it could not be granted, however, I got Liberty for her to go without a Pass in writing, but when I returned she was gone. . . .

February 24, 1778.

8 o'clock at night.

P.S. Wednesday morning—Just got up to see where we are and find we are all here yet and all the Boats gone Down the River, so I shall expect every Hour to hear of their Landing somewhere.

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I have the pleasure to write you once more, which I did not Expect a few days ago. I make no doubt you have heard of me and Joseph Cooper being taken prisoners to Haddonsfield² and there put in the Guard House³ and Kept one Night and almost two Days, and our Wives never knew where we was gone till just before we came home. We had 200 men with us the whole time. After we came

¹“The night was uncommonly severe & a cold sleet fell the whole way from Haddonfield to the Ferry, where the troops arrived late, & the grounds being occupied by barns & forage, they were necessitated to pass the coldest night they ever felt without fire.”—*Simcoe's Military Journal*.

²They were probably captured by the Forty-second Regiment, commanded by Colonel Stirling, which, with the Queen's Rangers, were endeavoring to intercept General Wayne, returning from his foraging expedition to South Jersey. A detachment of the Forty-second, under Markham, was at Cooper's Point, and may have set fire to Joseph Cooper's barn.

³At the date of this letter there were two guard-houses in the town, —one on Main Street opposite to the brick tavern, where, during the war, the Legislature and Committee of Safety sat at different times, the other at the corner of Main Street and the turnpike leading to Camden. Both buildings are still standing.—*Information from Judge John Clement.*

home you would scarce know the Point. I am so — that I cant write perticulars,—my loss is great, yours is more than you will Expect, Joseph Cooper is more than both of us. As soon as your health permits, I beg you will come down,—you wont begrudge your ride, for I have a long history to tell you.

March 5, 1778.

P.S. I had like to forgot to mention theyr burning Joseph Cooper's barn.

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I received yours Per Joe with a Burlington paper, I expect you have received mine with the Philadelphia paper before this time. Downton¹ has got him a Wife & I hardly think he will go Down. . . . I should be glad if you would write concerning the old Works, what they are doing or whether you intend taking your share out or not. Concerning provisions, I should be glad to Know whether you Depend on me for any provisions or not—and Rum, if you expect me to make use of that article, as I have saved some on purpose for the use of the works. If you conclude to have it, I should be glad if you would send word—the Rum is at my mothers. I wrote you some time ago concerning the Baskets [40] but I don't understand whether you have got them or not. They are at Goshen Mill. . . .

March 12, 1778.

in the midst of trouble & confusion, locked up in my room, which is the only place with my Kitchen I have left to make use of,—the rest being all taken up with officers—I am going to attempt to scratch a few lines which I expect will reach you.² This morning I saw your father; he informs your friends are all well; he told me Neddy Heston was in Goal—he was taken last week. I know you must feel

¹ Doughten,—descendants of the name still reside in the county.

² This letter or fragment of a letter is not dated or signed, but has on the back the endorsement by Mr. Litle, "May 1778."

for my Distressed Situation which is shocking and grows every day ten times worse. My house is surrounded with near 500 Waggon and tomorrow the Horses will come, next Day the Army. Tomorrow the Shipping is all to be gone by sunset. When you come Down, which I hope will be next week, you will see Destruction such as will shock you. I hardly expect to save my house, for it is threatened Every Day with fire, however, they can't frighten me nor strike the least terror on me, for I can stand and see them cut, pull Down, burn and Destroy all before them and not think more of it than I used to think of seeing a Shingle burnt. When they tell me they will ruin me I tell them I shall be able to buy one half of them in seven years. Now my good friend take my advice, stop all business for a few days and take care of your Valuablest goods for the Army will come through Holly and your town is threatened with a Scourging. Dont let any person know where you got your information. . . .

[May, 1778.]

ESTEEMED FRIEND.

I have just come Home from a trip Down the River and your Boy is waiting. . . . I have just heard that there is an Expedition going on towards Egg Harbor and I understand you have a quantity of Salt there. I hope you will think as I do and remove it as soon as possible for Depend on it the works will be Destroyed and there should be no time lost. Salt sells for £8. in town. . . .

[Oct. 1778.]

ESTEEMED FRIEND

. . . Your Sister has told you how I was taken away and their taking my right eye¹ from me, but however I am glad

¹ Samuel Cooper was the owner of a good spy-glass, with which he frequently observed the movements of the British troops in and around Philadelphia, and reported them to the American officers. This became known to his maid-servant, who imparted it to her lover (a British corporal), who in turn reported it to his commanding officer, whereupon friend Cooper's arrest and the confiscation of his "right eye" followed.

—*Information of Howard M. Cooper, Esq., of Camden, N. J.*

it is gone for now there will be no more Spying. Well when I got over I was taken to the Col^l Quarters from there to the General and by a Scheme (which I will tell you the first time we meet) I got away from my guard and went to a friend and got him to go to the General and speak for me which answered the end, for instead of going to Goal where he ordered me he gave me a pass to go home to the great mortification of a great many of my old friends, and new enemies, which stood in clusters and pointed at me as I was going to the Generals and followed me to see me go to Goal where many of them said I should have been long ago—but alas they were all Disappointed. . . . I have sent you the last paper, and remain

[1778.]

A VISIT TO VOLTAIRE.

FROM THE UNPUBLISHED JOURNAL OF DR. JOHN MORGAN.

[Dr. John Morgan, from whose journal the following extract is taken, was born in Philadelphia in 1736. He studied medicine with Dr. Redman, and served as a surgeon in the Provincial Army. In 1760 he visited Europe, and remained there nearly five years. When he was about to return home he wrote to Dr. Cullen, "I am now preparing for America, to see whether, after fourteen years of devotion to medicine, I can get my living without turning apothecary or practitioner of surgery." On May 3, 1765, he was elected Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, the first medical professorship created in America. At the commencement of the College, which took place on the 30th and 31st of the same month, he delivered "his famous Inaugural Address," entitled A DISCOURSE UPON THE INSTITUTION OF MEDICAL SCHOOLS IN AMERICA. It has been said by competent authority that Dr. Morgan and Dr. William Shippen, Jr., "must be regarded as the fathers of systematic medical teaching in this country." During the Revolution, Dr. Morgan served as Director-General of the Military Hospitals and Physician-in-Chief of the American Army. His Journal was written while travelling from Rome to London, in 1764.—ED. OF MAG.]

Sunday, September 16th, 1764.—After dinner went to Chateau de Fernay, distant about an hours ride from town, to pay our respects to Monsr. Voltaire to whom we had a letter from Mr. W^m Huet, an English gentleman whom we knew at Rome.

His chateau as we observed it in driving into the court yard appears new, a double house and sufficiently large to contain a great family, being three stories high and neat, with a chapel on one side of the court yard in front, and the other, which is the side by which we enter some turrets which give more the air of a castle, the front side to the road being shut up. As for his Theatre I did not see it, to know it, being as I suppose on one side of the hall, or room before the hall by which we enter from the court yard.

Our coach having drove into the yard up to the door, Monsr. Voltaire himself received us on the steps. Having delivered him our recommendatory letter, though wrote in

French, yet from the characters of the superscription he knew it to come from an Englishman, and therefore addressed us in English. For the present he only looked at the beginning of the letter to learn our names and at the bottom to see who it came from. This was in the ante-chamber. His reception of us was very polite. He asked why we had not come out time enough to dine with him and why we made any difficulties, for says he: you know gentlemen that sitting together at the table opens the heart and makes one more sprightly and sociable. Although at a loss sometimes for an English word, and that he used many Gallicisms yet he took pains to articulate his words properly and accent them fully. In this he succeeded beyond what one might expect from his having been but one twelve month in England and that so many years past as in 1726. We meet with few Frenchmen who pronounce English better. Our apology for not having come time enough to dine with him being made, he then ushered us into his Sal, and introduced us to a polite company there of gentlemen and ladies in terms peculiar to himself. He addressed himself more particularly to a Chevalier whom we could see was a military man and an officer of distinction and whom we afterward learnt from Monsr. Voltaire himself was the Count de Beaufremont, who was a Commodore last war, and brother to the Prince de Beaufremont in Franche Compté; as well of one of the best families as one of the best officers in France. His introduction was to this effect:

I beg leave to present to you two English gentlemen—Oh glorious nation, renowned conquerors of Canada. Though they have fought against you, and well have they fought by land and sea, we must now look upon them as our brave friends, since we are now at peace. To this we replied that we hoped this peace might be lasting; that we might always regard one another in the same light of friendship. Then Mons'r. Voltaire introduced us more particularly by name: we received and returned compliments with mutual respect.

Mons'r. Voltaire then said he was very well acquainted with a gentleman of the name of Morgan when in England

in the year 1726. Mr. Beaufremont said there was a Col^l. of that name on the expeditions against Martineco and the Havannah. I told them the latter was dead; that there were many of the name in England, and I could not say particularly that I knew the one Mr. Voltaire meant. They replied they had often heard of the name and both of them said there was a General Morgan, Gov^r of Bergenopzoom an officer of great reputation. Tis now indeed 200 years since his time.

A dish of coffee being presented to us, the conversation turned upon the places we had lately visited in Italy, upon Naples, the famine and epidemical disease which lately reigned there, upon the discoveries made at the Herculanum, &c.

A little dog happening to cross the room stopped before Mr. Voltaire. He wagged his tail and seemed to notice him very attentively. On which Mr. Voltaire turned to Mr. Powel, and as I thought a little abruptly asked him, what think you of that little dog; has he any soul or not? and what do the people in England now think of the soul. This question so unexpected and before company some of whom Mr. Powel was very sure, at least of Mr. Voltaire, that they entertained sentiments concerning the soul very different from himself and the bulk of mankind who have been taught at all to reason about the soul—was a little startled at this question put so *mal à propos*. To show that he was not desirous of enlarging upon this topic, his answer was that the people of England now as well as heretofore entertained very different notions from each other concerning the soul. Very true, says Monsr. Beaufremont, everybody thinks after his own fashion. Mr. Voltaire however did not drop the subject entirely. Says he I esteem one of your countrymen who has wrote on that subject, my Lord Bolinbroke. He has done essential service to mankind, but there would have been still greater had he given the same matter in fewer words; of these he is so profuse that he frequently renders the subject he handles obscure from being too copious in his expression. Have you not read this valuable author? another question as little to

Mr. Powel's gout as the former. But without hesitation he told him what appeared to me sufficiently spirited—whatever his merit may be I own I have never read him. Oh read him by all means—he is a most valuable author and let me recommend to you when you return home to get some of your friends to give an abridgement of it. It will bear to be reduced to a third of its bulk and then will be a most excellent work. The English, added he, have some fine authors, they are, I swear by God himself, the first nation in Europe; and if ever I smell of a resurrection, or come a second time to earth, I will pray God to make me be born in England, the land of liberty. There are four things which I adore that the English boast of so greatly—with the fore finger of the right hand counting them up, and naming each distinctly and with an emphasis,—Liberty, Property, Newton and Locke.

Although he then spoke in English the Count de Beaufremont seemed to understand him. They tell me, says he, that the English have not even a word in their language which answers to the French word *Esclavage*, so little have they an idea of its state. I beg your pardon says Mr. Voltaire; they speak of it in the way of opposition—English Liberty and French Slavery or *Servitude*. Here a pause ensued. To avoid being hooked into any seeming dispute about the soul, &c. I had from time to time addressed myself to a young looking gentleman who sat next me—on indifferent matters—perhaps two or three and twenty years old—though all the while very attentive to what passed. I had now time to look a little about me, and observe the company and place I was in a little more particularly. As for Mr. Voltaire himself as I have a good print of him, I shall not describe him very particularly. He begins now to stoop with years or care, is thin, *maigre*, and if straight I believe would be about five feet ten inches high, has a very sagacious but at the same time a comical look. Something satirical and very lively in his action, of which he is full as most of his nation are. His words which are very emphatical seem to be accompanied with an action little less so.

Count de Beaufreumont is a well looking, jolly, fat man, appears under fifty, of a good appearance for an officer, one that seems to claim respect from deserving it.

Near him in one corner sat a fat French lady, middle aged—well painted. She did not talk much though she seemed one of the family. Her discourse seemed to be chiefly confined to a gentleman in a white broadcloth suit and silver lace, who seemed to repay her with the whole of his attention, or not bestow a great deal on the company. In the diagonal corner on an easy settee were placed also a middling aged but meagre French lady well smeared with paint. She did not want for discourse—at her left hand on the same settee was a younger lady perhaps aged 20, and Mr. Voltaire on her right—the young gentleman with whom I conversed sometimes sat between him and myself, and Mr. Powel to my right hand. These were the personages and such the arrangement of our goodly company.

The Salle was elegantly adorned and had some tolerable paintings. The windows of this room which I sat just opposite to, look into a fine garden—Mr. Voltaire perhaps observing my eyes that way asked, do you love Greenwich gentlemen, do you love Richmond: I upon answering in the affirmative, says he, I will shew you these places—He conducted us into the garden, and pointing to the lake of Geneva within about half a league or perhaps a little more—There, says he, is the Thames—and there is Richmond hills, showing us the hills of Savoy beyond the lake—and these vineyards all round this garden and the verdant lawns are Greenwich—you see I am quite in the English taste: look at the woods; there you see a road in the woods another in the vineyard—In the garden you have plain gravel walks or green lawns—no French gew gaws—all is after nature. We congratulated him upon the happiness of his situation, the judgement he had shown in the choice of his residence and the pleasing happy arrangement he had given to everything about. He prided himself in having ordered everything himself from the building the Chateau to the disposition of the garden all the gravel of the walks he had

himself caused to be brought here. I have, says he, six miles in circuit here and am lord of a greater extent than the neighboring republic of Geneva. I pay no taxes to the French King or any other. I enjoy liberty and property here and am my own master.

We told him his situation was, what it really is, most charming: and that no doubt he must have enjoyed a particular pleasure in seeing a kind of second creation rise under his hand. Where my Chateau is, says he, there were churches and chapels, I bought all and pulled them down to build my chateau. I hate churches and priests and masses. You gentlemen have been in Italy; you have been at Rome. Has not your blood often boiled to see shoe-scrappers and porters saying mass in a place where once a Cicero, a Cato, and a Scipio have thundered in eloquent harangues to the Roman people. His soul seemed to be moved with indignation whilst he spoke it, and he accompanied this with a vehemence of action that showed to what a degree he abhorred masses and the religions. How often when one would go fast do these fellows detain you, says he; If you ask where is the postillion he is gone to mass, and you must wait with patience for a half an hour till he has done.

By this time I became quite familiar with him, asked him questions with as much assurance as if I had been long acquainted with him. I asked him if he had read any account of electricity or was acquainted with Dr. Franklin's writings on that subject, and what he thought of him. He acknowledged him to be the discoverer and improver of electricity; that he was a man of genius, of merit, and a great natural philosopher. I then asked him if he had read Mr. Hume's writings or Dr. Robinsons History of Scotland as he said he often read English books. He told me he had, that both were men of merit; but he preferred Mr. Hume whom he said wrote more like a philosopher. He has given us a good history of England. It is not so full of minute facts as that of Rapin, who smells indeed of the Presbyterian whilst Mr. Hume throughout smells of the philosopher. He often used the words smell of, figurately for to partake of. I know not

whether it was because he delighted in the sense of smelling particularly, or for want of words to express himself better in English. He now pulled out of his pocket a fine snuff box. In taking a pinch of snuff I observed on the inside of the lid a miniature picture of the King of Prussia, which probably was presented to him by that monarch at the time Voltaire was so great a favorite of his and his chief counsellor. In speaking of an intended new publication upon the History of a Trine which has been often wrote on, he inveighed against writing on trite subjects where the author had it not in his power to bring new facts to the light or publish some new discoveries that are important and interesting—above all authors I admire Newton & Locke—these opened our eyes to glorious objects and immortal discoveries which we did not think of; one has dissected and laid open to us the planetary system; the other has, as I may say, dissected the soul and discovered to us all the powers of the understanding. On my knees I prostrate myself all my life before two such great men as these, to whom I esteem myself as an infant. I then asked who Monsr. Beaufremont was. He told me of him what I wrote above. I then asked him if the young gentleman whom I had sat next to, was his son, as I had heard him call him papa; and who the young lady was. He answered me, the young lady I call my daughter; because she was a poor orphan neglected neice of the deceased great Corneile—Every nation you know has its Shakespeare. Corneille was our Shakespeare and because I look on myself as a soldier under the Generals Corneile, Racine, &c., in this sort of warfare, I found out the neice of Corneile and brought her to live with me. I call her my daughter and I have married her to that young man. Their children I look on as if they were my own, and take care of them all as of my own family.

Being now time to return to Geneva lest the gates of the City should be shut against us we thanked him in the politest terms for the honor he had done us. He returned the compliment, said he should always be proud to enter-

tain any English gentleman. Being now at the steps he ushered us in, breaking into a kind of rapture with "Oh goddess of liberty, thou heaven born maid." We were now within the Salle, and Mons'r. Voltaire as if he had been pleased with our conversation and the freedom we used with him, crys out in French to this effect—addressing himself to the company.

Behold two amiable young men lovers of truth and inquirers into nature, they are not satisfied with mere appearances, they love investigation and truth and despise superstition. I commend you gentlemen—go on, love truth and search diligently after it. Hate hypocrisy, hate masses, and above all hate the priests. Compliments being over we left the company. Monsr. Voltaire accompanied us to the door. Told us he should always be proud to see us, particularly whenever we would call and dine with him—his hour was two o'clock: he would be glad to see us, and if his health permitted would dine with us but if not, his children (meaning his adopted ones) would take care of us, nor should we ever want for company at his house who would endeavor to make themselves agreeable. We returned our thanks once more in the warmest terms and getting into the chariot drove off.

I could not help noticing a chapel before the gate of the court yard with this inscription over the door

Deo
erexit
Voltaire
MDCCLXI

I afterwards heard that in buying this possession he was obliged to stipulate for building a chapel—of which I suppose no great use is made. Till I heard this I did not know whether it was not his Theatre. In a Tavern on the road not far off these lines are pencilled

Deo erexit Voltaire

Behold the pious work of vain Voltaire
Who never knew a God, or said a prayer.

JOURNAL OF MISS SALLY WISTER.

(Concluded from page 478, Vol. IX.)

FOURTH DAY, MORN, 12 o'clock.

I was awaken'd this morn with a great racket of the Captain's servant calling him; but the lazy fellow never rose till about half an hour past eight. This his daylight ride. I imagin'd they would be gone before now, so I dressed in a green skirt and dark short gown. Provoking. So down I came, this Captain (wild wretch) standing at the back door. He bow'd and call'd me. I only look'd, and went to breakfast. About nine I took my work and seated myself in the parlour. Not long had I sat, when in came Dandridge,—the handsomest man in existence, at least that I had ever seen. But stop here, while I just say, the night before, chatting upon dress, he said he had no patience with those officers who, every morn, before they went on detachments, would wait to be dress'd and powder'd. "I am," said I, "excessively fond of powder, and think it very becoming." "Are you?" he reply'd. "I am very careless, as often wearing my cap thus" (turning the back part before) "as any way." I left off where he came in. He was powder'd very white, a (pretty colored) brown coat, lapell'd with green, and white waistcoat, etc., and his

"Sword beside him negligently hung."

He made a truly elegant figure. "Good morning, Miss Sally. You are very well, I hope." "Very well. Pray sit down," which he did, close by me. "Oh, dear," said I, "I see thee is powder'd." "Yes, ma'am. I have dress'd myself off for you." Will I be excused, Debby, if I look upon his being powder'd in the light of a compliment to me? "Yes, Sally, as thee is a country maid, and don't often meet with compliments." Saucy Debby Norris!

'Tis impossible to write a regular account of our conversation. Be it sufficient to say that we had a multiplicity of chat.

About an hour since, sister H. came to me and said Captain Dandridge was in the parlour, and had ask'd for me. I went in. He met me, caught my hands. "Oh, Miss Sally, I have a beautiful sweetheart for you." "Poh! ridiculous! Loose my hands." "Well, but don't be so cross." "Who is he?" "Major Clough. I have seen him. Ain't he pretty, to be sure? I am going to headquarters. Have you any commands there?" "None at all; but" (recollecting), "yes, I have. Pray, who is your commanding officer?" "Colonel Bland, ma'am." "Please give my compliments to him, and I shou'd be glad if he would send thee back with a little more manners." He reply'd wickedly, and told me I had a little spiteful heart. But he was intolerably saucy; said he never met with such ladies. "You're very ill-natur'd, Sally." And, putting on the sauciest face, "Sally, if Tacy V*nd*r*n won't have me, will you?" "No, really; none of her discarded lovers." "But, provided I prefer you to her, will you consent?" "No, I won't." "Very well, madam." And after saying he would return to-morrow, among a hundred other things, he elegantly walk'd out of the room. Soon he came back, took up a volume of Homer's Iliad, and read to us. He reads very well, and with judgment. One remark he made, that I will relate, on these lines,—

"While Greece a heavy, thick retreat maintains,
Wedg'd in one body, like a flight of cranes."

"G—d knows our army don't do so. I wish they did." He laugh'd and went away.

FOUR O'CLOCK, AFTERNOON.

Major Clough, Captain Swan, and Mr. Moore, a Lieutenant of horse, din'd with Dandridge. The latter, after dinner, came in to bid us adieu. He sat down, and was rather saucy. I look'd very grave. "Miss Betsy, you have a very ill-natured sister. Observe how cross she looks." He pray'd

we might part friends, and offer'd his hand. I gave him mine, which he kiss'd in a very gallant manner; and so, with truly affectionate leave, he walked to the parlour door, "God Almighty bless you, ladies;" bow'd, went into the road, mounted a very fine horse, and rode away; leaving Watts and the troop here, to take care of us, as he said. "Mr. Watts, Miss Sally, is a very worthy man; but, poor soul, he is so captivated with you,—the pain in his breast all owing to you." But he is gone; and I think, as I have escap'd thus far safe, I am quite a heroine, and need not be fearful of any of the lords of the creation for the future.

SIX O'CLOCK, EVENING.

Watts drank tea with us. A conversable man. Says that the Dandridges are one of the genteelest families in Virginia,—relations of General Washington's wife. He appear'd very fond of the Captain, who has had a liberal education. Very sensible and brave. I sat in the entry all last evening, as did Betsy. But first, let me say, Fifth day morn we chatted on a variety of subjects; and amongst others, he mentioned the cruelty of the Britons, which, I agreed, was very great. He said he would retaliate whenever he had an opportunity. I strenuously opposed such a procedure, observing that it would be erring in the same way, and tho' they might deserve it, yet it would be much nobler to treat them with lenity. Remember the lines of Pope,—

"That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me."

"I perfectly remember them. Your sentiments are noble; but we must retaliate sometimes."

A horseman deliver'd this message: "Let the troops lie on their arms, and be ready to march at a moment's warning." He immediately gave these orders to the sergeant. Every soldier was in motion. I was a good deal frighten'd, and ask'd Watts the reason. He fancy'd the British were in motion, tho' he had not receiv'd such intelligence. "What will thee do if they come here?" "Defend the

house as long as I can, ma'am." I was shock'd. "Bless my heart; what *will* become of us?" "You may be very safe. The house is an excellent house to defend; only do you be still. If the British vanquish us, down on your knees, and cry, 'Bless the king.' If we conquer them, why you know you are safe." This added to my fright. I called my dear mamma, who was much indispos'd. Dadda was gone to Lancaster. Mamma ask'd him the same questions, and he gave her the same answers. I was in a fearful taking, and said if I thought such a thing would happen, I would set off, though nine o'clock, and walk to Uncle Foulke's. "No, don't go to-night, Miss Sally. I will take you there to-morrow. Don't be uneasy. This is nothing. I often go to bed with my boots on upon some alarms." "But thee will take off thy boots to-night?" "Yes, I will, indeed." "Is thee really in earnest about defending the house?" "No, madam; for believe me, if I hear the enemy is in motion, I will immediately depart, bag and baggage."

This dispell'd my fears, and after wishing me a good night, he retir'd to his chamber. Imagine my consternation when our girl came running in, and said the lane was fill'd with light horse. I flew to the side door. It was true. My joy was great when I heard Major Clough ask if this was Captain Dandridge's quarters. I answer'd in the affirmative. He rode round to the other door. Watts, though gone to bed, was call'd. He chatted apart to the Major a while, then went off towards Skippack road, follow'd by a large party of horse and wagons. My fears were all renew'd; and, as if we were to be in perpetual alarms, by came another party, much larger, in dark clothes. These we all thought *were* British. They halted. All as still as death. The officer rode up to the door. "Does Mr. Foulke live here?" "Yes," said somebody. "Is there not a family from town here,—Mr. Wister's?" I recollected the voice, and said, "Captain Stodard, I presume?" "Yes madam. Are you Mr. Wister's wife?" "No, his daughter." "Is your papa at home?" "No," I reply'd, but invited him in to see mamma. He agreed; dismounted,

as did many other officers; but he alone came into our parlour. Watts follow'd to bid us adieu. They sat a few minutes; told us that two of their men had deserted, and when that was the case, they generally moved their quarters. Watts told him how I was frighten'd. He said I paid but a poor compliment to their chivalry. I only smil'd. The alarm had partly depriv'd me of the power of speech.

They sat about fifteen minutes, then rose, and after the politest adieus, departed. All the horse follow'd—about one hundred and fifty. I never saw more regularity observ'd, or so undisturb'd a silence kept up when so large a number of people were together. Not a voice was heard, except that of the officer who gave the word of command. The moon at intervals broke thro' the heavy black clouds. No noise was perceiv'd, save that which the horses made as they trotted o'er the wooden bridge across the race. Echo a while gave us back the sound. At last nothing was left but remembrance of them. The family all retir'd to their respective chambers, and enjoyed a calm repose.

This Captain Stodard is from New England, and belongs to Colonel Sheldon's regiment of dragoons. He made an acquaintance with my father at Germantown, whilst our army was at that place, and had been here once before. He is clever and gentlemanly.

FIFTH DAY, June 4th, 2 o'clock.

Oh, gracious! how warm is this day. But, warm as it is, I must make a small alteration in my dress. I do not make an elegant figure, tho' I do not expect to see a stranger to-day.

SIXTH DAY, June 5th, MORN, 11 o'clock.

Last night we were a little alarm'd. I was awaken'd about 12, with somebody's opening the chamber door. I observ'd cousin Prissa talking to mamma. I asked what was the matter. "Only a party of light horse." "Are they Americans?" I quickly said. She answer'd in the affirmative, (which dispell'd my fears), and told me Major Jameson commanded, and that Captains Call and Nixon

were with him. With that intelligence she left us. I revolved in my mind whether or not Jameson would renew his acquaintance; but Morpheus buried all my ideas, and this morning I rose by, or near seven, dress'd in my light chintz, which is made gown-fashion, kenton handkerchief, and linen apron. "Sufficiently smart for a country girl, Sally." Don't call me a country girl, Debby Norris. Please to observe that I pride myself on being a Philadelphian, and that a residence of ten months has not at all diminished the love I have for that place; and as soon as one capital alteration takes place (which is very much talk'd of at present), I expect to return to it with a double pleasure.

Dress'd as above, down I came, and went down to our kitchen, which is a small distance from the house. As I came back, I saw Jameson at the window. He met me in the entry, bow'd:—"How do you do, Miss Sally?" After the compliments usual on such occasions had pass'd, I invited him into our parlour. He followed me in. We chatted very sociably. I inquir'd for P. F. He said he had seen her last First day; that she was well. Her mamma had gone to Lancaster, to visit her daughter Wharton,¹ who, as I suppose you have heard, has lost her husband.

I ask'd him whether Dandridge was on this side the Delaware. He said, "Yes." I wanted sadly to hear his opinion, but he said not a word. The conversation turn'd upon the British leaving Philadelphia. He firmly believ'd they were going. I sincerely wish'd it might be true, but was afraid to flatter myself. I had heard it so often that I was quite faithless, and express'd my approbation of Pope's 12th beatitude, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." He smil'd, and assur'd me they *were* going away.

He was summon'd to breakfast. I ask'd him to stay with

¹ The "mamma" was Mrs. William Fishbourn. Her daughter Elizabeth was the second wife of Thomas Wharton, jr., President of the Supreme Executive Council (acting Governor). He died at Lancaster (the seat of the Pennsylvania government at this time), on May 22, 1778.

us. He declin'd the invitation with politeness, adding that he was in a hurry,—oblig'd to go to camp as soon as he could. He bow'd, "Your servant, ladies," and withdrew immediately. After breakfast they set off for Valley Forge, where Gen'l Washington's army still are.

I am more pleas'd with Major Jameson than I was at first. He is sensible and agreeable,—a manly person, and a very good countenance. We girls differ about him. Prissa and I admire him, whilst Liddy and Betsy will not allow him a spark of beauty. Aunt's family are charm'd with his behavior,—so polite, so unassuming. When he disturb'd them last night, he made a hundred apologies,—was so sorry to call them up,—'twas real necessity oblig'd him. I can't help remarking the contrast between him and Dandridge. The former appears to be rather grave than gay,—no vain assuming airs. The latter calls for the genius of a Hogarth to characterize him. He is possess'd of a good understanding, a very liberal education, gay and volatile to excess. He is an Indian, a gentleman, grave and sad, in the same hour. But what signifies? I can't give thee a true idea of him; but he assumes at pleasure a behavior the most courtly, the most elegant of anything I ever saw. He is very entertaining company, and very vain of his personal beauties; yet nevertheless his character is exceptional.

SIXTH DAY, NOON AND EVENING.

Nothing material occur'd.

SEVENTH DAY, NIGHT.

A dull morn. In the afternoon, Liddy, Betsy, R. H., and self went to one of our neighbors to eat strawberries. Got a few. Return'd home; drank tea. No beaus. Adieu.

FIRST DAY, EVENING.

Heigh-ho! Debby, there's a little meaning in that exclamation, ain't there? To me it conveys much. I have been looking what the dictionary says. It denotes uneasiness of mind. I don't know that my mind is particularly uneasy just now.

The occurrences of the day come now. I left my chamber between eight and nine, breakfasted, went up to dress,

and the patient's condition was such that it was necessary to keep him in bed. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

I was very much surprised when I saw the patient. I was very much surprised when I saw the patient. I was very much surprised when I saw the patient. I was very much surprised when I saw the patient. I was very much surprised when I saw the patient.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

THE PATIENT WAS KEPT IN BED FOR A WEEK AND THEN HE WAS ABLE TO GET UP AND WALK.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk. The patient was kept in bed for a week and then he was able to get up and walk.

put on a new purple and white striped Persian, white petticoat, muslin apron, gauze cap, and handkerchief. Thus array'd, Miss Norris, I ask your opinion. Thy partiality for thy friend will bid thee say I made a tolerable appearance. Not so, my dear. I was this identical Sally Wister, with all her whims and follies; and they have gain'd so great an ascendancy over my prudence, that I fear it will be a hard matter to divest myself of them. But I will hope for a reformation.

Cousin H. M. came about nine, and spent the day with us. After we had din'd, two dragoons rode up to the door; one a waiting-man of Dandridge's, the faithful Jonathan. They are quarter'd a few miles from us. The junior sisters, Liddy and Betsy, join'd by me, ventur'd to send our compliments to the Captain and Watts. Prissa insists that it is vastly indelicate, and that she has done with us. Hey day! What prudish notions are those, Priscilla? I banish prudery. Suppose we had sent our *love* to him, where had been the impropriety? for really he had a person that was love-inspiring, tho' I escap'd, and may say, *Io triumphe*. I answer not for the other girls, but am apt to conclude that Cupid shot his arrows, and that maybe they had effect. A fine evening this. If wishes could avail, I would be in your garden with S. J., R. F., and thyself. Thee has no objection to some of our North Wales swains,—not the beau inhabitants, but some of the transitory ones. But cruel reverse. Instead of having my wishes accomplish'd, I must confine myself to the narrow limit of this farm.

Liddy calls: "Sally, will thee walk?" "Yes." Perhaps a walk will give a new turn to my ideas, and present something new to my vacant imagination.

SECOND DAY, THIRD DAY, FOURTH DAY.

No new occurrences to relate. Almost adventureless, except General Lacy's riding by, and his fierce horse disdain to go without showing his airs, in expectation of drawing the attention of the mill girls, in order to glad his master's eyes. Ha! ha! ha! One would have imagin'd that vanity had been buried within the shades of N. Wales.

Lacy is tolerable ; but as ill luck would order it, I had been busy, and my *auburn ringlets* were much dishevell'd : therefore I did not *glad his eyes*, and cannot set down on the list of honours receiv'd that of a bow from Brigadier-General Lacy.¹

FIFTH DAY, NIGHT, June 18th.

Rose at half-past four this morning. Iron'd industriously till one o'clock, din'd, went up stairs, threw myself on the bed, and fell asleep. About four, sister H. wak'd me, and said uncle and J. F. were down stairs ; so I decorated myself, and went down. Felt quite lackadaisical. However, I jump'd about a little, and the stupid fit went off. We have had strange reports about the British being about leaving Philadelphia. I can't believe it. Adieu.

SIXTH DAY, MORN, June 19th.

We have heard an astonishing piece of news! The English have entirely left the city! It is almost impossible! Stay, I shall hear further.

SIXTH DAY, EVE.

A light horseman has just confirm'd the above intelligence! This is *charmante*! They decamp'd yesterday. He (the horseman) was in Philadelphia. It is true. They have gone. Past a doubt. I can't help exclaiming to the girls,—

“Now are you sure the news is true? Now are you sure they have gone?” “Yes, yes, yes!” they all cry, “and may they never, never return.”

Dr. Gould came here to-night. Our army are about six miles off, on their march to the Jerseys.

SEVENTH DAY, MORN.

O. F.² arrived just now, and related as *followeth*:—The army began their march at six this morning by their house. Our worthy General Smallwood breakfasted at uncle Caleb's.³ He ask'd how Mr. and Mrs. Wister and the young ladies

¹ Brigadier-General John Lacey, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

² Owen Foulke, son of Caleb.

³ The Meredith house, on the Swedes' Ford road.

were, and sent his respects to us. Our brave, our heroic *General Washington* was escorted by fifty of the Life Guard, with drawn swords. Each day he acquires an addition to his goodness. We have been very anxious to know how the inhabitants of Philadelphia have far'd. I understand that General Arnold, who bears a good character, has the command of the city, and that the soldiers conducted with great decorum. Smallwood says they had the strictest orders to behave well; and I dare say they obey'd the order. I now think of *nothing* but returning to Philadelphia.

So I shall now conclude this journal, with humbly hoping that the Great Disposer of events, who has graciously vouchsaf'd to protect us to this day through many dangers, will still be pleas'd to continue his protection.

SALLY WISTER.

North Wales, June 20th 1778.

THE EARLY GOVERNMENT OF PHILADELPHIA
AND THE BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN LANDING.

BY EDWARD P. ALLINSON AND BOIES PENROSE.

EVIDENCE OF ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT OF PHILADELPHIA PRIOR TO THE CHARTER OF 1701, AS SHOWN IN A DOCUMENT IN THE OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, PERTAINING TO THE BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN LANDING.

[In writing an article on the history of the government of Philadelphia for the "Johns Hopkins University studies in Historical and Political Science" the following paper was found, which is recorded in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia, and furnishes important evidence of the existence of some kind of organized government of Philadelphia prior to the charter granted by Penn in 1701. The charter of 1701—as it is the earliest one extant—is generally considered the first charter incorporating the city; and the first mayor under that charter, Edward Shippen, heads the published lists as the first mayor of the city. Considerable doubt, however, exists as to whether Philadelphia was not granted a charter—possibly incorporating the city as a borough—before 1701. It seems remarkable that for the first nineteen years of its existence the rapidly growing city should have had no government separate from the rest of the county. It is constantly spoken of in the Minutes of the Provincial Council and Acts of Assembly as the "town of Philadelphia" or the "city of Philadelphia." Acrelius in his "New Sweden," p. 112, published in 1712, says that Philadelphia received its first charter in 1682, and that its liberties extended three English miles beyond the city, between the rivers. In 1684 the following appears in the minutes of the Provincial Council: "Thos. Lloyd, Thos. Holmes, Wm. Haigue appointed to draw up a charter of Philadelphia, to be made a Borough, consisting of a Mayor and six Aldermen, and to call to ye assistance any of ye Council." (1 Colonial Records, 64.) There is no record, however, that this committee ever acted. The characteristic of a borough in England was that it possessed the franchise of sending representation to Parliament; and in 1684 a bill passed second reading in the Provincial Council providing for three members for the Council and six for the Assembly from "ye city of Philadelphia," but there is no record of a third reading or of co-ordinate action of the Assembly, or of any member sitting for the city as distinct from the county previous to 1704.

Finally, in the charter of 1701 Penn declares, "I have, by virtue of the King's letters patents, under the great seal of England, erected the said town into a borough and by these presents do erect the said town and borough of Philadelphia into a city, which said city shall extend the limits and bounds, as it is laid out between Delaware and Schuylkill." (Charter of Philadelphia.)

In addition to the above evidence, which was gathered after laborious research, a document preserved in the office of the Recorder of Deeds, in Philadelphia (Deed Book H, No. 7, p. 92), furnishes important testimony to the same effect. This interesting document is in the nature of perpetuated testimony, in order to prevent future disputes of titles, showing the proceedings of the citizens of Philadelphia in 1753 to secure the dedication of the Blue Anchor landing for public use forever, and remonstrating against the attempt of the mayor and commonalty to let the same. These proceedings in proving the title of the inhabitants recite the minutes of the Provincial Council of May 5, 1691, and constitute the only record of them extant, the minutes of the Council for that year and for 1692 having been lost or destroyed. These minutes and other documents recited in the proceedings state clearly that Humphrey Murry was mayor of Philadelphia in 1691, and that there were in existence a recorder and aldermen; and that these officers were recognized by the Proprietor.

The paper also gives an interesting history of the public landing place by the old Blue Anchor Tavern, which stood at the northwest corner of Front and Dock Streets, and was taken down in 1810. It also shows—besides giving the missing minutes of the Provincial Council—that the records were in the office of the Provincial Secretary as late as 1753.

EDWARD P. ALLINSON,
BOIES PENROSE.]

To the Mayor and Commonality of the City of Philadelphia
in Common Council Assembled the 16th day of the Month
called February 1753.

The Memorial of the Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors
and Overseers of the Poor, at the Request and on Behalf of
the Freemen and Inhabitants of the said City

SHEWETH:

That soon after the arrival of the first Purchasers of Land
in this Province the Town of Philadelphia was lay'd out and
by the mutual consent of our first worthy Proprietor and the
Inhabitants the Two Public Landing Places at the Penny Pot
House and Blue Anchor were appointed to be left open and
common for the Use and Service of the Inhabitants of the

said City and all others and were accordingly received and reputed to be their common Right as much as any of the streets of the City.

That the Landing Place at the Blue Anchor was at first very large and commodious and of much greater extent than it is at present.

That some time in or about the year 1689 the Proprietary-Commissioners granted Warrants of Survey to several persons for Lots on the River Delaware, which were a part of the said Landing Place.

That the Mayor and Inhabitants of the City well knowing the Surveys and Grants of the said Lots were injurious and repugnant to the Rights and Privileges of the Freemen of the City did thereupon petition the Governour and Council "to ascertain the extent and boundaries of the said Landing Place and that no person for private gains or interest might be suffered to incomode the Public Utility of the whole City."

That the Governour and Council pursuant to the Powers granted them by the Charters and Laws of this Province then in force did immediately in conjunction with the Mayor, Recorder & some of the Citizens regulate and ascertain the limits and extent of the said Landing Place and order'd the materials to be removed which had been laid thereon by a person who, under pretence of a right from the Proprietary-Commissioners, attempted to erect a House or Building there as appears by the Minutes of the Governour & Council dated the 3d 6th Month 1691 still remaining in the Secretary's Office.

That so much of the Landing Place near the Blue Anchor as is now claimed and used by the inhabitants of Philadelphia remained from the first settling this City free and open upwards of sixty years without any interruption by buildings or other improvements made thereon or by converting it to any other Uses or Services than those for which it was first intended.

That the Proprietor in the charter granted to the City in the year 1701 expressly "ordains the said Landing Places

“(as then and theretofore used) to be left open and common
“for the Use and Service of the said City and all others,”
thereby confirming the former Right of ye Inhabitants to the
said Landings.

That by long experience the said Landing Places appear
to be of Publick Service and advantage, for the accomodat-
ing the People of the neighbouring Province and others who
bring large Quantities of Fire Wood, Charcoal, Bark, Tim-
ber, Boards, Shingles, Stones, Rails, Hay and other mate-
rials necessary for the Service of the Inhabitants of this City,
and for their Buildings and Improvements.

That the Inhabitants of this City would sustain great Loss,
damage and Injury by converting the said Landing places
to any other Uses or Services, from the advanced price of
Fire wood and the high rates they must pay for the Cartage
of Hay, Stone Timber etc. from other more distant Land-
ings.

That the Inhabitants of this City in General are now much
dissatisfied with the proposal of the Mayor & Comonality
“to Let the said Landing place to any persons inclined to
“take the same either for a Term of years or on Ground rent
“for Ever,” being apprehensive that if the said Proposal be
carried into Execution They will be disseised of a Valuable
Part of the Rights & Privileges granted them by our first
Worthy Proprietor.

For these and other Reasons which may occur to ye
Mayor and Commonality on a farther consideration of this
affair, We assure ourselves that they as Guardians of the
Liberties & Privileges of the Freemen of Philadelphia will
desist from proceeding to any Resolutions to deprive the In-
habitants and others of the Free Use and Service of the said
Landings or to convert the same or any Part thereof to any
other Uses or Services than those for which they were at first
appointed.

JACOB COOPER

JOS: RICHARDSON

CHARLES JONES

PHIL: SYNG

HUGH: ROBERTS

JOSEPH STRETCH

City Wardens.

THOS: SAY

JACOB DUCHEE

Commissioners.

JOSEPH LOWNES

ANTHONY MORRIS JR

JOSEPH WATKINS

JERE'AH WARDER

JACOB LEWIS,

City Assessors.

THOS: LIGHTFOOT

THOMAS CLIFFORD

ABRA. MITCHELL

JOS: HOWELL

JACOB SHOEMAKER JR.

Overseers of the Poor.

Compared with the Original delivd. to the Mayor & Comonality in Common Council assembled Philadelphia the 16th 2d mo. 1753 & subscribed by the Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors & Ovr. of the Poor in Presence of us

EDWARD WARNER

EVAN MORGAN

JOSEPH TROTTER

ISR: PEMBERTON JUNR

To the Governor and Council

The Petition of The Inhabitants of Philadelphia

Humbly Sheweth—

That Whereas the Proprietary and Governor having a Respect to the future good and Prosperity of Pennsylvania, and particularly designing the most convenient Place within the Province for the Erecting a city, no place was judged more fit than the present scite of land whereon the City is now located by reason of those natural advantages of easy landing and contiguous coves that by little Labour might be made safe and Commodious Harbour for Vessells where they might lye safe from Ice or Winter Storms, and accordingly the first Settlers invited by those conveniencys seated themselves down in the year 1682 and landed their Goods at that low Sandy Beach since called the Blue Anchor where without any Interruption all Persons have ever since used it as a Common Free Landing for Stones, Loggs, Hay and all such kind of Lumber and other Goods which can no way be with the like ease or safety brought and landed to any other Wharf and place in the City, and although there are yearly some hundred cartloadings of the said Lumber carried to all Parts of the Town from the said place to the Universal Ac-

comodation of all People as well Inhabitants as Strangers, yet we the Inhabitants to our great Grief have been informed that some persons obtaining a Grant from the Commissioners have incroached on a part of that publick Flat Sandy Beach whereby the Inhabitants are in Part already deprived of that customary and common Landing-place there being most times many Loads of said Lumber Lying ready for Sale or other Uses, and since it pleased the Governor by the eighth Chapter of the Charter to enact that the Governor and Provincial Council shall at all times Settle and Order the Situation of Cities and Market Towns in every County modelling therein all publick Buildings, Streets and Market places and shall appoint all Necessary Roads and Highways and by another Law it is enacted that there shall be settled Sufficient CartWay to the most Convenient Landing Places. And we the said Inhabitants well Knowing there is not any so convenient within this City, and which was a great Encouragement of first Settling the City where now it is and hath continued until this day the only Chief Land^s place and Cartway to and in the River We humbly beseech the Governor and Council by Virtue of the said Powers by Charter lodged in them would be pleased to order the Situation Bounds & breadth of that most convenient Landing & Carting All which Laws being made before there was or could be any Pretence of Right in any Person to obstruct it, neither is this City of Philadelphia exempt from the said Regulation And we also further beg that all or at Least so much of the Cove at the Blue Anchor as possible may be laid out for a Convenient harbour to secure Shipping against Ice, or other Danger of the Winter. And that no Person for private Gains or Interest may Incommode the Publick Utility of a whole City there being no Place by Nature so convenient for the Ends Proposed.

HUMPHREY MURREY
JOHN HOLME
SAMUEL RICHARDSON
ROBERT EWER
DAVID LLOYD

CHRISTOPHER SIBTHORPE
PHILIP HOWELL
ABRAHAM HARDYMAN
WILLIAM LEE
WILLIAM SAY

ALBERTUS BRANDT	JOHN PARSONS
PHILLIP RICHARDS	WILLIAM WALKER
CHARLES BUTLER	ANDREW GRESKOM
JOHN MURREY	WILLIAM HEARNE
JAMES FOX	FRANCIS COOKE
ALEXANDER BEARDSLEY	RICHD. GOVE
JOHN WHITE	WILLIAM FORREST
THOMAS BUDD	DAVID BREINTNALL
WILLIAM BRADFORD	HENRY BADCOCK
THOMAS HOOTON	THOMAS GRIFFITH
NATHANIEL ALLEN	ISAAC RICKETS.

Compared with the Copy annexed to the Memorial delivd. the Mayor & Comonality, Philada. 16 of ye 2d Mo. Febr. 1753.

ISR. PEMBERTON JUNR.

EDWARD WARNER

EVAN MORGAN

JOSEPH TROTTER.

At a Meeting of Council held at Philadelphia on the third day of sixth Month 1691—

Present, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy governor, John Simcock, John Delavall, Thos. Duckett, Griffith Owen, William Stockdale, John Bristow.

Humphrey Murrey the present Mayor of the City of Philadelphia in behalf of the said City moves the Governour & Council to lay out & regulate the Landing place the End of the Street near the Blue Anchor being the only Cartable Landing Place to serve the South End of the Town & has been accordingly used and enjoyed since the first Settling of this place without Interruption 'till of Late it was granted away by the Commissioners of Property Whereupon it is order'd that the said Mayor and Aldermen of Philadelphia have notice to Attend the Governour & Council to-Morrow Morning about the Eighth Hour in Order to View the said Landing Place.

The Council Attended with the Mayor & some of the Citizens of Philadelphia having this Morning pursuant to the Order of the Governour & Council made last night reported to the Governour the Conveniency of the said Landing & the Necessity of having the same confirmed & cleared of

Incroachments & other Incumbrances therefore this Board will take the Premises into Consideration.

Upon further Application of the Mayor & Inhabitants of Philadelphia by Petition relating to the said Landing-Place & Harbour for Shipping &c. near where the Blue Anchor Stood. The Governour and Council taking the same into their serious consideration & having duly weighed the Powers granted by the King's Letters Patent to Governour Penn for erecting Keys, Harbours & Landing Places within this Province as also the Powers derived from the Governour by Law & Charter in that Behalf & Moreover that the said Landing-Place now in Question has been the Cartable Landing belonging to the South End of the Town since the first Situation of the same.

It is hereby declared & Ordered that there shall be Left a vacancy between the North side of John Austin's frame of a House upon the Bank & Society Hill extending about four hundred feet in breadth towards the Point of the said Hill for a Publick Landing Place & harbour for the safety of ships & other vessells & the same so to continue until the Proprietors pleasure be known to the Governour to the contrary notwithstanding any incroachments, Grants or Patents made of the said vacancy by the Commissioners of Property to any Person whatsoever.

And it is further ordered that Jeremiah Elfreth & all other Persons concerned pretending to have any Title or Right to the said Vacancy or Landing-Place shall desist & forbear building & incumbring the same & every or any part thereof. And that whatsoever the said Elfreth or others have really disburs'd towards Materials for building upon the premises shall be reimbursed & Satisfied by the said Petitioners and other Inhabitants of Philadelphia aforesaid.

Compared with the Copy delivd. with the Memorial to the Mayor & Comonalty Philada. the 16th day 2d mo. Feby. 1753.

ISR. PEMBERTON JUNR.
EDWARD WARNER

JOSEPH TROTTER
EVAN MORGAN

At a Meeting of the Commissioners the nineteenth of the Eleventh Month 1691-2

Present, Capt. William Markham, Robert Turner, and John Goodson.

This following publick Instrument of Protest was drawn up, Viz^t.

By the Proprietary Commissioners. Whereas Complaint was made to us by William Salloway, Griffith Jones, & Jeremiah Elfreth that Thomas Lloyd, Humphry Murrey & John Delavall and others, did last Summer several times come on their Bank Lotts & Interrupted their Workmen by Commanding them to desist, pretending they built in the Streets & thereby the said Jeremiah Elfreth was retarded in his Building the whole last Summer to his great Damage. As also that William Salloway obtained a Patent for a Bank Lot & having sold the same to him by deed yet when the said William Salloway came to Acknowledge the same in Court to Jeremiah Elfreth, David Lloyd, Clerk of the said Court, defaced the said Deed & Patent to us produced by Indorsing on the back of the deed these words Viz^t. "Caveated because the Lott within granted is supposed to be the cartable Landing Place of this Town & so hath been accordingly ordered by the Governor and Council; therefore this deed ought not to pass till further Inquiry be made herein." Which Enormities being taken into our Consideration & we finding them so much to infringe on the Rights of the Proprietor which obliges us to assert & maintain his Authority by this Publick Instrument and thereby maintain the Power he had granted to us by his Commission for disposing of all Lotts & Lands within this Province &c. without any other Controul but his own & therefore we do hereby in his Name assert the Patents granted by us to the above named persons to be good and Sufficient to them & do protest against the above named Persons for all Damages that has shall or may arise by their said Indorsement either to the Proprietor, Ourselves or those to whom we have granted any Patents by Virtue of the said Commission.

Dated at Philadelphia the day of January 1691-2

WM. MARKHAM ROBT. TURNER JOHN GOODSON

Compared with the Copy deliv'd with the Memorial to the Mayor & Comonalty the 16th day 2^d mo. Feby. 1753.

EDWARD WARNER
EVAN MORGAN

JOSEPH TROTTER
ISR. PEMBERTON JUNR.

On the 6th day of 2^d mo. (called February) 1753 The Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia were alarmed by an advertisement in the Pensilva. Gazette in the following Words—

‘The Mayor and Comonality of the City of Philadelphia hereby gives notice, that they propose to Lett a certain Lott of Ground opposite to Budd’s Buildings Containing in breadth about 100 feet and in length 250 feet from the East side of Front Street saving the 30 ft. Cartway leading thro’ it. Therefore such as are inclined to take the same or any Part thereof, either for a term of Years or on ground-rent for Ever are desired to make their Proposals in writing, and deliver them, seal’d up, on or before the 16th Instant, to the Mayor, Recorder or Clerk of the Common Council, expressing the Quantity desired, and the rent they are willing to pay: that such Proposals may be Considered at a Council to be holden the same day.’

This attempt of the Mayor & Commonalty to deprive the Citizens of that valuable Landing Place, by setting up a sepe-rate right & exposeing it to sale gave a general Dissatisfaction to the People, & occasioned the Assessors of said city and others to make diligent Search at the several Public Offices following viz^t: Surveyor General’s, Master of the Rolls, the Secretary’s and Receiver General’s, to discover on what foundation the said Corporation Claimed an Alienable right to that Lott of Ground, which had hitherto been deemed a free and Common Landing and as such Confirmed by our Present City Charter in which Search they happily found several Authentic Records relating thereto, After which the said Assessors apply’d to the Mayor & Recorder requesting a Meeting or to be Informed, under what right, or Pretence of right the Mayor and Commonalty had published their Advertisement for Sale of the said Publick Landing.

The said Magistrates agreed to meet the said Assessors on the 12th day of the aforesaid 2d Month with some other of the Freeholders of the said City.

2 mo. 12th 1753. At a Meeting of the Magistrates, Assessors and other Freeholders of the City of Philada.

Present, Benja. Shoemaker, *Mayor*; Tench Francis, *Recorder*; Isaac Norris, Charles Willing, Benja. Franklin, John Mifflin, Thos. Lawrence, *Aldermen*; Joseph Lownes, Jacob Lewis, Joseph Watkins, Jeremiah Warder, Antho. Morris, Jr., *Assessors*; Samuell Powell, Joseph Trotter, Thos. Leech, Edward Warner, Israel Pemberton, Jr., Saml. Rhoads, Evan Morgan, Joseph Fox, Joseph Stretch, *Freeholders*.

After some conversation on the Occasion of Our coming together, The Recorder laid before the Company a paper which he said was a Brief of the Corporation Title to the Aforesaid Lot of Ground commonle called the Blue Anchor Landing and is as follows—

Title of the Corporation to the Lott at the Blue Anchor.

19 June 1689. Warrant from William Markham to John Tyzack to survey a Lott opposite to one which had been granted to Thomas Budd & Tyzack had requested liberty to take up.

25 June 1689. Certificate of Survey Endorsed on Warrant.

9 Novem: 1699. Elizabeth Robinson obtained Judgmt. for 37£. 10s. 0d. against Tyzack on which Execution Issued.

15 Decemr. 1701. Venditioni Exponas Issued to Thomas Farmar, Sheriff of Philada. County to sell Lott.

2 March 1701. Thomas Farmar by Virtue of Writt sold to Edwd. Shippen. Recorded Lib. B. Vol. 2, Page 319.

14 Decemr. 1704. Edward Shippen to George Gray in Fee.

15 Decemr. 1704. George Gray to Griffith Jones, Mayor of City in Fee to hold to Mayor & Commonalty of City & Successors for Ever.

On Which (after some deliberation) the Magistrates were told that the Inhabitants have had the free uninterrupted Possession and use of the said Landing from the first Settle-

ment of this city, which could be proved by several of the early Settlers now living; and from other Circumstances & Evidences the Right of the Citizens therein made clear and Unquestionable. The Recorder having produced no other Title than that they had often heard of, which was without Foundation in Law or Equity. That by the Minutes of Council remaining in the Secretary's Office it appears that some Encroachments were very early made by Persons obtaining Grants from the Commissioners of Property for parts of the first intended Landing place so that the Lott now remaining is but an Inconsiderable Part of what our Worthy Proprietor intended in the Beginning.

Those Encroachments were warmly opposed by the Governor and City Magistrates of that time, who like true Guardians of the Peoples Rights and Liberties honestly Endeavoured to support the just right of the citizens; And Notwithstanding the Delegated Authority of the Proprietor then vested in Commissioners did in part defeat the good intentions of the Magistrates of that time by granting a considerable part of the first intended Landing Place yet all that remained unsold in the year 1701 when the Present City Charter was granted doth unquestionably belong to the City and according to the express words of the Charter to be left open and common for the Use and Service of the said city & all others.

Some of the defects in the Corporation Title were remarked and are as follows—

1st. The Commission empowering Markham and others was granted to William Markham, Secretary, Thomas Ellis and John Goodson or any two of them, the Secretary being One; so that at Least two are Necessary to convey any Land. Nevertheless the Warrant is signed by one only.

2d. No consideration appears to have been paid by the sd. John Tyzack or his Heirs to the Proprietaries for the said Lott.

3d. Nor did he agreeable to the Injunctions in the said Imperfect Warrant make any Improvements on the said Lott.

4thly. Supposing that the said John Tyzack had made the Improvements according to the terms of the said Imperfect Warrant and it was allowed to have the effect of a Patent yet from the Terms of it, only an Estate for Life is thereby granted.

5th. Some of the Antient Inhabitants assert that the execution Levy'd at the suit of the said Eliza. Robinson by Thomas Farmar, Sheriff—and the several Deeds from the sd. Sheriff to Edward Shippen, said Shippen to Geo. Gray & from G. Gray to the Mayor & Commonalty were only intended to take off that Imaginary right by which Tyzacks Heirs or Creditors might hereafter claim and that the right of the Citizens agreeable to Charter might appear clear in the Mayor & Commonalty who were then esteemed the proper Guardians to defend the said Publick Landing for the use of the Inhabitants against any encroachments whatever.

And this is more than probable by the Testimony of Samuel Powell who affirms that when the said Edward Shippen had purchased the said Lott as aforesd. he told this affirmant that it was purchased for the use of the citizens of Philada. to be a free and common Landing Place forever.

At a Meeting of the City Assessors and others of the Free-men of Philada. the 13th of 2d mo. (called February) 1753.

Joseph Trotter, Edward Warner, *Members of Assembly*; Evan Morgan, *Commissioner*; Philip Syng, *Warden*; Israel Pemberton, Joseph Lownes, Joseph Watkins, Jacob Lewis, Jeremiah Warder, Thomas Lightfoot, *City Assessors*.

The consideration of the right claimed by the Mayor & Commonalty to the Blue Anchor Landing being resumed and the Substance of the Conversation had yesterday with the Mayor and Aldermen being related the company unanimously agreed that a Memorial be presented to the Mayor & Commonalty at their next Meeting asserting the Right of the Inhabitants warranted by a constant possession since the first settlement of the city and confirmed by Charter granted by our Worthy first Proprietor expressing the general Dissatisfaction Occasioned by the Proposal of converting it to other uses than

those it originally designed for ; And the Loss and Damage the Inhabitants may sustain for want of the said Landing by the advanced Price of Wood and cartage from other more distant Places &c.

Evan Morgan, Phillip Syng, and Israel Pemberton were desired to draw a Memorial agreeable to the aforesaid Resolutions.

Agreed to meet again to Morrow evening at 6 o'Clock in the Court House and that the City Burgesses, Overseers of the Poor Assessors and Wardens be desired to Joyn herein.

At a meeting of the Burgesses, Wardens, Commissioners, Overseers of the Poor, Assessors and many other of the Freemen of the city of Philada. the 14th 2d mo. (called February) 1753.

Benja. Franklin, Hugh Roberts, *Burgesses* ; Jacob Duche, *Commissioner* ; Jacob Shoemaker, Abraham Mitchell, Thomas Clifford, Joseph Howell, *Overseers of the Poor* ; Edward Warner, Joseph Trotter, Evan Morgan, Joseph Fox, *Members of Assembly* ; Phillip Syng, Charles Jones, Joseph Stretch, Joseph Richardson, *Wardens* ; Joseph Lownes, Anthony Morris, Jr., Jacob Lewis, Joseph Watkins, Jeremiah Warder, Thomas Lightfoot, *Assessors* ; Daniel Williams, Joseph Wharton, Israel Pemberton, Jr., *Citizens*.

The draft of a Memorial being now prepared was read & after some amendments approv'd & Order'd to be engrossed & the Company now present agree to meet again at the Court House to Morrow evening to sign it.

On the 15th 2d mo. most of the Assessors & others above named with many of the antient Citizens & others mett & reconsidered the Draught of the Memorial.

2d mo. 16th 1753. This being the day appointed by the Mayor & Commonalty in the aforesaid advertisement to receive Proposals for Letting the Blue Anchor Landing opposite to Budds Buildings, the Common Council Mett, and the Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors, Overseers of the Poor, with some other Freemen of the City presented to the said Council some extracts from several Publick Records with the said Memorial, hereto annexed, and after having read

the same, the Memorialists told the Corporation that if they had any Doubt of the Authenticity of those extracts from the Publick Records the seals of the respective Offices from whence they were taken should be affixed and proper certificates from the said Offices endorsed on them and after desiring they would consider the memorial and favour us with their Resolutions thereon, withdrew.

The Council after some debate concerning the Premises appointed a Committee to search the aforesaid Records on their behalf to discover if anything was to be found in favour of their Title and make report thereof & then adjourned without any other Determination therein.

And we do not find that the Corporation proceeded any further in offering the said Landing for sale, being as we apprehend generally convinced of their mistake in attempting this Ineroachment, on the right of the People.

Nevertheless least time should erase these things out of the Memory of the Present Inhabitants, and our Successors not be enabled readily to make a defence against any such future Design; We the Assessors have thus far taken care to collect the Proceedings, in order that they may be entered on Record, and the said Blue Anchor Landing be preserved for the Publick Use to latest Posterity.

On the 17th of 2d mo. 1753 The Wardens, Commissioners, Assessors and Overseers of the Poor, mett with sundry Freemen of the City at the Court House and on consideration of the Premises agreed that a copy of the Memorial and of the Records therein referr'd to be delivered to the Printers (of the Pensilvania Gazette) to be published in the next Gazette and that a copy of the same be likewise entered in the Publick Records of the Province.

CITY OF PHILADA. ss.

On the third day of March in the year 1756 Joseph Lownes, Joseph Watkins, Jeremiah Warder and Jacob Lewis four of the Assessors Chosen by the Freemen of the said City on the second day of October 1753, appeared before me, Charles Brockden Esqr. Recorder of Deeds for the

City and County of Philadelphia, and one of the Justices of the Peace &c. And on their Solemn Affirmations severally and Respectively did declare and affirm That the foregoing Minutes written on one side of Eight half sheets of Paper contain true transcripts or copies of the minutes of the Transactions of the said Assessors at their several meetings from the sixth day of the Month called February to the Seventeenth of the same Month in the year 1753, And that the Memorial and other papers therein referred to are true copies of the Memorial & Papers delivered by the said Assessors to the Mayor & Commonalty of the said City on the 16th day of ye said Month of February in the said Year 1753 All of which together with the Declaration of Samuel Powell also hereunto annexed the said Assessors desire may be entered on Record to Preserve the same in Remembrance.

JOSEPH LOWNES JOSEPH WATKINS
JEREAH. WARDER JACOB LEWIS.

Affirmed Before Me ye day & year first abovesd.

C. BROCKDEN (Seal)

CITY OF PHILADA. ss.

The 20th day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and fifty six before me Robert Strettell Esqr. One of his Majesty's Justices &c. came Samuel Powell one of the People called Quakers and on his solemn Affirmation according to law did declare and say That in the year One thousand six hundred and eighty five He the said affirmant came into this city and hath resided here ever since, that from the time of his arrival the Landing place on the North side of the Dock, from Front street into the River Delaware and from the Dock a considerable Distance Northward was deemed a publick Landing Place for the Free and common use of the Inhabitants of Philadelphia and known by the name of the Blue Anchor Landing. That when Edward Shippen first Mayor under our present Charter purchased in the time of his Mayoralty the supposed right of one John Tyzack in the Premises (the

distinction of city Rights from Corporation Rights being then unknown or unheard of as he Believes) the aforesaid Edward Shippen with whom this affirmant was Intimately acquainted told him the said affirmant that the only design of purchasing the said Tyzacks Right was to secure it effectually for a free and common Landing Place for the use of the Inhabitants of this City according to Charter or to that effect, and that it hath accordingly been used as a common Landing Place ever since without any interruption or other claim 'till within these few years and further this Affirmant saith not.

SAML. POWELL.

Affirmed before me

ROBT. STRETTELL.

Recorded March 12th A.D. 1756.

(In Deed Book No. 7, p. 92.)

BI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO THE MIDDLE COLONIES.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1885, having decided to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into the Middle Colonies of North America, which would occur in the following December, a committee, composed of Brinton Coxe, Esq., President of the Society; Hon. James T. Mitchell and Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., of the Council; and Frederick D. Stone, Librarian, was appointed to make appropriate arrangements for the commemoration of so important an event.

In the selection of the date for the celebration, the committee was guided by the one (December 3) which is appended to the introductory notice of the printer, William Bradford, to the *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, an almanac for the year 1686, which is the first-known piece of printing executed in the Middle Colonies, and which had been printed towards the close of the preceding year. By the Gregorian, or new style of computing time, this date fell on December 13th, but that day being Sunday, it was decided that a commemorative address should be delivered before the members of the Society on the evening of December 11th, to be followed, on the evening of the 12th, by a banquet, to which the representatives of the printing interests of the country should be invited.

In November the following circular was issued, which was largely copied and favorably commented upon by the press of the country :

“During the month of December a celebration will be held under the auspices of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of

the introduction of the art of printing into the Middle Colonies of North America. On the evening of December 11th, the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., will deliver an address in the hall of the Historical Society, and the following evening a dinner will be given in the same place, to which will be invited from other cities representatives of all branches of the craft. The printers, publishers, type-founders, booksellers, and paper-makers of this city will be asked to take part in this celebration, and to assist in making it worthy, in every way, of the event to be commemorated. This event is one well deserving of special remembrance, for few of the useful arts present in the history of their development on this side of the Atlantic a more honorable record, advancing, as it has done, the industrial, political, and educational interests of the country. Those connected with it, and those enjoying the benefits it has created, may well join with the Historical Society in celebrating with appropriate ceremonies in Philadelphia the beginnings of a calling so worthy. In this city much that relates to the advancement of the 'Art preservative of all arts' has had its origin. It was here that, in 1685, William Bradford set up his press, the first in the Middle Colonies of North America. In December of that year, or in the month following, he gave to the public his first venture, an almanac for the year 1686, entitled *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense*. He followed his trade in Philadelphia until 1693, when, upon invitation of Governor Fletcher, he carried his press to New York. Before going there, however, he, with William Rittenhouse and others, built near the Schuylkill the first paper-mill in America. In Philadelphia his son, Andrew Bradford, subsequently established the first newspaper in the Middle Colonies. Here the first magazines in America were printed by Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin, in 1741. Here, in 1743, the first Bible issued in any European language on the continent was printed by Christopher Sower, who, it has been claimed, was the first type-founder in America. The first American edition of the Bible in English was printed in this city by Robert Aitken in 1782, and in 1784 the first daily newspaper in the United States was issued by John Dunlap, *The Pennsylvania Packet*, still continued in the *North American*. The very principles on which the liberties of the press now rest were laid down by Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia lawyer, in 1735, in defending John Peter Zenger, of New York, for libel."

On Friday evening, December 11th, a large audience assembled in the hall of the Society, when, after some remarks pertinent to the occasion, President Coxe introduced the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., who delivered the commemorative address, which our readers will find printed in the present number of the Magazine. The banquet was served on Saturday evening, December 12th, in the same place. Covers were laid for over two hundred guests, not only distinguished among our own citizens, but writers, orators, statesmen, and men of letters from different cities of the Union.

The Committee of Arrangements had called to its aid the following gentlemen representing the printing and publishing interests of Philadelphia: Thomas Mackellar, J. B. Lippincott, William M. Singerly, Francis W. McDowell, Roger Sherman, Henry T. Coates, William C. Hamilton, Charles G. Sower, Alexander K. McClure, Charles Emory Smith, and J. L. Shoemaker, and in their names invitations were extended to representatives of the art of printing in its various branches in other cities. The Committee were also indebted to Mr. George W. Childs and Mr. A. G. Elliot for assisting in entertaining such guests. Acceptances were received from H. O. Houghton, of the Riverside Press, Boston; Roswell Smith and William Lewis Fraser, of the Century Company, New York; Allen Thorndyke Rice, of the *North American Review*; Horace White, of the *Evening Post*; and J. M. Bundy, of the *Mail and Express*, New York; Felix Agnes, of the *Baltimore American*; Melville E. Stone, of the *Chicago Daily News*; and Henry Watterson; also from General Winfield Scott Hancock, A. C. McClurg, of Chicago, and J. Meredith Read, of New York; Hon. Jonathan Chace, of Rhode Island; Hon. Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota; Dr. Francis Wharton, of the State Department, Washington, D. C.; Lewis H. Steiner, of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore; E. L. Godkin, Theodore L. De Vinne, of New York; General William S. Stryker, Trenton, N. J.; Hon. John P. Wickersham, Colonel Frank M. Etting, and others.

Letters of regret were also received from the President, Governor Robert E. Pattison, Lieut.-Governor Chauncey F. Black, Hon. T. F. Bayard, Hon. James G. Blaine, Hon. James Russell Lowell, Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, Hon. Carl Schurz, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes, George William Curtis, Samuel M. Clemens, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Whitelaw Reid, of the *Tribune*; Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*; George Jones, of the *Times*; Oswald Ottendorfer, of the *Staats Zeitung*; Bryant Godwin, of the *Commercial Advertiser*; David M. Stone, of the *Journal of Commerce*, New York; A. S. Abell, of the *Sun*, Baltimore; Murat Halsted, of the *Commercial Gazette*; the *Commercial Gazette*, Pittsburgh, Pa.; President Eliot, of Harvard University; Theodore F. Dwight, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Noah Davis, New York; W. F. Poole, Public Library, Chicago; A. R. Spofford, Library of Congress; Justin Winsor, Cambridge; S. Austin Allibone and George H. Moore, Lenox Library; D. C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins; R. Hoe & Co., G. P. Putnam's Sons, W. W. Appleton, New York.

On the covers of the menu were printed the first pages of the *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, which are reproduced for the benefit of our readers on pages 83-85.

Colonel Clayton McMichael, of the *North American*, presided, and before announcing the toasts called upon Mr. Francis H. Williams, who, in the name of Dr. Daniel Neall, presented to the Society a gold medal which had been awarded to his father, Daniel Neall, in 1823, by the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, for the invention of a vertical printing-press.

Colonel McMichael then proposed the health of General Winfield Scott Hancock, a guest of the evening, who was seated at his right. As the general arose, he was greeted with prolonged cheers. He said: "I must caution you against listening to the plaudits of your Chairman. He was a staff-officer, and was accustomed to speak as he was spoken to. He told me, when I said I would come here, that there

would be no speaking. I wish to meet you all again, if not on a more favorable occasion, at least when you are as happy as you are now."

The toasts of the evening were then given and responded to in the following order :

THE MEMORY OF WILLIAM BRADFORD :

Hon. M. Russell Thayer.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS :

Franklin B. Gowen, Esq.

THE MEMORY OF FRANKLIN :

Gen. John Meredith Read.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW :

Mr. Allen Thorndyke Rice.

PRINTERS IN POLITICS :

Col. Alex. K. McClure.

NEW ENGLAND JOURNALISM :

Mr. Roswell Smith.

THE JOURNALISM OF THE SOUTHWEST :

Hon. Henry Watterson.

(Responded to in his absence by Hon. Wayne McVeagh.)

THE PRESS OF THE PRESENT TIME :

Mr. Charles Emory Smith.

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCHMAN :

Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq.

Remarks were also made by H. O. Houghton, of Boston, and General A. C. McClurg, of Chicago.

Could the Bradfords, father and son, have looked down upon the company assembled in the spacious library of the Historical Society, representing every learned profession and every important department of civil life, and inspired with the common purpose to do honor to the men who were the pioneers of American literature and journalism in the Middle Colonies, they must have been satisfied with the greatness of the results of those influences which they set in motion two centuries ago.

Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense.
OR,
America's Messinger.
BEING AN
ALMANACK
For the Year of Grace, 1686.

Wherein is contained both the English & Forreign Account. the Motions of the Planets through the Signs, with the Luminaries, Conjunctions, Aspects, Eclipses; the rising, setting, and sitting of the Moon; with the time when she passeth by, or is with the most eminent fixed Stars: Sun rising and setting, and the time of High-Water at the City of Philadelphia, &c.

With Chronologies, and many other Notes, Rules, and Tables, very fitting for every man to know & have: all which is accommodated to the Longitude of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Latitude of 40 Degr. north, with a Table of Houses for the same, which may indifferently serve New England, New York, East & West Jersey, Maryland, and most parts of Virginia.

By *SAMUEL ATKINS.*
Student in the Mathematicks and Astrology.

And the Stars in their Courses fought against Sefera, Indg. 5. 39.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, sold also by the Author and *H. Murrey* in Philadelphia, and *Philip Richards* in New-York, 1685.

To the Reader.

I Thought good to insert this short Epistle, that you might understand the cause why I thus ventured to publish this Ephemeris or Almanack: which is truly this; I having journeyed in and through several places, not only in this Province, but likewise in Maryland, and else where. And that people generally complaining, that they scarcely knew how the Time passed. nor that they hardly knew the day of Rest, or Lords Day, when it was. for want of a Diary, or Day-Book, which we call an Almanack. And on the other side, having in my Travels met with Ingenious Persons, that have been Lovers of the Mathematical Arts, some of which have wanted an Ephemeris to make some Practice thereon: I say, hearing this general Complaint from such abundance of Inhabitants, which are here, I was really troubled, and did desire, according to that small Knowledge that I had, to please these my Country men with that which they wanted, although it be not completed in that Method, which I did intend it should be. Nevertheless I have reduced the Sun, and Moons places, according to their mean Motions, to this Meridian, which is five hours West from the City of London: For the other Planets, I have taken them by whole Degrees, from the Ephemerides, of that Ingenious and Solid Artist, Mr. John Gadbury, from whence the Fundamental is derived: The Lunar Aspects I have reduced, to the hour that they happen here as before. As to the Moons rising and setting, I have used the Method of Mr. Vincent Wing formerly in his Almanack, that is, the Moons rising from Full to New, and her setting from New to Full, according to her true place in the Ecliptick; for what signifies it to shew you the time of her rising and setting in the day time when you cannot see it. In her Southing, I have sometimes respected her Latitude and accordingly I have framed a Tide-Table to that Experience that I have made of it here. As to the Moons passing by the fixed Stars, &c. I have generally shewn it at that time when they may be best.

discerned. Besides the Table of Houses, Table of Kings, &c. I had thought to have inserted a Figure of the Moons Eclipse, a small Draught of the form of this City, and a Table to find the hour of the day by the Shadow of a Staff; but we having not Tools to carve them in that form that I would have them, nor time to calculate the orbit, I pass for this year, and not only promise it in the next but likewise several other more particular Notes and Observations, which shall not only be useful to this Province, but likewise to the neighbouring Provinces on both sides. In the mean time, except this my Mite, bring my first Priors, and you will encourage me, according to my Ability, to serve you in what I may, or can, whilst I am
 Philadelphia, the 3d of the
 10th Month (December) }
 Anno 1685. Samuel Atkins.

The Printer to the Readers.

Hereby understand that after great Charge and Trouble, I have brought that great Art and Mystery of Printing into this part of America believing it may be of great service to you in several respects, hoping to find Encouragement, not only in this Almanack, but what else I shall enter upon for the use and service of the Inhabitants of these Parts. Some Irregularities, there be in this Dittie, which I desire you to pass by this year; for being lately come hither, my Materials were ~~not~~ placed, and out of order, whereupon I was forced to use Figures & Letters of various sizes, but understanding the want of something of this nature, and being improved thereon. I ventured to make publick this, desiring you to accept thereof, and by the next. (as I find encouragement) shall endeavour to have things compleat. And for the ease of Clerks, Secretaries, &c. I propose to print blank Bills, Bonds, Papers of Acquittance, Inveigiles, Warrants, &c. and what else presents itself, where in I shall be ready to serve you, and remain your Friend.

Philadelphia, the 25th
 10th Month, 1685.

W. Bradford.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763-1777.

FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[The following letters from William Strahan, the printer, to David Hall, the partner of Franklin, and with him publisher of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, throw light on the political and business relations existing between England and America at a very important period of the history of our country. While Strahan appears to have furnished Hall with information for his paper, it is evident he wrote with perfect freedom, feeling confident that Hall would only make public such portion of his letters as it would be proper to print.

Strahan was a native of Scotland, born at Edinburgh, April, 1715. Having acquired a knowledge of his profession, he removed to London, where he successfully followed it. He was the friend and banker of Johnson, who was evidently much attached to him. In 1770 he purchased a share of the patent office of the King's printer, and in 1775 entered Parliament as a member for the borough of Malmesbury, having for his colleague the celebrated Charles James Fox. In the next House he had a seat for Wotton Bassett. He was for years the correspondent of Franklin. It was to him that Franklin wrote in 1775:

"You are a member of Parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction. You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. Look upon your Hands! They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! You and I were long Friends. You are now my enemy—and I am

"Yours,
"B. FRANKLIN."

It has been supposed that this letter was intended to end the long friendship of which it speaks, and it has been quoted as a specimen of Franklin's causticity. But, serious as the subject proved to be, it is evident such was not the object of Franklin. His relations with Strahan remained unimpaired, and it is clear that the closing words, "I am Yours," were intended to disarm the letter of any sting it might awaken.

"Mr. Strahan died July 9, 1785, in his seventy-first year. In 1774 he had been master of the Stationers' Company, and by his will he bequeathed to it £1000, the interest to be divided in annuities among infirm old printers. His wife, who was a daughter of the Rev. William Elphinston, of Edinburgh, and sister of the James Elphinston who for many years

was head of a celebrated school at Kensington, near London, survived her husband not quite a month. She died August 7, 1785. They had five children,—two daughters, the wives of Mr. John Spottswode and Mr. Andrew Johnston, and three sons,—William Strahan, Jr., the suitor for Miss Franklin, who died April, 1781, in his father's lifetime; Rev. Dr. George Strahan, of University College, Oxford, Prebendary of Rochester, etc.; and Andrew Strahan, M. P. for Newport, Isle of Wight, who succeeded his father as one of the joint patentees as printer to his Majesty. David Hall was a fellow-journeyman of Mr. Strahan. He came to America in the ship 'Mercury,' Captain Hargrave, in the spring of 1744. In the fall of 1748, Franklin being desirous of devoting more of his time to scientific pursuits, and less to the printing-office, entered into a partnership with Hall, to continue eighteen years, during which time Hall had entire charge of the business, paying Franklin £1000 a year for the eighteen years, at the expiration of which period he was to become sole owner. Hall conducted the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which had been virtually started by Franklin, with prudence and ability, and in 1766, when his connection with Franklin was dissolved, entered into partnership with William Sellers, a young bookseller from London, and the firm continued Hall & Sellers until the death of the senior partner, December 17, 1772, aged fifty-eight. Mr. Hall was a native of Edinburgh, and was married after coming to this country, at Christ Church, January 7, 1748, to Mary Lacock. She died June 7, 1781, in her sixty-first year. Mr. Hall was succeeded in his business by his sons William (b. January 20, 1752; d. December 10, 1834) and David (b. November 4, 1755; d. May 27, 1821). David Hall was a member of the American Philosophical Society by election, March 8, 1768."

Nearly all of the letters in the series were presented to the Historical Society by Dr. John J. Sinnickson, and are in its possession. One is from the collection of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, and has been printed in Boogher's *Repository*, April, 1883. From an introductory note to it by Charles Henry Hart, Esq., we have transferred some of the information given regarding the writer of the letter and its recipient.—ED.]

LONDON, Feb'y 21, 1763.

DEAR DAVIE

I have, since my last, received yours of Sept^r 21 by the Happy Return, Johnson [master], inclosing the third Copy of a Bill for £300 on M^r Tomlinson, &c, which is now paid. I was pleased to hear your wife was returned a good deal recovered, and hope her health is now confirmed. The Coffee-pot, Tea Pot and Server, I have sent by John Moncrief in the James and Mary, Sparks [master], who went in such a Hurry, I had no time to write by him, but I hope

they will come safe to you, and prove to your liking. They come to £31 : 3 : 0 as by the Account inclosed.

I next had yours of Sept^r 28 by the Hawke, Morton [master], and the Myrtilla, Balitke [master], inclosing a Bill for £100 on Mess^{rs} Hope and Co. which is paid and placed to your Credit.—I have also yours of Oct^r 12, viâ Bristol, by the Ann, Fortin [master]. I am sorry M^r Miller was connected with R. for I am sure it can never answer any good Purpose. R. has remitted nothing here (at least to Booksellers) these fifteen Months, but a Remittance of £4000 has been long said to be on the way hither, which is eagerly expected by his Correspondents who begin to lose all Patience. We are told here, that he deals in many other Articles besides Books, and that he is doing, or may do very well; but this you must know better than we.—M^r Menzies, by the Death of his Brother, is now next Heir to an Estate and a Baronetage, so that I suppose he will soon come home.—Lastly, I have yours of Nov^r 1 and 2, by the Mary and Elizabeth, Hardie [master], inclosing a Bill for £100 on Sir James Colbrooke and Co. which is accepted and placed to your Credit. This makes, in all, as you say, £1000 within these four Months, which came very seasonably, for I never knew money so very scarce. But I hope, now Peace is established, things will come round again. By M^r Moncrief I have also sent a Parcel of Magazines, Plays, and Pamphlets, amounting to about £10, the Particulars of which I will include in my next Invoice.

When I had written thus far, I received yours of Nov^r 29, viâ Liverpool, by the Albemarle, Matthews [master], inclosing a Bill on John Sargent, &c for £150, which I dare say will be duly honoured. I received a Letter at the same time from Willie Miller, informing me of his Intention of setting up for himself at Boston in the Bookselling Way, and desiring to know if I will be his Correspondent here, which I shall certainly decline; for it will not answer to sell Books at the small Profit we now do, to People at so great a Distance, except to one like yourself, on whose Ability, Hónesty, and Punctuality I can absolutely depend.

As to Politicks. Since my last, you know, the Parliament met, at which time the Clamor against Lord Bute run so high that his Lordship found it absolutely necessary to call in M^r Fox to the Ministry, who knowing well how to speak *properly* to the Members, soon procured a great Majority in favour of the Court. This Step, however, has necessarily thrown much Power into M^r Fox's Hands, who claims the Disposal of almost every thing in order to fulfill the *Promises* he has been obliged to make ; which of course brings Matters pretty much into the old Channel of Corruption, and will probably prevent Lord Bute from doing half the Good he once intended.—Perhaps we have not Virtue enough to be saved from that Deluge of Corruption with which we have been so long overwhelmed—In consequence of this Plan, a great many Removals have been made in most of the Public Offices, where almost all the Duke of Newcastle's Friends have been expelled, which has given a general Alarm. Some are inclined to think that many who are displaced are unkindly and even unjustly hated, and this way of proceeding is setting a bad Example to future Administrations, and is carrying things with a very high Hand—While others applaud the Spirit of the Ministry and the Steadiness of the King, insisting that those who endeavoured, on his Accession, to deprive him at once of his personal Independency, and the Exercise of his undoubted and acknowledged Prerogative, richly deserve to feel the Weight of his Resentment, and to be discharged from his Service ; and that whatever Clamor such a Conduct may at first raise among a few Interested Individuals, the Bulk of the People must applaud it in the highest Degree, as it tended, among other good Purposes, to ensure the future domestic Tranquillity of his Reign.—However that be, as this coalition between M^r Fox and Lord Bute proceeds more from Motives of Convenience than Affection, it is not likely to be very lasting ; but as M^r Fox is advanced in Years, and in no good State of Health, 'tis highly probable Lord Bute's Weight, with the King's Favour, will at length preponderate.—Meanwhile the *Definitive Treaty* is now signed,

and tho' it is not yet made public, I can assure you (for I have read it) it is better in many Particulars than the *Preliminary Articles*. The East India Company's affairs are settled on their own Plan, and Dunkirk is to be demolished *to the Satisfaction of his Britannic Majesty*.—They say, the Duke of Bedford behaved with great Firmness at Paris; others, that the French with great Facility, yielded to every thing we insisted on. Be that as it will, we have, beyond all Doubt, obtained a very glorious Peace, which, if we have Sagacity enough to improve, must render us a very flourishing and happy People.—At present all is quiet at home; the Opposition to the Peace, which, in truth, was only an Opposition to *Men*, not to *Measures*, being now entirely dropt. How long this calm will last, I cannot pretend to say; as it is not quite clear to me, that things are yet thoroughly settled, tho' I think they are nearly so.

This is all that occurs to me just now in the Political Way. When any thing new appears, you shall be sure to hear from me again; but I find it extremely difficult to be a regular Correspondent. My Time is so much ingrossed with one thing or another, often by other People's Business, that you can't conceive how very little leisure I have to sit down to write. You shall hear from me, however, as often as I can; for I am

Dear Davie

Most sincerely Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

Pray remember us most kindly to M^r Hall and your Fireside, and to D^r Franklin, to whom I have written twice since he left England. My Wife has almost got quite well; all the rest of my Family are entirely so. I hope the Governor is safe arrived, as I rejoice to hear his Father is.

To MR. DAVID HALL,

Merchant in Philadelphia.

LONDON Jan^r 11, 1766

DEAR DAVIE

My last to you was dated Dec^r 14 by Egdon, a Copy of which I sent also by the Packet. I have since had yours of Nov^r 9, viâ Dublin, by Capt. Bryson, and delivered the enclosed letters, as you desired with my own Hand to Mess^{rs} Whitefield and Romaine. I have yet received no answer from either of them, but when I do, I will certainly transmit them to you by the first opportunity. Since I wrote last, the Parliament has met, but as they sat but a few Days, and did not enter upon Business, I have little News to write to you.—You see the King's Speech is very short. I was in the House of Commons when it was read there, and heard with much Indignation, George Grenville make a long, confused, violent, inflammatory Speech, highly censuring the Behaviour of the Colonies in regard to the Stamp Act, calling it downright Rebellion, and proposing to make use of very harsh Expressions towards them in their Answer to the Speech; but this was over-ruled, as it would appear to be condemning them unheard. Above twenty Members spoke, and almost all of them seemed to be for supporting and adhering to their Legislative Authority over the Colonies, and their undoubted Right to impose taxes upon them. But how they will act, when the whole affair with all the Circumstances attending it, is laid before them, I cannot pretend to say. I hope they will consider it coolly, and with the utmost Impartiality, for nobody can at present foresee all the Consequences that may attend their final Determination in this truly important Matter. Various Schemes are said to have been laid before the Ministry to compose this Difference; but I have not been able to learn any of them that seemed to deserve the least credit, and therefore I will not repeat them. This only I will say, that the present Ministry wish to do you all possible Kindness, most of them having been strongly against the Act whilst it was under Deliberation last Year. I only wish that they may do what they do frankly, cordially, and heartily, and that before they separate, not only this, but every possible Difference which

hereafter, as things are now circumstanced, might happen, will be removed, or prevented, and such a Plan for an indissoluble Union laid, as must give Pleasure to every Lover of his Country, and which indeed appears every Day, more & more, to be absolutely necessary in order to prevent the actual Separation of the various Branches of this most extensive Empire.

It hath not fallen in my way to be acquainted with the Agents for the other Colonies, and therefore I cannot pretend to say what part they act on this occasion, or how industrious they are in the Service of their several Constituents. But the assiduity of our friend Dr Franklin is really astonishing. He is forever with one Member of Parliament or other (most of whom by the bye seem to have been deplorably ignorant with regard to the Nature & Consequence of the Colonies) endeavouring to impress them first with the Importance of the present Dispute; then to state the Case clearly, and fully stripping it of every thing foreign to the main Point; and lastly, to answer Objections arising from either a total Ignorance, a partial Knowledge, or a wrong Conception of the Matter. To inforce this repeatedly, and with propriety, in the Manner he has done for these two Months, I assure you is no easy Task. By this means, however, when the Parliament reassembles, many Members will go into the House properly instructed, and be able to speak in the Debates with Precision, and Propriety, which the Well-wishers of the Colonies have hitherto been unable to do—This is the most necessary and essential Service he could possibly perform on this Occasion; and so effectually hath he done this, and I will venture to say, he hath thrown so much true Light upon the Subject, that if the Legislature doth not now give you ample redress, it is not for want of the fullest and most distinct Information in respect to the real Merits of the Case.—All this while too, he hath been throwing out Hints in the Public Papers, and giving Answers to such letters as have appeared in them, that required or deserved an Answer.—In this Manner is he now employed, with very little Interruption, Night & Day.

We now, with Impatience, wait the Issue. How it will be taken up or in what manner finally settled, cannot be yet so much as guessed at. By much the most satisfactory and most honourable for both sides, as well as the most salutary, safe, & beneficial for the whole British Dominion, would be to unite us together by an incorporating Union, in the same manner as Scotland was in 1707, and allow the Colonies to send Representatives to our Parliament. This would completely answer every good purpose to both Sides, and cement us, by insensible Degrees, in so complete a manner, as would forever put it out of the power of any foreign Potentate or internal Cabal, to separate us. By this very Means was Wales long ago, and Scotland more lately, so firmly united to the English Crown, to the amazing Aggrandizement of this Island, which but for this had long ago become a Province to France, or some other Continental Power.

Remember us all to your Fire-Side, with the best wishes of the present Season. My Wife is better than could reasonably be expected, considering her infirm state of Health at best, after so severe a Loss. All the rest of us are well. I hope I shall have good News to write you in my next, at least that Things are in a good Train. Mean time, I am, with unalterable Esteem and Affection

Dear Davie

Most sincerely Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

TO MR. DAVID HALL,
Merchant in Philadelphia.

LONDON April 7, 1766.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last I have received yours of Nov. 5: Via Liverpool, by Cap^t Smith—I find Strange's Reports were omitted, and shall be allowed for.—Pere Williams, and Coke on Littleton, are indeed extremely dear; the first being all in Osborne's Hands, and the last being so very scarce, that in a very little while, it will not be possible to procure one at any Price.

I have also received yours of Dec^r 17, inclosing more Letters to Mess^{rs} Romaine and Whitefield, which, as likewise those I received before, I delivered with my own Hand, and told them I would carefully transmit any Answer they should please to send to them.—But hitherto I have received none from either of them. The Postage of all the Pacquets came only to 10s. 9d.

I have likewise yours of Dec^r 16, Via Belfast, by the Rainbow, Taylor [master], inclosing three Bills; one on Hernes, Cockraine and C^o for £200, another on Townson and C^o for £150, and the third on Tho^s Hagg, in Appledore, Devon [master], for £50; all which are paid and placed to your Credit.—I have also received the Magazines and Books, returned, with a state of our Account, as it stands in your Book, which, as far as I can see, is entirely right, and I shall alter mine accordingly, and by next opportunity shall transmit you a Copy of it, to prevent Mistakes.—The long Order set in this Letter, it was altogether impossible to complete by this Ship, the Articles are so various, and some of them so difficult to be got; but I have sent you great part of it, as by the inclosed Invoice. I have sent none of the Library Orders, or those for private Gentlemen; but the whole of them, as well as the remaining Articles of your own Order, shall come by the very next Ship that sails, which will be in less than a Month hence.—What I have sent you now will, I imagine, be acceptable, as many of the Articles you will probably in want of before they can reach you.

The Trunk of Books and Magazines you mention to have sent by Cap^t Stirling, I never received. I hope it was of small Value, as you forgot to mention it for so many Years. The Mistakes of the Binders are really provoking, but there is no guarding against them always. They are often prodigiously hurried, and Blunders will then be often made. All that can be done is to charge such Books when they escape Notice here, which I shall always chearfully do.

I have written to the Printers of the Bristol and Liverpool Papers, to send you their latest Papers by every Vessel that

sails for Philadelphia. I hope they will be punctual, as it is of so much Consequence to you to be regularly served with them. I have attempted this before, but I never could get them to attend to it, they are such careless Fellows, though I offered to give them what Price they pleased for their Trouble. But now I think I have secured that Point.—I hope I shall never give you any real Cause to doubt my Friendship for you, or my Attention to your Interest upon all occasions.—This brings me to yours of Jan^r 13, in which you complain, with some Justice I own, of my writing so seldom. This I own is very true; but you have no kind of Idea how constant a Hurry I am kept in by one thing or another, and how difficult it is to send you any Intelligence worth reading which the Public Papers will not acquaint you with.—This Winter especially, when the Stamp Act was canvassing in both Houses, none but Members were admitted, and any Account of the Debates which could be procured from those who heard them, was so very lame and imperfect, it was really good for nothing.—But that grand Affair is now over, and their Doors are not so strictly guarded. And here let me wish you Joy of the Repeal of this same Stamp Bill, which has raised the Indignation of the whole Continent of America to so prodigious and unprecedented a Height. I hope it will give general satisfaction, and allay that Spirit of Discontent with which the Colonies seem to have been wholly engrossed for some time past. You must know I am one of those who have from the Beginning looked upon this Affair as of the most serious Nature. I am truly sorry that such a Law was ever thought of, because it has given Birth to much Dissention between the Colonists and the Mother Country, and hath raised a Ferment which I am afraid will never be entirely laid. I consider British Subjects in America as only living in a different County, having the self-same Interests, and entituled to the self-same Liberties of every kind.—Our Interests are, and ought to be, mutual and inseparable. The Strength, Opulence, and Security of us all depend upon our strict and intimate Union. When that is dissolved, we shall

fall an easy Prey to the first Invader. For Example, withdraw the Protection the British Naval Force affords the Colonies, and how easy would it be for either the French, Spaniards, or Dutch to make themselves Masters of them all. This once accomplished, and Britain deprived of the profitable Trade carried on with them, where is there another such Market for her Commodities, and how is she to employ the many thousands of laborious Hands with which her Manufacturing Towns are now crowded?—With Loss of Trade, our public Credit must keep pace, and whenever we thereby become unable to pay the Interest of our enormous Debt, universal Destruction and Desolation must ensue. I am not naturally apt to be low-spirited or desponding, but truly it is, I think, impossible to *know* the real state of this Country, and not to be impress'd with very serious Reflexions upon the Consequences that seem to be at no very great Distance. Our Enemies, I doubt not, contemplate these things with Pleasure, and will not fail to avail themselves of our Divisions, unless some unforeseen, and at present unlooked-for Event should happily interpose, and bring the People on both sides the Atlantic to the Knowledge of their mutual and inseparable Interests.

You will expect from me, no doubt, a particular Detail of the Steps that were taken in the Repeal of this odious Law. Indeed I cannot give you much Satisfaction in this Matter, farther than to assure you, that it had a very easy passage through both Houses, and had the hearty Concurrence of the King and his present Ministry, who wanted to get rid of so unpopular a Law by all Means possible. The House of Commons examined several Merchants and others, to procure what Light they could into the Nature of the Objections which were made to it with you; among whom was D^r Franklin. His Examination lasted three Hours; and, I find, from all Hands, that the Answers he gave to the many Questions asked him, threw more Light upon the Subject than all the other Informations they had put together. They were indeed manly, distinct, clear, and satisfactory. I am promised a Copy of the Whole Examination of him as taken

by the Clerk of the House, which when I receive I will transmit to you as the most acceptable and valuable Piece of Information I can send you. I hope to get it to send you by next *Pacquet*, which sails in a week. You cannot conceive what Impression his Replies made on the House and with what strength of Argument he display'd the Justice and Necessity of an immediate and total Repeal, as well as the Folly and Inexpediency of ever making such a Law, while the American Assemblies were always ready, whenever called upon, to contribute to the Support of the British Government, to the utmost of their Power, and even beyond their Ability; as so recently appeared to the Legislature itself which had voted them a Compensation for their extraordinary Assistance during the late War.

You blame me, my dear Friend, for not writing more fully. Upon my word, People upon the Spot are often as much at a Loss as those at a Distance how to describe the Situation of Affairs.—You doubtless expect me to tell you with some Precision how Matters stand at *present*. I will endeavour to give you all the Satisfaction I am able; and shall write you my Thoughts with the utmost Freedom and Impartiality.—The Business of the Session being now nearly finished, or rather *slum'd over*, I think it is very probable the present Set of Ministers may stand their Ground till next Winter. Mr Pitt still declines coming among them, tho' he has not of late given them any Trouble. But to say the best of them, they are weak, timid, and unequal to their important Station.—In truth, there does not appear among the whole of the *Inns* and the *Outs*, *Talents* enough to compose a tolerable Ministry.—I will put *Integrity* quite out of the Question. How singularly unhappy then is our present Situation, which calls for the Exertion of the most consummate Abilities.—To add to our Misfortune too, the *K*— tho' one of the best Men breathing, is not blessed with that share of Fortitude, Courage and Steadiness, so necessary to the Maintenance of his Personal Authority, and to the due Management of his Servants. The Crown, even upon the ablest Head, is now hardly able to retain its just and proper Weight in

the Legislature; nor is it possible, we all know, to keep Servants properly to their Duty, unless the Master supports his own Authority with proper Dignity.—In short, my good Friend, while the British Empire is extending, the Administration of Government is growing daily weaker and weaker, which in the End must lead to Anarchy and Confusion; a State which we seem, in all likelihood, to be driving to by very large Strides.—Mr Pitt, it is agreed on all sides, is the only Man, that can at present extricate us from our present and more immediate Difficulties; but, as I observed before, he declines coming into the Ministry, chiefly, I believe, because he does not care to act with the Duke of Newcastle, who, tho' not unwilling to resign himself, is overpersuaded by his Friends to keep his Place. This they advise for their own Sakes, as with their Patron they would lose all their Interest at Court.—In short, Self-Interest governs all with them, and there is very little Difference to the Publick which Set of them is uppermost.—'Tis no pleasing Reflexion, but did you know the Persons, Characters and Views of the Members of the House of C. as well as I now do, you would be truly astonished they did no more Mischief. And all Power whatsoever centers with them; and this being the Case, enormous Sums are spent to get a Seat among them, which is deemed the surest and readiest, indeed the only Road to Preferment.—At present the Administration are so unstable (hardly one of them expecting to keep their Station a Month) and of course so inefficient and feeble, that it has a great Influence upon all Orders of Men in making them disregard and despise Government altogether. Even a poor, despicable, unarmed Mob of Weavers frightened them last Year, and had the Stamp Act remained unrepealed much longer, we should doubtless have had very great Risings in most of the manufacturing Towns. How it comes to pass I know not, but all Sorts of Provisions are at least one-Third dearer here than they used to be, which bears very hard upon the Poor, and middling Families, and People who live entirely by their Labour must be employed, or starve, and become desperate.

I have now given you as full and exact an Account of the Situation of Affairs here as I am able, which I shall continue to do from time to time whenever I can write you any thing worth your reading; but I am afraid I shall never find Matter to write every Pacquet, tho' none shall escape me when I have any thing to communicate.—D^r Franklin, I suppose, writes you by this Opportunity. He talks now of coming over to you again this Summer, I am very sorry you seem to give me so little Hopes of seeing you in England once more; but I do not wonder at your Attachment to a Country where you have now past so great a Part of your Life. Your Fortune must, by the Nature of your Business, be scattered among the People with you; but I dare say what part of it is so scattered will be found pretty safe, for your Province in general must thrive prodigiously after the Disturbances are composed, and you will soon, now your Partnership is at an End, make such Advances as will completely answer all your Wishes.

My Family are all in their ordinary, only my poor Wife is still far from well, tho' at present tolerably.—I hope all yours are as well as we wish them. Pray forgive all former Trespasses in regard to want of Punctuality in writing, and believe me

Dear Davie

Ever most faithfully Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

My best Compliments to your honest Wife; and to M^r N. Evans, when you see him. Tell him I received his Letter from D^r F. for which I thank him, and shall take his Advice.

(To be continued.)

GENEALOGICAL SKETCH OF GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Winfield Scott Hancock, senior major-general in the army of the United States, and who, in 1880, received one hundred and fifty-five electoral votes for President of the United States, died at Governor's Island, New York, on the 9th of February, 1886.

General Hancock was entirely of Pennsylvania blood. He was born near Montgomery Square, in Montgomery County, and both his parents were natives of this State. Upon his mother's side his progenitors were Pennsylvanians back to their immigrant ancestors. Upon the paternal side his line is apparently not traceable beyond his grandfather, Richard Hancock, a seaman, who made his home in Philadelphia in the close of the last and beginning of the present century.

The mother of General Hancock was Elizabeth Hawksworth. About 1730, Peter Hawksworth and his wife, Mary, came from England to Pennsylvania, and settled in what is now the township of Hatfield, in Montgomery County. (Hatfield had not then been created a separate township, nor had Montgomery County been set off from Philadelphia.) The tradition is that they came from Birmingham. Peter purchased a tract of land, and in his will, made February 26, 1767, he left to his "dearly beloved wife, Mary," the plantation he then lived on, including fifty-three acres. He mentions in the will his "three sons, by name Edward, John, and Peter," and his "three daughters, by name Sarah, Ann, and Rachel." He left his wife executrix, but before the probate of the will (March 22,

1769) she died, as appears from the fact that John Jenkins,¹ who had married his eldest daughter, Sarah, subsequently took out letters of administration "with the will annexed" upon his estate.

It is traditional in the family that Peter and Mary Hawksworth were buried in the church-yard of St. Thomas's Episcopal Church, at Whitemarsh. Their age is not known.

Of their three sons, Edward probably died unmarried. Peter was twice married, but need not be farther traced at present, and JOHN married Elizabeth Jenkins. She was the second daughter and fourth (and youngest) child of Jenkin Jenkin and Mary, his wife, immigrants from Wales, about 1729, who settled also in what is now Hatfield township, and who therefore preceded by a short time the arrival of the Hawksworths at that place.

JOHN HAWKSWORTH was born in 1733, and died in February, 1777. He was a member of the Baptist Church of Montgomery² (the township adjoining Hatfield on the south-east), and was probably buried there. In 1761 he had purchased from his father a farm in Hatfield, which the father (Peter) had bought in 1749 from John Jenkins. Upon this he no doubt lived. It is upon the authority of one of his sons that he served as a soldier in the "French and Indian" war, and that he had been in the army of the Revolution during the operations of the period before his death, this being caused (at the early age of forty-four) by disease contracted in the service.

The children of JOHN and Elizabeth Jenkins Hawksworth were seven in number: Mary, EDWARD, John, Elizabeth, Ann, Sarah, and Peter. John died unmarried; Peter, known as "Colonel Peter," from his position in the militia

¹ John Jenkins was the son of Jenkin Jenkin, the immigrant. His marriage with Sarah Hawksworth made a double connection between the two families, the other being that stated in the narrative,—John Hawksworth (brother of Sarah) with Elizabeth Jenkins (sister of John).

² This church was formed in 1719, the fourth of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, its predecessors being Cold Spring, Pennepack, and Philadelphia.

forces of Pennsylvania, was captain of a company in the war with England in 1814, and was absent for some time in the service. He held some civil positions, and left a family. EDWARD, who in his lifetime appears to have adopted the present spelling of the name (Hoxworth), was born September 22, 1760, and died January 11, 1847. He was, like his father, connected with the Baptist Church at Montgomery. His home was in Hatfield, on a farm partly inherited from his father, and partly purchased from his brothers and sisters. "He entered the Revolutionary army," says a genealogical sketch by his nephew, the late William J. Hoxworth, of Macungie, "when a boy about fifteen years of age, and served under various commands until independence was established, and received a pension to the end of his life. He was a member of the company of which John Jenkins¹ was lieutenant, which company had in charge part of the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton, December 26, 1776. He was a small-built man, but exceedingly lithe and active. In his younger days he would leap over an ordinary-sized horse without touching, and after he had reached threescore years and ten was able to do a full day's work in the harvest-field without apparent weariness."

EDWARD married MARY Hoxworth, who was born in 1760, and died in 1823. She was his first cousin, being the eldest daughter of his uncle, Peter (son of Peter, the immigrant), by his first wife. They, EDWARD and MARY, were the grandparents of General Hancock. They had in all nine children,—Ann, Ellen, John, Israel, Mary, Margaret, Edward, ELIZABETH, and Sarah. ELIZABETH was born December 8, 1801, and died January 25, 1879. She married BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HANCOCK.

Returning now to the male line, Richard Hancock, of Philadelphia, the seaman, is said to have been one of the victims of the British enforcement of the arbitrary "right of search," to have been taken from an American vessel,

¹ This was John Jenkins, second, son of the John heretofore mentioned. His daughter Sarah married "Colonel Peter" Hoxworth, mentioned above.

and subsequently to have been imprisoned several years in England—conjecturably at Dartmoor—before he secured his release. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two daughters, Eliza and Ann, of whom nothing further is known to the writer. By his second wife, Anna Maria Nash (who was born at Edinburgh, Scotland, June 28, 1777), he had also two children, BENJAMIN F. and Sarah. The latter was born in 1802, and was living at least as late as 1821. She married H. E. Reynolds, but her further record, if there be any, has not been found.

Both Benjamin F. and Sarah were born in Philadelphia, and it was during their infancy that their father was impressed by the British and so long detained. After his release (or escape) he returned, but going on a subsequent voyage, died of ship fever. His wife, left with the two children, was obliged to labor for her own maintenance, and presently, after the rule of the time in such a case, found "places" for the children. She died, it is stated, about 1822.¹

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HANCOCK was born October 19, 1800. The earlier years of his childhood were spent in Philadelphia, as already stated, and then he was placed to be brought up with 'Squire John Roberts, of Montgomery, a prominent citizen and active man of business. His large farm near Montgomery Square, an inheritance from his father, Eldad Roberts, he had removed to about 1794, having previously been a storekeeper at Spring House, a few miles southward, on the road from Philadelphia to Bethlehem. Supposing BENJAMIN to have gone to Montgomery at the age of ten, 'Squire John was then a man of sixty. He had been appointed a justice of the peace in 1791 by Governor Mifflin, and he continued in commission until his death in 1823. With him the orphan lad doubtless found a comfortable

¹ I have a letter written by her on the 1st of January, 1821, to 'Squire John Roberts, in which she speaks of a recent illness, and desires the payment of a small sum due her. She mentions a number of family and other details, and sends her "love to Benjamin." This was a year or so before her death.

home, and received a fair education at the "Free School," which had been founded at an earlier date at Montgomery Square,¹ and which afforded, indeed, opportunities superior to those usually found in the rural parts of Pennsylvania at that time. Some of the teachers were men of good qualifications, and the neighborhood contained some persons of literary culture.² During the war with England, in 1814, though but a lad, he entered the service, and made a "tour of duty," probably with the company, which must have been recruited from the neighborhood, under command of Captain Peter Hoxworth (the "Colonel Peter" named above).

BENJAMIN F. HANCOCK married ELIZABETH HOXWORTH. The home of her parents was in the south corner of Hatfield township, and therefore but a few miles distant from 'Squire Roberts's farm. It is a tradition that the marriage was displeasing to the 'Squire, and upon the ground of difference of religious views.³ Whatever measure of truth there may

¹ One of the teachers here for several years (1804 to 1819), a man of good parts, was William Collum, who must have been B. F. Hancock's preceptor. He made the calculations for almanacs published at Doylestown by Asher Miner, and removed subsequently to Philadelphia. Others of his pupils contemporaneously with Mr. Hancock were Samuel Aaron, afterward famous as a teacher and preacher, who was born in the adjoining township of New Britain, and Samuel Medary, afterward conspicuous in the public affairs of Ohio, and Territorial Governor, for a time, both of Minnesota and Kansas. When Winfield S. Hancock was appointed a cadet at West Point, in 1840 (by Hon. Joseph Farnace), it chanced that Mr. Medary was a member of the Board of Visitors, so that Mr. B. F. Hancock, who had accompanied his son to the Academy, met his old friend and companion, and presented the youthful soldier to him, even before the Academy officials.

² Among these at the time of the Revolution and later (he died in 1801) was Dr. Charles Moore, whose home was at Montgomery Square. His wife, Milcah Martha (*née* Hill), was a woman of fine intelligence and cultivation. She removed, after the death of her husband, to Burlington, N. J., where she died in 1831. A small circulating library was established at Montgomery Square before 1800, which continued in existence for about half a century. Among those who had presented books to it in its early years was Mrs. Ferguson, of Horsham, the daughter of Dr. Graeme, of Graeme Park.

³ Though this is a matter of no consequence, I think it not very likely. The difference may have been caused by political divergences, the Hox-

have been in this, it is certain that 'Squire Roberts's will contained a small bequest for Mr. Hancock, which was paid him by the executors, in January, 1824 (the 'Squire having died in June of the previous year), together with an allowance, the amount of which had been determined by arbitrators, "for services rendered the deceased."

Mr. Hancock's education was sufficient to qualify him as teacher at the "Free School," which, as already related, he had attended as a pupil. He obtained that position, and occupied for a home the dwelling-house end of the school building. This was the birthplace of General Hancock, who, with his twin brother, Hilary Baker, was born February 24, 1824. The building still stands. It is a two-story stone building, at the hamlet of Montgomery Square, on the turnpike,—the old road from Philadelphia to Bethlehem. Here Mr. Hancock remained as a teacher for a short time after the birth of the twin children, and then, having begun to read law under the direction of John Freedley, Esq.,¹ of Norristown, removed to that borough, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. There he resided, engaged in the practice of his profession, until his death, February 1, 1867. His third son, John, was born at Norristown, March 23, 1830. He and his wife were buried in Montgomery Cemetery, on the banks of the Schuylkill, at that borough, where the remains of their distinguished son have now also been placed.

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK, then a lieutenant in the United States Army, married, January 24, 1850, Almira DuBois, daughter of Samuel and Almira DuBois Russell, of St. Louis, Mo., and she survives him. Their children were:

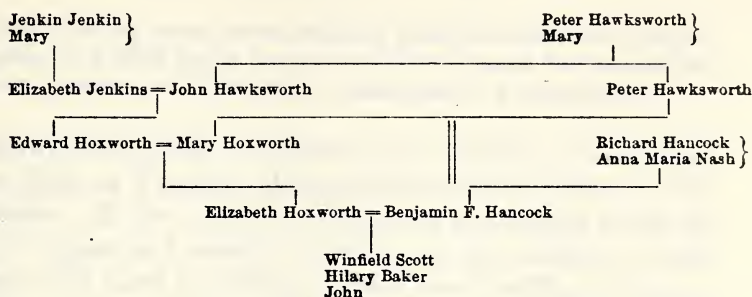
(1.) Russell, born October 29, 1850; died December 30, 1884; married, April 30, 1872, Elizabeth Gwynn, daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Greathouse) Gwynn. They had

worths being Democrats of Jeffersonian enthusiasm, while 'Squire John was a Federalist. Party feeling in those days had not so subsided as would be inferred from the phrase "the era of good feeling," applied to Monroe's time.

¹ He represented his district in Congress from 1847 to 1851.

four children,—Ada Elizabeth, Gwynn Richard, Almira; and Winfield S., Jr., who died in infancy.

(2.) Ada Elizabeth, born at Fort Myers, Florida, February 24, 1857, died unmarried, March 18, 1875, at New York, and buried at Norristown, Pa.



THE WILLIAMS FAMILY.

[The following record of the Williams Family is copied from a Memorandum in a Bible in the possession of Mrs. Deborah M. Cresswell, of Merion, formerly of Philadelphia, a descendant of Thomas Ellis.]

Edward ap John of Cynlas in the Parish of Landerval near Bala or Pennlyn, Merionith-shire North Wales in Gt. Brittain. A free holder of about £24 per annum a man of good repute and careful to bring up his children in the fear of the Lord according to the Church of England anno 1670.

William ap Edward son of Edward ap John & — his wife born the day of anno Married

Katherin second daughter of Robert ap Hugh whose wife was one of the first of those people called Quakers in that part of Great Brittain.

Elizabeth daughter of William ap Edward and Katherin his wife born the 14th of 3 month 1672.

Katherin daughter of William ap Edward and Katherin his wife born the 29th of the 11th month 1676.

Their mother died soon after Katherins birth.

William ap Edward married anno 1681

Jane daughter of John ap Edward a respectable religious family inclining to join the people called Quakers S^d Jane having some time before joined them and in the Spring of the year 1682 s^d W^m ap Edward and Jane his second wife and daughters Elizabeth and Katherin took Shipping with a number of their friends and relatives Edward Rees, Edward Jones and others leaving their native country clear of debt and in love and good report and esteem among them and arrived safely in the river Schuylkill in Penn^a the 13th of 6 mo called August [1682] in the ship Lyon John Compton master from Liverpool. The town of Philadelphia then not

known being a bank of woodland containing a few caves and two log houses occupied by Sweedes and a few English families.

In about three or four months after, their worthy proprietor W^m Penn arrived with a number of families to settle this uncultivated wooden country & after several meetings and councils held it was concluded to fix the city and a plan thereof agreed upon where it was and now remains to be built and soon after in the fall of 1682 S^d William ap Edward with his family Edw^d Jones, Ed. Rees, Robert Davis and many others settled on the west side of schuylkill Six or seven miles distant from the city, there dug caves, walled them and dwelt therein a considerable time where they suffered many hardships in the beginning, the next season being wet and rainy about [the time of] their barley harvest they could not get their grain dry to stack before it swelled and began to sprout—rendering it unfit for bread. They were in their necessities supplied by the natives (Indians) with venison and wild fowl. Their first cows to milk were obtained from New Castle Del., and divided among the neighbours and not having inclosures for them they were obliged to tie them with rope of grapevine some to a tree or stake driven in the ground there then being plenty of grass and sweet weeds. The Lord blessed them and enabled them to bear their difficulties for a time and blessed their labour with great success in raising grain and every support they could wish for—

Love friendship and unity abounded among them and they cheerfully assisted one another as loving brethren.

To return to the family s^d William ap Edward after living some time or years in their cave in merion township bought about 200 acres of land in Blockley township adjoining to David Jones & others and there made improvements until he died anno Sept. 1749.

S^d William ap Edward's daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Lloyd of Merriam township and was blessed with many children and lived & died in love and esteem with their neighbours.

Katherin married near Salem New Jersey and died without issue.

S^d William ap Edward and Jane his second wife had four children namely

Sarah born the 29th of the Eighth month 1685. married Thomas Lawrence son of David Lawrence the elder whose wife was Eleoner daughter of Thomas Ellis (Register-General under Wm. Penn) who arrived in Penna. anno 1683, and settled in Haverford in Chester County about 12 miles west of Philadelphia They were blessed with five children David, Rachel, William, Daniel and Sarah who were all of them married except William.

Ellen born the 19th of fourth month 1691 married Henry Lawrence brother of s^d Thomas Lawrence and they were blessed with many children who were also married & were blessed with many children Sarah Jane married David Lewis. Ellen married David Jones of Radnor. Mary married Jacob Jones of Merriam but had no children Hannah married Evan Jones son of John Jones carpenter of North Wales & had three children Margaret, Henry and Hester.

Mary the youngest born the 11th of eleventh month 1694 married Richard Preston Tanner of Philadelphia and had but one child Rachel who died in minority.

Edward their only Son was born the 7 day of second month 1689 and wrote his name Edward William married anno 1714..

Eleanor daughter of David Lawrence the elder and the grand daughter of Thomas Ellis aforesaid anno 1683 and had five children namely

Sarah daughter of Edward and Eleanor William was born the 13th day of fourth month 1720—Married Joshua Humphreys of Haverford son of Daniel Humphreys one of the first settlers there and had children Clement, Joshua, Hannah, Daniel and Jane.

Edward son of Edward and Eleanor Williams was born the 24th of seventh month 1722—Married Hannah daughter of William Garret of Darby township and had two daughters Hannah and ——

Joseph son of Edward and Eleanor William born the 21st. of third month 1724. Married Hannah daughter of Jonathan Jones of Merrion and had three Daughters, Rebecca, Eleoner and Sarah.¹

Jane daughter of Edward & Eleoner William was born the 21st of seventh month 1732 married Evan Thomas and had children Edward Eleoner, Joseph and Jonathan.

S^d Edward William and Eleonore his wife departed this life, Edward in the ninth month 1749 aged 60 Years. Eleoner in same month about the same age.

Daniel (Founder of Williamsport, Pennsylvania also signer of the Non-Importation Act of 1765) eldest son of Edward and Eleonor William was born the 12th day of second month 1717 (Died Nov. 29th 1794) added s to his name and married the 27 of first month (March) at Philad^a Jane Oldman daughter of Thomas Oldman of Philadelphia and grand daughter of Thomas Oldman of Lewiston near the Capes of Delaware and Grand daughter of Samuel Garrets of Darby township Chester County Penna. and lived in the greatest love and affection until 8 Mo. 1780 s^d Jane departed this life in the morning having had fifteen children two whereof died in their minority, viz.

Mary daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 11th of 11th month 1747 about three o'clock in the morning being the first day of the week. Departed this life second month sixth 1749.

Daniel and Jane Williams, Twins, son and daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams were born the 29th day of 7 mo. 1748 between the hours of 10 & 11 o'clock in the morning being the fifth of the week. Departed this life Daniel the 12th of 5 mo. following & Jane on the 14 of same month being in the space of two days together 1749.

Edward son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the

¹ Sarah married Edmund George. The late Jesse George was one of their children.

Rebecca married Amos George. Three of their grandchildren—John, Joseph, and Jane—are still living at the old homestead at Overbrook Station, Philadelphia.—D. M. C.

15th day of 3 month (called May) 1750 about six o'clock in the morning being the 3^d of the week.

Ennion son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born on the 3rd day of April 1752 being the sixth of the week about eight o'clock in the evening.¹

Sarah daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 16th day of March 1754 at about eight o'clock in the evening Departed this Life . . .

George son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 16th day of March, 1756 Departed this life the 15th day of May, 1756.

Mary (the second of that name) Daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born on the 17th day of May 1757. Departed this life in July following.

Deborah daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the day of month Married John Field of Philadelphia.

Departed this life the 31st day of 5 month 1802 and was interred at Merriion.

Joseph son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born on the 21st day of 7 month called July 1762 Departed this life November 26th 1765 of small pox.

Daniel son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 23 of ninth month called September 1763 Departed this life the 10th day of November 1765 of small pox.

Samuel son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 10th third month called March 1766 at 2 o'clock in the morning Departed this life May 1769.

Daniel son of Daniel and Jane Williams was born the 4th day of the ninth month called September 1770 at half past 10 o'clock at night Being the third son of that name and fifteenth child.

Departed this life the 18th day of 8 month 1797.

Hannah daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born

¹ Ennion Williams, Major of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, commanded by Colonel Samuel Miles. He was commissioned March 3, 1776, and resigned Feb. 4, 1777. He was at the battles of Long Island, Trenton, and Princeton.

on the day of 9 month 1760. Departed this life on the
day of month.

Sarah daughter of Daniel and Jane Williams was born on the third day of the 12th month called December 1764 at Eleven oclock at night being the second of that name and 13th child married on the fourth day of 6th month 1799 at Friends North Meeting house Philadelphia to John Moulson who was born the 31st day of 5 month (May 1761) at 6½ P.M. son of Saml. M. and Dinah Moulson of St. Johns England.

Samuel Moulson son of John and Sarah Moulson was born in Norfolk Virginia on the 13th day of fourth month 1800 between the hours eleven and twelve at night.

Departed this life on the 26th day of 7th mo. following at half past twelve oclock at night 1800

Deborah Moulson daughter of John and Sarah Moulson was born the fifth day of the ninth month 1801 between the hours of five and six oclock in the afternoon near Paradise Creek Virginia. was a prominent speaker in Friends meeting.

John Moulson Jr son of John and Sarah Moulson was born on the 21st day of the fourth month 1803 between the hours of two and three oclock in the morning near Paradise Creek Virginia—died Dec^r 15th (Sunday) 1861 buried Dec 17th in the Union Cemetery 6th & Federal

John Moulson Sen^r. departed this life on the 9th day of 1st Month 1824 of Typhus fever and was interred in Friends burial ground corner of fourth and arch sts Philadelphia in the 64th year of his age.

John Moulson Jr. son of John and Sarah Moulson married at Frankford near Philadelphia by the Rev^d. Thomas Biggs on the 26th day of November 1826 unto Ellen Mary Lalanne Born the 23th day of February 1808—Daughter of Dominique Périgué and Don Minequette Duchesne Lalanne of the City of Philad^a died May 24th 1865. buried 6th & Federal.

Edward Williams Moulson son of John and Ellen Mary Moulson was born on the third day of September 1827 at

half after nine o'clock in the evening at No. 298 High st. Philadelphia one door below 9th st. Departed this life on the 21st day of October 1829 at 20 minutes before nine o'clock in the evening at the same place of Dropsy of the Brain being the fourth day of the week—was interred the next day in Plot T No. 6 of the Union Burial Ground corner of Federal and Sixth streets southwark Philadelphia—the deed for s^d plot being in his name. in the middle of the plot aged 2 Years 1 month 18th days.

Ennion Williams son of Daniel and Jane Williams Departed this life second month twelfth 1830 at 11 o'clock in the morning after five days illness of Pleurisy aged near 78 Years.

Francis Edward Moulson son of John and Ellen Mary Moulson was born on the (8th) eighth day of June in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and Thirty one (1831) at about twenty minutes after one o'clock in the morning being the fourth day of the week at Bristol Penn^a—died August 9th 1866 buried at 6th & Federal Philadelphia.

Sarah Moulson daughter of Daniel & Jane Williams departed this life after an illness of nine days of pleurisy at about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 16th day of the Eleventh Month (November) in the year 1832 being the sixth day of the week and on the following first day was interred in the family plot T No. 6 (on the southern side of the Union Burial Ground before mentioned. Aged 68 years.

Sarah Williams Moulson daughter of John & Ellen Mary Moulson was Born on the 23^d day of the 12th month (December) in the year 1833 at about Eight o'clock in the evening being the sixth day of the week at No. 96 south fifth st. Philad^a.

Deborah Moulson daughter of John and Ellen Mary Moulson was born on the 10th day of the first month (January) in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred and thirty six at about 10½ o'clock in the evening being the first of the week at No. 210 south Third st. Philadelphia (Tenth day of January 1836).

Ellen Mary Moulson daughter of John and Ellen Mary Moulson was born on the 26th day of the third month (March) Eighteen hundred and thirty eight at about o'clock in the being the second day of the week at No. 160 south Second st. 3^d door below Spruce st.

Deborah Moulson daughter of John and Sarah Moulson Departed this life on the 26th day of fourth month (April) at half after twelve o'clock p.m. being on the sixth day of the week Eighteen hundred and thirty nine at No. 160 south Second st. of disease of the Lungs being sensible to the last moment and was interred in the grave of her mother on the south side of Plot T No. 6 of the Union Burial Ground on the following sabbath afternoon And at the same time and in the same grave was interred Ellen Mary Moulson who departed this life on the 28th of the fourth month Eighteen hundred and thirty nine at about a quarter before two o'clock in the morning (of effusion of Water on the Brain) and the first of the week—daughter of John and Ellen Mary Moulson—aged one year one month and two days.

Ellen Mary Moulson daughter of Jno. and Ellen Mary Moulson was born sept. 18. 1840.

Died Dec. 16 1843.

Ellen Mary Moulson daughter of John and Ellen Mary Moulson was born May 26 1848.

Sarah Williams Moulson born 23^d Dec. 1833 married Robt. M. C. Rae and died 29th March 1853 leaving one male child called Robert born July 17th 1852.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

SOCIAL LIFE IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1762.—Under the caption of “A Jaunt to Philadelphia, in 1762,” we reprint from the current number of that excellent serial, the *Magazine of American History*, edited by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, some extracts from the journal of a daughter of James Alexander, of New York, who visited Philadelphia in June of 1762. The names of the people she met and the localities visited are familiar to our readers; and as a description of social life, in the days of the Province, it is of special interest.

“Thursday 3rd June 1762. Left New York at 11 o'clock, got to Douglass at Quarter past 12 and dined, crossed Staten Island, the weather pleasant, neither hot, cold, wet, or dusty. Got to Amboy at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5, saw nobody but Miss Skinner, set out $\frac{1}{2}$ before 7, & arrived at Brunswick $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, slept, & sup'd at Duff's, a famous tavern, 3 large parlors & dining room 36 feet long by 18 wide. The country thus far, but indifferent though thick settled. The town to the Raritan and neighboring country looked very pleasant. 4th Rose at 6, took a walk through the town; set out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, went to Rocky Hill farm, visited the copper mine, 8 men at work, drawing a level, sinking a new shaft, wages 6£ 13. a month, got to Princetown $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11, the weather still pleasant, & country delightful, many beautiful & rich prospects, especially from the top of the college, which is well contrived & under good management, 60 rooms, 120 closets, 100 windows in front, & above 100 students. After long waiting, got a good dinner, & the first green peas, proceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 & reached Trenton at 5, met Sr. John Clair who carried us forcibly to his house. The situation of Belmont charming, commanding a prospect of the Delaware up & down. The gardens large and laid out in fine taste, vast variety of trees, plants & flowers; a green house 63 feet long with a room over the whole length except two small rooms for a bed, & study, a Pinery, ice-house, noble stables, & other conveniences. An agreeable and obliging family, left them with reluctance. 5th June, rode to Bristol being mostly through one of Penn's uncultivated maues was woody, the rest rich & well inhabited, from Frankfort dusty for the first time, dined at Bristol. Tea at Halls, & arrived in Phil^a at 6 o'clock. 6th Sunday—we went to Gov^r Hamilton and Glenery, in the afternoon to St. Peter's Church, was surprised and delighted with Mr Duché, eloquence that far exceeded anything I ever heard before. 7th Monday walked about the town—went to the State House a large and elegant building, & from the top a most commanding Prospect of all the Steeples, Squares and Streets, & also of the adjacent country went to Mr. Morris' gardens. Visitors Mrs. Plumsted, Skinner, Mrs Stevens, Mr. Inglis, Mr Stevens, Mrs Gore. Mr McAul [McCall] every evening. 8th we went to Glenery dined on Turtle; numerous visitors Mrs & Miss Franks, Mrs & Miss Levi. Mrs C Stedman Miss Graeme, Mrs Barclay, Francis, Miss Allen, Mrs Cluw [Chew] Gov^r Hamilton &c &c. 9th. At six went to market, which out does every thing to be conceived in Quantity; Variety, & Cheapness, every thing is at least a third cheaper

than at New York, more cherries & strawberries from Mr Allen & the Gov^r dined at Mr Plumsteds on Turtle, also an elegant desert: sup'd at Mr. Stevens. 10th. In the morning, cherries & pine apples, (3 fine ones) dined at Mrs Swifts Tea at Schuylkill Ferry. Came home the five mile tour, the country flat, roads fine, and great number of little seats, & gardens that render it quite delightful, sup'd at Mr. McAuls [McCall]. 11th. Went in a party of 12 dined at the Falls of Schuylkill, no luck at fishing. Visited Smith's folly, crossed over the hill to Germantown, road pleasant, & great numbers of seats, company sup'd at Elliot's. 13th. Heard Mr Duché preach an Excellent Discourse—trout at dinner. Went with Mr Cox to the Romish Chappel, an ordinary Building fine organ an indifferent altar, & mean congregation sup'd at E's. 15th. At ten went to the Proprietor's gardens—green house, fine gravel walks, variety of shrubs, plenty of oranges, lemons, & citrons; went to Gov^r Hamilton's was charmed with the situation, fine garden, statues, paintings, walks. House & all in good order, fishing house stands romantically in a wood over the Schuylkill on a projecting rock. A large company much at their ease, very sociable, various amusements. 17th. At ten we went to Mr Graff miniature painter sat two long hours, saw a great many pictures, in general like, tho' flattered. In the afternoon went to Carpenter's Island, delighted with the road, & amazing fertility of that spot. About 1000 acres in fine order, 400 head of cattle in the fall, sometimes 1000. . . . Sunday, heard Mr Duché's farewell sermon which drew tears from most of the hearers. The matter, language, & delivery were equally & inexpressibly fine. After dinner went to Mt. Airy, the road through Germantown horribly dusty, the country & prospect fine, but little done, & nothing with the least taste. At supper the Stevens, Mrs Skinner, Plumsted, Mr Kearney & Mr McAul [McCall] as usual. Monday left for home."

CORRECTION.—While preparing a notice of Governor John Pott in *Virginia Carolorum* (PA. MAG., Vol. IX. p. 409) I had been reading a notice of the Spanish spy and rogue Don Juan Gusman, and in a footnote suggested that he was the person referred to by Governor Pott, on his trial. At the time, I had forgotten the satirical romance of Guzman of Alfarache, the rogue, which was then known in literature, and classed with Don Quixote, Pantagruel, and Don Diego's visit to the inhabitants of the Moon. To the latter, and not Don Juan Gusman, Governor Pott referred.

EDW. D. NEILL.

Saint Paul, Minnesota.

VIRGINIA CAROLORUM.—The articles by Rev. Edward D. Neill on "Virginia Carolorum" have been discontinued. The writer found so much new material that an arrangement has been made with the historical publishers, Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, to enlarge the chapters printed, and issue in May a book of 350 pages, in the same style as Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, with the title *Virginia Carolorum, or Virginia during the Reigns of Charles First and Second, A.D. 1625 to A.D. 1685*, based upon manuscripts and documents of the period. As the edition will be limited, those desiring copies should write to the publishers.

KILLBUCK ISLAND, PITTSBURGH.—Among the papers of the "William Henry MSS.," among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is the original draught of the petition of William Henry Killbuck to Governor Thomas McKean. It is in the handwriting of the Moravian missionary, Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, with David Zeisberger as subscribing witness. The bracketed portions in

the text are interpolations in the handwriting of John Heckewelder. Gelelemend (whose sobriquet among the Americans was Killbuck) was a grandson of Netawatwes, a celebrated chief of the Turkey tribe of Delawares. He was born in 1737, in the neighborhood of the Lehigh Water Gap, Carbon County, Pennsylvania. On the outbreak of the Revolutionary War he became a strenuous advocate of peace among his people, and being a man of influence, drew upon himself, in consequence, the animosity of those of his countrymen who took up arms against the Americans. He was finally forced to seek the protection of the commandant at Pittsburgh. Even after the peace of 1795 his life was several times imperilled.

Killbuck united with the Moravian Indian Mission at Salem, Ohio, in 1778, where, in baptism, he received the name of William Henry, after his friend Judge William Henry, of Lancaster, for whom he long entertained a peculiar friendship, which had been cemented by an interchange of names. He died at Goshen in 1811. Descendants of the name are still in connection with the Moravian Indian Missions, and one, the Rev. John Henry Killbuck, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary, was, in 1885, sent by that Church as a missionary to Alaska. He had previously been employed in the Indian Mission in Canada. The following is a copy of the petition referred to:

To His Excellency Thomas McKean Esq^r Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

The talk of the Indian Killbuck, now called William Henry Killbuck, of Goshen, Muskingum County, State of Ohio; concerning his claim to Killbuck's Island near Pittsburg.

My Brother!

Attend, I pray thee to my words!

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, I was a principal chief of the Delaware nation; and had my residence at their town of Goshachking, at the Forks of White Woman's creek and the Tuscarawa branch of the Muskingum. Many speeches were from time to time sent to me by the [great and wise men of the United States] agreeably to the tenor of which, I uniformly maintained peace and friendship with them, on which account those Indians who had joined the English, and were resolved to go to war, threatened to kill me. Finding at length that I was in danger of my life, and an attempt having actually been made against me on the Muskingum—as many people who are still alive well know—merely on account of my attachment to the American cause, I fled to Pittsburg, where I was kindly received by Col. Gibson, at that time the principal commanding officer among the troops there. Col. Gibson then gave [me in the name of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania] the little island [on the west side of the Alleghany River, and near the confluence of the two Rivers Alleghany and Monongahella], which is known to this day by the name of Killbuck's island. [He spoke] in words to the following effect: "Brother! I put you under my arm; nobody shall hurt you. Brother! I gave you this island where you and your children can always plant. The island shall be your sole property." On this he gave directions that a part of the island should be cleared, ploughed, and planted for me with corn, which was also done again in the following years. The grant of the island to me was afterwards confirmed by General Irvine and his successors the different commanding officers at Pittsburg.

[My Brother! This Island had long before that time, been considered as my Property by all the people of my Nation. And I was now

assured that the Governor of Pennsylvania would freely confirm me in this right. Indeed all the commanding officers stationed at Pittsburg from time to time assured me of this, and ever since that time I have either lived on it myself, or rented it out at a stipulated annual rate, to a tenant, who has from time to time made me payments, through my agents.]

My Brother!

I remained faithful to the Americans as long as the revolutionary war continued, which was about six years from the time that I fled to Pittsburg, and was known there by the name of Col. Killbuck or Col. Henry in the service of the United States; and I have continued to be their firm friend ever since. The commanding officers under whom I served, have often sent me into the Indian country on scouting parties, by which I was frequently put in imminent danger of my life; and I have performed various important services.

My Brother!

My right to Killbuck's island, I always considered as undisputed, because it was given me by such great men as Col. Gibson and Gen^l Irvine, and was always spoken of as mine by Gen^l Butler, Col. Broadhead, Col. Bayard, and many other gentlemen to whom I [and the service I had rendered] were well known; as well as by every person who lived at that time at Pittsburg. But not being acquainted with the laws and usages of the white people, I never asked for a written title to the land, not supposing it to be necessary, after having heard the words and promises of so many great men.

My Brother!

When the war was over, a treaty was held at Fort McIntosh by Gen^l Butler and two other Commissioners whose names I have forgot, but I believe that they were Gen^{ls} Harmar and Clark. The Commissioners spoke of the above-mentioned island near Pittsburg as mine, and promised that, [in addition] more land should be given me [by Congress] when peace was made with all the Indian nations.

My Brother!

I ask for no more land for myself and children, except the little island which goes by my name near Pittsburg. I hear that it is now said by some people, that it was only given me for life, which I am assured was not the intention of the gentlemen who presented it to me in the name of the government, as they themselves, if still alive, would be ready to testify. During the six years that I lived at Pittsburg, I never heard that the grant was so understood by any person.

My Brother!

I do not recollect having had any personal acquaintance with you; but my son John, who received his education at Princeton College, remembers you perfectly well. I have heard much of the wisdom, justice and good faith with which all public business has been conducted in Pennsylvania ever since you have been made Governor; and in particular, that old promises, and faithful services to the country, are brought into remembrance again. I rely therefore on you as my Friend, and request your aid and assistance in procuring me an indisputable written title for ever to Killbuck's island near Pittsburg, to be vested, for my use, in the name of my friend Mr John Heckewelder of Gnadenhütten, and his assigns; to which end pursuant to advice given me, it is also my intention to apply by petition to the Assembly.

(Signed)

WILLIAM HENRY ^{his} X KILLBUCK.
mark

Goshen near Gnadenhütten, 8 Jan'y 1805

The above speech was written by the subscriber for William Henry Killbuck, at his request.

BENJAMIN MORTIMER,
Missionary among the Indians.

Witness

DAVID ZEISBERGER

Missionary among the Indians

Goshen near Gnadenhütten

8 Jan'y 1805.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

DAVIS'S SPANISH CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO.—The merits of this work receive the following recognition from Mr. Henry W. Haynes, of the Archaeological Institute of America, in his chapter on the Early Explorations of New Mexico, in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. II.

"In the year 1869 important additions were made to our knowledge of the early history of New Mexico, and especially of Coronado's expedition. Mr. W. H. H. Davis, who has held an official position in that Territory, and in 1856 had published an interesting study of it under the title of *El Gringo*, gave to the world the first history, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*. It is a valuable contribution to history, in which faithful and diligent use has been made of the original authorities and of unpublished documents; and it is the only full and connected narrative that has yet appeared of the series of events which it relates." It is hardly necessary to inform our readers that Mr. W. H. H. Davis is our old friend and correspondent, Gen. W. H. H. Davis, of Doylestown.

HUSBAND—PRICE—HAINES.—Families. In an old Bible belonging to Israel B. Haines, of Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, are found the following records:

William Husband & Mary His Wife—ages of Our Children

First Born:

Hannah was born 27th day of March 1722

Hermon was born 3rd day of October 1724

William was born 7th day of March 1727

John was born 31st day of March 1729

Thomas was born 10 day of March 1731

Mary was born 20th day of May 1734

Joseph was born 15th day of February 1736/7

Catharine was born 23rd day of Decem^r 1738

Margery was born 27th day of 1741

Ann was born 29th day of 1745

Sarah was born 26th day of September 1748

The 4 day of the 9 month 1775

Josiah Haines

[Note.—This was doubtless the date of marriage of the above Ann and Josiah Haines.]

David Price (son of John Price & Abigail his Wife) and Ann Husband (Daughter of William Husband & Mary his Wife) was married by John Hamilton Rector of North East Church Cecil County & Province of Maryland upon the fourteenth Day of November In the year of our Lord one Thousand and Seven hundred & Sixty five 1765

Recorded by David Price.

Abigail Price (first Born) Daughter of the above Named David Price & Ann his Wife, was Born the 24th day of August about Two o'clock in the afternoon being the first Day of the Week Anno Domini 1766

William Price (second child) son of the above Named David Price & Ann his wife was Born the first Day of November being the first Day of the Week about Two o'clock in the Morning In the year of our Lord 1767.

Mary Price (Third Child) Daughter of the above Named David Price & Ann his Wife was born the Twenty fifth Day of January being the fourth Day of the Week about Two o'clock in the Morning In the year of our Lord 1769

David Elisha Price (fourth Child) son of the above Named David & Ann his Wife was born the Twenty fifth Day of December being the Third day of the Week about two o'clock in the morning in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred & Seventy 1770

Ann Price (fifth Child) Daughter of the above named David Price & Ann his Wife was born the fifteenth day of June about four o'clock in the Morning in the year of our Lord 1772 one Thousand Seven hundred & Seventy two.

Margery the Sixth Child was Born the 18th day of November Anno Dom. 1773 about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

David Price Departed this Life at Redstone the Seventh day of November anno Domini 1773

Jane Haines Daughter of Josiah Haines & Jane his Wife, was born the fourth Day of eight month in the year 1772

Hermion Haines Son of the same Josiah Haines & Ann His Wife was born the 22nd Day of the 6th mo: 1776

Catharine Haines Daughter of the same Josiah and Ann Haines was born the 22nd Day of the 12th mo: 1777

Lydia Haines Daughter of Josiah and Ann Haines was born the fourteenth Day of the 10th mo: at 7 O'clock in the evening, in the year 1779

Sarah Haines Daughter of Josiah and Ann Haines was born the 17th Day of the 7th mo: at 3 O'clock in the morning in the year 1781.

Marget Haines Daughter of Josiah and Ann Haines was born the 12th Day of the 3rd mo. at 7 O'clock in the evening, in the year 1783

Joseph Haines Son of said Josiah and Ann Haines was born the 5 Day of the 3 Month at or near about 4 O'clock morning in the year of our Lord 1785.

Elizabeth Haines last Child and Daughter of Josiah & Ann Haines was born the 22d Day of the 3d mo: March about 10 o'clock in the Evening & Seventh Day of the week in the year of our lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty eight. 1788

The above Ann Haines Departed This Life on Feb' 17th Ann. dom. 1813 Aged 68 3 o'clock.

Andru Vaneman his Wife Elizabeth Vaneman Departed this Life on august 24 1813 Daughter of Josiah Haines and Ann his Wife.

Josiah Haines Departed this Life on Feb' 6th Ann. dom. 1822 in the ninetyeth year of his Age.

Joseph Haines Departed this Life one the 18 day of april 1832

Margaret Haines departed this life on the 21st of April 1853 aged 75 years 3—17

Hermion Haines died July 29th 1865 aged 89 years and 7 days. Buried in the family burial ground on his farm, North Strabane Township Washington County Pennsylvania.

Note by Redick McKee of California }
July 4 1867

Note.—Ann Husband, daughter of William and Mary first married David Price, son of John and Abigail; and second Josiah Haines, son of Isaac and Catharine (David) Haines. She died in Washington County, Penna.

Josiah Haines was three times married, first to Mary Cock, daughter of Benjamin and Ann (Brinton) Cock; second to Jane Garrett daughter of Joseph and Mary (Sharpless) Garrett; and third to Ann Price, *née* Husband.

Abigail Price married Hon. Isaac Weaver, once Treasurer of Pennsylvania, and who also served in both houses of the Legislature.

Mary Price married Craig Ritchie, a prominent citizen of Canonsburg in its earlier history.

TH. MAXWELL POTTS.

Canonsburg, Pa.

RECORDS OF THE DESCENDANTS OF NATHANIEL ELY, THE EMIGRANT, WHO SETTLED FIRST IN NEWTOWN, NOW CAMBRIDGE, MASS. WAS ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF HARTFORD, ALSO OF NORWALK, CONN., AND A RESIDENT OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS., FROM 1659 UNTIL HIS DEATH IN 1675. Compiled by Heman Ely, including material collected by Mrs. Amanda (Ely) Terry. 4to. Illustrated. 515 pp. Cleveland, Ohio, 1885.

We are indebted to the thoughtful suggestion of the Rev. William Ely, of Germantown, and to the kindness of the compiler, Heman Ely, of Elyria, Ohio, for a copy of this, one of the most elaborate genealogies it has been our pleasure to notice. And the descendants of Nathaniel Ely, who was born at Tenterden, in the county of Kent, O. E., in 1605, and emigrated to Massachusetts in April of 1634, cannot fail to recognize the thoroughness and the clear and simple system of notation and arrangement which characterize the work. Mr. Ely has been engaged for several years in its compilation, and the result of his labor of love is worthy of all commendation. The book is printed on heavy plate-paper, and is embellished with twenty engravings and numerous autographs. Three full indexes add much value to the work. The edition is limited to 520 copies, and is sold in cloth at \$7, and in half morocco at \$8 per copy, exclusive of express charges or postage. Orders will be supplied by addressing the compiler at Elyria, Ohio.

J. W. J.

THE WILDERNESS ROAD. A DESCRIPTION OF THE ROUTES OF TRAVEL BY WHICH THE PIONEERS AND EARLY SETTLERS FIRST CAME TO KENTUCKY. Prepared for the Filson Club by Thomas Speed. With Map. 4to, pp. 75. Louisville, Ky., 1886.

The principal routes over which passed that remarkable immigration from the East to Kentucky, between 1775 and 1795, were three,—one from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and thence down the Ohio River; another starting from Baltimore to Fort Cumberland on the Potomac River, along the Braddock Road to Redstone on the Monongahela (a part of which was subsequently known as the National Road), and thence by water; and the "Wilderness Road," from Fort Chissel on New River, Virginia, *via* Cumberland Gap to the Falls of the Ohio. To reach Fort Chissel, there was the northern route from Philadelphia to Lancaster, to York, thence to the Potomac River at Wadkin's Ferry, and up the Shenandoah Valley, through Martinsburg, Winchester, and Staunton. Another route ran from Richmond up the valley of the James River. Mr. Speed has collected together many interesting facts relating to his subject from that most reliable of sources, old manuscript letters, diaries, and journals, which he has had published for the purpose of pres-

ervation, as well as with the hope that others may be stimulated to further researches. The work is not only a valuable contribution to the history of Kentucky, but will be read with interest by Pennsylvanians. The paper and typography of the book are worthy of commendation. Received from John P. Morton & Co., Louisville, Ky. J. W. J.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—We have received a copy of the Constitution and By-Laws of the Chicago Historical Society, together with a list of the officers and members for 1885–86. The history of the Society itself has not been an uneventful one. Organized in 1856, and incorporated the year following, its valuable collection was destroyed in the great conflagration of October 9, 1871. In 1872 it was reorganized, but misfortune again followed quickly, for it was destroyed a second time by fire July 14, 1874. Phoenix-like, it was again reorganized in 1877, since which date Mr. Albert D. Hager has been its librarian.

J. W. J.

HARTZELL.—Mr. R. S. Hartzell has sent us his prospectus of a Historical and Genealogical Record of the Hartzell Family. Heinrich Hertzel landed at Philadelphia in 1732, and purchased land at what is now Telford, Montgomery County. He died June 21, 1784, and was interred in the burying-ground of the Indianfield German Reformed Church, near Telford. Ulrich, who came over in the same ship with Heinrich, settled near Tylersport, Montgomery County, and died Feb. 11, 1771. Conrad Hertzel arrived Dec. 6, 1733, and settled in Salsburg township, Northampton (now Lehigh) County. These three were the first of the name to come to America, and as the Hartzells in the different sections of the country trace their ancestry to the Pennsylvania immigrants, all communications should be addressed to the editor at No. 1117 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN: A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE EMINENT NAVIGATOR AND DISCOVERER. By Henry H. Hurlbut. 19 pp. Chicago, 1885.

This brief but interesting sketch of the eminent explorer, the first white man to enter within the basin of the great American lakes, and for whom that beautiful sheet of inland water environed among the hills of New Hampshire and New York was named, was read before the Chicago Historical Society, October 20, 1885. On the same occasion a portrait of Champlain, painted by Miss Harriet P. Hurlbut, from a copy of Moncornet's engraving, published by the Prince Society, was presented to the Society.

J. W. J.

HENRY ANTES.—A GERMAN HERO OF THE COLONIAL TIMES OF PENNSYLVANIA; OR, THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HENRY ANTES, by Rev. Edwin McMinn, of Moorestown, New Jersey, is the title of a twelvemo, of about three hundred pages, which is now going through the press. As a life of this early settler of Montgomery County, whose name so frequently occurs in the civil affairs of the Province, and in records relating to the religious history of the Pennsylvania-Germans, has never before been written, we hope that the labors of the author will receive that appreciation they deserve. Price \$1.25. For copies, address the author.

Queries.

BALL.—In my volume of "Virginia Genealogies," nearly ready for the press, and containing the families of Ball, Brown, Conway, Daniel, and others, will appear a full genealogy, with original documents, of the family of BALL, from whom descended GEORGE WASHINGTON. In my researches I have discovered three families of the name of Ball claiming kin with the Washington-Ball family of Va. This query is written to elicit more definite data than has yet come to hand on this subject. The Virginia family pedigree can be briefly stated. William¹ Ball, b. cis 1600, d. 1669, m. Hannah Atherold 1633, and came from Eng. to Va. cis 1650. He had two sons to mature,—William² and Joseph.² William² left a large family, some of whom have escaped my search. Joseph² had one son, whose descendants I have *in extenso*. He had, among other daughters, Mary, who m. Augustine Washington and had *George Washington*. William² had a son William, born about 1669-70, and a son David, born, as his tombstone says, 1686. A Philadelphia family of Balls, whose descendants I do not know, but whose chart is before me, claim relationship to George Washington through the Ball line. They descend from *William Ball*, born 12th Sept., 1686, who m. Mary White, dau. of Wm. of Newport, and died 8th Sept. 1740. He left seven children, one of whom m. Judge Gibson, of Phila. Another Penna. family of Balls, a brief chart of which lies before me, descend from *William Ball*, born Pa. but moved to Va. when twenty years old, and began the first iron works started in Virginia. His line is represented in part, at this time, by Thomas H. Ball, of Cal., who, from 1861-65, was in the C. S. A. service in Va. and Ga., during the latter years of the war, being of the firm of Keating & Ball, engravers of C. S. currency. He descends from Wm. of Pa., thus: William,¹ John,² William,³ Thomas,⁴ Thomas H.⁵ Their claim is partly based on a strong family likeness to General Washington, who, tradition says, recognized them as relatives through common English descent.

A third claim appears in Stone's "Reminiscences of Saratoga," p. 399, where Rev. Eliphalet Ball, of Ballston, claims to have been the *third* cousin of Washington. This could not have been, excepting as a descendant in the 4th gen. from a *brother* of William Ball, the Va. emigrant.

I insert this query to learn more of these three Ball families. If their connection with the Va. Balls can be shown to have had existence in England it will aid me to prove the English lineage of the Balls, of whom no English pedigree is known that will bear genealogical tests. I will be grateful for any information on the subject.

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Wilkes Barre, Pa.

LENAPE INDIANS ON THE MISSOURI.—In the summer of 1797, the Rev. John Heckewelder and Judge William Henry, with several assistants, were sent by the Moravian Church to survey the land on the Muskingum River, in Ohio, granted by the United States to the Moravian Indian Mission. In a journal kept by Heckewelder (which will appear in a subsequent number of the Magazine), he has recorded that Captain White-Eyes (a Turtle-Delaware) and his squaw (a Wyandot) camped with them, and that in the course of a conversation, on May 20, stated: "Several years ago his father's brother had been with an Indian nation on the western waters of the Missouri, which tribe also spoke the Lenape language. He was received in a very friendly manner, and he and the

other refugees were acknowledged by the chiefs of the nation as members of their tribe. The Welsh Indians, who, according to several statements, lived on the head-waters of the Missouri, appeared to be mythical. He had often inquired concerning them, but could discover no traces of such a nation." What clan of the Lenape were settled on the "western waters of the Missouri" about 1790, or earlier?

JOHN W. JORDAN.

CLAYPOLES OF PENNSYLVANIA, it is thought, were descended from Elizabeth, daughter of the Protector Oliver Cromwell. Can any one tell me how Edith Claypole, of Philadelphia, who was thrice married, —(1) David Chambers, Sept. 1, 1744: (2) William Archibald McRae; (3) Lord Ralston,—was descended from Oliver Cromwell? An answer to this Magazine would oblige

GENEALOGIST.

Replies.

THOMAS BUDD (vol. ix. p. 490).—The reply in your last number refers Mr. Shober to all that is known of Thomas Budd's ancestry. Of the emigrant I can only add, that he died in Philadelphia, Feb. 15, 1697/8. Susannah, his wife, was buried Feb. 4, 1707/8. Four children survived: I. John Budd, who m. Rebecca Baynton, and had ten or more children, of whom Mary m. Peter Baynton, Sarah m. John Murray, and John Budd, who m. Rosanna, daughter of Samuel Shivers, of Gloucester County, N. J. II. Thomas Budd, who m. Martha —, and was buried Sept. 19, 1699. III. Mary, who m. William Allen, of Philadelphia, merchant, and had with others who d. y. John Allen, and (Chief-Justice) William Allen. IV. Rose, who m. 1st, George Plumley, and had issue: 2dly, John McWilliams, and 3d, Joseph Shippen (son of Edward the Mayor). BRUNHILDE.

BUDD (vol. ix. p. 490).—Book H, 7, page 451, of Grantors, Philadelphia Office of Deeds, gives some items in the family history of "Mary Allen, widow, and daughter of Thomas Budd, merchant, deceased," dated 9th June, 1756.

There is also much more of value in "The History of Medicine and Medical Men in New Jersey," by Stephen Wickes, M.D. Newark, 1879. See p. 171 *et sequitur*, which elucidates much of the early history of the Budds, with biographical sketches not to be found elsewhere. The Hon. John Clements' "First Settlers in Newton Township, N. J.," will add largely to the foregoing. The valuable list of marriages in the latter part of this work is not included in the index. POTTS.

GRIFFITH JONES (vol. ix. p. 491).—An affirmation dated 1st of Oct., 1725, recorded 15th Dec., 1756, in Book H, 7, page 319, of Grantors, in the Recorder of Deeds Office, Philadelphia, gives some facts in this family history. It was made by Ann Willcox, aged sixty years, widow of Joseph Willcox, and mentions her "father-in-law," Griffith Jones. The word "father-in-law" here is taken apparently in its ancient use, and means step-father. Mrs. Willcox mentions "Joan, wife of Griffith Jones, mother of this affirmant," and speaks of Rebecca, Sarah, and Ann Willcox, her daughters. There are other deeds recorded on the pages before and after this which should be consulted, as they give further genealogical facts.

POTTS.

Camden, New Jersey, April 10, 1886.



John Heckewelder

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. X.

1886.

No. 2.

NOTES OF TRAVEL OF WILLIAM HENRY, JOHN HECKEWELDER, JOHN ROTHROCK, AND CHRISTIAN CLEWELL, TO GNADENHUETTEN ON THE MUSKINGUM, IN THE EARLY SUMMER OF 1797.

EDITED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[Subsequent to the dispersion of the Moravian Indian Mission in Ohio, and the massacre of ninety-six of their converts at Gnadenhuetten, in March of 1782, the Moravian Church petitioned Congress for a reservation of the lands occupied by the mission, which had originally been granted to them by the Delawares in 1772. On the 20th May, 1785, Congress passed an Act,—“That the said towns (Gnadenhuetten, Schoenbrunn, and Salem), and so much of the adjoining land as in the judgment of the Geographer of the United States may be sufficient for them, together with the buildings, &c., shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians settled there.” (Journal of Congress, Vol. IX. p. 174.) In consequence of the unsettled state of Indian affairs in the West, no steps were taken by the Church to avail themselves of its provisions. However, on the reorganization of the “Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,” in 1787, it was determined to obtain further legislation, and by the Act which was approved

June 1, 1796, three tracts of land of four thousand acres each, including the sites of the before-named towns, were granted to the Society in trust for the Christian Indians. Preparations were thereupon made to have the lands surveyed, and William Henry and John Heckewelder (with two assistants) were appointed to meet Rufus Putnam, United States Surveyor-General, at Marietta for that purpose.

William Henry was born at Lancaster, Pa., March 12, 1757. In 1778 he engaged in the manufacture of fire-arms in Northampton County, and in 1808 erected a forge, in which the first iron manufactured in the county was drawn there, March 9, 1809. In 1813 he built the Boulton Gun Works, on the Bushkill, which are still continued by his descendants of the name. Mr. Henry was commissioned January 14, 1788, a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Northampton County. He resigned in 1814. In 1792 he was elected one of the Presidential Electors of the State, and cast his vote for Washington for President. He removed to Philadelphia in 1818, and died there April 21, 1821.

For a memoir of Rev. John Heckewelder consult "History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations," etc., edited by Rev. W. C. Reichel, Vol. XII. p. 7, Pub. Hist. Soc. Penna. John Rothrock and Christian Clewell were attached to the Moravian congregation at Schoeneck, Pa.

The original MS. of this Journal, in German, is in the handwriting of Heckewelder, and was translated by Robert W. Henry, of Boulton.

To Isaac Craig, Esq., of Alleghany, William D. McGowan, Esq., of Ligonier, Pa., and H. A. Rattermann, Esq., of Cincinnati, the editor is indebted for valuable assistance in the preparation of his annotations.]

On the afternoon of Easter Monday, April 17th, the several travelers met in Bethlehem. The next day snow fell, & as there were various matters to be attended to, we remained in Bethlehem. The following day, April 19th, we continued our journey to Lititz & Lancaster *via* Emmaus.¹ In Lititz,² where the Brethren expressed their heartfelt interest in our undertaking, we remained until the 22nd, on the morning of which day, we resumed our journey, passing through Manheim and Elizabethtown to Middletown, the total distance being 26 miles.

Manheim is very pleasantly situated on the Chickes³ &

¹ Emmaus, a Moravian settlement in Lehigh Co., was laid out in 1759, and received its name in 1761.

² A Moravian settlement in Warwick township, Lancaster Co., laid out in 1756.

³ Shortened from *Chickisalunga*, which, Heckewelder states, was cor-

contains about 150, mostly small, houses. Glass works were formerly carried on here.¹

Our intention was to proceed direct to Elizabethtown, but having missed the road, we passed near Bro. Beck's, in Mount Joy; consequently we were obliged to retrace our steps, & though unexpected to us, paid our respects to Bro. Beck. At Bro. John Frederick's, we met with a very hearty reception and found good accommodations.² From here we were obliged to pass a mountainous region [Conewago Hills] in order to reach Elizabethtown, where we came upon the wide Lancaster road (that part leading over the Conewago, is bad beyond all description,) and arrived at a seasonable hour in Middletown, where we remained over night. Middletown [Dauphin Co.] is an attractive village, having the Susquehanna on the West side, & on the East the Big Swatara Creek which flows into it about a mile below the village. The Square & the cross streets are in good condition, & the streets running North & South are mostly built up. The houses are built of limestone or brick, —the majority, however, are frame or log houses.

On the morning of the 24th, we made an early start, & notwithstanding the rain, had good roads to Chamber's Ferry, where we took breakfast & then crossed the Susquehanna.³ A half hour is necessary to cross this beautiful river, and while doing so, we had a fine view of Harrisburg, situated on the river, about 2½ miles to the north of us. The country from Middletown to the ferry is very pleasing & exhibits some fine farms. From here we proceeded to Carothers,⁴ 10 miles distant, where we fed our horses, & rupted from *Chickiswalungo*;—i.e., where the ground is full of holes bored by the crab or craw-fish.

¹ These works had been erected by the eccentric and unfortunate "Baron" Henry W. Stiegel, but since 1780 had not been operated.

² The Beck and Frederick families were connected with the Moravian congregation in Donegal. John Frederick's name appears in a list of the taxables of Rapho township as early as 1756.

³ Chamber's Ferry was located a short distance below the present town of Steelton, Dauphin Co., and was on the main route to Carlisle, being several miles nearer than *via* Harris' Ferry (Harrisburg).

⁴ Known as Carother's Spring, at the east side of Hogestown.

remained all night in Carlisle [Cumberland Co.], 8 miles farther on. We observed on our journey to day, that the Locust trees were everywhere left standing upon the fields, their growth not being at all impeded by the young shoots.

On the 24th, we took an early departure from Carlisle & breakfasted, after a ride of 7 miles, at Millers;¹ arrived at 12 o'clock in Shippensburg, & at Strasburg by 5 P.M. The country around Carlisle, a large and attractive town, is similar to that around Nazareth, the only difference being that the lime-stone rocks everywhere protrude, until within a few miles of Shippensburg, where the gravel soil begins, on which is found a fine growth of trees, interspersed with Pines & Locusts. We also noticed along the road, that the Locust was looked upon as a very useful tree, & that it was planted along the fences where no natural growth presented itself.

The country from Miller's Tavern to Shippensburg has a very dry appearance, & we noticed, (as was also the case on the road to Carlisle,) wagons with barrels of water upon them, standing in front of the most thrifty looking farm houses.

Shippensburg [Cumberland Co.] presents an attractive appearance, & contains amongst its inhabitants many industrious mechanics. The town consists chiefly of one street, three-quarters of a mile in length & tolerably well built up, but its main street, as is generally the case with most towns & villages, is much too narrow. It contains probably 250 houses, but is wanting in a mill-stream. A beautiful spring, however, pursues its course through the western part of the town past Rippey's Tavern.²

Strasburg [Franklin Co.] is a new town, near the Blue Mountains, 11 miles from Shippensburg, & at the present time, consists of but one street. We observed here that this

¹ Evidently Mount Rock, where descendants of the name still reside.

² The "Branch Hotel," where President Washington was quartered on his visit to the town, during the Whiskey Rebellion, was kept by William Rippey, who had served in Col. William Irvine's regiment, as captain, in 1776-77.

village, in proportion to its size, contained very few mechanics, but had many stores. The houses, like those of all new towns, are built of logs. The town has a good supply of water but no regular stream. As far as we observed, the small streams of this region flow towards the Conedogwinit. The Blue Mountains, which all along were varying in appearance, presented here, where we were very close to them, an interesting aspect. We had rain on the 25th, until half past 9 o'clock: We now ascended the Blue Mountains, which was easily accomplished, although they are of considerable height.

From here our course led us into a narrow valley, called Horse valley [Letterkenny township], up & down another small mountain called Middle Mountain, then over the Conococheague, which flows inward towards Fannettsburg, a new village in Path valley.¹

The soil is of a red sandy nature, contains also some limestone, & is overgrown with Pine, some White Oak & other similar timber. The trees were very backward & but few green leaves could be seen, in consequence of this being a colder region than that along the Susquehanna.

From Fannettsburg we crossed Tuscarora Mountain, which is of considerable height. The ascent leads up a well broken path, the descent, however, was rough & stony. As far as Fort Littleton or Capt. Burds,² we found a rough

¹ Path Valley (in early deeds called "Tuscarora Valley," through which the "Tuscarora Path" ran) is bounded on the west by the Tuscarora Mountains. The route of our travellers was through the present Metal township, over the west branch of the Conococheague Creek (corrupted from Guneukitschik, signifying "indeed a long way." Heckwelder), which flows in a southerly course through the Valley to Fannettsburg, laid out about 1792. The *Western Advertiser and Chambersburg Weekly* contains the following advertisement: "A NEW TOWN. Notice is hereby given that the subscriber living in Path Valley, Franklin County, proposes about one hundred lots of ground for sale, to be laid out in one street, along the State Road from Conococheague Creek to within a few perches of the cross road in said Valley. The first day of November next, at the house of William Brewster, Storekeeper, to the time and place appointed for the sale of the lots aforesaid."

² Dublin township, Fulton Co. Near the site of the present town a fort

gravel soil, but at Burds, as was also the case in Horse Valley, limestone presented itself. For about 10 miles of the way between Capt. Burd's & Sideling Hill [Fulton Co.] we found an uneven tract, but free of stones. We arrived at this place by 7 o'clock in the evening, & remained over night with Mr. Wiles.

From here we ascended Sideling Hill—where a very extensive view is obtained,—the farms lie far apart & the many continuous mountain ranges run mostly North & South. From Sideling Hill you proceed several miles until you reach the junction of this mountain with Ray's Hill, [Brush Creek township] which here is ascended with little trouble. Upon the whole Sideling Hill, is also easy of ascent, yet stony & well worn by wagons, as many heavily laden teams pass along this road.

This is also, almost without exception, the case from the Blue Mountains onward. From Wile's to Raystown branch of the Juniata, the distance is 10 miles, & from Ray's Hill to the Juniata 4 miles.

The soil from this place on is of a red sandy & slaty nature. Here a German lives, by the name of Thiel, who keeps the Inn & attends to the ferry. Here we breakfasted & then proceeded over an uneven sandy & slaty road towards Hartley's Inn, & passed the first narrows of the Juniata. From the last named place to the present, we found but few & very poor looking settlements. At Hartley's Tavern,¹ & about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the east of the road, the limestone again appeared. The region from Hartley's to within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Bedford is called Morrison's Cove; it has as a general thing, good farming land; the principal wood is Oak & the soil lime-stone.

The road is very crooked & well worn with driving. After a journey of 14 miles we arrived at Bedford. [Bed-

was built in 1756. Capt. Benjamin Burd, 4th Penna. Regiment, at the close of the Revolution settled here, but subsequently removed to Bedford, where he died in 1824.

¹ Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792, near the southern base of Tussey's Mountain.

ford Co.] The town was full of people, as the Supreme Court was in session. It is a thriving little town, contains a Court-house & school-house, but we did not notice any church. We became acquainted with a Mr. Würtz, who showed great hospitality. He offered to open his house & render friendly services to all Moravians who would travel this way in future. Many who formerly lived in Bethlehem, also visited us & were very attentive. The town lies on the Juniata & was formerly called Raystown, and has very fine surroundings. From Bedford we proceeded two miles farther to the residence of Mons. Bonnet, at present occupied by Mr. Ferree,¹ where we remained over night. Here one of the roads turns off to the left through the Glades,—a level & rather thickly settled region, of from 15 to 20 miles in breadth & lying between the Alleghany and Laurel Hills. This road is said to be the best in summer during dry weather, when both mountains are also easy of ascent. There are some fine settlements to be found between Bedford and Mr. Ferree's; the soil is limestone, but the country is very hilly. The majority of the houses on this side of the Blue Mountains, are of good appearance & have nearly all been built since the war.

From Mr. Ferree's we came upon the old Pennsylvania road.² A mile from Ferree's we obtained a sight of the Alleghany, a mountainous region, & but sparsely settled to Ryan's Tavern, a distance of 9 miles. From here it is 3 miles to the foot of the Alleghany, & from there two miles to the top. The ascent of the mountain has been very much facilitated by the labor which has been bestowed upon the road. From the summit to Stattler's & from here to Stoystown,³ a distance of 10 miles, the road is very stony &

¹ Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792, where the road from Somerset joins the State Road.

² The "Pennsylvania State Road," laid out between 1784 and 1785, was the main route, along which our travellers pursued their journey westward.

³ Quemahoning township, Somerset County, and as "Stoys," noted on Reading Howell's Map of 1792.

marshy, especially along Stony Creek,¹ which has four branches, & is crossed by means of bridges. On the Alleghany there is a road turning off to the right which is called the "old road."—This road is said to be at present better than the new one, which was made at the expense of the town, & it is for this reason that the one road is used so much by heavy teams. Stoystown is quite a new village, consisting of some 10 or 12 houses, built as usual of logs. From here on, the road improves. About 3 miles farther we came to the Quemahoning,² a stream with high banks, 150 feet in width, & is crossed by a good bridge. From here we went the entire distance to Squire Wells,³ 2 farther, where we barely succeeded in procuring some food for ourselves, & some oats for our horses, which had today, on account of the bad roads, become exceedingly stiff & hungry. We remained here over night. From here we had about 5 miles to the foot of Laurel Hill, which is very steep, stony & well worn by travel. We breakfasted & fed our horses at Freeman's in Ligonier valley, 7 miles from Wells.⁴ Farther on we met with dryer & better roads. Near Fort Ligonier,⁵ we had a interview with Gen. St. Clair, Governor of the Western territory. We handed him Bro. Ettwein's letter, & also the history of the mission among the Indians.⁶ He expressed himself as feeling friendly disposed

¹ A branch of the Quemahoning. Its Indian name (Delaware) was Sinne-hánne.

² Corrupted from Cuwéi-mahóni, signifying pine-tree lick (Heckewelder). A branch of the Conemaugh.

³ Marked on Reading Howell's Map of 1792.

⁴ From its intersection with the Pennsylvania Road, in Jenner township, Somerset Co., Heckewelder and party proceeded along the old Forbes Road to Freeman's Tavern, in Ligonier township, Westmoreland Co.

⁵ Fort Ligonier, built in 1758, by Col. Bouquet, and named in honor of his friend Sir John Ligonier, was located near the N. E. bank of the Loyalhanna Creek. Its site is now within the corporate limits of the borough of Ligonier, for many years called Ramseytown.

⁶ St. Clair was living at "The Hermitage," near Mill Creek, two miles N. W. from Ligonier. For copy of Bishop Ettwein's letter, see "The

towards us, approved of the object of the Society in sending us hither, & was of the opinion that if the Indians wished to settle there, they could do so without any fear of being disturbed.

There was at present quite a different kind of people living in this region, & it would be unnecessary for them to concern themselves about hostile bands from Virginia. They had greatly changed & were generally in good circumstances. The Governor, on account of the gout, had been obliged to keep his bed for the last four months. Nevertheless, he hoped to meet us in the month of June on the Muskingum, & assured us he would do every thing in his power towards the accomplishment of our object. At half past 12 o'clock we left his house & by 6³⁰ arrived at Dunlap's¹ Tavern, 7 miles from Greensburg.

As soon as we had crossed the Chestnut Ridge, the change in the aspect of the country became very striking. It consists of a beautiful forest of black & white Oak, Hickory, Walnut, and other kinds of fine high trees. The farms which follow in rapid succession, are well laid out, well cultivated, & have good dwelling houses & roomy barns. Meadows & fields were decked with a lovely garment of green.

The road is good & occasionally very picturesque; this becomes the more observable, as from Strasburg to Chestnut Ridge, a stretch of 130 miles of stony & marshy roads, one becomes very much fatigued by the continual ascent & descent of the uninterrupted heights. At Riets', a German, we refreshed ourselves with a good glass of beer, and then rode 4 miles farther to Dunlap's, a family from Ireland, where we took up quarters for the night. From here we rode on the morning of the 29th of April to Greensburg [Westmoreland Co.], 6 or 7 miles from Dunlap's, & from

St. Clair Papers," Vol. II. p. 420. The work referred to in the text was Loskiel's "History of the Indian Mission," etc.

¹ Taking an old road from St. Clair's to Fort Ligonier, our travellers took the Forbes Road again to its intersection with the Pennsylvania Road at Two Mile Run.

here, after having breakfasted, to — a distance of 11 miles, passing the Long Run Meeting-house,¹ & then 12 miles farther passed the Nine Mile run to White's² Tavern. where we staid all night. After having breakfasted on the 30th of April, we left, here, at 9 o'clock for Pittsburgh, where we arrived at noon. The country from Chestnut Ridge to this place, has very much of sameness about it, but is hilly during the first four miles.

The soil seems to be rich & is overgrown with fine black & white Oak, Hickory, Walnut, some Locust & other kinds of trees. There are some very fine farms along this whole stretch of country, the buildings, however, especially the first and last part, are very poor.

Pittsburgh has an uncommonly fine situation upon a promontory, between two rivers, which calmly flow past the town. Both banks of the river have a secure height, & back of the town the land abounds with many little hills, where is found a valuable sand-stone, which is used in nearly all, & especially in building the new houses of the town. A good quality of Grindstone is also found here. In Pittsburgh we met with Bro. Kamp from Graceham,³ who had arrived in town with his family three weeks ago, & had in the mean time purchased a house & some land. He related to us, among other things, that two weeks previous, several Indians had been here, among whom were three who said they had belonged to the Brethren's Church. They had bear's meat and venison to sell. One of them was named John Moses, who said that three weeks before Easter, he had left the Brethren in Fairfield⁴ in good health. In the fall, however, Bro. Senseman⁵ had lain sick for some time

¹ Now in North Huntingdon township, Westmoreland Co. A Presbyterian congregation was organized here about 1781, and at the date of this Journal was in charge of the Rev. William Swan.

² Nine miles from Pittsburgh, and not far distant from the Braddock battle-field.

³ A Moravian settlement in Frederick Co., Maryland, founded in 1758.

⁴ On the river Thames, Canada, founded by Zeisberger in May of 1792, and still the seat of a Moravian Indian Mission.

⁵ Gottlob Senseman, the missionary in charge and sometime Zeis-

with a fever. The Indian who intimated to Bro. Kamp that he had belonged to the Brethren's Church, furthermore related, that he had misbehaved himself & had therefore taken his departure. The Brethren told him, that if he did not change, he would be obliged to seek another abode. Consequently he left the church, but had a desire to return.

Bro. Kamp sent a letter by him to Bro. Senseman, telling him that several Brethren were on their way to the Muskingum for the purpose of surveying the land, & also mentioned the time of their leaving Bethlehem. On the 2nd of May, after various consultations among ourselves, & a talk with Bro. Kamp relative to our departure, we resolved to start from here, by horse, to Charlestown (also called Buffalo), there to provide ourselves with the necessary provisions, & also to hire a pair of packhorses & a guide, the latter to act also as driver. Bro. Henry was to go with the remaining Brethren direct to Muskingum, & from there Bro. Heckewelder was to set out & proceed to the Surveyor General at Marietta. We left Pittsburgh on the 4th of May, at 10 A.M., crossed the Monongahela & proceeded towards Burgettstown, which lies about 23 miles to the westward in Washington County, where we arrived towards evening. Burgettstown¹ is a new place, containing at the present time 12 houses, built of hewn logs. It has also a mill on Raccoon Creek, which flows close by the town. We took up our quarters with George Day,² whose wife treated us very hospitably, & placed before us as good a supper as she was able to provide. The country from Pittsburgh to this place consists of what is usually called broken land, yet not quite as disagreeable as that lying eastward from Fort Pitt. Everywhere can be seen fine forests, & occasionally limestone ap-
berger's assistant in the Ohio Mission. His father Joachim escaped, but his mother was killed in the massacre at Gnadenhuetten, Pa., in November of 1755.

¹ Burgettstown, in the present Smith township, was laid out in 1795, by Sebastian Burgett, a native of Germany, but last from Berks County. About 1785, he had erected a mill on Raccoon Creek.

² George Day, in 1793, erected a tannery, and three years later was the proprietor of a tavern in the town.

pears upon the hills & roads, also stone coal, which is very plentiful. Farms are to be met with all along the road, yet they are mostly new & quantities of dead timber can be seen standing in the fields. From here we started, early on the 5th for Charlestown, on the Ohio, & passing the mouth of Buffalo creek, arrived at our destination by 3 o'clock. We breakfasted with Mr. Patterson,¹ about 10 miles this side of Buffalo & obtained food here for our horses. About 12 o'clock we passed the western boundary of Pennsylvania, probably 6 miles east of Buffalo, on the Ohio. Buffalo² is a new town, but contains already from 90 to 100 houses, all of which are tenanted. An active trade is carried on, & a good quality of flour is produced here, which is sold to the settlers on the Ohio, and is also distributed among the poor. The observations of any note made upon our journey, to day, were similar to those of our previous travel, with the exception that the farms appeared older. There is only one steep hill upon this road, about 1 mile from Charlestown. Here we had the pleasure of meeting two Indians; one a son of White Eyes,³ who is often mentioned in our Mission reports; the other Capt. Bull, a Munsey Indian. Both were willing to accompany us from here to the Muskingum, the distance through the woods being about 75 miles. We rested on the 6th of May, & provided ourselves with bread, flour, some hams, & other necessities, which were to be had

¹ Gen. Thomas Patterson, at Patterson's Mills, 4 miles N.W. of Middletown and 10 miles from Wellsburg. He was member of Congress 1817-1825. His wife was a daughter of Hon. William Findley, of Westmoreland Co. He died Nov. 17, 1841. His mill and farm are now owned by his nephew, William J. Patterson. The Hon. Samuel F. Patterson, of Pittsburgh, is a grandson, and many of his descendants reside in the neighborhood of his old place.

² Wellsburg, Brooke County, West Virginia. It was laid out in 1789, by Charles Prather, for whom it was named Charlestown, but there being two other towns of the same name in the State, it was subsequently named after Alexander Wells, who built a large flour-warehouse in the town, —the first in the West. Heckewelder in this Journal calls the town Charlestown, and also Buffalo.

³ Joseph White Eyes, son of the celebrated Delaware chief of that name, who was baptized by Zeisberger after his return to Ohio.

here in great variety. During a visit of Bro. Heckewelder to the principal land owner of the town, the latter expressed himself in friendly terms, with regard to the Brethren & their object in visiting the Muskingum. He wished to be remembered to us, with the assurance that all Brethren travelling this way in future, could be accommodated here a great deal cheaper than at other points. He had a fine home, plenty of hay & feed, & lives somewhat off from the road. By noon on Sunday the 7th, we had all crossed the Ohio, *viz.* the Brethren Heckewelder, Henry, Kamp, Rothrock, & Clewell; & Mr. John Carr,¹ who was to act as our guide, the Indians Capt. Bull & Joseph White Eyes, who had a pair of pack horses with them, & our friend John Messimer, a Baptist [Dunker] who at present lives in Detroit. We now proceeded through the woods over a bridle-path which leads to Gnadenhütten, the distance being 70 miles.² We marched most of the time in the following order. Heckewelder on horseback, with a frying pan upon his shoulder; sometimes the Indian Capt. Bull led the party, with a rifle upon his shoulder; next Messimer carrying an axe, then Bro. Clewell with an axe, J. Rothrock carrying a rifle, with a pack horse ahead of him; then Joseph White Eyes & Mr. Carr with two pack horses, & then Bro. Henry carrying an axe. In this order we proceeded, one or the other always leading the way. We soon left the main road & came to another steep ascent. Upon the top of this hill we went six miles farther, by a circuitous route, until we reached a branch of Short Creek.³

From here our way led us 4 miles farther through a valley & then 5 miles again over rising ground, when we reached another branch of the before mentioned creek.

¹ See "Journal of John Matthews, 1786," Hildreth's Pioneer History, pp. 184-85.

² The direct route from Charlestown to the Indian towns near the forks of the Muskingum, noted on all early maps.

³ Commonly called "Indian Short Creek," to distinguish it from Short Creek on the Virginia side of the Ohio. Both empty into the Ohio nearly opposite each other. Warren, Jefferson Co., Ohio, is situated just above the mouth of "Indian Short Creek."

Here we encamped for the night, & having hopped most of our horses, allowed them to wander around in the bottoms in order to graze. Our friend Messimer acted as cook. We had for our supper, chocolate & dry bread. Both of the Indians endeavored to secure some meat for our meal, but with out success, although White Eyes had wounded a large bear, but as it became dark too quickly, it escaped.

At break of day, on the 8th, we began to cook our breakfast, & several went out to seek the horses. We did not again see White Eyes, who had gone on ahead in order to kill a pair of Turkeys, until we reached Muskingum. Our horses were no where to be seen. At last Capt. Bull also started out & came across Rothrock & Clewell who were on the track of the beasts, & who had followed them for 6 or 7 miles off the main road into the wildest part of the country. They returned at 1 o'clock, with but four out of the six horses. A new trouble now presented itself. The two missing horses had strayed off from the rest.

After Capt. Bull had eaten his meal, we persuaded him to again set out, which he consented to do, having been promised a dollar for his trouble. He returned towards evening but without success, as the horses had made a large circle & according to his statement, had returned down Short Creek towards the Ohio. We resolved to continue our journey on the 9th & request Mr. Carr to hunt up the horses on his return.

From Short Creek, where we had encamped for the night, we passed over high & hilly ground, the soil of which, as well as that of the forests appeared to be productive. Here & there we met with limestone, but mostly sandstone and coal, until we reached the Gegelemukpechunk Creek [Big Still Water]. We followed this stream, until towards evening, over marshy ground, & afterwards had a very poor road or path. We encamped near the creek for the night, and had for supper a turkey, which our friend Messimer had prepared for us, as also a very good soup made of dumplings. We had found a nest with eggs & had also become possessed of a hindquarter of venison, which Capt. Bull had

killed for us. When we had encamped, Capt. Bull after bringing in the venison, & had again set out, now returned with the news that he had killed a large bear. On the morning of the 10th, Capt. Bull, with the Brethren Clewell & Rothrock started out for the bear skin, some of the meat & fat. The skin & fat were packed down & then, after having breakfasted, we started to ascend the Gegelemukpechunk. For the greater part of the distance, we had the worst road imaginable. It required a great deal of exertion on the part of the horses, in order to ford the numerous & winding streams, whose banks were steep & marshy, in consequence of which they often stuck fast with their riders; then again, they were obliged to leap across some very thick trees, which had fallen across the road. About 6 miles from the Muskingum, Capt. Bull had his canoe lying in the Gegelemukpechunk, and was kind enough to take our heaviest baggage in it. Bro. Henry also accompanied him to the head of the stream, while the rest of the company went by land. This stream according to the interpretation of the name (Gegelemukpechunk Tipoo,) is called the Still Waters. I had never before met with its like, for upon this journey of two days, we had not seen a single ripple upon its surface. The stream is deep & the banks are everywhere perpendicular & sometimes overhanging. It also, as the Indians informed us, contains many fish. We at last, towards evening struck the Muskingum, at the mouth of Gegelemukpechunk Creek. Here we encamped for the night, on the very spot where the Brethren Zeisberger & Jungmann had passed the first night after their captivity.¹ On the 11th, towards noon, we descended the Muskingum to Gnadenhütten. We had some trouble, however, before we left this stream, in coming to terms with our two Indians & White Eye's brother-in-law, with regard to transporting our baggage to Gnadenhütten by water. Finally Capt. Bull remedied this by bringing it two miles down the stream, to where the worst hills had been passed. Here we again packed it upon our horses and arrived towards evening in

¹ See Life and Times of Zeisberger, p. 505, *et seq.*

Gnadenhütten,¹ happy and thankful to that Higher Power which had safely guided us hither. We were well & in good spirits during the whole of our journey; our horses were all fresh & not much affected by the trip & our baggage remained in good condition. The beautiful text of the day seemed especially applicable to us: "They who have set forth upon the sea in ships & have beheld the works of the Lord & his wonders in the sea, they should give thanks unto the Lord, for all his mercies & for the benefits which he has heaped upon the children of men." May his Holy Presence ever protect us upon land & sea! Our Indian companions, Capt. Bull, Joseph White Eyes, & his brother-in-law who had joined us, lived here in camp on the Western bank of the Muskingum river. Bull has two children, twins, about 2 years old; White Eye's brother-in-law also has two children. The older boy was about 6 years of age, and appeared rather comical in his Indian dress. The mother, Capt. White Eye's daughter, also came with her husband (whose name was Herd) to visit us. Her Indian costume was quite stylish. Her head was bare, hair arranged without ornament; her dress was of black silk, & the cloak which reached to her knees of blue cloth & was trimmed with white. The leggins, or stockings, were also of blue cloth & she wore the usual mocasins or shoes. A dark ash colored blanket hung from her shoulders in a graceful manner.

On the 12th of May, we were busy in trying to render things comfortable for ourselves. Bro. Kamp started out with his rifle, and in the hills, met with a nest of young bears, three of which he killed, making quite an addition to our larder, for we had brought but little with us. At 1 o'clock Bro. Heckewelder & our friend Messimer

¹ There were five towns of the name founded by the Moravians,—the first located on the Mahoning Creek, in Carbon Co., Pa.; the second, now the site of Weissport, Pa.; the third, on the site of the second; the fourth in Clay township, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio; and the fifth in the same township as the fourth. With the exception of the third, all were settlements of the Moravian Indian Mission.

started for Marietta, with the intention of calling on Capt. George White Eyes, in order to make him acquainted with the object of our journey, & also to obtain through him a companion for friend Messimer. We took a look at the ruined village & were surprized at the fine situation which it had upon the banks of the stream. But yet alas! with what sorrow were we filled, when we looked back & remembered that this heretofore flourishing town—where the death of Christ was so faithfully preached to blind & ignorant heathen, & where a band of Christian Indians lived under the blessing of God,—should have been burned to the ground & everything destroyed, & even the greater part of the defenceless inhabitants murdered in cold blood by ruthless savages!¹ The whole situation of the town could be easily traced from the ruined chimneys which were still visible. Everything, however, is overgrown with heavy grass, & as this becomes matted down during the winter, we soon perceived that this would serve as a good shelter for numberless snakes. Besides this, the ground was so thickly overgrown with plum trees, hazel-bushes, and black-berries, that there was no getting through them except by means of the paths made by the bears, deer & wolves. This wild mass we set on fire, & obtained thereby considerable more air. Then only did we obtain a correct view of the ruins of the village. Everywhere bones could be seen, & in the cellars of the houses, where some of the Brethren had been massacred & burnt, they were also to be found. The majority of our party spent the 12th, around this place. In the evening Mr. Carr, who had gone with Bro. Heckewelder to White Eye's town,² returned with the news that Bro. Heckewelder had made an arrangement with an Indian to join us next day, to hunt for us. Sunday morning, Bro. Clewell accompanied Mr. Carr on his return journey.

Through the latter, Bro. Henry sent a letter to Bro. Horsfield in Bethlehem, & one to Maj. Connell³ in Charles-

¹ See "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," p. 530, *et seq.*

² Located in Oxford township, Coshocton County.

³ One of the party who landed at Cincinnati, Dec. 28, 1788, to found

town, requesting him to engage for us, 150 lbs flour, 100 lbs bread, & 50 lbs bacon, which was to be forwarded by Mr. Carr; he also asked him to look after our two stray horses. Bro. Henry & Kamp, who had gone out in order to see the country, came across a large pond, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from town, on which they found wild Geese. Bro. Kamp shot two of them. This lake lies in the elevated part of the country, which is level to within a short distance of the former town. We were busy on the 15th, in trying to put our dwelling in better order, which consisted of a piece of canvas, 10 feet long and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, well spanned by means of thin poles, with an opening towards the fire place. This we had used in the woods on our way from Charlestown, & now we made an addition to it with bark in order to provide shelter for our baggage. This evening the Indian, Capt. White Eyes, accompanied by his wife & a white man named Schmidt, came from the western bank of the stream to visit us. White Eyes & the white man, crossed the river on horse-back; the horses being obliged to swim but a short distance. They pitched their tent near ours & we presented them with some flour & White Eyes sent us half a bear. The rest of the time they conducted themselves in a quiet & orderly manner. Bro. Henry entered into conversation with White Eyes & discussed the object of our journey hither. He seemed to be already acquainted with the fact that his family was entitled to a share in the possession of this land, & named his Uncle, Mother, (whose second husband, Penmaholen by name, was an intimate friend of Bro. Heckewelder,) his brother Joseph, & his brother-in-law. Bro. Henry gave him an opportunity to decide whether he & his friends would take possession of certain parts; he was undecided, however, & promised to give all the aid & advice he could when it came to actual measurements, & also to come then to a decision. To day Bro. Kamp shot a Turkey.

the settlement. Subsequently he returned to Wellsburg. "A Col. Connel, who is a farmer and a clerk of County courts of Brooke County, has a very large but unfinished house of hewn stone, near the court house in Charlestown."—*Cumming's Western Tour*, p. 93.

Early on the 16th, Capt. White Eyes with his squaw, proceeded farther. She is a Wyandot, & a strong, well built person. White Eyes seemed rather dubious as to whether some opposition would not be made to his claim, as he had fought against the States in the last Indian war. This fact we obtained from the white man who accompanied him.

This morning we cut down a cherry tree in order to make a canoe, & Bro. Kamp & Rothrock were engaged on it the whole day. Bro. Clewell was busy in the tent with washing & cooking, & Bro. Henry shot a turkey. After breakfast on the 17th, the Brethren Clewell & Rothrock went to work on the canoe. We had had, during the last few nights, hard frost & ice was frozen upon our dishes, consequently we could scarcely keep ourselves warm. Bro. Kamp attended to the horses & did the cooking. Bro. Henry discovered upon his journey to day (as he had done every day since our arrival) coal strata on the Muskingum, which appeared on the surface along the banks, 10 or 12 feet above the water, & which was two feet thick & thirty rods long. We had rainy weather on the 19th, & consequently could not leave our tent. In the evening Capt. White Eyes returned, & pitched his tent near ours. He had gone in search of & had brought back with him some stray horses. It is wonderful how expert these people are in finding a track upon the ground, and are able to follow it for many miles day after day. On the 20th Capt. White Eyes related to us in conversation, that several years ago his father's brother had been with an Indian nation on the western waters of Missouri; which tribe also spoke the Lenapi language. He was received in a very friendly manner, & he & the other refugees, were acknowledged by the Chiefs of the nation as members of their tribe. The Welsh Indians, who according to several statements lived upon the head waters of the Missouri, appeared to be mythical. He had often & also in this case inquired after them, but could discover no traces of the race.¹

¹ In 1796, several Welsh gentlemen, residents of London, corresponded with Heckewelder with regard to these so-called Welsh Indians. The report of his researches while at Vincennes in 1792 (a copy of which is

At 9 o'clock Capt. White Eyes & his squaw descended the stream in all the rain. He lives about 10 miles from here, & belongs to the so-called Turtle tribe. Clewell & Rothrock were engaged upon the Canoe; Kamp & Henry stood guard over the horses, which were grazing in the meadows. This meadow land appeared to have been formerly in good condition & could again be put in the same state with but little trouble; and also could very easily be divided into lots. The former clearing consisted of about 10 acres; but a great deal more could be put into meadows. No stones are to be seen in the bottoms, as well as on the elevated land, & but little sand-stone is found upon the hills. Up to the present time no traces of Limestone have been found upon the land around Gnadenhütten. Mr. Smith who had been here with George White Eyes, said that limestone appeared on the surface around Goschachgüng.¹ The 21st being Sunday, the sacredness of the day was observed in a quiet manner. On the 22nd we measured the breadth of the river at this place & found it to be according to the triangle $247\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The course of the road in the former town runs N 33 W & S 33 E. We also drew 2 lines, 100 rods long, direct north from the shore, to the old path probably leading to Schoenbrunn,² & 100 rods westward, & 103 rods back again to the stream. Towards evening Bro. Rothrock killed a turkey. On the 23rd, we had rain with heavy storms, yet we each separately took a sail in our Canoe & thus obtained a view of the opposite bottom lands. It is not very thickly overgrown with trees, & as the younger growth consists mostly of Cherry, some Honey Locust, Plum & Walnut trees, it could again very easily be put under cultivation. At 5 o'clock on the evening of the 23rd, Bro. Schmick,³ very in the possession of the editor), is in harmony with the information given by White Eyes' uncle.

¹ A Delaware town, located on the left bank of the Muskingum near the junction of the Tuscarawas and Walhonding, in Coshocton County.

² It was located on the east bank of the Tuscarawas River, 2 miles S. E. from New Philadelphia, in Goshen township, Tuscarawas County.

³ Rev. John Jacob Schmick, a native of Prussia, came to America in 1751. He served in the Indian mission in Pennsylvania and Ohio; and

unexpectedly arrived from Nazareth. He came as far as Tuscarawi,¹ with a guide, by way of [Fort] Mac Intosh on Beaver Creek,² & from Three Legs Creek,³ he sailed on the Muskingum in a bark Canoe. On the 24th, we had good prospects of having fair weather, but rain again set in, as we were about to measure the stream. On the 25th & 26th, we proceeded with our measurement. On the 27th, we had another heavy thunder storm, which passed over, however, by evening. To day Bro. Henry made a draught of the Gnadenhuetten tract, which was $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide from East to West & 3 miles from North to South. This tract contains about 4118 acres & 40 rods. If it could be differently divided, 114 acres & 75 rods could be gained by that which is lost by the numerous windings of the stream. Since Bro. Schmick's arrival, we had been able to keep on with our survey for several successive days. We could not leave our camp without a guard, as two strange Germans from Bufalo passed here. On the 5th the Indian, Herd, drove past with his family, and yesterday the two Gallantins⁴ came here from White Eye's town. The 29th again found us in the woods in order to measure the stream. Bro. Kamp being sick, however, we did not accomplish much, also because Bro. Schmick was obliged to remain in Camp. On the 30th we again had heavy rains. On the 31st we ran a line two miles long, to Salem,⁵ which was the greatest day's

while at Friedenshuetten on the Susquehanna, in 1767, began his contribution to Indian philology: "Miscellanea Linguae Nationis Indicae Mahikan dictae, curâ suscepta à Joh. Jac. Schmick," the MS. of which is now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.

¹ At the crossing-place of the trail from Pittsburgh on the Tuscarawas River, on the line of Stark and Tuscarawas Counties.

² At the mouth of Beaver Creek, in Beaver Co., Pa.

³ One Leg Creek, and not Three Legs Creek, as it is sometimes erroneously called, rises in Warren township, Tuscarawas County, flows through Fairfield and Sandy townships, and empties into the Tuscarawas River west of the town of Fairfield.

⁴ The Gallantin family were among the early settlers of West Virginia, and were natives of the Canton Berne, Switzerland.

⁵ On the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, one and a half miles S. W. Port Washington, in Salem township, Tuscarawas County.

work we had done since our arrival here. We returned in the evening very much fatigued. It was the general opinion among us, that our present mode of living had debilitated us, & that with proper food at home we could have accomplished more. On the first of June, we had another slight fall of rain. Still the Brethren Henry & Rothrock started out to hunt up Capt. Bull, as we thought it probable he might be somewhere in our neighborhood. They found his Camp & when they returned he had already arrived with his wife & twin children. He presented us with a deer, for which we were very thankful, as our flour had given out & we had eaten our last meat for breakfast.

The programme for each day was arranged in the following manner: In the morning at day-break we were awakened by the cackling of the turkeys & the cawings of the crows. Rothrock generally took the horses to pasture; Clewell & Schmick brought the wood to Camp; Kamp prepared the dough for the bread; by this time the fire was in full blaze & then the bread was baked, & the chocolate or coffee prepared. Each one of the company had his own cup, spoon & knife. The chocolate or coffee was boiled in a brass kettle; each one filled his cup & sat down, upon the ground, to breakfast at about 8 o'clock. Instead of butter or lard, we very often substituted fried venison, turkey or bears fat, & sometimes also bacon. The pan was placed in the middle, & each one took his share & dipped his bread in the floating fat; the chocolate or coffee tasted very good without even milk. Then we continued our work in the woods; and as a general thing, we did not return until 5 or 6 o'clock. We had a very hard time of it in the woods, one could neither sit nor stand still for a minute, on account of the mosquitoes.

We were in considerable straits, yet not without hope as our Heavenly Father had not let us want in necessities, & had kept us all in good health, with the exception of Bro. Kamp, who was obliged to remain indoors for two days. On the 2^d, while we were busy in the woods surveying, Mr. Richardson¹ arrived from Buffalo, with two pack horses

¹ *Query.* Dr. Andrew Richardson, of Pittsburgh.

bearing flour and some meat for us. We were glad & thankful for this relief which the Lord had sent us through Major Connell in Charlestown. The driver returned at noon to day & we sent by him two letters to be mailed to Nazareth & Bethlehem.

The heat was very sultry, & our drinking water which was obtained from the Muskingum, on account of its being so warm did not slack our thirst. In the evening we had some tea & bread prepared in the usual manner. While the meal was being prepared, some of us were engaged in taking the horses to graze & the rest in providing wood for the night, or else one of us went out after game. As soon as it became dark we laid ourselves to rest upon two bear skins, and huddled close together on account of the cold. We frequently could not sleep on account of our feet getting cold, as the fire generally went out by midnight. When it rained, our feet & covering became wet. We finally accustomed ourselves to cover up our faces with our hats & then lay quiet during all the rain.

On the 3rd, we were again engaged in surveying the road to Salem, & returned in the evening much fatigued. On the 4th, we quietly kept the observances of Whitsuntide & remained in Camp.

On the 5th Schmick, Clewell & Rothrock went out in search of Salem. Bro. Henry was indisposed & could not go along; they did not however, after a hard day's work arrive at the town, as the woods were so thick with undergrowth that the old path could not be found. On the 6th the above named three brethren, together with Bro. Henry, started out on horseback, on the same errand, & towards noon arrived at the site where Salem had formerly stood. They found, however, fewer relics or traces of the village than here in Gnadenhuetten. There is a large bleak flat east of the town which must be very cold, as there is nothing to be found growing upon it but a small species of oak, unknown in our region, but which according to Bro. Kamp's statement, is called Red Jack in Carolina. The leaf resembles that of the peach but is somewhat longer, & the bark

as well as the wood, resembles that of the young black oak. On the 7th & 8th, we were engaged in providing ourselves with better shelter, as our present abode had, on account of the numerous rains, become so bad that we could not remain in it any longer. We also resolved on the evening of the 8th, to send our horses to Charlestown to pasture them there with a farmer, as the flies, & especially the gad flies, were so bad here that the horses ran around in the woods like mad & we were afraid that they would either stray off or die of hunger. On the morning of the 9th, the Brethren Rothrock & Kamp departed for Charlestown with the horses, and a letter of introduction to Major John Connell. Bro. Rothrock was to return with the driver who was expected back the following week. Bro. Kamp, however, was to follow his own & Clewell's stray horses a few days longer & then return to Camp.

At 10 o'clock on the 9th of June, our good friend Bro. Heckewelder arrived with Genl. Putnam, his son William, & company in two Canoes.¹ Bro. Heckewelder brought some flour & other necessities with him. On the 10th, the surveyors went to work, soon after breakfast; & ran up the stream as far as the Gnadenhuetten tract was to extend. Sunday the 11th, we passed quietly in Camp & rejoiced over the fair prospects which we had for the accomplishment of our object. In the evening we were visited by the General, who had yesterday told us, that he had carefully read over the Indian Mission history, which we had handed him the day before, & that the part relating to the bloody fate of the town had brought tears to his eyes.² We were now glad that Bro. Heckewelder had forgotten to take the book along with him to Marietta, especially as our dear friend, who himself had already visited the place where these terrible scenes were enacted, was anxious to read the account & had time during the first few days to do so.

¹ Refer Lanman's "Biographical Annals," p. 347. In 1792, Heckewelder, at the request of Secretary of War Knox, accompanied Gen. Putnam to Vincennes on the Wabash, to treat with the Indians for peace.

² Loskiel's "History of the Indian Mission," etc.

On the 12th, we again engaged in surveying the land & water, & a part of our company worked on our hut. On the 13th & 14th, the General & his son took the reckonings of the stream, & in the evening of the latter day, we decided upon the boundary of the Gnadenhuetten land. On the 15th & 16th & part of the 17th, the surveyors were busy in running the prescribed line. Bro. Henry went with them to arrange about the land, & on the 17th, he brought about the division according to his draught. In the afternoon of the latter day, Bro. Rothrock returned from Buffalo, bringing with him two pack-horses laden with flour and other necessities, and was also accompanied by two men, A. Richardson & Thomas Carr, who were to assist in laying out the land. We had upon the whole a busy week. Four gentlemen, Abraham and Henry Gallantin,¹ Jacob Ehrhardt & Daniel Malloy, had arrived from Buffalo, in order to inspect the land, & to rent several tracts, should they be suited. On Friday Capt. Martin,² one of the surveyors took up his quarters near Genl. Putnam. They consulted his compass & this morning passed here on their way to the Still Water, in order to hunt up the line of the seven Ranges, & then from this point to begin the division of the Military land. Our people here in Gnadenhütten, were busy until the 24th in running the line of division & finished the same. Bro. Henry had for his substitute a Mr. Whipple,³ one of Genl. Putnam's people, instead of Adams. He understood the compass thoroughly & was very industrious. On the 20th & 21st the Brethren Henry & Heckewelder, were both in Salem, in order to decide with Genl. Putnam, upon the Salem line. He had gone hither with his men on Monday. We viewed the greater part of this tract & were well satisfied with the boundary line as proposed by the General. Salem, upon the whole, has a fine situation, & possesses a great deal of good farm land, as well as meadows.

¹ A Henry Gallantin was a member of the Ohio Legislature 1822-23.

² *Query.* Simeon Martin, one of the pioneers under Gen. Rufus Putnam, who first landed at Marietta in 1788.

³ *Query.* The son of Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Marietta.

The surveyors finished their survey of this place by the 23rd, & passed by here this morning at 11 o'clock. The General took up his quarters in his old Camp. On the 25th, one of our hired men, named Adams, was taken down with fever, & both A. Richardson & Thomas Carr returned to Buffalo. We had resolved to defer the survey of the Salem land, as we thought that we, & especially Bro. Henry, were not well enough acquainted with this large & beautiful tract, & therefore, concluded that we could lay it out to more advantage should we defer it until fall. Consequently we clearly saw that it was necessary, under the circumstances, to first see this place or section of land settled, (especially as the tenants lived together in the neighborhood,) before we proceeded to the division of the other tract.

To this end we made a draught of the Gnadenhuetten division & appropriated the principal line to the laying out of a regular village, which we hope to bring about this week. The four men—Abraham & Henry Gallantin, Daniel Malloy & Jacob Ehrhardt, remained with us during the week, & we agreed to allow them to build on the lower lots of the Gnadenhütten tract, subject, however, to the direction of the Society, on whom we promised to use our influence. On the 26th, the Brethren Henry, Heckewelder & Clewell, together with Genl. Putnam, went in his Canoe to Schoenbrunn & inspected to day & on the 27th, the greater part of the land, & especially that immediately around the town. After the surveyors had finished the measurement of the stream, we fixed the place of this tract.

It contained besides that lying immediately around both of the towns, a very valuable piece of meadow land extending southward along the stream. It was $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in breadth & 3 miles in length, running North & South. It is worthy of remark, that when one has passed the hilly road which lies north of the Gnadenhütten land, running from North East to South West, we meet, on both sides of the stream, with a very fine & broad piece of meadow land extending as far as the Still Water. Here the decrease of breadth becomes very apparent. About one mile above the

Still Water, on the east side of Grindstone Hill, we met with remarkably fine layers of sand stone, which lie upon the surface & are from a few inches to 18 inches in thickness. From here on we again find meadows, the borders of which generally lie low & are subject to inundations. The stream has, as far as the Still Water, very small windings in its course from the Northeast. From Gegelemukpechunk, however, the course of the stream runs from the North West & many islands & sand banks are to be seen.

At 12 o'clock the Brethren Henry & Clewell returned by water to Gnadenhütten. Towards evening three canoes full of Indians came to visit us. The chief Penmaholen,¹ Capt. Fréth & five other males, six females & five children formed the party. Bro. Heckewelder had remained with Genl. Putnam in order to accompany him to Tuscarawas, after the survey of the Schoenbrunn land and as Penmaholen had come with the sole object of visiting him, & amongst us none could be found that was able to speak the Indian language with him we were in a quandry. Among the Indians however was a woman who could speak some English, & who, according to her statement, was a niece of William Henry in Fairfield.² We presented them with some flour & as they sat down quietly beside us & smoked their Gilickinik, we regarded each other as silent guests. Penmaholen was dressed in a very respectable manner. He wore a hat, and an undershirt made of silk, over which he wore a shirt made of light satin, & otherwise appeared very cleanly. There were some friendly Indians among them. The majority of them were stoutly built & the men were of middle height, while the females were still smaller. These people differ from the Europeans in this respect, that they are very straight-backed. On the 30th, Rothrock & Gallantin returned by land from Schoenbrunn whither they had gone by water with Bro. Schmick on the 27th. Through them Bro. Henry

¹ This chief and his wife were baptized by Zeisberger at the new town of Goshen, in March of 1799,—the first of the renewed Indian Mission in Ohio.

² Refer Pa. Mag., Vol. X. p. 117, under Killbuck.

received, from Genl. Putnam, the plan of the Shoenbrunn land, with the request that we remain here until next Tuesday or Wednesday, when he & Bro. Heckewelder expected to be with us. In the afternoon of the first of July, Bro. Schmick arrived from Schoenbrunn with W^m. R. Putnam & a part of the surveyors. They had been present at the survey yesterday evening. In the afternoon the Indians left us. To Penmaholen we presented some chocolate, sugar &c. He was very friendly, & with two families left for White Eye's town, while the others ascended the stream. On the 2nd, we remained in Camp as quietly as if it were Sunday. On the 3rd, we decided to wait for the return of Bro. Heckewelder, with Genl. Putnam & in the meantime, finished the preparations for our departure. Both arrived this evening quite unexpectedly. On the 1st they had come as far as Fort Laurens,¹ & on the 2nd rowed up as far as the fording and back, where they met with a number of Indians, who were very friendly. Of the surveyor Ludlow,² whom the General expected to meet here, they heard nothing. The General pointed out the trees which were to form the boundary line between the government & Indian possessions. This morning they again returned. Genl. Putnam & his people having rested with us on the 4th, loaded all their things in their Canoe, as also some of ours, such as the kettle, frying-pan, the flour which was left over & various articles which are to be left at Marietta for us. They de-

¹ Built by General McIntosh in 1778, on the right bank of the Tuscarawas, a short distance below Sandy Creek, in Tuscarawas County.

² Israel Ludlow, of New Jersey, who was appointed by Colonel Thos. Hutchins, Surveyor-General of the United States, to survey the tract of land sold by Act of Congress to the New Jersey Company in 1787. In 1789 he became associated with Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson in the proprietorship of the land on which Cincinnati was afterwards laid out. He owned a large farm five miles from the Ohio, on which a block-house was built, known as Ludlow's Station,—the first military post beyond Fort Washington. He was commissioned to run the boundary-line agreeably to the treaty made by Gen. Wayne with the Indians, in 1795, at Greenville. His wife was Charlotte, second daughter of Gen. James Chambers, of Franklin Co., Pa. See Memoir of Charlotte Chambers, by her grandson Lewis H. Garrard.

parted at 8 o'clock with the Brethren Heckewelder & Rothrock. As there was no hope of seeing our Indian Brethren here, we decided to begin our return journey. We were very thankful to the Lord for his protection & assistance during our travels, & for having kept us all in tolerable good health, none of us having been sick, notwithstanding all the bad weather which we encountered, especially during the first four months. About 11 o'clock we mounted our horses & started past the place where Gnadenhütten formerly stood.

Nun danket alle Gott! [Now all praise the Lord!] By evening we reached a hunter's lodge, about 30 miles from Gnadenhuetten, & here allowed our horses to roam in the woods. Before retiring to rest, we protected ourselves against snakes; for our Guide had met with a large rattlesnake soon after our arrival; the high grass, alone, prevented him from being bitten. On the 5th, we arose at the break of day, breakfasted & continued our journey. By pressing our horses pretty hard, we reached Charlestown in the evening, & stopped with Mr. Prather. We rested here on the 6th & Bro. Henry employed the time in settling our accounts with Major Connell & others, who had been appointed to meet us here. Many inquiries were made about the Muskingum land, by people of the neighborhood, who were anxious to lease it from the Society. From what we heard & according to all appearances, there were many farmers amongst them. Bro. Henry told them that his instructions would not give him the power to lease the land, but promised to forward their request to the Society & see that they would have an answer, through Major Connell, by the end of October.

In answer to the inquiries of these people as to the probable rent, (which could not be definitely fixed) we named on a valuation of from \$16 to \$20 *per* 100 acres & would give a 21 year lease. It seemed necessary in locating strangers, that a short lease should be first given, before they should settle permanently. The number of applicants amounted to fifty families.

No objection was made to the rent & instead of thinking

it too much, every one appeared well satisfied with the price. We left Prather's, in Charlestown, on the afternoon of the 7th of July, & took a new road¹ leading to the town of Washington, & by evening arrived at Middletown, a new village about 12 miles from Buffalo.

We took up our quarters at the Inn of a Mr. Stewart, but passed a very restless night, as most of the inmates of the house were whiskey drinkers.² We left Middletown at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 8th & by noon arrived in Washington, [Washington Co.] where we lodged with a German baker by the name of Carl Valentine.³ To this place, we caused to be transferred our things which had been left in Pittsburgh, & Bro. Henry also sent a messenger back to Charlestown for various other articles. This detained us until the afternoon, when every thing appeared to be in readiness. Washington is a fine village, with an elevated situation, has rather a broad stream, & good water in the wells, except where they are dug through the coal strata, in which case the water is not drinkable.

Most of the houses are of frame or logs. Yet there are many built of sandstone & also some of brick. Besides the Court house, it contains about 200 houses all of which are two stories high.

Early on the morning of the 11th, we left Washington, & by evening reached Col. Weygandts, who received us in a friendly manner. We took dinner with him. His brother in law, L. Stocker Esq.,⁴ came with his wife to see us & both

¹ See advertisement Joseph Parkinson, foot-note, p. 155.

² West Middletown, Hopewell township, Washington Co. It was first called Middletown by reason of its being equidistant between Washington and Wellsburg, and when application was made for a post-office, was given its present name, because there was another town of the name in the State,—Middletown, Dauphin Co. Galbraith Stewart, one of the earliest residents of the town, kept the first hostelry in 1795. He died in the winter of 1847-48.

³ Carl (Charles) Valentine's name appears on the Assessor's list of Washington as early as 1789, and between 1791 and 1805 as proprietor of the "White Goose Tavern." Query, the *White Swan*? The "Valentine House" of to-day perpetuates the name.

⁴ Residents in what is now Carrol township, Washington Co. De-

they & Weygant rode with us as far as the Monongahela, where they took a friendly farewell, sending many messages to their friends in Nazareth.

The distance from Washington to Weygant's is 17 miles, from there to Parkinsons Ferry $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, & to Sansom's Black Horse $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles.¹

At Sansoms we had tolerable good accommodations. We took an early start & arrived at the Yough,² which we forded, as we had done the Monongahela. The distance from Sansoms to Tho^s Greer's Tavern is 11 miles; 13 miles from there to Stockton's on the Chesnut Ridge; & 14 miles to Eberts on the east side of Laurel Hill or the beginning of the Glades. The country from Charlestown to Chesnut Ridge does not vary much.

It has a very productive soil, unusually large & fine timber, and finely situated plantations. Yet much dead timber is to be seen standing upon the fields. Many new houses are everywhere in course of erection. This country, however, has many deep valleys & the water gives out early in summer. Consequently one meets with many tread-mills, with which the farmers grind their own corn & with their own horses, paying as much toll as is usually taken by those mills which are run by water. Coal is also to be met with everywhere in this section, & but few stones are to be seen.

scendants of both still reside in the township. Stockertown, Palmer township, Northampton County, perpetuates the name of that family.

¹ Parkinson's Ferry came into notoriety during the Whiskey Rebellion. The following extracts are from the Washington (Pa.) *Telegraphe* of July 25, 1796: "A New Town called Williamsport Is laid out by the subscriber on the banks of the Monongahela River, below the mouth of Pigeon Creek in Washington County, well known by the name of Parkinson's Ferry. . . . It is situated on the Main Road leading from Philadelphia to Washington, West Liberty, Wheeling and Charlestown on the Ohio River. . . .

"JOSEPH PARKINSON."

The road from Williamsport eastward was and is still known as the Williamsport Turnpike. Sansom's was in the forks between the Monongahela and Youghiogeny, a little more than half-way between Williamsport and Robbstown, now West Newton.

² The Youghiogeny River.

The majority of the inhabitants are English & have but recently emigrated. There are also, in certain sections, German farmers who keep to themselves. On the 13th we went from here through the Glades, a section of country between the Laurel Hills & Alleghanies which is thickly settled with Germans. It contains a great deal of fine meadow land; Oats are also raised here to a great extent. A great deal of level land, with many mountain ridges is also to be seen. Several miles farther on we breakfasted & fed our horses, at Mr. Snyder's in Somerset, (a new village) the principal town of the County of the same name. The town has an elevated & dry situation & it is but two years since it was first laid out. It contains now about 25 or 30 houses, most of which are two stories high. They have a small prison, but as yet no Court house. From here we rode 11 miles farther to the top of the Alleghany & fed our horses at Keller's Inn. We were here overtaken by a thunder storm, which caused some delay. We then descended the mountain & passed through a very rough & sparsely settled district, with a hard dry soil, reaching Wright's Tavern, 14 miles distant, where we remained over night. We started from here early on the 4th & by 10 o'clock reached Bonnets' former Tavern, & at the same time came into the old Pennsylvania road, which we have already partly described.

We passed through Bedford & called on Bro. Würtz, but did not find him at home. By evening we reached Mr. Enslys, 3 miles east of the Juniata ford.

By the evening of the 15th, we had safely crossed the mountains to Strasburg, where we passed the night with Mr. Ralston. We were thankful to the Lord for having suffered us to pass so quickly through such great heat over this rough country. We expected, now to reach home in a few days, at which we greatly rejoiced. On the 16th we rested somewhat longer than usual, breakfasted with Mr. Ralston, rode a distance of 31 miles, passing through Shipensburg, & by evening reached our German landlord in Carlisle, who treated us in a very hospitable manner. On the next day (17th), after we had our saddles & various other

things repaired, we started from Carlisle at 11 o'clock, crossed the Susquehanna & reached Harrisburg, where we spent the night with Mr. Ott.¹ This town has many fine houses, & its situation is advantageous to trade, but is not very healthy on account of the marshy bottoms on Paxton Creek which flows near the town.² On the 18th we left Harrisburg at sunrise, arrived in good time at Hummelstown [Dauphin Co.] & breakfasted with Mr. Fox.³ From here we passed through Palmstown⁴ & Millerstown⁵ to Lebanon [Lebanon Co.] & reported to the brethren Fritz in Hebron,⁶ who rejoiced at our safe return, by evening we reached Womelsdorf,⁷ passing through Myerstown.⁸ From here we started early on the 19th passing Reading Kutztown [Berks Co.], & arrived in Nazareth⁹ at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 20th, glad & thankful for the love & mercy of our Savior who had safely brought us home!

¹ Nicholas Ott's name appears on Assessor's lists of the township about the date of this Journal.

² Corrupted from *Peetstank*, signifying, *where the waters stand* (Heckewelder). The name is written also *Peshtang* and *Pestank* in early official papers.

³ John Fox kept an inn on the Harrisburg, Ephrata and Dowingtown Road at this date.

⁴ The present town of Palmyra, on the Harrisburg and Reading turnpike, in Londonderry township, Lebanon Co. It was laid out by John Palm during the Revolution and called Palmstown.

⁵ Annville, on the Lebanon Valley Railroad, six miles from Lebanon, was laid out by Abraham Miller in 1762, and by him called Annville. It was, however, called Millerstown for almost a century.

⁶ About a mile east from the borough of Lebanon, where, between 1751 and 1848, the Moravians had a large stone church. In 1761, it was proposed to lay out a town to be called Hebron, and the land was surveyed,—but the town was never built. During the Revolution, the church was used at times to quarter Hessian prisoners in and for storage of munitions of war. See Penna. Mag., Vol. IX. p. 113.

⁷ On the Berks and Dauphin Turnpike, 14 miles west of Reading, was settled in 1723.

⁸ Founded by Isaac Myers in 1768, and from him took its name.

⁹ The second settlement made by the Moravians in Northampton Co., Penna.

BEFORE QUEBEC, 1776.

[The writer of the following letter, Samuel Hodgkinson, of Burlington, N. J., was a sergeant in Captain Jenkins's company, First Pennsylvania Battalion, Colonel John Philip de Haas, and served with it through the Canada campaign. The original is in the collection of the late Samuel J. Christian, Esq., of this city.]

HEAD QUARTERS, ABRAHAM'S PLAINS,
NOW IN CAMP BEFORE QUEBEC.

HONOURED PARENTS,

I am very glad to have so favourable an opportunity of letting you know of my arrival at this place after a very fatiguing march of about 750 miles which went very hard with me at first, but after a while I got used to it and thought nothing of it. When we arrived here, to my surprise I found John Cobourn here, with whom I embrace this opportunity of writing to you. We thought that Mr Cobourn was gone to London with Peter. I received a letter from you the 26th day of March bearing date January 31st, and was exceeding glad to hear from home. I received it by Mr Brice who is our Ensign, but he did not overtake us till we came to camp. I wrote home to Frederick from Albany by Mr Wharton the Commissary, dated about the 10th of February. We stay in Albany about eight days, and then proceeded to Montreal, and when we arrived there made an enquiry for James Simpson and found him out, and he was as glad to see me as if I had been his own brother, and he used me as such. I met with another good friend in Montreal. The day we marched into Montreal there was a Captain looked very hard at me, and came up and said he had seen me before, and asked me what parts I came from. I told him I was a Jersey Boy. He asked me what part. I told him from Burlington. He told me then he did not know me, but that there was a Burlington Girl in the city that would be very glad to see one that could give any information about Burlington. He told me where to find her, but I could not. The next day I met the Cap-

tain again, and he sent one of his men to show me the house, and after enquiring I found it was William Shadaker's sister, that married Mr Busby. After we had a little conversation she found out who I was. She was very glad to see me, and used me exceeding kind and so did her husband. They invited me to make my home there, but my business would not let me, as they lived at one end of the town and I at the other, but as we laid in Montreal ten days I used to go every day either to dine or breakfast there. So I beg that you will go to Shadakers and let him know that they are all well, and in four days before we marched from Montreal to Quebec Solomon Shadaker came in with the Jersey Blues and since has come to the camp. I have been just thirty days in camp from this date. I have had a great deal of satisfaction since we have been here. You may think that being a soldier will make a person neglect his business, but, my ever esteemed parents, I can convince you to the contrary, for being a soldier in peacable times, and one that is in this service is quite contrary. Any man would rather work in the mines than undergo the fatigue of the march that our battalion has, not our battalion alone, but every man that enters in the service, and I like and esteem every person that does the same. I was sensible that I should be obliged to undergo hardships in so doing, so my honoured parents I am not deceived. But it is all for the good of the cause, and I hope I shall live to see you all and be a comfort to you. My honoured parents therefore I hope wont think anything of the hardships I endure in this campaign, as I dont. And if the Almighty God spares my life till it is over, I will come home let the cost or consequence be what it will. What is doing duty at home to what it is out here, for we are here one night off and the other on. If not upon guard we are upon the working party. We have a fine bomb and gun battery erected at Point Levy and that plays sweetly upon the lower town, and has drove them into the upper town. And they have a play upon the upper town as well as the lower town. We have three batteries more erecting to play upon the upper town, and when they

are done, I think that we will be able to cope with them, let them do what they please, unless they get a reinforcement. But there is no fear of any troops to assist them till we have the honour to gain the town, and then it will be too late.

There is not one day gone over our heads but there has been continual firing from the town, and at nightfall signals from one part of the town or the other. Our advance guard is close under the walls, and our main guards not far from them. The advance guard is so close to the walls that we can hear the sentries converse with one another; and we are obliged to retreat back to the main guard at daybreak. We had one clever fellow of a corporal shot through the head with a 12 pounder, standing in the main guardhouse door. He belonged to our battalion. And one of the Jersey Blues had his leg shot off at Point Levy, and he died the same day. And that was the only person killed since our battalion came here.

I think it is now time for me to give you a description of our camp. It is nigh four miles in length, and better than two in width. It is pretty thick with houses, and the troops have all the houses to live in. There are two divisions—the Upper Division, and the Lower Division. The First Pennsylvania Battalion, that is our Battalion, and some of the New England Troops, with a party of Harty [heartly] Riflemen command the lower division. The Lower Division lays at the bottom of a very great hill upon a clever level. The house our company is in is called the White House. It is a very large one. There are three companies in it, viz: Capt. Williams, Capt. Jenkins, and Capt. Davis's. There are three large rooms in it, and one company lays in each, besides the officers of each company. Our house lays about one mile and a half from Quebec. We have a very clever prospect of Upper town. Lieut. Col. Ervine [Irvine] and Major Morris lay at the alarm post that is half a mile nigher the town than we lay, and in the same Division. The Upper Division is upon a large hill. The house we live in is called Head Quarters, that is the house the General lives in. Necessaries in the camp are very dear. Rum four shillings a quart, and that the worst of Yankee. Chocolate three

and nine pence pr pound. Brown sugar two and sixpence, and everything else in proportion. I have been four or five days a writing this letter as I can't stick to it but a little while at a time, for I am called away for something or another, either guard, fatigue, or working party, or exercising the men.

A day or two ago I had the pleasure to hear of my brother Peter's arrival in Philadelphia, which gave me a great deal of satisfaction; and I hope I shall have the pleasure to see him in Philadelphia in July or August next, if not sooner, that is, if we have the luck to take Quebec. For if we do, and I live, I think to be home by that time, for our Battalion will go after the siege. What is left will go to take the back forts, for there are a few regulars in them, and then we shall come to Fort Pitt, and from thence to Philadelphia. Mind, I think we shall be there about July or August, if not so, you may depend upon it as soon as my time is out I will make the best of my way home. Tell Peter that I could not write to him, that is, if he is at home. But I expect by the time you get this he will be gone. But you must make this serve the whole family, and the next time I write I will write to the whole family. I hope you wont forget to remember me to everybody that enquires after me. Be sure and remember my kind love to all the Burlington people, John Neale and all the family, John Hodgkinson and his wife, all M^r Booskirk's family, M^r & M^{rs} Mitchell, M^r & M^{rs} Adamson and daughter, M^r & M^{rs} Sprogall, M^r & M^{rs} Wagner, M^r Powel and all in the shop; M^r Davy Simpson, Betty Simmons, and all I have forgot I beg you will remember. I beg Anthony will be a good lad and do duty by his mother, refrain from bad company, and never neglect going to a place of worship, and then he will be a comfort to his as well as my dutiful mother, that always has done her best to bring us all up in the word of God. I hope my dear brother you will read this and take my advice, as it may be the last you will see from me, but I dont despair in the least of coming home soon again. I have a little to say to my sister Dolly. I beg she may remember her father and mother also, that have done all that lay in their power to

bring her up as genteel as they could. I beg she will be obliging to them, and never leave them till she does as her sister Betsy has done, and then she may expect their blessing and ever expect to thrive. As for giving my sister Betsy advice, if there was any need of it, I might. But you my dear sister, you have done your duty by me as well as your honoured parents, and may the Almighty God ever bless you and Frederick, may you ever live in peace and tranquility, may [you] do your duty by him, as you have done, and I make no doubt he will do for you and your child. Give my kind love to my dear little Kitty and your son Peter, and give my kind compliments to M^r & M^{rs} Barkley. As for my brother Bethanath he has done his duty by his as well as my parents and is settled, and I pray God that he may bless him and his wife and children, and that he may settle himself at home if he can make out any way in the world; for if he goes abroad and leaves his family behind I am afraid that his family will suffer; and I hope, my dear brother, you will try and content yourself at home, and be a comfort to your aged mother. As I am the first that came away of us all, I hope you wont, none of you, reflect upon me for so doing, but cry and pray for my success and my doing well, and you may ever enjoy. I shall ever pray for you all, and may the Great God Almighty ever bless and protect you all. And if I should never return I hope you wont think nothing of it, for if I die you may depend upon it I will die like a good soldier, never flinch from the walls, but do all that lays in my power to, to be a credit to you all. Adue! adue! my dear friends for the gentleman will be a waiting for me, and I cannot stay one moment. It is Doctor Coates. I wrote this ten days or two weeks ago, and missed of the opportunity, and just met M^r Coates. I could write if I had time as much more if I had time. I have a proper Journal of every individual since I left home, and intend to keep one till I come home. Dont forget to remember me to everybody. So farewell.

SAMUEL HODGKINSON
Sergt. of the 1st Pa. B.

April 27, 1776.

CHRISTOPHER WHITE.

BY BARCLAY WHITE.

Christopher White, a son of Thomas White, was born at Omnar, in the county of Cumberland, England, about the year 1642. Entering the trade of a house-carpenter, he removed to London in 1666, the year of "The great fire," where he shortly after married Ellen Leath, a widow, and daughter of John Wyatt, of York. She dying early, left a daughter Elizabeth, who, in 1691, married William Bradway, of Salem County, New Jersey, and left issue.

Christopher White and Hester Biddle were married 11 mo. 16, 1668, in Ratcliff Meeting of Friends, as appears by the record of that meeting, their residence at this time being at Ratcliff, in the parish of Stepney, Middlesex County, now in the city of London.

In May of 1675 he purchased of John Fenwick one thousand acres of land in his "Tenth" of West Jersey, which was surveyed the same year by Richard Hancock, surveyor for Fenwick, and located on the south side of Monmouth River, or Alloways Creek, in Salem County.

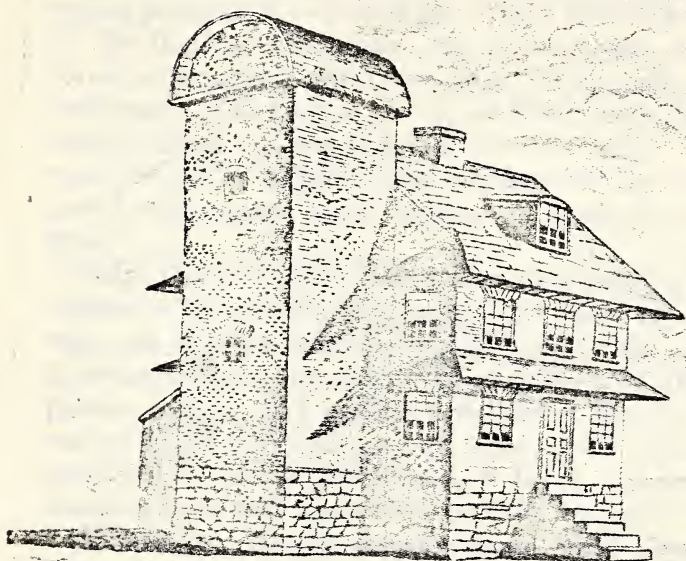
While still residing in London he signed "The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West Jersey in America," contained in forty-four chapters, and dated March 3, 1676, which became the fundamental law for West Jersey, and proved to be "a foundation for after-ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians."

In the year 1677, Christopher White and wife, his daughter Elizabeth, their son Josiah, with an apprentice, and a man and a maid-servant, embarked at London on the ship "Willing-Mind," John Newcomb, Master, and landed at Elsingborg, on the Delaware, whence they proceeded to Salem, arriving there 6 mo. 23, 1677.

Christopher White obtained from Fenwick a title for sixteen acres of land in the town of Salem, and erected a house in which the family resided until 1682. He was returned as a Member of the General Assembly of the Province in 1684, and during that and the succeeding year was chosen for "The Council," becoming *ex-officio* a Justice of the Peace.

In the year 1690, Christopher White constructed on his Monmouth River Plantation the largest and most substantial brick dwelling-house of any built in the Fenwick Colony prior to 1700. It was located on the northwest side of the "King's Highway" (a road one hundred feet wide, which had been laid out from Salem to Maurice River), about forty rods southeast from Cooper's Creek, a tributary of Monmouth River, opposite to and about half a mile distant from the Friends' Meeting-House, which he had constructed on the other side of the river, and about three-fourths of a mile from the present Hancock's Bridge. The house was built in the form of a cross, and tradition says that the bricks were imported from England. Judge Carll, who occupied it for some years, and was present when it was taken down, has left the following description, from which the cut which accompanies this paper was based :

"The main building was thirty feet by twenty feet, two stories high ; the stories were nine feet in height. At the east end of the house was a wing ten feet square in the form of a tower, in that was the stairway leading to the second story and garret. There were overshoots that projected from the eaves of the roof about four feet in width and extended around the gable ends of the house, which at a distance gave to it the appearance of having a tower at each corner. The cellar was only three feet under ground. It was paved with pressed brick six inches square, made of the finest clay. The walls from the foundation up to the windows of the first story were eighteen inches in thickness ; above they were thirteen inches thick. Six stone steps, six feet in length and one foot in thickness, led up to the main entrance of the building. Two white-oak ties eighteen inches square supported the joist of the floors. The timbers



RESIDENCE OF CHRISTOPHER WHITE.

1690.

were of white oak, the floor-boards of yellow pine clear of sap and knots, eighteen inches in width and one and one-half inches in thickness. The partitions and doors were made of heart yellow pine. There were two rooms on the first floor and three on the second floor; the garret was not plastered. There was one chimney in the main building near its centre, the fireplace in the hall or parlor was eight feet in length, the breast-plate of chimney being of heart yellow pine and full of carvings. There were five windows in the front of the house,—two in the lower story and three in the upper; also two windows in the gable ends of each story. The kitchen part stood on the east side of the main building. It was of brick, one story high; its ceiling was ten feet in height. The yard around the house was paved with square bricks similar to those in the cellar floor.”

Judge Carll being deceased, a copy of the drawing was forwarded to Thomas Shourds, historian of Fenwick’s Colony, who was familiar with the original house while standing. In acknowledging its receipt he observes: “I think the picture is good, and gives a very correct likeness of the ancient house well worthy of the artist, and I hope will be preserved to future generations, it being the first brick dwelling-house that was erected in West Jersey.”

Christopher White’s mansion-house stood during one hundred and sixty years, and when demolished its floors were worn to half an inch in thickness, but no crack could be found in its walls, which were separated with much difficulty.

In time the property passed from his family, and the “King’s Highway” having been closed, and superseded by more convenient roads, the house was left at a distance from the nearest highway, upon the rear portion of the farm. In this position its value as a dwelling-house became impaired, it was taken down, and the old material used in the construction of other buildings.

Christopher White executed his last will and testament 7 mo. 13, 1693, which was recorded the 28th day of Decem-

ber, 1693. He probably died near the middle of the latter month, aged about fifty-one years. His remains were interred in the Friends' burial-ground near the banks of Monmouth River. His wife survived him five years, and was buried in the same ground.

The children of Christopher White and Hester, *née* Biddle, his wife, were :

Hester, born 8 mo. 25, 1669; married Israel Harrison (about) 1693.

Thomas, born 1 mo. 23, 1671; died in infancy.

Sarah, born 5 mo. 22, 1672; supposed died in minority.

Josiah, born 7 mo. 13, 1675; married, 1698, Hannah, daughter of John Powell.

Joseph, born 11 mo. 5, 1678.

In the fourth generation of descent from Josiah and Hannah White were Josiah and Joseph White, merchants of Philadelphia. In the early part of the present century the former took a prominent part in the organization and management of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, and the latter was one of the pioneers in the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers by steam-power.

MOUNT HOLLY, NEW JERSEY.

NARRATIVE OF THE JOURNEY OF THE SCHWENCK-
FELDERS TO PENNSYLVANIA, 1733.

[The following is a translation of a German MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,—“*Riese Beschreibung*,”—and is supposed to have been written by David Scholtze. Since the spring of 1726, the Schwenckfelders had been given an asylum at Berthelsdorf, Saxony, by Count Zinzendorf.]

THE JOURNEY OF THE SCHWENCKFELDERS.

Account of the journeyings of a party of thirteen from Herrnhut to Amsterdam and Haarlem in Holland by way of Dresden, Magdeburg, Hamburg, and Altona.

Furthermore
a relation of the voyage of nineteen persons from Haarlem by Rotterdam and over the sea to Plymouth and on across the ocean to Pennsylvania and finally, to Philadelphia.

Herein may be learned how we fared by land and water and on the great ocean. The dates are given in accordance with the improved Calendar.

“*Deo Gratia.*”

Anno 1733, 19th. April, Sunday “*Miser. Dom.*” We all left Berthelsdorf at noon-day. The day before Melchior Krauss came to us from Hennersdorf so that our company numbered altogether thirteen persons. Balthazar Jäckel [Yeakle] and Friedrich Wagner conducted us to Pirna. This day we journied from Berthelsdorf with much luggage, through Kunnersdorf, Küstelsdorf, Friedrichsdorf and Spremberg to Neusalz, our first night’s resting-place. 2 German miles.

April 20th. We left Neusalz traveling through Schlucken, Waldau, Gross Schönau, Hansdorf and Landburghersdorf, where we saw the fortress Stolpen, on to Hasig: here too we saw a fortress, Hohenstein.

This day we journied 4 Miles.

April 21. We left Kasig passing through Landau, where we saw its fine castle, Königstein; it stands upon a cliff between Pirna and Schandau. We proceeded thence 1 Mile to Pirna, where is the fortress called Sonnenstein. Here we found our Captain, Christian Meissner with two boats, ready to carry us on to-day or to-morrow. We paid him our fare, over 2 Thalers for each person, and 30 Rex Thals. additional for the baggage of the party, which is much to give. After we had loaded our boats the company separated, Krauss going on one boat and we on the other. Krauss's boat went 1 mile from Pirna this day, and ours the same.

April 22nd. About 10 o'clock we left Pirna and passing Pilnitz and Lawogast reached Dresden at 2 o'clock. We all went into the city but none of us desired to remain; it is not too large but well fortified and the bridge is excellently built. Distance from Pirna—2 miles, from Herrnhut 9 miles.

April 23rd. At 8 o'clock we left Dresden, and in the afternoon came to Meissen; it is a handsome town. Between this place and Pirna we have seen on the right bank nothing but vineyards. We came 1 mile beyond Meissen; from Meissen to Dresden is 3 miles; so we have in all accomplished 4 miles to-day. Here we came upon a sand-bank but we did not leave the boats.

April 24th. We started early and came to Strelen, 2 miles; thence to Mühlberg and Telgern, at last to Torgau 3 miles farther, making 5 miles to-day. Torgau is a fine town, with a long bridge, where whoso will enter must pay toll.

April 25th. We passed Trettin and Lichtenburg, here we were staid by reason of the winds, but at last we reached Pretsk, in old time the Queen's residence; the castle is to be admired—3 miles.

April 26th. Sunday. "Jubilate." We came to Wittenberg, 3 miles. In the middle of the morning we lay by a village awaiting the wind. From Dresden to Wittenberg 15 miles.

April 27th. We came about 11 o'clock to Coswig, where

is a fine castle, and sailed on for three hours: when 2 miles from Wittenberg we came upon a sandbank where we were obliged to unload.

April 28th. Having rescued the boat from the sandbank, we went on to Reslau and thence to Dessau, 2 miles, from there to Aken, a town in Brandenburg 2 miles.

April 29th. We came about 9 o'clock to Barby, 2 miles: about 2 o'clock to Schönbeck, 2 miles—where salt is made; towards evening we arrived at Magdeburg 2 miles: 6 miles to-day. From Wittenburg to Magdeburg 12 miles. We remained here before the town.

April 30th. This morning we passed happily through Magdeburg bridge. We remained in the town till evening. Our boatmen and other passengers made themselves drunk there; a few of them fell in the river but were rescued. We have gone through four bridges on the Elbe viz: Dresden, Meissen, Torgau and Magdeburg. To-day we went yet one good mile farther, and then stuck in the sand. Then our boat-people sang and leaped and tacked about.

May 1st. We made 5 good miles to Tangermunde; to-day two of the passengers got lost, consequently one of the boatmen was flogged, but they returned to us here. From Magdeburg to Tangermunde 6 miles.

May 2nd. In the morning we passed by Annaburg; we reached Sandau at noon; here is much sand; thence we went on to where the Havel joins the Elbe. 6 miles.

May 3rd. Sunday. "Cantate." Passed Mittenburg and in the afternoon came to Schneckenburg, a small town which was burned down four years ago, and on to Entzen, there our boat was in the fog in which it often went astray but at last found the right way. This day we went 7 miles.

May 4th. At noon we came to Dömitz, a town in Mecklenberg in which no stranger can be unmolested. He is questioned about every thing. We did not enter it. 3 miles. We went yet a mile further, then we stopped before a village where was a grove. Here we staid all night. In the evening it rained heavily.—4 Miles.

May 5th. We sailed early in the morning in the face of a

heavy storm to Hitzaker 4 miles. We went out into the town and remained till about 4 o'clock in the afternoon; then we proceeded 2 miles and stopped in the middle of the Elbe on a great sandbank.

May 6th. A heavy storm early this morning detained us and other boats on the sandbank for two hours. Then we proceeded on to Bleche one mile and staid there until 5 o'clock, then sailed on to Boitzenburg 2 miles. 4 miles this day. We had frequently to lay to before the wind to-day. The Elbe is difficult to navigate in a high wind, even when it blows in a favorable direction, for then the boat goes too fast; the steersman being necessarily on the look out to keep the course.

May 7th. We sailed to Lauenburg, 1 Mile—and left there about 7 o'clock making in all 6 miles this day; we were still one mile from Hamburg. Here we were delayed upon the sand awaiting the tide.

May 8th. We arrived early at Hamburg. We did not go into the town, but remained in the harbor till, ourselves and our baggage all being placed on the same boat we were taken by four of the boatmen to Altona. There we had soon a friendly welcome from Herr Heinrich Van Schmissen who did everything in his power for us. That night we were lodged in his ware-house.

May 9th. In the forenoon some of us went into Hamburg but we had not much time to look about us. On our return to Altona we were all to go to Herr Van Schmissen's house; we staid there till 12 o'clock, then we went with our belongings to the shore, took leave of Herr Van Schmissen and got on our ship bound for Amsterdam. Herr Van Schmissen had made all arrangements for us and we remained that afternoon on board. Herr Heinrich Van Schmissen had given us for ship-stores, 16 loaves, 2 casks Hollands, 2 pots butter, 4 casks beer, 2 roasts, a quantity of wheaten bread and biscuit, 2 cases French Brandy and had in everything cared for us most kindly. From Magdeburg to Hamburg 38 miles, from Herrnhut to Magdeburg 36 miles. From Herrnhut to Hamburg 74 German miles.

May 10th. Sunday. "Rogate." We sailed with contrary winds 7 miles to Gluckstadt in Holstein, and anchored there.

May 11th. Early in the morning we sailed 1 mile and entered a haven in Holstein and staid anchored there the 11th. 12th. and 13th. of May, that is three days. On the evening of the 13th. we saw an eclipse of the Sun.

May 14th. "Ascension Day." We had favorable, but not strong wind. We reached the sea in the afternoon 5 miles from the harbor and sailed on through the night. This was our first night on the sea. We had a tolerably strong wind but no storm. Wind N.N.E. so favorable to us. On the sea nearly every one became sick, but some more so than others; among the greatest sufferers were my father, the Herren Franzin, Krauss, and Frau Heydriger. At this writing Melchior Krauss is no more. "Vero ad finem." We sailed the whole night through and on the 15th. about 2 o'clock we saw Ameland which is an island belonging to Holland. We were still fourteen miles from Amsterdam. We have been about twenty-two hours on the ocean—33 German miles. From Hamburg to Amsterdam is 60 German miles. From Hamburg to the sea is 13 miles. From Ameland we went to Friesland and there anchored, and anchored this night near West Friesland, still 10 miles from Amsterdam.

May 16th. We skirted the coast of Friesland and saw upon it many towns and villages. We had very light winds. We saw here many sea-dogs. By 4 o'clock we came to the Zuyder Zee at Enkhuysen a town of Holland, and sailed by many towns and villages till finally at about 11 o'clock at night, as had been calculated, Captain Leonhardt Jacob, a very worthy man, brought us into Amsterdam. God be thanked therefor!

May 17th. Sunday, "Exaudi." Awoke early and looking out, Joy! We found ourselves among the ships in the harbor of Amsterdam, we gazed with astonishment at the shipping that surrounded us. Meanwhile our Captain had gone into the town to announce our arrival to Herr Blaie to whom we had been recommended by Herr Van Schmissen.

May 18th. Herr Blaie sent a letter to Melchior Schultz, who had been at his house but had not found him at home, and on the morning of the

May 19th. Herr Blaie himself came to us much to our gratification. He invited us all into the city; two hours before dark, we took a boat and went into the town: we put our baggage on a Treckshuyt and proceeded to Haarlem. There we took up our quarters on the boat and were well received by all.

May 20th. We still remained on the boat; a house-holder in the town sent us there for dinner, two roasts, 1 pot butter, 1 cheese, 12 bottles wine, and in the afternoon Herr van Putten came to us. That night we lodged in a house that he had rented for us. We had the entire house and occupied it for three weeks and six days, from the 21st. of May to the 16th. June—27 days.

May 28th. In the evening at 7 o'clock our friend Melchior Krauss died, when going to thank Herr Van Putten. On the 29th. we were joined by six more at Haarlem. On the 2nd June Melchior Krauss was committed to the earth. Many of our Dutch friends were with us at the grave. June 7. In the evening our friend Her Van Putten invited us to his tea or pleasure-garden and treated us handsomely to meats, wine and tea.

On the 23rd. May we received letters from Pennsylvania from my brother George and on the 24th. others from Herrnhut dated the 4th. inst.—26th. We wrote letters to Herrnhut. 28th. Melchior Krauss died about 7 o'clock in the evening. 29th. John Klem with the remainder of our company, 6 in number arrived at Haarlem.

June 2nd. Melchior Krauss was buried.

June 14th. Letters from Rotterdam inform us that our ship will soon be ready to sail. 15th. We receive other letters from Herrnhut.

June 16th. In the afternoon, after stowing our goods in a small vessel we all went together to Cornelius Van Putten's pleasure-garden, where we were treated bountifully with wine, tea &c. Afterwards we took leave of Cornelius Van

Putten and the rest of our Haarlem friends. Then they all accompanied us to our ship and the same evening at 9 o'clock we left Haarlem sailing all night on the Haarlem sea. In the early morning we passed close by Leyden leaving The Hague on our right and finally reached Delf. Here is the great Arsenal. On the next day the 17th. at 2 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Rotterdam. 18th. We came up to the large ship and on the 20th. we once more wrote letters to Herrnhut.

Anno 1733, St. John's Day.

24. *June.* We set sail from Rotterdam in our vessel, a brigantine called the Pennsylvania Merchant, with Mr. John Stedman for our Captain. In the afternoon we came across a sandbank upon which we were detained several hours. The next day we did not make much progress as the ship was towed by sailors in the boat.

June 23th. We passed Dort and came to Gravendeel a village not far from Dort. There we lay by until the evening of the 3rd. July, when we again set sail. Our ship carried only 155 tons, but there were over 300 persons on board so that we were much crowded and the pilots at Gravendeel complained of this grievance.

July 4th. This evening we came to the place where in 1717, seventy-two towns and villages were submerged; in their place is now nothing to be seen but a watery waste. There we saw before us Kleymer's ship which had been out in the sea and driven back by a violent storm.

July 5th. Sunday. Early this morning we passed by Frederickstadt. In the afternoon we came to Helvoetsluys, and soon after reached the ocean. In a short time all began to be sea-sick, but the wind was fair and we had a sight of Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands. Towards evening we saw Calais, a fine town on the French coast.

July 6th. We saw the chalk cliffs of Dover in England, and on the 7th., were obliged by contrary winds to tack about.

July 8th. The wind was still so adverse that we could not proceed far.

July 9th. The contrary wind increased in force, so that we went farther backwards than forwards, and the people again became sick. This weather continued till the evening of the 10th. when the wind abated a little.

July 11th. At about 2 o'clock in the morning, a child that had been ill ever since we left Rotterdam, died. Its body was enclosed in a sack with some sand, and after the singing the hymn, "Nun lasset uns den Leib begraben," was sunk by the sailors into the ocean. Such is the manner of burial at sea.

July 12th. Sixth Sunday after Trinity. We were again favored by the wind and finally on the 13th., arrived happily at Plymouth. There we tarried some days. It is not a very large place, but it has a fine citadel fronting the sea. Here our Captain took in fresh water and provisions, and settled the toll. Meanwhile there was a good wind, but we were obliged to stay, and afterwards to set out with a contrary wind.

July 20th. We sailed out of the harbor by another fortress.

July 21st. In the evening after the Captain came on board, we sailed with the wind N.W. still adverse. On the 22nd. increasingly so, to such a degree that we were obliged to tack about.

July 23rd. We had at first calm weather, but towards evening a contrary wind arose. This evening we saw the last of the coast of England.

July 24th. A strong, brisk wind, still contrary. Still the ship sailed tolerably well.

July 25th. The wind somewhat abated. On the evening of this day, a little child died, and on the 26th., the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, was buried at 8 o'clock in the morning. To-day we had calm weather.

July 27th. Very little wind but rising towards evening.

July 28th. Early in the morning about 3 o'clock, we met a French Man-of-War coming from the West Indies. It sailed around our ship and made many inquiries of our Captain. Its name was "La Elizabeth." They used speak-

ing-trumpets. In the first part of the day we had calms, but towards evening a favorable wind. Then we hoisted twelve or thirteen sails and the ship went rapidly on its course.

July 29th. Early this morning we saw two ships passing by us, but we did not approach each other. To-day Stormy Petrels followed the ship and afterwards we saw many fish swimming past us: they were sturgeons, some of them 3 ft. in length. On this evening we saw two more ships, but at a distance. Wind favorable.

July 30th. In the afternoon we saw two other ships at a distance. Wind tolerably fair.

July 31st. At 5 o'clock in the morning, we met another ship, which the Captain spoke. It hailed from the West Indies and was bound for France. In the evening we saw still another ship in the distance. To-day we had a very brisk wind and in one hour of the evening made 11 English miles. The following night we had a very heavy wind.

August 1st. We continue to have a fair, brisk wind N.W.N. a tack-wind, but still favorable.

August 2nd. Ninth Sunday after Trinity. We still have good wind and fair weather.

August 3rd. Early this morning John Naas fell from the ladder. The wind abated and we had a calm.

August 4th. Our sailors early this morning caught a large fish. In its body, entrails and flesh, it resembled a hog. It was not a true dolphin.

August 4th. & 5th. Calm weather, but a strong wind sprang up on the night of the 5th.; on the night of the 6th. we tacked to the North, and on the 7th. to the South; the wind also abated.

August 8th. In the early morning a child was born, and soon after another, a year and a half old, died. At 10 o'clock it was buried. Weather almost calm.

August 9th. Tenth Sunday after Trinity. Almost calm. 10th. A southerly wind veered to the West and blew a very brisk gale until finally on the night of the 11th., it rose into a storm so that all the sails had to be furled and the rudder

firmly bound. High waves covered the sea; it was not indeed a very heavy storm, but it was heavy enough for us: it lasted forty-eight hours until the 13th. & 14th., when it abated a little. The dead-lights were put in and the hatch-way closed. The upper part of the foremast was carried away.

August 14th. The wind was stilled a little. Early in the day another child was born. The wind had carried us far towards the South, so that the Captain distinguished the Azores. 15th. The wind still abating.

August 16th. The Eleventh Sunday after Trinity. Calm. A ship in the distance. In the evening a wind from the South.

August 17th. Contrary winds; in the evening a storm similar to the former; but this one drove us northwards.

August 18th. The storm continued all day; at night it lulled again.

August 19th. Calm & temperate, rainy.

August 20th. A refreshing day after the storm. Wind not high but variable; still it was fair weather, the air fresh and the water smooth.

August 21st. A tack-wind but not too strong from the South-west. We took a westerly course.

August 22nd. Wind somewhat stronger.

August 23rd. In the afternoon a slight storm arose that lasted for an hour. To-day a little child died and was buried the same evening.

August 24th. "St. Bartholomew's" day. A gentle favoring wind.

August 25th. A violent gale.

August 26th. Wind South-west. This afternoon we saw a mast, the ship not more than a couple of feet above the water.

August 27th. Calmer.

August 28th. Wind South-west. On the night of the 27th. the ship swayed as if in a great storm, although it was calm. To-night there was a violent thunder-storm and rain.

August 29th. Calm. In the morning a ship seen in the offing.

August 30th. To-day a child of the ship's-smith died and was buried in the afternoon; it was a good little child. Wind slight but favorable.

August 31st. Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity. Wind S.W., towards evening very violent. At dinner-time one of the women spilled some butter in the fire so that it was all in a flame. Had the main-sail been lying on the other rigging it might easily have caught fire and thus, between fire and water, the whole ship would have gone to destruction.

1st September. Increasing wind. We saw great flocks of birds.

September 2nd. Moderate wind and rain.

September 3rd. A fine brisk wind.

September 4th. & 5th. Two very warm days.

September 6th. Fourteenth Sunday after Trinity. The warmest day. Calm. The steersman caught a fish.

September 7th. Light winds. Towards evening the Captain caught with a great iron hook a large fish that is called a shark.

September 8th. Wind strong S.W. Thunder and rain during the night.

September 9th. Wind S.W. We sailed for some time under this wind towards the N.W. when our Captain as well as we became aware of the tide a notable evidence that we were sailing too near the shore. This alarmed the Captain who immediately threw out the lead, and found bottom at the depth of only fifty fathoms. Thereupon he changed the ship's course and sailed towards the South.

September 10th. Gentle winds. *11th.* Winds still moderate. The Captain and the boatswain had a boxing-match in which the Captain came off best. *12th.* Wind the same as yesterday. Winter's child died to-day.

September 13th. Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity. Wind the same. The boatswain's wife dies this evening, and is buried in the morning of the *14th.* She was twenty-five

years old. In the evening at 11 o'clock. a good wind arose. 15th. Good, strong winds. 16th. Early this morning Heinrich Rÿk's wife died and was buried. In the afternoon we saw a land-bird.

September 17th. Strong N.W. wind. At dinner the cook poured a pail-full of sea-water on the fire to extinguish it instantly. The fumes from this filled the ship, and all the people thought it was on fire. A great stench arose so that the Captain and all on board were much alarmed. In the morning the boatswain saw from the mast a ship sailing directly from us. 18th. Calm. In the forenoon a boxing-match came off between two of the sailors. At noon we met a small ship sailing from N. to S. It came from Rhode-Island by New-York and was going southward to the British West Indies. Our Captain was much concerned for us, for he imagined it to be a pirate-ship, because he had seen so many people upon it. He at once had the boat let down and went over to the strange vessel. It was four days from land. The Captain brought back with him a bag of apples; he gave to them an English Cheese. He rolled out the apples amongst all the people.

September 19th. S.W. Wind. Winter's wife died to-day and was buried in the evening. A violent storm arose during the night. It wrenched off the bolt from one of the window-shutters and a terrible quantity of water poured into the ship. In the morning the waves were fearful, like rocky cliffs and high mountains. The noise of their roaring was horrible. It was a spectacle awful to witness.

September 20th. The Sixteenth Sunday after Trinity. Towards evening the wind abated somewhat; then the sailors were obliged to mend their sails. 21st. Calm.

September 22nd. Generally calm. We saw again a few land-birds.

September 23rd. A fair wind. The sailors saw a ship sailing before us. We had now great hopes that we should soon come to land.

September 24th. Early in the morning the sailors from the mast see land. There was however some fog but the land

was clearly to be distinguished by noon. Towards evening three pilots came out to us. Our Captain took the second one and let the first and last return. Then we entered the stream called the Delaware.

September 25th. In the afternoon a violent storm arose, compelling us to cast anchor, but now we were no longer in peril. Had we been on the ocean we should have had much to endure, but we were off the sea. For this, Thanks be to God!

September 26th. Almost a calm, but at last a wind sprung up so that we made good progress. A child died to-day and was buried. All day people were coming on the vessel, bringing apples and peaches for sale. This rejoiced those who could lay hands on money.

September 27th. We sailed by New Castle and Chester, the Seventeenth Sunday after Trinity. We had again an opportunity to procure apples and peaches.

September 28th. In the afternoon we arrived safe and sound in Philadelphia. Thanks and praise to the Lord for this blessing! At 9 o'clock in the morning, my brother George Scholtze came to us having journied twelve miles in a boat to meet our company. He brought us apples, and peaches, and wheaten bread and staid with us on the ship till we reached Philadelphia.

September 29th. according to our calendar. We were obliged to go to the Court-House and take our oath of allegiance to the King. Accordingly we all left the ship. This day was in Germany Michaelmas.

Thus it befell us in our journey to Pennsylvania, which we accomplished in twenty-three weeks and one day. From Berthelsdorf & Herrnhut, through Pirna, Dresden, Wittenburg, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Altona, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Plymouth, to Philadelphia.

Finis cum Deo!

ADDITIONAL FACTS CONCERNING SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN.

BY REV. EDWARD D. NEILL, SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA.

A recent examination of the manuscript records of Northampton County, Virginia, led to the discovery of some particulars in the life of Sir Edmund Plowden, Kt., the Proprietor of New Albion, which have never appeared in print.

During the summer of A.D. 1642, he sailed for America with a friend, bearing two letters of introduction dated July 20, 1642, written by William Webb, of London. One was addressed "To my worthy friend, M^r Thomas Copley, at his plantation in Maryland." Copley was the grandson of Thomas Copley, who was the grandson of the Thomas Copley who fled from England to Paris during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was knighted by the King of France. He was the eldest son of William Copley and his wife, Margaretta Prideaux, and was the temporal coadjutor of the Jesuit Mission in Maryland. Webb writes to him: "Worthy Sir. Upon the sight hereof I doe desire that my two friends the bearer of these . . . and assigned in the wayes there in yo^r plantation as myself in body; From his other ffrriends & mee he shall have continual supplies both for y^r province, and for New Albion where he intends to settle under S^r Edm. Plowdens government in those p'ts. . . . Wee stand in great feare of tumults and convulsions."

The other is addressed to the head of the Mission: "To his Noble Reverend M^r Andrew White, Esq. att Maryland," and is as follows: "M^r Cobbs intending toward y^r parts with S^r Edmund Plowden I resolved upon these few lines to disire y^r L—— [*sic*] to assist him towards the furnishing him . . . and his plantation with what you can, . . . he is indifferently well provided with that w^{ch} may be usefull in

those p'ts. And that he shall be very well supplied by his brother M^r Compton Donadence of Woodstock and other rich kinsfolks, besides his place Sir Edm. of Dorburg; he hath a plantacon in the barbados, and a stock going wth his uncle Capt. Pell . . . all wth him intends to imploy in the Provinces yf hee like the Country, and find good friends amongst y^{rs}; for my parte I have always found him here faire dealinge, and friendly and constant in his wayse, I doubt not but that soe hee will shew himselfe amonge you. And therefore I would entreate you to show him as many Courtesies as you can, as you would show your humble servant."

Plowden chose to tarry in Virginia rather than in Maryland, and there is an account against him by the clerk of Northampton Court recorded, in which are the following items:

"Sir Edmund Plowden

D^r to Edm: Mathews

1643, ffor takinge fflower Depositions att the Soxochar affi, and cop. attested under my hands w ^{ch} Sir Edm. Plowden p'tented to carry for England, <small>ib. tob.</small> the busines a description of New Albion	150
ffor searching several Books att y ^e office in Jamestowne, and transcribinge Cop. of manu- scripts here described to have to testifye to his friends in England	150"

There are other brief notices of Plowden on the records showing his residence in the county, among others the verdict between a prominent merchant, "Capt. Thomas Burbage plaintiff and Edmund Ployden," dated March 6, 1642-43.

AMUSEMENTS AND POLITICS IN PHILADELPHIA,
1794.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM J. POTTS, CAMDEN, N. J.

[The original of the following letter is in the collection of Dr. Edward Y. Taylor, of Pittstown, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. As the events to which the letter refers transpired in 1794, the error in date of year may have been made by the writer or in transcribing. Ezekiel Forman was a member of the family mentioned by Dr. Wickes as giving several physicians of repute to the northern counties of New Jersey. In July of 1776 he, with others, gave bonds in five hundred pounds "in no wise knowingly or willingly to act inimically or unfriendly to the cause of the United States." On August 20 following he was fined three pounds by a Committee of Safety of the Congress of New Jersey. John C. Rockhill, to whom the letter is written, was a son of Dr. John Rockhill, of Pittstown, New Jersey.—ED.]

PHILADELPHIA March 25th 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

It is now a considerable time since you and I have had the pleasure of receiving letters from each other—to what cause this interruption in our correspondence may be attributed I know not, except it was chance, hurry and the pressing calls of business—this at least I would willingly flatter myself was the cause on my part and would fain hope it was so on yours. On whose part it ought now to begin I shall not pretend to determine and without standing on etiquette punctillio or ceremony immediately begin to renew our long dormant correspondence. When I had the pleasure of seeing you last in Town the New Theatre was then expected to be opened in a short time which was done on Monday evening the 17th of February last with one of the most brilliant and numerous audiences I ever beheld on a similar occasion—the stated days or rather evenings of performance are Monday, Wednesday & Friday Nights in every Week and sometimes occasionally on Saturday evenings—the doors open at

five—the curtain draws up at six, [the] exhibition commonly finishes at about twelve O’Clock—I will however attempt to give you a short description of the House & Performers as well as my poor abilities are capable of.¹

The Boxes run in the form of a semi-circle by which construction you have a full view from any part of them without having it obstructed by those near to the stage which was too generally the case in all the old Theatres—There are Three rows of the Boxes, two of which extend from the stage quite round the House & that part of them fronting the Stage is immediately underneath the Gallery, while the third & upper row extends only half way round on each side till it meets with the Gallery which is separated from it by a partition & and iron banister with sharp pointed spikes, and the front part of course forms the Gallery in the front of which and over the board wall is an iron railing of two bars so that a person is in very little risque of falling into the Pit—The ascent from the front to the back parts of both Pit and Gallery (but more particularly the latter) is very steep, which tho’ it may appear a little inconvenient at the first entering of them still proves of great advantage to the persons in the hinder parts, as it renders their view of the Stage unobstructed by those sitting in front of them.—The Stage is large and commodious—the lights numerous and good and the Scenery and decorations may be justly said to partake of both of the *beautiful and sublime*, especially those used for some particular Plays almost surpass description—Of which those used in a new Opera lately introduced here

¹ In later years called the Chestnut Street Theatre, or “Old Drury.” An advertisement in the *General Advertiser* of February 17, 1794, announces: “Will be performed, a comic opera, called ‘The Castle of Andalusia’—the original overture and accompaniments, selected and composed by Dr. Arnold and additional airs by Shields. . . Before the opera an occasional address: To which will be added a Comedy in two acts, called ‘Who’s the Dupe.’ Ladies and Gentlemen are requested to send their servants to keep places, at half an hour past 4 o’clock, and direct them to withdraw, as soon as the company are seated, as they cannot on any account be permitted to remain in the boxes.” Admission to “Boxes \$1. Pitt 75 cents, Gallery 50 cents.”

called "Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest" very much partakes.¹ The Orchestra may justly boast of having a band of Music & Musicians superior to what any other Theatre in America ever did or does now possess.—

Over the Stage and in full view of the whole House two beautiful and descriptive figures are painted one representing the Genius of Tragedy who sits in a mourning mellancholly [*sic*] attitude, and the other that of the Genius of Comedy who *stands* a little to the left of where the other *sits* and in her hand she holds a scarf on which these words are inscribed in large legible Characters "The Eagle suffers little Birds to sing," and over the heads of these two figures the American Eagle with extended wings is displayed.—I do not know whether it has ever been calculated what number of persons the House will contain; but it must be very great since there appears, to me, to be much more room in it than any other House of the kind I have ever seen. As yet no Night has passed over without their having a crowded House, and if it should continue to be for two or three seasons they will certainly clear themselves of Debt.—But it is said the Old American Company are coming here from New York in the course of two or three weeks which may perhaps injure the new company a little especially if the report that the old ones intend to perform for half-price should be true (tho' for my part I do not believe it) and their having engaged in New York the celebrated Mrs. Melmuth to join their Company who is certainly a very great acquisition to them.

The new Company certainly contains the best the ablest and the most masterly perfect and accomplished set of performers taking them as a body that have ever appeared before in any part of America—but as time and paper will not permit me to enter into a detail of their different merits, I must defer saying anything farther of them "till a more

¹ On Monday evening, March 10, 1794, "the Comic Opera called Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest," was presented, "with the original Overture by Baumgarten: the rest of the music and accompaniments composed and selected by Shields, with additional airs by A. Reinagle—with new scenery, dresses and decorations."

convenient season" when I will again resume the subject and endeavor to sketch an outline of the character of the principal and most eminent of these performers.—

I would just inform you that a "new entertainment" has lately been exhibited here.—it consists of two figures representing men as large as life called *Automatons*. By means of the works and springs within their bodies they perform the most remarkable feats of dexterity and activity imaginable and excel in agility any rope or wire dancer I have ever beheld—No person is near them during their performance nor do they touch anything except a bar of iron to which they suspend themselves by their arms and over which they play their pranks. The method used to set them in motion is by winding up [the] springs within them as you would those of a watch or clock and this must be done twice during the performance which last just one hour. One of these figures is intended to represent an *Aristocrat* and the other a *Sans Culotte*. The former consistently refuses to dance the tune of *Ca-Ira* or *Carmagnole* which you know are Republican airs.—In short they so nearly resemble human nature in looks, in gesture, in attitude and in action that as a person wittily observed they only want to be animated with some of the fire Prometheus stole from Heaven to make them perfect men in every respect. To a Philosophic or reflecting mind I consider these artificial men as one of the greatest curiosities ever exhibited in this Country as they are a remarkable and striking proof to what an amazing extent the powers of Philosophical mechanism may be carried. They are the work or production of the celebrated and ingenious Mr. Blanchard well known to the world for his *airy flights* and *Balloon expeditions*. He intends shortly to remove to New York with them after the shew is over here but the crowds of people that still continue to visit them is immense. I suppose on an average take one evening with another he receives a hundred dollars every night.—¹

¹ "A New Entertainment

By Mess. L'Egalite.

"The citizen Sans Culotte and Mr. Aristocrat will have the honor to

After such lengthy dissertation on our pleasure you may probably be glad to hear something of Politics. Every thing seems in an alarming situation—The Privateers of Great Britain seem fully determined [to] seize every American Vessel they can come across treating the crews with rigor & severity and confiscating Vessel & Cargoe And to add to all, those worse than Devils, the Algerines, have carried some hundreds of our Seamen into Slavery and appear to be in a fair way of taking as many more unless a stop is put to their proceedings to do which and to protect our Commerce from them Congress have resolved to fit out six frigates to cruise in the Mediterranean. These (the Algerines) are thought to be but the “automatons of George the third” which combined with the rest of his *loving* conduct towards us has it is thought by some rendered War inevitable while by others it is thought to be a mere chimerical idea. God only knows how it will terminate. I wish for Peace but I believe the scales hang even and a small matter will turn it either one way or the other. A Motion was made a few days ago in Congress for laying an embargo on all our vessels with a view of starving the British West Indies but was lost by [] votes—tho’ some imagine it will still take place.¹

exhibit their talents before the public on Tuesday the 4th of this month, and will continue so to do every evening when there is no play. The exhibition which will not last above an hour, will begin at 8 o’clock precisely, at the Long Room under Mr. Poor’s Young Ladies Academy, in Cherry Alley between Third and Fourth Streets, No 9 near the Synagogue and the sign of the White Lamb.

“Entrance half a dollar.

“These two Automata (the only ones which ever appeared on the Continent) exceed all that has been exhibited of this kind in Paris. If they give satisfaction to the Public, the views of the author, who remains unknown, will be fully answered.”—*General Advertiser*.

¹ “Great Britain either reposes an incomprehensible reliance on our tameness, or else she means to drag us into a war. Can it be conceived, that her last depredations upon our commerce could be tolerated by any nation that dares to mention independence or to boast of its resources.

“Great Britain has half our seamen and vessels within her power; her privateers swarm upon the ocean, every pretext is exhausted that

The citizens of Philadelphia came to a determination a few evenings ago to purchase the freedom of such S[eamen] belonging to this port as are now in captivity at Algiers, and a large Committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for that purpose—During the time of the appointment of [th]is Committee, a letter addressed to the Citizens present, was received from Mess^{rs} Wign[el]l & Reinagle declaring their obligations to the Citizens of Philadelphia an[d as] a proof of their gratitude prop[osed an evenin]gs—entertainment at the New Theatre as a benefit for those unfor[tunate] persons in slavery at Algiers.¹ This was received with the loudest shout of applause and last evening the Commedians fulfilled their promise. It is supposed they got at least two thousand dollars—Preceding the Play Mr. Wignell delivered an animated and well written address suited to the occasion.

Remember me to your brother Edward and other old friends and believe [me] to be most sincerely your friend & humble servant,

EZEKIEL FORMAN

I have this moment been informed that a resolve for laying an embargo on all our shipping has just passed the House of Representatives of the United States.

MR. JOHN C. ROCKHILL.

renders our merchantmen liable to condemnation on their islands, her next policy will be an open declaration of war, to which indeed her former injuries appear preparatory. An embargo, then, on our shipping appears a measure of first necessity.”—*General Advertiser*.

¹ “The management of the New Theatre generously and humanely propose appropriating the profits from this evenings performance, towards mitigating the sufferings of our distressed brethren in Algiers. An offer so noble and philanthropic justly merits the thanks and approbation of the Citizens of Philadelphia, and will no doubt ensure a numerous audience.”—*General Advertiser*, March 24, 1794.

“In aid of a Fund about to be established for the relief or redemption of American citizens Captives in Algiers. . . . Comedy ‘Every one has his Faults,’ and the ‘Sailors Landlady,’ with the Comic opera, ‘The Poor Soldier’ &c.” From advertisement in *General Advertiser* of March 24, 1794.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF JAMES
CLAYPOOLE.

[The following are selections from the letter-book of James Claypoole, merchant, of London, who emigrated to Philadelphia in 1683.

This book consists of 447 pages of large cap size, 426 of which contain the letters written in London between 3d mo. 6th, 1681, and July 10, 1683, and the remainder of those sent from Philadelphia. The latter are here given entire; of the former, only extracts are given of such portions as relate to Pennsylvania and his intended removal thither.]

LONDON, y^e 12th. 5th mo 1681

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE—

“I have begun my letter in too little a ps. of pap. to give thee my Judgmt. of Pensilvania, but in short I and many others wiser than I am doe very much approve of it: and doe Judge Wm. Penn as fitt a man as any is in Europe to plant a Country: when he comes to towne I shall treat with him for 5000 Acres for thee: I know 100 lb is y^e purchase thereof: and if thou dost not conclude soon it may be too late: for wee suppose in a few weeks hee will be gone thither:”

LONDON, 13 of 5th. mo. 1681

TO EDWD. CLAYPOOLE—

“My Sister Norton and her son James are to imbarque this month for New Jersy to my brother.”

LONDON 26th. of 5 mo. 1681

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE—

“My servt. sent thee a pap that Wm. Penn gave him about Pensilvania: I would have had some discourse with him but y^t hee was in such extra. haste to be gone towards Bristole y^t wee could not have time, but hee said hee had writt to thee, and would discourse mee fully in a few dayes: there is great encouragmt. both as to y^e Country. and Gouv-ernour, who I believe will establish good lawes as near as

hee cann, I have not time else I would say more . . . if I had a mind to buy Land there, I would forbear till I saw that he was not interrupted by Baltimore in his taking possession, for this Baltimore is a great Governor. in Maryland, that borders upon Pensylvania, and has recd. Rent for some yeares past of the Inhabitants thereof, and its like does so to this day by Connivance, but keep this to thy selfe."

LONDON y^e 10 7 mo 1631

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE—

"William Penn does not intend for Pensylvania till next spring and then tis like there will be many people ready to goe from England Scotland & Ireland: he is offred great things 6000 lb for a Monopoly in Trade: wch. he refuses: and for Islands & ¶ticular places great sums of Money, but he designes to doe things equally betweene all partyes, and I believe truely does aime more at Justice and righteousnes & spreading of truth, then at his owne ¶ticular gaine: I try'd him about thy proposalls to take 100 lb for 5000 Acres, and abate y^e quitt Rent, wch. he refused intending to do equally by all. If thou wilt be concerned y^e halfe of 5000 Acres, I will have the other halfe, and make as good tearmes for thee as for myselfe: It may be I shall get him to take his mony in Ireland:" "No quitt Rent to begin by the purchasers of Pensylvania till above 3 yeares hence."

LONDON, 24th. 7 mo. 1631

TO ARTHUR COTTEN—

"There is a ship going to Pensilvania from Bristoll, and Wm. Pen is gone thither to take his leave of y^e friends, and there is another ship going thither from hence, and may be ready in a fortnight, but Wm. Pen goes not till spring."

LONDON. 22 8 mo 1631

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE—

I have possitively bought 5000 Acres of land of Wm. Penn and am to pay him 100 lb for it next 3d. day, and I know not but y^t I may buy y^e quitt Rent off also for 20 lb"

LONDON 28th 8th. mo 1681

TO NORTON CLAYPOOLE—

"I have purchased of Wm. Penn 5000 Acres in his Country, and I know not how I may be disposed in my own mind in a year or 2 time to remove thither wth. my family, however in the mean time I propose to send over my attorney wth. some servts. to build and plant &c. and to provide Cattle and all other necessaries, that if I ever come there, my land may be still Improving or some prt. of it and not lye wholly wast, Or if I should send over one of my Sons as overseer, and servants, wt. sort of Servants may be most profitable."

LONDON 26. 9 mo. 1681

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE—

"Thomas Rudyard is agreeing here with a great shipp for Pennsillvania: and I here there is another goeing from Bristoll: and in y^e beginning of y^e Summer it is expected there will goe 3,, or 4,, shippes more from here: I must send some servants to Improve my land, if I could tell where to gett some that were likely to doe well, and should be glad of a little advise from thee:"

LONDON, 13 10 mo 1681

TO SAML. CLARRIDGE—

"If thou hadst not forbid the delivery of Thy letter to W. P. thou mightst well think I would have given it him and as to thy judgmt. of the letters from New Jarsy that they are to decoy people that is known to be otherwise, and that the chiefest of them came from very honest faithfull friends:"

LONDON. 11 12 mo. 1681

TO FRANCIS & GEORGE ROGERS.—

"The method of friends taking up land of Wm. Pen is by deeds of conveyance for wch. the Purchaser pays abt. 12s. If it be for 5000 Acres wch. is called a whole share or Propriety: for that we pay £100 & 50s. £ annuum quit rent to begin in 83 or 84 (I cannot tell wch.) they that will pay no rent must pay £120 prest., & so for a lesser quantity proportionable, and he that can settle some few famillys, I think abt. 6 may have his land altogather and every purchaser of

5000 Acres is to have 100 Acres by lot in y^e first city, the consessions or fundamentalls for governmt. are to be perfected this day and then to be Ingrosed & signed & sealed by y^e governour & purchasers, wch. if it may be permitted, I shall send you a Copy of, and then may write you more at large, if you intend to be concerned as also abt our Pensilvania Compa."

LONDON, 9 1 mo 1681-2

To WM. POPPLE & ROB. STEWART.

"I am desired by Wm. Pen, who is my singular good friend, whom I suppose Wm. Popple has also some knowledge of to write to get abt. 1500 or 2000 vine plants to carry with. him to Pensilvania a Colony in y^e West Indies near Mary Land wch. the King has given him, lying in 41, 42. 43 degr. of Northern latitude, whether he Intends God willing wth. his family and servts. & many friends this summer, he desires of those that bears the best grapes, rather than y^e most"

LONDON, 14 1 mo 1681-2

To FRANCIS & GEO. ROGERS.

"As to y^e settling of a Compa. in Pennsylvania we have had many meetings, and debated about it, and brought matters now so to bear as we think will give generall content. The proposalls or Articles are transcribing, and next week we shall come to a conclusion either to desist or send coppies abroad, and then I shall advise you further."

LONDON, 21 1 mo 1681-2

To FRANCIS & GEO. ROGERS—

"As to planting my land in Pensilvania, I have had divers considerations in my mind wch. way to proceed, but cannot come to any result, sometimes I am thinking to send one of my sons as an overseer wth. 2 or 3 servants to build a little house and plant an Orchard & Garden & get some Cattell & ground cleared for Corne, and so to go on raising of Corne & Cattell, & other times I am thinking to send some honest poor friend wth. a servt. or two to act for me as my Attorney, that if I should have an Inclination hereafter. to go thither wth. my family, I may have a house & some provisions

ready, I conclude on neither as yet because of some objections, wch. I can not get over, and the settling y^e Compa. wherein I here may some Incouragmt. be offerd for my going there myselfe, and one grand objection is, that I may not possibly like y^e house, nor situation, & so not care to dwell in it, wn. we have concluded our business & all things else relating to y^e Compa. we shall send Coppys thereof to divers parts, and among y^e 1st. to you at Corke”

• LONDON, 28 1 mo 1682

TO FRANCIS & GEO. ROGERS—

“The Articles for the Pensilvania Compa. are printing, & I hope will be done by next post, and then either Philys Ford or myselfe will send you one, I cannot tell wt. to write you abt. the deeds for Land, but yours will be like mine and others wch. are approved on by men skilled in the law, and as to improving of land there I can say little at present but do find my selfe more and more Inclined to goe, so that I believe it will be my lot to remove wth. my family before a year be past, whereof I shall write you farther,” . . . “I have subscribed 100 lb in y^e Compa. stock, hope y^e same of you and others.”

LONDON 4 2 mo. 1682

TO FRANCIS & GEO. ROGERS—

“I at this time convey the Articles of y^e Pensilvania Compa. wch. I suppose upon ^{the}usall you will easily understand if you are satisfyed so as to subscribe you must ord. some one to do it in time, and send your vote against the 29th. Next month, when the Subscriptions is to be confirmed by depositing 5 ^{the}pc and the 3 Generall officers The Treasurer & Committe as ^{the} 5th. Article, there are Some here privately talked of that are intended to be nominated at the Generall Court for President, Deputy, Secretary &c. but at present I think it not convenient to mention them, but by next post we expect Wm. Pen in Town, and then I expect he will either write to you himself or Joyn wth. Philys Ford & I to write to you and other friends of Cork in advice to you abt. this business, in the Interim please to

communicate it as far as your freedome to friends or others as Jno. Hamon Tho: Cook, Rbt. Rogers &c."

LONDON 19 2 mo 1682

JOSEPH GROVE—

"My eldest Sonne is goeing away this week in the Amity Richard Diamond for Pennsylvania to bee an Assistant to Wm Penns surveighor. I have bought 5000 acres of land, and may probably be concerned in the Compa. or society of wch. I send thee a book Inclosed, and one of Wm. Loddingtons: Soe if the Lord cleares up our way, I hope I may remove next year with my whole family thither. . . . I intend to continue my Correspondancy with thee as long as I stay here, and also when I come to Pennsylvania for wee have a prospect of a considerable trade between Barbadoes & Pennsylvania wee calculate there will go thither from hence above 1000 friends this year: after Mid-summer then 2 or 3 shippes will go from London. then Wm. Penn and his family goes: Thomas Rudyard Christe. Taylour and his family and many others, Then two shippes from Bristoll and 5 from Wales: so that if y^e Lord bless us and pros^{pe} our way the Country will be planted in a little time"

LONDON. 20 2 mo 1682

TO EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

"Have bought 5000 Acres of land of Wm. Pen & we are endeavouring to settle a Society for trade, according to this —Inclosed book of Articles, there has been subscriptions allready for near 10000 lb but we laid that aside; not having agreed on all p^{ar}ticulars & now the next week we shall begin to subscribe according to this booke Divers p^{er}sons have desired that if the stock be considerable, so as y^e we shall p^{ro}ceed, that I might be one of y^e Principall Officers as Deputy, for there are 2 Chosen for President & Treasurer; wch. I am Inclined to accept of if they chuse me, however I have a great drawing in my mind to remove wth. my family thither, so that I am given up if the Lord clears our way to be gone next spring, it may be about a year hence, I know not of any sooner time, in y^e mean time I am verry willing

and desirous to serve my Correspondents here, & shall do it wth. y^e same care & diligence as formerly, & thee in Particular Brother, I hope thou wilt not lessen or wth. draw thy business, for I shall be writing thee almost every mon. how my mind stands as to this matter, and if anything should come near y^e time of our going away, I shall certainly leave a letter of Attorney wth. some very honest sufficient man, to answer all bills, & to make full returns both to thee & all others, so that none shall have any cause to complain of me, for I shall doe Justly & honestly by all people, . . . Advise in thy next wt. I might have 2 negroes for, that might be fit for cutting down trees, building plowing or any sort of labour, that is required in y^e 1st. planting of a country, I hope to carry 10 or 12 servts. from hence, & many people that love us well are Inclined to goe wn. we goe Wm. Pen himselfe & family goes this summer, & Probably abt. 1000 people & he is so much my friend that I can have anything in reason I desire of him," "I look not at all that but at the hand of y^e Lord, who I believe will bless us this way. I had a letter from Brother Norton this week dated y^e 16 10 mo from new Deal in Delaware bay where he is settled in a Plantation, he writes his wife and child was come, and he was going to fetch them home; Brother Wingfield is like to goe wth. us to Pensilvania, & has Promised to subscribe 50 lb in y^e Compa. stock, & I hear my Brother Jno. is much inclined to it. Pray Brother in thy next give me wt. advise thou canst abt. carrying things necessary for our first settling, & planting, & consider if there may not probably be a trade between Barbados & Pensilvania, we hope to have Corne & wine & Cattle, if the Lord blesses us, in a few years:"

LONDON 30 3 mo 1682

TO JOHN SPREAD—

"Wee are fixing of a Compa. for trade in Pennsylvania by a pattent from the Governor Wm. Penn, according to this Inclosed printed booke. Wee have subscribed between 5 and 6000^{lb}, and till y^e 29 next month y^e subscriptions goe on here, then wee shall provide a Cargo upon y^e Compa.

accot. and do hope to have a ship arrive there before winter and then for 6 months after subscriptions will be taken there to enlarge the stock: So that if thou or any friend or acquaintance of thine, have a mind to be concerned, you may send yor ordr. about subscribing: I hope through the Lords assistance to be there next year with all my family, I intend to imbarck about the next first month call'd March: They have chosen Nicho. Moore president Jno. Simcock Deputy; and myselfe Treasurer wch was done yesterday also an Agent and 6 factors to manage concernes here, and 12 for a Committee In Pennsylvania:”

LONDON 27 4 mo 1682

TO EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

“I am still in the same mind of removing with my family to Pennsylvania in the spring about the first month, and shall ordr. my busyness accordingly, and as soon as I can fix upon an Attourney with whom to leave my concernes here, I shall advise thee thereof: I have a trusty servant that is very dilligent and capable to do busyness, and has about 3 yeares to serve, but wee are not yet fully agreed about his staying here, or goeing with mee, and my sonne James who is now near 18 yeares old has an inclination to stay here, and I and his mother are willing hee should: but wee shall consider further, and in a few months come to a Conclusion. The pennsylvania society hath chosen mee treasurer & propose to allow mee 100 lb start p^{a} annum and to dwell and dyett in their house to keep their effects of all sorts, and to oversee servants and buy & sell &c. wee have about 8000 lb subscribed, and do expect it will bee made up 10000 lb. the $\frac{1}{2}$ of wch. wee take in at present: and y^e other $\frac{1}{2}$ as wee shall have occasion the next year or afterwards: . . . I think I must have 2 Negroe men stronge fellowes and a boy and Girle, so I desire thee y^t when thou meets with such as may be pro p^{r} for y^e Country and my occasions to keep them for mee: The boy & girle may bee from 12 to 17 yeares old or between 10 and 15: . . . If thou art minded to subscribe into the Compa. stock thou may send ordr. by Saml. Carpenter, or to Doct^r. Nicho. Moore who

is our president, and intends to be gone from hence in a month or thereabouts, and for half a year after the Arrivall of y^e first compa. shipp the book of subscriptions will be open: I shall be in a Capacity to serve my friends in Pennsylvania as well as if I was not Treasurer to y^e Compa. I shall expect thy advise, and I hope thou will not be sparinge."

LONDON, 14 5 mo 1682

TO NORTON CLAYPOOLE—

"I have 100 Acres where our Capitall City is to be upon y^e River near Schoolkill & Peeter Cooks, there I intend to plant & build my first house wee have Erected a Society for trade in Pensylvainia . . . if there be any friend or acquaintance of thine y^t is inclined to Joyne wth. us I desire thee to encourage it, for y^e greater or. Stock y^e more easily will it bear y^e Charge, for wee could very well imploy 20000 lb stock, One Doctr. Moore a very worthy ingenious person is Chosen presedent, John Symcock of Pensylvainia Deputy president, I am Chosen Treasurer, they allow y^e president 150 lb y^e dept. & Treasurer, each 100 lb p annum agreed for 7 yeares to come we are to send over a 100 servts. to build houses, to plant & improve land and for Cattle & to sett up a glass house for Bottles drinking glass & window glass, to supply y^e Islands & continent of America & we hope to have wine & oyle for Mrchandize, & some linon however hemp for Cordage, & for Iron Lead & other Mineralls we have no doubt off so y^t through y^e blessing of god wee may hope for a great increase And it may come to be a famous Compy. We have sent a messenger to y^e Emperour & Kings to settle a Constant friendship & trade between us & have sent y^m dinners p esents in y^e name of y^e Society & do reserve about 2000 lb for y^e Beaver & Furr trade & Sskins we have bought 20000 Acres of land & shall have 400 Acres of it y^e Capitall City where our house must be built wth. divers warehouses & offices, As for the governour Wm. Penn he has bin and will be very kind to us, besides his Subscription wch. is Considerable he has given us y^e quitt rent of all or. land and most ample pattent or Charter to be Confirmed by

the first generall Assembly in Pensylvania wth. as many priveledges as wee could desire, whereby we are a Corporation a Lordship & mannor having a magistracy & Governmt. wth. or selves, y^e 3 principall officers aforesd. being Justices of y^e Peace. . . . I thank thee for thy advice about goods y^t may be proper to send, and I desire thee give mee what farther advice and direction thou canst, wch. may be very beneficiall to me, so be not sparing of thy Paines but lett thy advice be large and full."

LONDON. 5 6 mo 1682

TO FRAN. & GEO. ROGERS.

"We want servants for y^e Society of all Capacities, there will go three Shipp this month, in one goes Wm. Penn, In another the President and Servants for y^e Compa. y^e 3d. is Tho. Hutson a great shipp gone yesterday with passengers."

LONDON. 5 7 mo 1682

TO WINGFIELD CLAYPOOLE.

"I desire thee to get me some good servts for pennsylvania either husbandman Carp bricklayr. or almost any other trade."

LONDON. 12 7 mo 1682

TO SAMUELL CLARRIDGE

"y^e writings for East Jarsey are ~~Ex~~pected: I read them all over myself, and saw them signed and delivered and subscribed as a witness, and they were to be recorded in Chancery: and is expected will be ready tomorrow: but I doubt hee will not deliver mee all y^e writeings for 200 lb for there must be 50 lb advance towards y^e Stocke."

LONDON. 21 7 mo 1682

TO JOHN GOODSON—

"Dear Friend I hope by this time you are safe in y^e Downes which I should be glad to heare by a few lines From thee and how you all doe on borde and what order they keep we pleaded with y^e master for a batemt. for thee either in or that $\frac{1}{2}$ passinger but could not prevail he said thy accomodetion in the Gun room was worth as much as the prsidents in y^e Cabbin he promised that Edward Cole

should keep his place with thee all y^e voyage so I desire thee to insist upon it that he may not be turned out for he is a Civill man and will not wrong any but may be wronged by others: I gave the Boatswaine halfe a crowne to be kind to him, and spake to the mates and to the President the like: So I hope he will be well used, here is y^e Indenture for Edwd. Cole who is to serve mee 4 yeares; which I desire thee to lay up safe for mee till I come to Pennsylvania: and here is the bill of parcells for the goods in the Chest and bundle being Iron mongers Ware: tooles, for workinge and some matterialls towards y^e building of a house: wch. lett him take a Coppie of, and the other things were committed to his care being in his name. Chest, and a case a bundle and an Iron pott: here is also one of the bills of ladeing for freit. and passage. Hee arriving in health in y^e Country I expect he should ent^r upon my land, where y^e first Citty is intended to bee built. And there with the advise of Wm. Penn Doct^r Moor Tho: Holmes Ralph Withers and thyselfe: I would have him to beginn to build a house that may receive us, If it please y^e lord wee arrive there in the 2d. or 3d. month next: If it bee but a slight house like a barne with one floore of two Chambers: and will hold us and our goods and keep us from y^e sunn & weath^r it may suffice: I would also have some trees planted at y^e right season for an orchard between the trees growinge, wch. may be either lowp'd or sawed of near the topp or roote as is most adviseable: but for Grubbing up, I think that may be left till I come with more help: I need not name the fruite trees but I would have all such sorts as o^r neighbours there do plant: But principally I would have him look out for Earth to make Bricks and prepare as much as he cann in y^e most convenient place to work upon in Springe. I write to my Broth^r Edward Claypoole of Barbados to send mee one or 2 good stout negroes in y^e Spring, and I hope to bring a Carpent. a husbandman & some other servants with mee: I would have a sellar und^r y^e house if it may bee, as to his maintenance till I come I know not how to advise, but must leave y^e to him, and to y^e advise of my good friends there: I hope

hee will be wise & save & do what hee cann for my advantage, and then I shall be y^e more P^engaged to do for him; and y^e more peace & satisfaction he will have in his owne minde: Truly my desire is y^t we may all have an Eye to y^e Lord in all o^r undertakings, who is the great provider for all and y^e preserver of all; that we may soe live in his fear y^t we may honn^r his name and truth and in our whole conversation answ^r his wittness in all people so shall righteousness establish our Nation, and our habitations be in peace and safety even in Jerusalem, that is a quiet habitation."

LONDON, 21 7 mo 1682

TO EDWARD COLE—

"I would willingly have a cell^r und. y^e house for I shall bring wines and other liquors y^t the heat may otherwise spoyle: . . . write what things is most wanted for my concernes there, and what kind of land my Lott is, and how it lyes as to y^e River &c. and what wat^r and trees and all things needful to be known when thou hast got a hovell to keep them safe, and provition without much charg for food, thou wert best buy a Cow and a Sow or two for breed, but in all things get good advise."

LONDON, 21 7 mo 1682

TO THOMAS LOVEDAY—

"Our presid^t with above 50 servts. belonging to y^e Society is going away in a great shipp for Pennsylvania, we suppose it is this night in y^e Downes: It is about 500 Tunn called y^e Jeoffries Thomas Arnall M^r Wm. Penn & those friends in y^e wellcome, we hope may be near half way thith^r there have been divers false reports to discourage people as if a Shipp from Bristol with friends was cast away, and y^t Carolina was seized by y^e Spaniards but all is well and like to pros^p.

LONDON, 23 7 mo 1682

TO EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

"I have sent by Captⁿ Arnall (who is in y^e Downes bound for Pennsylvania) an honest man to build mee a slight house and plant an Orchard and clear some ground with the help of a Carpent^r that is goeing with another friend: My man

is a Brick maker, but has skill in planting and husbandrie and a p^r of a Carpent^r, he is an honest industrious solid man of about 47 yeares old, and one called a Quaker: for his assistance and for my use and service I desire thee to provide me 2 good stout negroes men, such as are like to be plyable and good natured: and ingenious: I question not but thou knowes better then I doe wch. may be fittest for me: and I hope thou wilt be so kind as to lett mee have those w^{ch} are good likely men: for some I hear are so ill natured and surrly, that a man had bett^r keep a Bear, and some again so ingenious dillig^t and good natured, that they are a great comfort and Benefitt to a man and his family: And my family is great and I have 3 young Children: so that it may bee very prejudiciall to mee to have bad negroes: I would also have a boy and a girle to serve in my house: I would not have either of them und^r 10 yeares or above 20: but principally observe their nature and Capacity: If I have them in y^e 3^d or 4th month in Pennsylvania may be well, but y^e men I would have sent by y^e first oppertunity in Spring, directed to Jno. Goodson at Upland In pennsylvania Chyrurgeon to the Society of traders, or in his absence to Ralph Withers, to whom I have given a lett^r of attourny to be deputy Treasurer to y^e Society till my Arrivall."

LONDON. 11 8 mo 1682

To EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

"I desired thee to send mee to Pennsylvania 2 Negroes: . . . I desire to have one man & one woman:"

LONDON 14 9 mo 1682

To THOMAS COOKE—

"The shares of East Jarsy is upon y^e riseing hand, and I am not sure I can purchase a 24th. for 450 lb but if thou will give mee ord^r I will do for thee as well as I cann."

LONDON— 9 11 mo 1682

To ROBERT TURNER—

"I reed yesterday thine 29th. past as to our intended voyage for Pensylvania, we hope to be ready to imbarq abt.

y^e end of the 1st. month, and are looking out for a good vessel to carry us, I am in Treaty wth. one Jeffries M^r of a shipp of 500 Tunn, w^{ch} will require 2 mo: time to gett ready in, he has used the Virginia trade and may be very fitt for us both ship and M^r if we can but procure company and goods enough to make a bargain wth him to engage him into Delaware river directly w^{ch} we suppose ab^t 80 Passingers and 50 Ton of goods may doe, she is by report for I have not yet seen her a very brave ship 'as not many Mrcht^s ships in England exceeds her so if thou knowst of any friends in Ireland that have a purpose of going to Pensylvania or New Jarsy, and will take this opportunity it may be a great accomodation to them as well as to us if thou hears of any I desire thee write to me ab^t it, as for any news for Pensylvania we have of late none but good, there had been 21 sail ships arrived last summer in Delaware and the country is very well liked for Pleasantness by the people, Wm. Penn was well and things was like to be settled to content and was received wth a great deal of love and respect and had held a Court in Pensilvania and was gone to hold another at New Castle, and there also the people readily subjected to him and there was like to be a good understanding and a fair setlem^t of the bounds between Baltamore and him, I suppose thou heard long since of 31 friends that dyed in Wm. Pens ship of the small pox, but as for other reports, w^{ch} we believe are lyes it is in vain to mention them, we are in dayly expectation of another ship from New York w^{ch} will bring us more ample acc^t of all things, w^{ch} I may advise thee of, in the meantime I desire to hear from thee w^a and how thou intends to goe and any other advice that thou thinks may be serviceable."

LONDON, 9 11 mo 1682-3

TO JOHN BEER—

"Thine of the 23^d past recd some days since from Exon as to thy proposall of furnishing me wth a ship for Pensilvania I should like it well if all things else were suitable, but a vessel of a hundred Ton will not serve us for we are like to be 100 Passingers and do intend if we can compass it to have a

ship of 4 or 500 Ton and am now in Treaty wth a M^r of such a vessell that has used the Virginia trade so I cannot tell how I can serve thee in this matter, Thomas Singleton is going away tomorrow or next day, as to thy ability I doe not question that, and if there was any respect I could serve thee in I should readily do it."

LONDON 11 11 mo 1682-3

TO EDWARD COLE—

"As I said before I hope there will be a little house built for us if it be but like a barne and if possible let there be a sellar made to keep some wine and other liquors Cool in that I intend to take wth me, for its like we shall come there in very hot weather, and if there could be some fruit trees set at the right season it might be well . . . I writ to thee the 9th. and mentioned something of a servt. w^{ch} I have now agreed wth and bound for 8 years, his name is Phillip Brooks as ~~is~~ the Inclosed Indenture w^{ch} I send thee, as also the bill of lading from the M^r and an Invoyce of his things w^{ch} I desire thee to take care of and see that he has them all, . . . If thou hast not employm^t for him let him worke for some other body for wages, for I would not have him idle, and keep him in subjection and good ord^r, I have committed the care of him and his Chest to Thomas Singleton M^r of the ship and given him an acc^t, w^t there is in it, that while he is on ship board he may looke a little after him, and see that he doth not make away his things, . . . I have sent with the boy more things than he needs, but let him wear his old things out first, and upon those days he dos not work his new things."

(To be continued.)

CONTEMPORANEOUS ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.

[From *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* of Saturday, December 28, 1776.]

“Extract of a letter from an officer of distinction at Newtown, Bucks county, dated December 27, 1776.

““It was determined, some days ago, that our army should pass over to Jersey, in three different places, and attack the enemy. Accordingly about two thousand five hundred men, and twenty brass field-pieces, with his Excellency Gen. Washington at their head, and Majors Gens. Sullivan and Green, in command of two divisions, passed over on the night of Christmas, and about three o'clock, A.M. were on their march, by two routs, towards Trenton. The night was sleety, and the roads so slippery that it was day break when we were two miles from Trenton. But happily the enemy were not apprised of our design, and our advanced party were on their guards at half a mile from the town, when Gen. Sullivan's and Gen. Green's divisions soon came into the same road. Their guard gave our advanced party several smart fires, as we drove them; but we soon got two fieldpieces at play, and several others in a short time; and one of our Colonels pushing down on the right while the others advanced on the left, into the town. The enemy, consisting of about fifteen hundred Hessians, under Col. Rohl, formed and made some smart fires from the musketry and six fieldpieces, but our people pressed from every quarter, and drove them from their cannon. They retreated towards a field behind a piece of wood up the creek, from Trenton, and formed in two bodies, which I expected would have brought on a smart engagement from the troops, who had formed very near them, but at that instant, as I came in full view of them, from the back of the wood, with his Excellency General Washington, an officer informed him that the party had grounded their arms, and surrendered prisoners.

“The others soon followed their example, except a part which had gone off in the hazy weather, towards Princeton, and a party of their light horse which made off on our first appearance. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers of every regiment. By their active and spirited behaviour, they soon put an honorable issue to this glorious day.

“I was immediately sent off with the prisoners to M’Conkey’s ferry, and have got about seven hundred and fifty safe in town and a few miles from here, on this side of the ferry, viz. one Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, four Captains, seven Lieutenants, and eight Ensigns. We left Col. Rohl, the commandant, wounded, on his parole, and several other officers and wounded men at Trenton. We lost but two of our men that I can hear of, a few wounded, and one brave officer, Capt. Washington, who assisted in securing their artillery, shot in both hands. Indeed every officer and private behaved well, and it was a most fortunate day for our arms, which I the more rejoice at, having an active part in it. The success of this day will greatly animate our friends, and add fresh courage to our new army, which, when formed, will be sufficient to secure us from the depredations or insults of our enemy.

“Gen. Ewing’s division could not pass at Trenton for the ice, which also impeded Gen. Cadwallader passing over with all his cannon and the militia, though part of his troops were over, and if the whole could have passed, we should have swept the coast to Philadelphia. We took three standards, six fine brass cannon, and about one thousand stands of arms.’

“Published by order of Council of Safety.

“G. BICKHAM, Sec. pro tem.

“By an authentic account received this morning, the following is a list of prisoners taken, viz. One Col. two Lieut. Cols. three Majors, four Captains, eight Lieuts. twelve Ensigns, two Surgeon Mates, ninety nine serjeants, twenty five drummers, nine musicians, twenty five servants, and seven hundred and forty privates.”

A SUMMER JAUNT IN 1773.

CONTRIBUTED BY REV. GEORGE MORGAN HILLS, D.D.

[The title to the original MS. which the Rev. Dr. Hills has kindly contributed is: "Journal of a tour from Philada. to Bethelam, &c. In Company with Mr. and Mrs. Mitchell, Miss. Kitty and Miss. Nancy Laurence and Mr. E. Laurence." Unfortunately the writer is unknown, but is presumably the W . . . of the text. The annotations have been added by the Editor.]

August 15, 1773, Sunday.—Left Philada. about 7 o'clock Morning, Arrived at Abington $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine, the roads but Indifferent, (12 miles). House kept by Paul tolerable, breakfast pretty good.¹ Left Abington about 11 o'clock A.M., arrived at Jamison's $\frac{1}{4}$ past 3 P.M.² great part of the road hilly & rough—The House at Jamison's (15 miles) neat and clean, Dinner very indifferent, Claret so called, very bad. At five o'clock P.M. left Jamisons, and at 8 P.M. arriv'd at Wilson's.³ Road indifferent, Supper at Wilson's very good, Wine Lisbon, good, Spirits very good, no Candles in the House, the People dirty, the House swarming with Buggs—no sleep. 13 miles.

August 16, Monday. Six o'clock left Wilson's d——d dirty house, and $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 A.M. arrived at Kogers.⁴ Breakfast

¹ As early as 1768, John Paul was the proprietor of the inn with the sign of the Wagon, at the intersection of the old York with the Easton Road, near the present village of Willow Grove. Later it was called the Red Lion, and was considered the "best hostelry between the Rising Sun and Coryell's Ferry."

² In 1772, Mary Jamison's name appears in the "Assessors list of the Innkeepers of Buckingham township, Bucks County." The locality was long known as Centreville, but has again returned to its old name,— "Jamisons."

³ John Wilson was landlord of the "Sign of the Harrow," on the Durham Road, in Nockamixon township, Bucks Co., at the date of this Journal.

⁴ Joseph Kookan [not Kogers] was the landlord of the inn, on the

good, people oblidging, House neat and a handsome young Landlady. Road hilly, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 A.M. left Kogers. 16 miles.

At two P.M. arriv'd at Bethelem, put up at Jost, ye only Inn in Town,¹ Dinner bad, met with Mr. Clem. Biddle,² his sister Miss Nancy Biddle and Miss Nancy Roberts of Philada., joining our Company, both sprightly, agreeable Quaker Girls. About 4 P.M. we were joined by Mr. E. Laurence and his Sister Miss Nancy Laurence of Chestnut Grove, Monmouth County³ and Mr. and Miss Emly, which completed our party.

This afternoon Mr. Horsly [Horsfield]⁴ waited on the Company, and in the evening conducted us to see ye Meeting of the Society at their Church, Solemn and devout; Supper pretty good, Wine good, also Punch; beer indifferent.⁵

Tuesday 17th. Breakfast good; this Day the Company visited the different appartm^{ts} of the Moravians, viz. The single Sisters, Widows, the single Brothers, the places of Worship, Water Works, Garden, Mills &c. All which give much satisfaction, being accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Gar-

"old Bethlehem Road" south of the mountain, in Upper Saucon township, Northampton County.

¹ The Sun Inn. Just Jansen [Johnson] was landlord, 1771 to 1781. He was a Dane by birth, and for a number of years a mariner. The building, modernized, stands on Main near Broad Street.

² See "The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, now Deceased," p. 81.

³ Elisha Lawrence, subsequently Colonel First Regiment New Jersey (Royal) Volunteers. "Chestnut Grove" tract was part of the "Manor of Buckhole."

⁴ Joseph, son of Timothy Horsfield, the well-known "Squire" of Bethlehem.

⁵ The Marquis de Chastelleux, when in America, 1780-1782, visited Bethlehem. The translator of his "*Voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*," in a foot-note refers to the inn, . . . "it was not inferior to the best of the largest in England . . . we were constantly supplied with venison, moor-game, the most delicious read and yellow-bellied trout, the highest flavored wild strawberries, luxuriant asparagus . . . notwithstanding the difficulty of procuring good wine at that time throughout the continent, we were here regaled with wine and brandy of the best quality, and exquisite old Port and Madeira."

risson¹ who behaved with a great deal of politeness, and was very obliging. To night went to their meeting; this Day the Female Children at Dinner; very neat and great decorum, Dinner at Jost pretty good; Mr. Horsly [Horsfield] dined with the Company; Supper good; the Company in good Spirits, and seemingly agreeable to each other.

Wednes. 18th. Set out this Morning at 7 A.M. for Nazareth, and Mr. Biddle, Miss Biddle and Miss Roberts w^t Mr. Emly and his Neice parted with us, they for Easton (6 miles) &c. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 A.M. arrived at Christ^a Spring² visited the Farm, saw & Grist mill, Distillery, &c. Every thing neat and in good Order, were very kindly Treated by Mr. Freindly where we had a very good Breakfast, Mr. Oakely³ accompany'd us to the Farm (a sensible well behaved man;) arriv'd at Nazareth about 12 o'clock; visited the House,⁴ which is a neat plain Building, some tolerable paintings in it, went thro' the Boy's School,⁵ saw them knitting, not fit

¹ Nicholas Garrison, a member of the Staten Island family of the name. His wife's maiden name was Mary Ann Brandt. For many years he was a sea-captain of repute. In 1763 he selected Bethlehem for the home of his declining years, where he lived in retirement, save that for a short time he served the town in the capacity of *cicerone*. It was he who gave the name of "Nisky" to the wooded heights that skirt the southern limits of Bethlehem,—a favorite resort for visitors and residents of the town.

² Christian's Spring (named for a son of Count Zinzendorf) was a Moravian settlement on the "Barony of Nazareth," between 1749 and 1796, to the west of the town of Nazareth. Many of the old buildings are still standing.

³ John Okely was a native of Bedford, O. E., and came to Pennsylvania with the first Moravian colony in 1742. For many years he was the scrivener and conveyancer of the church. In 1774 he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace by Gov. John Penn; and in the Revolutionary period appointed Assistant Commissary in the Continental service. He withdrew from the Moravians.

⁴ Now familiarly called the "Whitefield House," and occupied jointly by the Moravian Historical Society and Missionary Home.

⁵ Nazareth Hall was originally built for a residence of Count Zinzendorf, who was expected to make a second visit to Pennsylvania in 1755. From 1759 to 1779 it was used as a boarding-school for sons of Moravian parents, and since 1785, as a boarding-school under Moravian control.

work for Boys; left Nazareth $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 P.M. On our way to Easton lost our road, arriv'd at Easton about 4 P.M. (6 miles) put up at Rinker's;¹ Dinner indifferent, Wine not good, a neat Court House here the only thing worth remarking, the Town lies very low at the Junction of leighy [Lehigh] and N. East branch of Delaware—Supper pretty so so Mr. Gordon² supp'd with us—Beds pretty good and clean, the People tolerable obliging.

Thursdy: 19th. Left Easton on our return to Bethelhem about 7 o'clock A.M. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 arriv'd at Bethelhem, (10 miles) the road good, Journey agreeable, killed some Pigeons; breakfast at Bethelhem good; Mr. Laurence and I walked out with our Guns, no Sport, Joined by Mr. Edwards and Mr. Vaux of Philada.³ who dined with us, Dinner good, the Company in high spirits. Went to Fish on ye Leheigh, not much Sport, this Evening the Ladys accompanied by Mrs. Garrison, went to view Hermitage,⁴ Mrs. Garrison displeased at my not going with them, a very good Supper, poor Lawry Grogan was much frightened this evening by a Negro's Head appearing in his bed, the good deeds of some of the Girls who thought he had best have a bed-fellow, they thought fit to sow my bed with some Oats & a Lantern to signify I wanted to be enlightened, merry little Rogues!

Friday 20. Set out this morning with Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Lawry Grogan on a fishing party &c to the Saucon where we killed some trout, and also Pidgeons. Mr. and Mrs. Garrison Dined with the Compy, and drank Tea with them. Supper but indiffen^t this evening, went early to Bed, purposing to set out on the following morning for Reading,

¹ John Rinker's name appears in the list of innkeepers of Easton; Assessor's return to June Sessions of Court 1773.

² Query. Lewis Gordon, the first lawyer admitted to practice in the courts of Northampton Co.

³ Probably James Vaux, father of Roberts Vaux, a Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴ Also called the "Old Man's Place," is now incorporated within the grounds of the Lehigh University. For years it was a favorite resort of the people of Bethlehem on pleasant summer afternoons.

the Town of Bethelim stands on the Banks of the River Lehigh on a hill with a pretty decent to the Water, and from the Opposite Bank of the River, has a very pretty appearance, the whole Town is settled by Moravians who began it about Thirty Years ago, they seem to be an Industrious Inofensive people much addicted to particular forms and Ceremonies and in some respects resembling the Roman Catholicks. The unmarried of both Sexes have separte houses and have no intercourse with each other; sure it never was the design of the Wise disposer of all things, that the Loveliest part of the Creation should thus be Cloistered up, as they were undoubtedly given to smooth the rugged path of Life, and to soften the turbulent temper of the other Sex: to be without their agreeable Company and Conversation is not to live!

The only Tavern kept here as before observed is Jost as the people are extreamply oblidging, the House clean & in general what you may have occation for in eating or drinking pretty good,¹ the place I think must be Healthy from its Situation, which is pretty high.

Saturday 21. Left Bethelhem about 7 o'clock morning. Arrived at Allentown (6 miles) about 9, stop'd at the Sign of the King of Prussia, the House stunk so badly that we could not remain in it, and had it not been for the kindness of Mr. Backhouse,² who invited the Company to take Breakfast with him, must have gone without, but we were Strangers & he took us in for which he has our Blessing. Allentown is a pretty Situation but it seems to be a poor place. $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten left Allentown, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two arrived at Levan's (10 miles) where we had such a Dinner as Travellers must

¹ The first inn erected by the Moravians on the Bethlehem tract was the Crown, in 1745, which stood on the south side of the Lehigh below the present bridge, and was open for guests at the date of this Journal. The second was the Sun. Before the erection of the Crown, guests were entertained in the "Gemeinhaus,"—special apartments being reserved for the purpose.

² Richard Backhaus, later of the Durham Iron Works, Bucks County, was an innkeeper at this date.

often put up with,¹ and might have thought it better had the Landlady come in without her eyes which were none of the prittiest to behold. The House did not seem remarkably clean, but may do to stop at for an Hour or so. At $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 P.M. left Levan's, and at Six o'Clock were obliged to stop being catch'd in a heavy Gust we were kindly receiv'd by Mr. Parvin² who much wanted us to stay with him all Night, but as it cleared up a little we pushed on, and about Seven o'Clock arrived at Shobers, (10 miles) where we got something to revive our Spirits being a little down by the heavy Rain we were catch'd in, the House from appearance promised something good, but alas! we are often deceived by appearances, for it is the dirtiest House without exception in the Province, every room swarming with Buggs; Lawry Grogan slept in the midst of them as tho' he had been on a Bed of down, and of the cleanest kind, for my part if I did not pray all Night, I surely watched as Sleep was intirely banished from my Eyes, for tho' I enclosed myself in a Circle, (not indeed made with an enchanted wand), yet made by what I thought would have answered better, the grease of a Candle, it did not save me from their devourations, which ended not but with the Night, this is a House by all travellers (who would chuse to lie in a whole skin), to be shuned; the fellow who keeps it, is an impertinant imposing Scoundrel, having the impudence to charge us in his Bill Five Shillings for his attendance, (non-attendance he ought to have said), as he came not near us.

Sunday 22. Left this dreary mation about 7 o'clock this morning & arrived at Reading about $\frac{1}{2}$ past Eight, put up at Wilkinsons, where we got a very comfortable breakfast.³ This Day took a Walk round the town, which is prittily laid out the Streets being pritty wide & Cutting each other in

¹ Daniel Levan's Inn was located on the road surveyed by David Shultze from Easton to Reading in 1755, where it is intersected by the New Mexatawney Road.

² Query. Francis Parvin on Maiden Creek.

³ Peter Withington's (not Wilkinson) name is registered among the innkeepers of Reading at this date.

right Angles, but it lies low being entirely surrounded by high hills—the Schukill runs close by it, and has an agreeable appearance.

Monday 23. This Morning Mr. Mitchel and Lawry Grogan set out for the Country, and Mrs. Mitchell, Miss N. Laurence, Miss K. Laurence, and I. (W.) sent out for the top of Mount Parnassus, which after many difficulties & hair breadth escapes we at last achieved, it is a high Mountain which over looks Reading, and from the Summit of which you have a very extensive view of the circumjacent Country, but unfortunately for us, the Day was not clear, so that we were in great measure deprived of the pleasure we promised ourselves.

This Day Mr. Read¹ dined with us, he is a lively facetious Old Gentleman, and was obliging enough to take us a Walk thro' a pretty garden he has.

Tuesday 24. This morning we left Wilkinson's [Withington's] on our route to Lancaster, it is a good House, Victuals good and well dressed, wine exceeding good, and the people obliging, about Eight o'clock left Reading, and at half past ten arriv'd at Reamstown,² where we stoped to Breakfast, we being strangers made enquiry for the Best Tavern which we were shown to, but bad is the best, as everything was very dirty, however Necessity has no law, so we're oblidg'd to make the best we could of it. About one o'clock we arriv'd at ye Dunker's Town³ and having a letter to the Superior, he was good enough to conduct us thro' the different appartments of the House, they seem to be a poor inofensive people, bigoted to certain forms and ceremonies, and eat nothing that has had life in it, saying, all Animals are their Brethren, odd whimsies, however, as they are certainly inoffensive, they ought to be allowed to enjoy them in peace, about 5 o'clock this afternoon arrived at Lancaster, put up at Slough's, a very good House

¹ See "The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," etc., p. 190.

² East Cocalico township, Lancaster County, formerly called "Zoar."

³ Ephrata, the seat of the Seventh-Day Baptists.

victuals well dressed, wine good.¹ Lancaster stands upon rising ground, the streets are regular and pritty wide, intersecting each other at rightangles, there are some pritty good Buildings here and the Town may contain about Seven Hundred Houses.

Wednesday 25. Left Lancaster about 3 o'clock afternoon, fine pleasant Day, in good spirits, but alas! a sad accident had like to have turned our mirth into mourning for W . . . driving careless, and being happily engaged with the Lady he had the pleasure of riding with, and not mindfull enough of his charge, drove full against a large stump which stood in the way, by which the Chair was overturned and the Lady thrown out to a Considerable distance, but happily receiv'd no hurt, this evening about 8 o'clock arriv'd at Douglass'² where supped and rested all night, the Supper pretty tollerable, beds indifferent, being short of Sheets for the Beds—the Woman was good enough to let W . . . have a table-cloth, in lieu of one.

Thursday 26. About 7 o'clock left Douglass'—hitherto we had been fav'd since our first Setting out with pleasant Weather, but this Morning threatned us with the reverse it being hazy. About ten o'clock arrived at the Ship,³ where we breakfasted, which was good, the People obliging and the House clean and decent; at Eleven o'clock set out, about one o'clock we stop'd at the Admiral Warren⁴ where Mr. Mitchell was taken so ill as obliged him to go to Bed, having something of an Ague, with much reluctance, we left him & Mrs. Mitchell there, and proceeded on to Stradel-

¹ atthias Slough was the popular landlord, between 1761 and 1806, of the "White Swan," on Queen Street near the Square. He was also Coroner of the County, 1755-68; Assistant Burgess, 1761; a member of the Committee of Observation of the borough, 1774; and member of the Assembly, 1774-83. Died at Harrisburg, Sept. 12, 1812.

² On the old Lancaster Road, west of St. John's Church, and between "Miller's" and "the Hat."

³ The well-known hostelry on the old Lancaster Road, a short distance west from Downingtown.

⁴ Near the present Duffryn Mawr, Chester County, and between the "Blue Bell" and "White Horse."

berger's during which time it rained very heavy upon us which was the more disagreeable as the Ladys were much exposed thereto, neither of the Chairs having tops. Soon after our arrival at Stradelberger's we were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. & Mrs. Mitchell, he having got a little better, about 4 o'clock left Stradelberger's and were all the way to town in a very heavy rain, but happily the Ladies good constitutions prevented any bad effects following their being so much wet, about 8 o'clock we arrived at Mr. Mitchell's to the great joy of all concerned, after having escaped many perils by Land and by Water such as are already recited in this true and faithful Journal—and being absent from our Families & kindred so long a time as twelve days, and further this Journalist saith not. Number of miles travelled 210.—

SOME NOTES ON MATINNECONK, OR BURLINGTON ISLAND.

BY WILLIAM NELSON.

Matinneconk, or Burlington Island, has an interesting history. The Swedes had taken possession of it prior to 1648, as one of the desirable places in the Delaware River.—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 37, *O'Callaghan's Hist. New Netherland*, II., 80. It is designated on Lindstrom's map of New Sweden, in 1654-5, as Tinnakonk's Eylandh, although that name pertained more properly to the island now Tinnacum, eight or nine miles below Philadelphia, where the Swedish Governor Printz established his residence.—*Hist. New Sweden*, by Isaac Acrelius (*Memoirs Penn. Hist. Soc.*, XII.), Phila., 1874, 42, 67. In 1656 a Swedish vessel sailed up the Delaware and landed goods at Matinnekonck, regardless of the Dutch.—*Cal. N. Y. Hist. MSS.*, I., 167. In 1668, Peter Jegou, a Frenchman, "obtain'd a permit & grant of govern^r Philip Cartret, to take up ye Land Called Leasy Point lying and being over agst. Mattinagconn Eyland and Burlington to settle himselfe there and to build and Keep a house of Entertaynment for ye : accomodation of Trauelors." He probably acquired Matinneconk Island about the same time. Two years later he was "plundered by the Indians and by them utterly ruined as is well known to all y^e world," as he declared with bold hyperbole in 1679.—*Records of Upland Court (Memoirs Penn. Hist. Soc.*, VII.), 140-1. He claimed to have lost 5000 guilders by this raid.—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 476. In 1667-8 (February 15), Peter Alrichs was given by Governor Nicolls, of New York, a grant for two islands "southwest from ye Island comonly called Matineconck."—2 *Penn. Archives*, VII., 721. In September, 1671, the sister of an Indian named Tashioywicans died. The un-

happy savage "expressed great Grief for it and said the Manetto hath kill'd my Sister, & I will go and kill the Christians, so taking another [Wywannattamo] with him he" sallied out and killed two Dutchmen, Peter Veltscheerder and Christian Samuels, at Tinnageong Island, the men being in the service of Mr. Alrichs.—*Records Upland Court*, 149; 2 *Penn. Archives*, V., 601-11; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 484-8. A general war between the whites and the Indians was averted only by the prompt action of some of the latter, who caused one of the murderers to be slain as soon as found, in the ensuing December.—2 *Penn. Archives*, V., 611. Meantime, measures were taken to fortify Matinneconk Island against any further attacks.—*Ib.*, 603. When the first Quaker settlers sailed up the Delaware, the sixteenth of Sixth month, 1677, "they got to a place called Chygoes Island, from Chygoe, an Indian Sachem, who lived there," we are told by the usually very accurate historian, Samuel Smith.—*History of New Jersey*, 93. This "Indian Sachem," however, was doubtless the Frenchman, Peter Jegou, the tavern-keeper on the opposite point, for a year later the settlers said themselves, in a writing still extant, that when they arrived at Matinneconk Island they found it in possession of Henry Jacobs, who was "equally concerned with Peeter Jegoe and both tennants to the Governor for the Iland afforsaide," Jacobs being of great service to them subsequently in their intercourse with the Indians, whose language he understood.—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 615. In 1678 (November 14), Robert Stacy, one of the Yorkshire commissioners of the Burlington colony, obtained from Governor Andros, of New York, and who assumed jurisdiction over the whole of the former New Netherlands, a lease for Matinniconk Island, for the term of seven years from January 1, 1679, "with all the Houseing, Lands, Pastures, Feedings, Meadows, and Appurtenances to the said Island belonging or in any wise appertaining now or lately in the tenure or Occupacon of Peter Jegoe and Hendrick Jacobse in partnership." The yearly rental was to be "thirty bushels of good winter wheate."—*Ib.*, 614. Friend Stacy ap-

pears not unnaturally to have anticipated trouble in ejecting Jegou and Jacobs, and on November 18 secured from Governor Andros an order to the English commander on the Delaware to put him in possession of the island.—2 *Penn. Archives*, V., 709. A number of the principal settlers of Burlington remonstrated against this lease, that “another should so come to succeed [Jegou and Jacobs] that hath been entertained as a stranger in time of necessity.”—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII., 615; *N. J. Archives*, I., 287–8. In 1682 (September 28) the West Jersey Assembly passed an act vesting the possession of the island in the town of Burlington, “the Rents, Issues and Profits thereof and therefrom Yearly arising to be employed for the Maintaining of a School for the Education of Youth within the said Town, and in the first and second Tenths.”—*Leaming and Spicer*, 455. Perhaps the establishment of the supremacy of the title of the West Jersey Proprietors over the usurpation of Governor Andros induced Stacy to yield his claims under his lease. At all events, he was a member of the Legislature which passed the act, and there is nothing to show that he opposed the measure. The right of the Assembly to thus dispose of the island does not seem to have been admitted by the Proprietors, for in 1711 it was surveyed “to Lewis Morris as agent to y^e West Jersey Society by Thomas Gardiner, Survey Genl.,” being by him called “Matoneconk Isles,” and said to contain 400 acres.—*Records Upland Court*, 141, N. In 1767 the citizens in town meeting resolved to “Constitute a Public Free School in the City of Burlington, and that the rent of the Island should be applied to the use of the Free School for which purpose the said island was vested in the town.” It was also agreed that the moneys so arising should be applied to the education of orphan and indigent children exclusively.—*Hist. Burlington and Mercer Counties*, 143–5. The property has been thus used for school purposes ever since the action mentioned. The income supports one of the public schools of Burlington. What a contrast between 1671 and 1885!

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN
AND DAVID HALL, 1763-1777.

(Continued from page 99.)

LONDON April 12, 1766.

DEAR DAVIE

It is not in my Power to send you D^r Franklin's Examination before the House of Commons by this Packett as I promised you, the Clerk [who] promised to write me out a Copy of it, not having had a Moment's Leisure this Month past; but you may assuredly depend upon it by next Packett, together with any News that may then be agitating. Mean time, I remain

Dear Davie

Your most affectionate

Friend & Servant,

WILL: STRAHAN.

To MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia.

LONDON May 10, 1766.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last I have received yours of March 3^d by Sparks, acknowledging the Receipt of mine of Dec^r 12. and 14. and inclosing a Bill on John Menzies and C^o for £100, which is accepted and placed to your Credit.—I shall send the Newspapers by the Boston and New York Vessels, as well as directly to Phil^a as you desire, directed to D^r F. Postmaster.—Some Papers from Bristol and Liverpool I hope you have already begun to receive.—I shall attempt to get you also a Correspondent to send you Papers from Fal-mouth, in case the Restrictions in regard to Wine Clearances from thence are not speedily taken off, which I hope and believe they will be.—The Order you sent to Unwin's Shop is come to hand, which I dare say will be carefully executed.

They have also received the Double Demy, and given you credit for it; as I shall do for the Moulds, when you return them. I am perswaded you will be as well served from that Shop as you used to be; for though the Lad is young, he is very sober and staid; but if you should find the least Difference, let me know, and I will procure you the best Correspondent in the Trade here. The few Books you write for in this Letter, shall be sent along with the Remainder of your former Order by the very first Ship that sails from hence.—I am greatly obliged to you for your friendly Sympathy on the Loss of my sweet Girl, which, as it is truly irretrievable, we shall not soon or easily get the better of. The little Infants are the most charming engaging Creatures you ever saw; and tho' infinitely agreeable, put us continually in mind of their Mother, whom they, alas! will never know the value of.—All the rest of my Children are purely; but my poor Wife has been much out of Order again with her old bilious Complaint this Winter, and last Week set out once more for Bath, which is the only Remedy that affords her any considerable Relief. I hope Six Weeks or Two Months of it will effectually set her up for the ensuing Summer, in the Course of which I may perhaps take her a Jaunt to Scotland, or at least to some Distance from London, which may be of Service to her in confirming the Benefit she usually receives from the Bath Water.—My Son-in-law Mr Johnston is pretty well, but will not soon forget his beloved Partner, who made him unspeakably happy.—

I have yours also of March 28th by the Packett, inclosing the 2d Copy of the above-mentioned Bill for £100, and acknowledging the Receipt of mine of the 11th of January.—You seem to be much disappointed and extremely angry that I did not write you after the Parliament met, Letters of the 18th having come by that Packett. In my Justification I have only to say, that, as I told you in my last, none but Members were admitted, and so could not myself hear the Debates upon the Stamp Act, and all the Accounts of them which I could procure from those who did, were very lame and imperfect; but had I been actually present at

them, I should not have written by that Packett, as the 11th was the usual Period for its sailing; and that it staid another Week was owing to a particular Order, with w^h I was not acquainted. I find since, that some of those who wrote by that Opportunity did it at Random, not knowing whether the Packett was gone or not.—But if you were so angry, and so greatly disappointed by not hearing from me then, you must needs be quite enraged when you find you have no Letter from me from that time till the 7th April, the date of my last.—This I am really concerned at, and that you seem to put a much higher Value upon the Intelligence I send you than it can possibly merit. But the Truth is, I was restrained from hearing the most material Debates whilst the Stamp Act was under Consideration, and when that main Object was removed by a *total Repeal*, I had neither Leisure nor Inclination to attend to lesser Matters, having been extremely busy this Winter. Besides, I did not doubt, (and by your Paper of the 27th March I see I was right in my Conjecture) but you would have very ample Accounts from others, particularly from some of the Committee of Merchants, who attended the Lobby of y^e House of C. continually, as well as from D^r F. whose Assiduity upon the Occasion was superior to any Thing of the Kind I ever saw before. Your Friends do me great and unmerited Honour in thinking it any way material to their Cause whether I happened to be a Friend, or a Foe to it. The Opinion of a private Individual can only be reckoned like a Drop of Water in the Ocean. How they came to think me an Enemy I cannot conceive. I am certain they could have no real Ground to support such an Opinion; and I think that very Letter (Jany 11.) as well as all my preceding ones, since the Affair was in agitation evince the contrary. The very reverse is most true. I hate to do any thing that looks like giving myself the Air of Importance, but this Hint from you, obliges me to tell you, that my Intimacy with some Gentlemen whose particular Employment led them to be concerned in framing this detested Law, afforded me very early Opportunities (before I was apprised of the Impropriety of

imposing such a Tax at all) of objecting to several Clauses of it.—Such as, the laying the Duty so very heavy all at once; in particular, 2^s upon each Advertisement, that being justly complained of here, tho' imposed at 1^s a time at the Distance of 40 Years—the manifest Injury of sending the Paper from hence ready stampd, to the total and immediate Destruction of your own Manufacture—the Absurdity and Impracticability of remitting the Produce of the Tax to the Exchequer here, only to be remitted back again for the Purposes for which it was imposed—and the Probable Grievance attending the Subjection of the Offenders against this Law to be tried by Courts of Admiralty.—These were striking and obvious Objections to the Bill (even admitting the Right of imposing an *internal Tax* upon you) which it required no very uncommon Degree of Penetration to find out; but all these Hints from me, as well as the more weighty Remonstrances of our Friend D^r F. were rendered useless and unavailing by the Obstinacy and overbearing disposition of the then Financier G. Grenville, who fondly perswaded himself he could easily make it go down with you, in any way he chose to administer it.—How widely he was mistaken, he now finds to his unspeakable Mortification.

Herewith I send you, what I promised in my last, D^r Franklin's *Examination* before the House of Commons, which I have at last procured with great Difficulty, and with some Expense. As it is not very easy, in some Parts of it, to comprehend what many of the Questions lead to, or with what intent they were put, I have in the Margin generally inserted the name of the Person who put the Question, and, where doubtful, whether he was a *Friend* or an *Enemy*. I have likewise, at the Bottom of the Pages added here and there a few Illustrations, that you and your Friends may the more fully comprehend the whole.—To this very Examination, more than to any thing else, you are indebted to the *speedy* and *total* Repeal of this odious Law. The Marquis of Rockingham told a Friend of mine a few Days after, That he never knew Truth make so great a Progress in so very short a Time. From that very Day, the *Repeal* was generally

and absolutely determined, all that passed afterwards being only mere Form, which even in Business the most urgent must always be regarded.—Happy Man !—In Truth, I almost envy him the inward Pleasure, as well as the outward Fame, he must derive from having it in his Power to do his Country such eminent and seasonable Service. So striking and so indubitably authentic a Proof of his Patriotism must, I imagine, for ever silence his Enemies with you ; and must afford you and his other Friends the greatest Pleasure.—If you determine to print it either in a Pamphlet by itself, or in your Paper (the former I think the best way) do not say *as taken by the Clerk of the House* ; that would be highly improper, and might bring my Friend, who favoured me with it, into an ugly Scrape. You need only call it, *An Examination before a Great Assembly*, or by some such *General Title*. I think it will make some Noise with you, unless the *actual Repeal* should have already quieted you so far, as to prevent your People in general from attending to any thing more on the Subject.—If you do print it, however, in any Shape, pray send me a Dozen Copies of it, directed to Dr. F. to save Postage, as indeed you may do all my Letters while he is here.

The Session of Parliament, you see, is protracted to a Great Length. They will not rise till about this Day Month. I suppose Mr. Pitt's Name is very high in America by this time. Without communicating his Intention either to Friend or Foe, to one of the Ministry or one of the Opposition, he came unexpectedly into the House on the first Day of their Meeting, and made that famous Speech in your Behalf, which most certainly did you essential Service ; and this joined to the Desire all new Ministries naturally have to blacken their Predecessors, by rendering their Acts unpopular, made the affair go much easier down ; than it would otherwise have done. Nothing could possibly favour the present Sett of Ministers so greatly as having it in their Power to please the People both here and in America with the Repeal of two Laws (the Cyder and Stamp Bills) which had created so much Uneasiness.—Whether Mr Pitt's Motives for the Part he acted were as pure as they appear to be, I will not deter-

mine; for I have by no means the best Opinion of his Heart and Intentions. However that be, you are much indebted to him. The House hath been since employed about the other Regulations your Trade stands in need of, and the Subject of a *Free Port*, in regard to which he (M^r Pitt) was against you, and upon General Warrants, a Topic, which, tho' Grenville and the rest of the Minority have lately endeavoured to revive, is now grown quite stale, and will not serve the purpose they aim at, the acquiring some Share of Popularity. Upon all these Occasions M^r Pitt hath given his Attendance, and tho' much flattered, caressed and even cringed to by the Ministry, hath not yet thought proper to accept any Department in the Administration, but hath retired to Bath, and left them, for this Season, to proceed by themselves. Their Diffidence and Timidity hath emboldened him to treat the whole House upon several Occasions, in the Course of the Session, like a Parcel of School-boys; so much real Weight doth his truly superior Talents give him above them all; and so much are great abilities at present wanting in this Country. They now talk of some Changes (not a Total one) in the present Ministry. The Duke of Grafton, a young Man of some Talents, thinking too much of the Public Business lies upon him, has threatened for some time to resign, M^r Yorke, the present Attorney General, an able and worthy Man, will probably be made Lord Keeper in the room of Lord Northington, of some Spirit and Integrity, but of much Inferior Parts. The Earl of Egmont, a Man of Business and Acuteness will, they say, succeed the Duke of Grafton as Secretary of State. M^r Conway, who set out with Diffidence and Modesty, rises daily in the public Esteem, as a Man of Sense and Integrity. He will probably keep his Station. After these, or some such partial Changes have taken place it is likely Things will remain unaltered till towards the Opening of next Session; when we may expect a Renewal of the Efforts of those who are *out* to get *in*, and of those who are *in*, to keep their Places. But all this is, in Truth, nothing to the Public Service, which during these eternal and endless Squabbles, is often neglected. But this

is, and is like to remain, Matter of real Concern to all Lovers of their Country.—You, on the other Side the Water, will now have a breathing-time, and will have leisure to deliberate how best to make Application for the Redress of any other Grievances in point of Trade, &c. you still labour under. I should imagine that the Colonies joining together in a decent and firm Remonstrance, with a proper Acknowledgment of the Attention that has been lately paid to them, may have a good Effect at the opening of next Session, and induce the House to resume in good Earnest those Concerns of yours, which they have not yet had leisure to discuss, but which perhaps it may be found full as necessary to attend to even as the Stamp Act itself.

M^r Pitt is generally condemned by sober dispassionate Men for hovering over the Operations of the Ministry, and tho' invited and caressed by them, declining to take part with them.—In his own Vindication he says, he sees no Prospect of being of the least Service, and will not risque the Reputation he has got to no Purpose.—The Truth is, he is determined to listen to no Overtures, unless they come from the King himself, and this the Ministry (*i.e.* Principally Lord Rockingham, and behind the Curtain Lord Bute) endeavour to oppose by all means, as the Terms M^r Pitt will probably insist on, will either render such a Treaty abortive, as was the Case before, or make such a thorough Change of Men and Measures, as must reduce those who are now in Power to perfect Cyphers.—Thus stand Matters whilst I now write to you.—It is very lucky for the present Sett, that Mr. Grenville is so extremely unpopular, as the Differences (whether real or feigned) which subsisted between M^r Pitt Lord Temple and him are certainly made up. They make a pretty formidable Party against a weak, disjointed, and timid Ministry, and may be able to distract their Counsels next Session, unless a general Settlement takes Place before that time, which there is at present very little Prospect of.

Upon the whole, if I have been able to convey to you, in what I have said, a just Idea of our Situation, you will naturally conclude, that our good-natured, well-meaning, honest,

and worthy Sovereign is far from being easy. Indeed he is not. He is much disgusted, and with good Reason. He sees his Favours rejected by some, and ingrossed by others who are unable to serve him, and carry through his Business with any degree of Reputation. The Man he loves best, and has most Confidence in, is unhappily altogether unfit to take the Lead in this Country, or indeed to advise him upon any particular Occasion, so as to enable his Master to acquire or preserve the Character of Firmness, so necessary to one in his Station. Hence all those partial Revolutions in his Ministry from his Accession to the present Day, so conducive to lessen the Weight and Influence of the Crown, and the Dignity of his Government.

As for our affairs abroad, they are on a pretty good Footing; for tho' it is natural to expect that our antient Enemies the French will always endeavour to avail themselves of our Divisions when Opportunity offers, they are by no means in a Condition to break with us at present. Great Talents, both Civil and Military are as scarce with them as with us; and their public Revenue more embarrassed than ours. The Anticipations upon theirs are indeed almost incredible. Add to this, that there is much internal Disturbance among them, and a Spirit of Liberty bursting out in several Provinces, to the great Annoyance of the Crown, as you may see by what little Intelligence of that kind reaches us; but by far the greatest part of it is suppressed by the Authority of their Government over the Press. Neither have we any thing to apprehend from the *Family Compact*, once so formidable in our Estimation.—The Spaniards, you see, fully sensible of their having been long the Dupes of French Councils, and yet sore with the Sense of what they lately suffered by being so unreasonably lugged into the War against us have at length (a very uncommon Incident in that Country) plucked up a Spirit; and obliged their King to discard his obnoxious Minister, who, presuming on the Strength of his Master's Favour, had dared to introduce some foolish alterations in their Dress of which they are very tenacious.—Things being thus circumstanced on the

Continent, the Peace of Europe is not likely to be soon disturbed and some lucky Events may happen to extricate us from our present domestic Embarrassments.

If I tire you and your Friends in the reading all this, you must blame yourself. You insist on my writing; and I obey you to the utmost of my Power. Next Packett you shall hear from me again, tho' I expect to have very little new to say.

I shall replace what was sent by Egdon, as you desire. I hope you will always do me the Justice to believe, that there is nothing whatever in my power which I would not cheerfully do, to convince you that I am in very deed

Dear Davie

Your most affectionate and faithful

Servant

WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON, June 11, 1766.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote to you by the Pacquet May 10th to which I refer. As it was a long Letter, I shall not transcribe it, hoping it has come to hand safely, by so certain a Conveyance. Dr Franklin's Examination came along with it.

I have since received yours of April 5th viâ Dublin, by Cap^t Lenargon, inclosing the first Copy of Bill for £200. drawn by Mr Joseph Wharton Jun. on Mess^{rs} Dias Santos, Uncle and Nephews, Merchants in London, which is noted for non-acceptance. If it is not paid when it becomes due, I shall get it protested and return it to you by the first Opportunity.

Herewith you have every thing you have hitherto ordered that could be procured, amounting to £298:12:6.—Some of the Books for the Library Companies were extremely difficult to be got, and so dear that I charge only the Money they cost me, and yet I am not quite certain that they will give Satisfaction, tho' I am hopeful they will.

In this Invoice are included, you see, the State Trials wrote for long since, with three last Vol. of the Biographia Britannica, to complete the Sett's you have already had. In short, I know of nothing omitted that ought to have been sent you.

Inclosed is also the Bill of Lading for these Boxes of Books from M^r Balfour, with a Letter from him, which he desired me to ship for you here, no Vessel being likely soon to sail from Scotland directly for Philadelphia. M^r Towne will deliver you a small Parcel, containing, among other Things, a very complete Catalogue of all Modern Books, with their Prices, which you desired to have. It is not yet completed at Press (half a Sheet or so being wanting) but as soon as it is finished I will send you a Dozen of them, which you will find of some use to you, and will be very convenient for your Customers, when they want to order a proper Assortment of such Books.

I remember nothing else regarding Business. I have been kept all this Winter in such a continual Hurry, that I have not yet had Time to adjust our Account, so as to send you a Copy of it as it now stands, but shall probably do this by next Opportunity.

As to Politicks. There is very little to add to the full Account I sent you in my last. No Changes have yet taken place in the Ministry, except the Resignation of the Duke of Grafton. The Reason he assigns for giving up is this. When he accepted the Place of Secretary of State; he was assured M^r Pitt was to come into the Administration. Without the Addition of his Weight, he plainly told them they were too weak, and absolutely refused to join them but on the express Stipulation of bringing him in, which they promised to do. Instead of that, though they affected to court him at the opening of the Session, and even to make mean and servile advances to him, they have ever since kept at a Distance from him, and secretly opposed every Scheme in which he was included, thinking the Popularity which must naturally attend the Repeal of the Stamp and Cider Acts would be able to carry them through without his Assistance.—This Conduct of theirs M^r Pitt has seen for some time past with Indignation, and will undoubtedly revenge himself the first Opportunity. He has indeed more than once complained during the course of the Session, that he hath been ill-used by all Parties, which made him so loth

to join with any of them.—The Session is now concluded, and of course we shall have a Stagnation in Politics for six Months to come. You see a free Port is opened, which most People here think will be made a Job of by such of our Merchants as have lately purchased Lands in the ceded Islands. For my part, I pretend not to understand this Subject, but am rather apt to think the Affair was carried on with too much Precipitation, considering its Importance to our Trade; but shall be glad to find myself mistaken, and that it may answer all the good Purposes it was intended for.—G. Grenville has been able to make nothing of all his Opposition this Winter, but we may expect Pitt and he to exert themselves to the utmost when the Parliament meets again. Much will depend upon the Effects which the Repeal of the Stamp Act may produce in the Colonies. If they receive this Indulgence (as some People Term it) properly, and the Free Port is found to be attended with no remarkable Inconveniences, Matters are likely to go on smooth enough for another Session without any great or material Change. And yet the present Ministry are most certainly by no means *the thing*. A striking Instance of the Futility of their Conduct and of their Timidity was their postponing the Message from the King concerning his Sister's Portion and the Support of his Brothers, from Day to Day, almost to the very end of the Session, for fear of opposition, and after all, wording it in such a Manner that it could produce nothing this Season.

In the East Indies Lord Clive seems to carry all before him. He proposed by the last Accounts, to set out for Europe next Dec^r but I hear the Company have wrote him to remain there another Year, that he may have full time to compose Matters thoroughly.—Notwithstanding the Plausibility of his Conduct, some People pretend to say, he hath been guilty of very arbitrary Proceedings, of which you will hear the Particulars soon, as I am told M^r Johnston, who was first in the Council at Bengal, and who was turned out by him, intends to lay his Case before the Public.

The late Revolution of the Ministry in Spain, with the

Disturbances that still reign there, added to the Pusillanimity of their King, seem to secure to us the Continuance of their Friendship. The Peace of Europe is therefore not likely to be soon disturbed. And in times of Tranquillity all Commercial States must flourish. I wish we may be able to avail ourselves of these happy Circumstances; which nothing can prevent us from doing but the factious Disposition of this Country, under a good-natured Prince unable to keep Parties within proper Bounds.

My Wife still continues at Bath, where she has been dangerously ill, but is now greatly recovered. All the rest of my Family are as usual. My best Compliments to M^r Hall and your Fireside; to M^r Franklin and Miss; and to Governor Franklin and his Lady, when you send him his Statutes. Tell him I should have written to him long ago, but that I am always much pressed in point of time, and have nothing to acquaint him with but what he will find in my Letters to you, and those he receives from his Father. I am

Dear Davie

Ever most affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

LONDON June 14, 1766.

DEAR DAVIE

This goes by the Packett. I have nothing to add, but that our Friend D^r Franklin (at whose Apartments I write this) sets out to-morrow Morning for Piermont in Germany, along with Sir John Pringle Baronet, the Queens Physician, who goes there for his Health. This Excursion, tho' otherwise well, D^r Fr. needs very much, as he has by no means recovered his late Fatigue, which was very considerable indeed, both in body and mind.—But all is well, as it was attended with Success. Nothing farther have I to say in regard to Politicks. All News of this kind you may expect to be at a full stop for some Months to come.—The Dolphin, Commodore Byron, is lately returned from a Voyage round the World, but the Intention and Incidents of the Voyage are kept very secret. Only it is known that they have dis-

covered an Island near Patagonia in South America, the Inhabitants of which are of a gigantic Stature, being in general about Nine foot high, and young Children in proportion. This is no Romance, but real Matter of Fact, and may be depended on. The Discoverers, no doubt, expect great Advantages from this Expedition. When anything more transpires concerning it, you shall have the best Account of it I can procure. Mean while I remain

Dear Davie

Yours most affectionately

WILL: STRAHAN.

To MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia

LONDON April 11, 1767.

DEAR DAVIE

I have, in the inclosed Sheet, sent you all the Politics at present in my Power. Such as they are, you have certainly an *exclusive* Right to them; and therefore you may be sure I will write to no one else upon the Subject, had I leisure so to do, which indeed I have not, it being with the utmost Difficulty I can find time, once a Month to write to you. In truth, you can have no Idea in how constant a Hurry I am generally kept with one think or other.

In my Letter of Febry 14th I told you that I heard another Newspaper was about to be set up with you; which I am sorry to hear confirmed from yourself. I mentioned also the Reason assigned for it, viz. Your Partiality for the Proprietary Party, which I could not believe, tho' positively asserted. The first Intimation I had of it was in a Letter received from M^r Galloway, dated in Dec^r last, inclosing an Order for a few Law Books (one of which, by the bye, which was forgot, you will find directed to him in one of your Trunks which will come by next Vessel) and desiring me to send the Chronicle and Magazines to M^r Goddard, who was about to set up a Newspaper at Phil^a I understood, at the same time, from a Letter he wrote to another Person, that the Design of this Undertaking was that there might

be a Paper for the *People*, as well as for the *Proprietary*.—This was the Ground upon which I then wrote to you.—Since I received yours of Janry 31st I have seen D^r Franklin, who shewed me your Letter to him. He tells me, he was quite ignorant of the whole Affair till the Paper was set on foot; that he has no Concern in it; that tho' carried on in one of his Houses, he cannot believe his New Press is employed in it; that for his own part he never had any Reason to doubt your perfect Good-will towards him; but that he could not prevent his Friends from taking what Steps they might think necessary to secure the Publication of what they might judge proper for the Good of their Common Cause.—I suppose he will write you fully himself upon this Head; but from all I could gather from this and all other Conversations I ever had with him, he seems to me to be most unfeignedly your Friend and Well-wisher, and believes you are as well disposed towards him as ever, whatever the Governor's Opinion may be.—I am truly sorry that such Misunderstandings should exist between you and any Branch of his Family, which I hope and believe you never gave any Cause for. I am also extremely sorry, that Party-Distinctions should exist so long with you, as I am fully sensible it is no easy Matter to keep clear of Blame from one Side or t'other, and sometimes from both, in so small a Community.—I am sorry likewise that the Disputes between the *Proprietary* and the *People*, from the unsettled State of our Ministry at home, are likely to be agitated for a long while to come, in spite of the utmost Assiduity on both Sides, especially as I know it to be extremely difficult for any man to avoid giving Umbrage to one Party or other, even tho' he endeavoured to maintain the strictest Neutrality.—It would be most impertinent in me, at this Distance, and uninformed as I must necessarily be of many material Points of the Controversy to presume to decide on this Subject; but from all I *do know* I will not scruple to assert that it is as much the Interest of the Proprietors to grant the People what they want, as it is that of the People to accept it.—Whatever tends to make the Generality of the Inhabitants happy, easy

and contented, and to have full Confidence in their Governors, must immediately as well as ultimately tend to the Emolument of the Proprietor, whose Advantage will and must keep pace with the general Prosperity of the Province, and with the Increase of its People.—I know not what your Sentiments of these Matters are; perhaps you may see things in a quite different Light, and may think (and may imagine you have good Reason to think) that the People are as unreasonable in their Demands upon the Proprietor, as he is justifiable in refusing them. Of this I am quite ignorant; for I do not remember that in all our Correspondence you ever once mentioned the Subject. Nay, tho' I have often taken Occasion to mention Dr. Franklin's Conduct here, and his Assiduity in the Affairs of the Province, I don't recollect you ever wrote a single Syllable either in Approbation or Disapprobation of the Cause he was engaged in, or of the Part he took in it.—This I have long wondered at, and could not well account for, as I always thought you as firmly attached to him in point of *Opinion*, as in point of *Affection*.

As to that part of your Letter which you desire me to keep to myself, I shall say little:—Only that he ever spoke to me in the highest Strains of Approbation with respect to your Conduct ever since you were connected together; but I always understood that by your Original Agreement the whole Care of the Business was to remain with you, and that he was released from taking any Share of the Trouble.—That he had stipulated not to be concerned in the Printing-Business after the Expiration of your Partnership he never once mentioned to me, from whence I conclude he never meant it, especially as he could not, so long ago, be in a Situation to make such an Agreement. But this is very immaterial now, as to be sure he never will become a Printer either here or there again in any Shape whatever.

Upon the whole I hope and would gladly believe that the present Undertaking of Goddard will not materially affect your Interest, and that on D^r Franklin's Return, if not sooner, the Governor and you will come to a right Understanding together, as I am fully persuaded you never meant

harm to him, or any of his Connections.—I will only add, that I never heard a Syllable drop from the Mouth of his Father, but what was full of Affection and Esteem for you, nor did I ever hear him, in any Instance whatever, find the least fault with any part of your Conduct.

Your large Order is now almost ready, and partly shipt on board the Britannia Jefferies, who will sail in about ten Days. The Articles ordered in your last Letter shall also be sent along with them.—The Two Line Letters, &c. were sent you in January last. I forget in what Ship, but they are with you, I dare say, before now.—Every thing shall be included in your next Invoice, which I am now writing out.—I shall remember what you say regarding the Newspapers and Magazines; but am sorry to find, after all the Pains I have taken, that the People at the Out-posts are so negligent.—I see the Necessity of your being supplied now, more punctually than ever.—Goddard shall have nothing from me but the Chronicle, which indeed he has sent him by the Post-office Clerks, as you have, and which it would have been in vain to have refused ordering for him at M^r Galloway's Request, as any Person else could have done it as well as me. I dare say you will find very little Difference in the Sale of your Paper, even if his should succeed; tho' it had been much better that such a thing had never been set on foot, especially in a Party-way.—I have seen M^r Brown, who comes to work with me next Week, but have not received the Letter you sent me by him, as it is in his Chest, which has not yet come to hand.—It seems he was taken ill in Ireland, and detained some time there.—

I think I have nothing farther to add, but that my Wife continues pretty well, and the rest of my Family quite so. Our best Respects to M^r Hall and your Fireside. I remain with all Affection,

Dear Davie

Most cordially Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB, THE METHODIST.—The “Boudinot Papers,” belonging to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contain the correspondence between Mrs. Grace Webb, the wife of one of the founders of Methodism in America, and Elias Boudinot, Commissary-General of Prisoners, in relation to the exchange of her husband, who had been taken a prisoner of war. On May 31, 1777, Captain Webb, with his family of seven persons, arrived at Bethlehem, with permission to reside there, or within six miles of the town, until exchanged, and were furnished with lodgings. By the arrival of three hundred British prisoners, with their guard of one hundred Continentals, early in September, they were compelled to vacate their lodgings in one of the large buildings for those in a private family. In the mean time friends of Captain Webb were trying to effect his exchange.

“New York the 6th Nov^r 1777.

“Sir.

“I have had the Pleasure to write to you two Several Opportunities when I informed you that I had obtain’d the Release of Mr. W^m Cavanaugh of St. Mary’s County Maryland Super Cargo of a Ship from the West Indies in Exchange for you and he went homeward with a Pass expressing such Exchange and he promised to apprize you thereof which hope he has done.

“If you should see Mr. Robert Morris of Philada. be pleased to inform him I have paid the Money to Capt. Weeks and to Lieut. Lingham agreeable to his Order, but Major Stewart was in no want of Cash.

“I shall be happy to see you and your Family here, being respectfully

Sr

“Your humble serv^t

“D. CHAMIER.

“CAPT THOMAS WEBB

“Deputy Barrack Master of Albany now a Prisoner at Bethlehem.”

On the 22d of February, 1778, Captain Webb left for Philadelphia on a pass, to endeavor to arrange for his exchange, but the matter did not progress favorably. Mrs. Webb wrote to Mr. Boudinot, June 4, as follows:

“I have flattered myself, upon your Return to Camp, that Mr Webb’s Exchange would be confirmed and that I should have a proper pass port to remove with my Family; as, I understand you have had an Interview with Mr Loring, Commissary of Prisoners from New York, who I am informed was the Person that released Mr. William Cavanaugh in Exchange for Mr. Webb. . . . I have from the Expectation of this waited with impatience for my Discharge . . . but alas! how disappointed was I to be informed by Mr. Van Vleck who was so kind as to speak to you in my Behalf, that nothing could be done till Mr. Webb returned to his

Parole; that you were not as yet convinced of there being a Person released for him; & this Doubt has arose from Mr. Cavanaugh's not making his appearance. . . . I do not know Sir, how I could wish to see Mr. Webb here; as I very much fear he would meet with Insult, which would be very mortifying to me; much more so than it would be to him; his natural Disposition being so much better: and what Nature has been defective in, Grace has supplied. . . ."

To this letter Mr. Boudinot sent the following reply:

"Camp June 10 1778

"Madam.

"Your late favours I duly rec^d and having just returned to Camp, can scarce get time to acknowledge the receipt of them. I can assure you that nothing can be farther from my intentions than to add in the minutest degree to the keen distress that I know every Mind of real Sensibility must feel in your delicate situation. Could I consistently with my publick Trust, afford you instant relief, tho' greatly hurried I would afford it even by a personal attendance, if it could not otherwise be accomplished—but Mr. Webb's situation is such that it would injure more than you can imagine to comply with your request without requiring him to return to his Parole. You greatly mistake the matter when you suppose that I do not believe Mr. Chamier. The objection is that Mr. Chamier or any other Person with the Enemy had not any right to nominate an Exchange for one of our Prisoners—we know nothing of Mr. Cavanaugh whether he is friend or foe.

"I have seen Mr. Loring & explained the matter to him, & he cannot but assent to the Justice of our Proceeding.

"I doubt not but that you may go to the City, but then Mr. Webb will [be] considered as having forfeited his Honour & should he by accident again fall into our Hands, he might perhaps repent it. His Effects would also be liable to be seized & not suffered to go with you—but I know of no restraint on the Persons of yourself & Children. I should advise Mr. Webb to return & deliver himself up & then solicit a proper Exchange. He will then be altogether under the care of the Commissary General of Prisoners. . . ."

Finally deciding to go to her husband, Mrs. Webb wrote:

" . . . I must therefore Dear Sir, desire to become your humble Supplicant, that as you intimated in your last, that you knew of no restraint on the Person of myself and Children, tho' my Effects would not be suffered to go with me, I am willing to submit to this, if you can, after knowing what I have, should think fit to order them to be withheld, which I am well persuaded Your benevolent Heart cannot admit of. Let me then, Dear Sir, cast myself at Your Feet, which I would do, could I reach Philadelphia, imploring Your Assistance in procuring me a Pass. If you could see the Keen Distress my Heart at times feels, which is not in the Power of Words to describe and two small Children, the oldest but 4 Years old and the youngest two Years, standing with their little Hearts swelling and their Eyes running in a stream, and for what they know not, only they see their Mama afflicted, I am well persuaded from the Proofs I have already had of your Sympathy, you could not stand such a sight, without being melted, and doing everything in your Power to give me quick release. Many have been admitted upon their Parole, that had taken an active Part in order to get exchanged, but Mr Webb has really been passive and was only apprehended upon mere Suspicion,

of which he was cleared, . . . I beg leave to remind you of my Maid, who is an English Girl and has a tender Mother living, and is herself a remarkable dutifull Child, and her Inducement of coming to these Parts was owing to my having brought her up . . . that when the General Exchange took place I should be released with my Effects and a Proper Person to conduct me forward. I do suppose Sir, you imagined the Furniture we had, was our own, all of which belongs to the Brethren, for when we had an Auction in the Jerseys, we sold everything that we could spare, to supply the Necessities of the Poor. We only saved two small Feather Beds & one Mattress with some old Sheets, to make use of on Board of a Ship; as to Blankets we did not save none, there was such a Demand for them, that had we not got some from New York before the Winter came in, we should have been greatly distressed; That our Baggage consists of our Wearing Apparel, some old Table Linnen, Family Pictures, and some Religious Books; the withhold of these things will be no great Gain to the States, nor will it greatly impoverish me. . . .

"Sir

"Your most respectfull and obliged Servant

"GRACE WEBB

"Bethlehem July 13 1778."

Mrs. Webb wrote the following letter to Mr. Boudinot in acknowledgment of attentions shown her, and announced the date of her departure:

"Sir

"Your Favour of the 24th of July never reached my Hands till the 3d Instant; & I should think myself greatly wanting in Gratitude, not to say good Manners, did I not take the earliest Opportunity to return you my most sincere Thanks for your ready Acquiescence to my Request. I trust Mr. Boudinot's polite & sympathatick Behaviour will never be erased from my Mind: but that I shall be ready upon all Occasions to acknowledge with Gratitude the great Humanity you have Shewed to me, a Stranger & Captive, & I doubt not but the Rewarder of Virtue will note it in his Book of Remembrance, & not suffer it to pass unrewarded. I am sorry your Letter did not come to Hand sooner, as it would have given me an Opportunity of making my acknowledgments to Col. Beatty in Person, as also asking the Indulgence of crossing at Paulus Hook, to avoid the going by Water; but as I am likely to be deprived of the Pleasure of that Gentleman by the Procrastination of your Letter, I must beg the Favour of you, Sir, to present my respectfull Compliments to him with my Thanks for his ready Compliance in granting me a Pass with my Effects to go to the City of New York. As I should not be able to set out so as to be at my Journey's End by Saturday & not liking to travel on the Sabbath, I do not propose leaving Bethlehem till the Beginning of the ensuing week, & I hope I shall not meet with any Difficulty on my Journey. Wishing you a speedy Restoration of Health with every other Blessing for Time & Eternity, concludes me, with due Respect,

"Sir

"Y^r most obedient & obliged Servant

"GRACE WEBB

"August the 5th 1778."

On August 11, 1778, "Mrs. Webb and family," writes the Bethlehem diarist, "who have been here for fifteen months, left for New York, thankful for all our kindness."

J. W. J.

DIARY OF DAVID ZEISBERGER, A MORAVIAN MISSIONARY AMONG THE INDIANS OF OHIO. Translated from the original German manuscript and edited by Eugene F. Bliss. Svo. 2 Vols., pp. 464 and 535. Published by Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, for the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1885.

To within a score of years comparatively little of the history of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America had been given to the English-reading public; a translation from the German of Bishop Loskiel's "History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians," published in England towards the close of the last century; John Heckewelder's "Narrative," and his "Indian Nations," published in this city early in the present century, mainly furnishing us with information relating to the character and extent of this work. To the enterprise of members of the Moravian Historical Society, and to the researches of Bishop E. de Schweinitz and the late Prof. William C. Reichel, we are since indebted for rendering available much of the valuable material on this subject which the archives of their Church at Bethlehem contains. There is probably no history which has enlisted the sympathies of the reader more than that of the Moravian Indian Mission, which was commenced in 1735, for it is a continuous recital of hope and success resulting in disappointment and disaster. Yet we find their missionaries to-day clinging with a tenacity of purpose almost unprecedented to the lingering few that have outlived the destiny of their race, in Canada and along the western tributaries of the Mississippi.

The importance of communicating directly with the Indians claimed the attention of the Moravians as early as 1742, and led to the establishment of the first school at Bethlehem for the acquiring of the prevalent languages and dialects of that people. Hence it was that they could, even in the early years of their mission, dispense with the services of an interpreter, at all times, and especially in matters of religion an unsatisfactory medium of communication. In this school David Zeisberger received his first regular instructions in Mohawk and Delaware.

The year 1765, is the first of twenty-seven of wanderings of the Mission through the wilderness of Northwestern Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the country bordering on the lakes. Zeisberger, who in early manhood had already done eminent service in behalf of his Church among the Indians, was the Moses of this toilsome exodus, and henceforward for near forty-four years he is identified with its prosperity and misfortunes. In 1772, we find him with the converts settled on the banks of the Muskingum, where remote from the haunts of men and the strife and turmoil of the world, three stations were successively built. For nine years the mission prospered, then misfortunes overtook it,—the missionaries and their converts were accused at Detroit of siding with the colonists in their struggle for independence. It is about this date, that the diary of Zeisberger before us—from September, 1781, to end of May, 1798—opens. Zeisberger was born at Zauchenthal, Moravia, April 11, 1721, and came with his parents to Georgia in 1736. Three months subsequent to the last entry in the diary he returned to Ohio, and founded Goshen, where he died Nov. 17, 1808.

The labors of Mr. Bliss will be appreciated when we state that the original manuscript diary covers eight hundred and sixty-nine closely written pages, and that it is the most elaborate contribution to the history of the Moravian Indian Mission in the West, yet published. As a translator, his work has been well done, particularly in rendering those peculiar phrases to be met with in all early Moravian diaries. The want of more annotations than those given, however, will be felt by the general

reader. Mr. Bliss prefaces his work with a sketch of Zeisberger's life, and also those of his co-laborers, Gottlob Senseman, John G. Youngmann, Michael Jung, William Edwards, and John Heckewelder, and with other matter pertinent to the diary.

To Mr. Bliss, and to the Historical and Philosophical Society, of Ohio, we are indebted for this valuable contribution to American history. We heartily commend it to the attention of our readers.

J. W. JORDAN.

THE EARLY PHYSICIANS OF PHILADELPHIA AND ITS VICINITY. By James J. Levick, M.D. Pp. 17. Philadelphia, 1886.

Doctor Levick's paper was one of three read by members of the Association of Resident Physicians of the Pennsylvania Hospital, at their first annual meeting 17th December, 1885, and brief though it is, is a valuable contribution to the medical history of our city. Prior to the coming of Penn but two men, Swedes (Hans Janche and Timon Stidden), who lived on the Delaware, have any claim to be called medical men. Next in order of date is Dr. Daniel Wills, in practice in 1679, in Burlington, N. J. And curiously enough, one of the earliest surgical cases in the vicinity on record, a dislocation of the atlas from the axis, was cared for by no less a man than George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, while passing through New Jersey in 1762. As the paper treats of those physicians who were in practice in Philadelphia prior to 1700, sketches are given of Drs. Edward Jones, Thomas Wynne, Thomas Lloyd, and Griffith Owen. And there is scarcely one of those named who, either directly by his posterity or indirectly by some act of his life, has not influenced for good the welfare of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

J. W. J.

TWO BRIEF PAPERS: BEING THE ABANDONED BOSTON; AND THE EXTENT OF THE CONTINENTAL LINE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY MISCONCEIVED. By Justin Winsor. Pp. 16. Cambridge, 1886. [Privately reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Prof. Horsford, of Cambridge, in the pursuit of some studies in the early cartography of the New England coast, discovered at the confluence of Stony Brook with the Charles River, Massachusetts, the remains of an ancient stockade, which he was induced to believe had been a French trading post or fort. The researches of Mr. Winsor, however, lead him to the opinion that these relics may possibly mark the site of an early attempt to found the town of Boston.

In his second paper, Mr. Winsor points out the origin of the misconception as to the number of the troops furnished to the Continental line by the Colonies during the war for independence, which seems likely to be perpetuated by our popular histories of the United States. J. W. J.

MR. FOSTER, the well-known English genealogist, has recently purchased the late Col. Chester's Oxford Matriculations Registers, 7 Vols., and Marriage Licences, 5 Vols., with the intention of printing these MSS. uniformly with the publications of the Harleian Society, for his numerous genealogical friends in America. He makes this preference because, so far as England is concerned, he would like to retain for himself the monopoly of these manuscripts, and because he believes the American people will appreciate the labors of their own countryman far more fully than Englishmen would, as the proposed work will enable them to place printed copies of these distant and inaccessible Old England registers on the shelves of their own libraries ready for immediate

reference. He therefore appeals to Americans to reciprocate his efforts by subscribing for 250 copies of these works.

Prospectuses on application to

MR. J. FOSTER,
21 Boundary Road, Finchley Road,
London, N. W.

RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER, M.P.—By the announcement of the death, on April 6 last, of the eminent English statesman, the Right Honorable William Edward Forster, M.P., we are reminded that he was present at the semi-centennial anniversary dinner of the Society, given on Wednesday, December 2, 1874. In the course of his remarks, when replying to the toast, "Our English guests. We welcome them in our mother tongue to celebrate with us the glories of our common history," he referred to his reply to the strictures against the character of William Penn made by Macaulay in his "History of England." Consult "William Penn and Thomas B. Macaulay, being brief observations on the charges made in Mr. Macaulay's History of England against the character of Penn." J. W. J.

A CHRONICLE, TOGETHER WITH A LITTLE ROMANCE REGARDING RUDOLF AND JACOB NÄF, OF FRANKFORD, PENNSYLVANIA, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE NEFFS IN SWITZERLAND AND AMERICA. By Elizabeth Clifford Neff. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1886. 8vo, 352 pp.

Miss Neff's book is fully described in its title-page. It appears to be carefully compiled, is well arranged, fully indexed, and embellished with coats of arms of the family and autographs. Among the names of the descendants we notice that of John R. Neff, an eminent merchant of this city, who in his business life had displayed all the characteristics that belong to the highest type of the class. The book is handsomely printed and well bound. We congratulate Miss Neff on the result of her labors.

J. W. J.

Queries.

AN EPITAPH.—The Rev. Francis Haslewood, rector of St. Matthew's Church, Ipswich, O. E., and author of a number of genealogical works, has recently published the "Memorials of Smarden," in Kent. On a tombstone in the burying-ground attached to his church may be read the following inscription:

"Jane wife of William Lilly, leaving 8 children who are all married, and living in the State of Wisconsin, N. America.

"My children are fled to a foreign land,
Where there are wars and desolation;
May God protect them with his hand,
In that distress-ed Nation. A.D. 1862."

J. W. J.

DEBRETT'S PEERAGE, BARONETAGE, KNIGHTAGE, AND COMPANION-AGE FOR 1886 (the 173d year of publication of this well-known book of reference), edited by Dr. Robert H. Mair, not appearing until March, contains later information than any similar book. A valuable part of this work is that which contains biographical notices of Companions of the various orders. The information respecting the junior members of the families of peers and baronets is very complete. It is illustrated by over 1400 armorial bearings.

J. W. J.

THE Rev. C. Moor, M.A., and G. S. Stevenson, M.B., of Grimsby, O. E., are about to publish the Parish Registers of that town, dating from 1538 (the year of their first introduction), which contain much information relating to old Lincolnshire families. J. W. J.

GEORGE PHILIP DODDERER AND HIS DESCENDANTS. — Mr. Henry S. Dotterer has sent us his prospectus of a historical and genealogical record of George Philip Dodderer, who came to Pennsylvania in 1722, and settled in the present Montgomery County. All of his descendants, many of whose surnames have been subject to changes in spelling, among which are Doderer, Dodderer, Dotterer, Dottery, Dudderar, Dutrer, Duttera, Dutrow, Dutro, and Totheroh, are requested to communicate with Mr. Dotterer at N.W. cor. Tenth & Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia.

MR. E. W. VAN VOORHIS, of 129 East 36th St., New York, is collecting material for a Genealogy of the Van Voorhees or Voorhees family. He has already collected and placed in proper line of descent from his emigrant ancestor, Steven Coerte Van Voorhees, who emigrated from before "Hees," in Holland, in 1660, and settled at Flatlands, Long Island, over 5000 of his descendants. Having copies of the baptismal and marriage records of most of the older Dutch Churches of Long Island, New Jersey, and New York, together with wills, town and other records, he solicits correspondence with descendants other than his own line of descent. J. W. J.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE GRADUATES OF YALE COLLEGE, WITH ANNALS OF THE COLLEGE HISTORY, OCTOBER, 1701-MAY, 1745. By Franklin Bowditch Dexter, M.A. 8vo. 788 pp. 1885. Price, \$5.

The graduates and friends of this venerable institution of learning are indebted to Mr. Dexter, its secretary, for this valuable compilation of biographical sketches and annals of the College history from October of 1701 to May, 1745. The graduates during these forty-four years numbered 483, and it is noteworthy that ten only cannot be traced. An appendix containing their residences, occupations, and professions, length of life, and other matter will be read with interest. We hope that the compiler's labors will receive the encouragement they so well deserve, and thereby enable him to continue them down to the present day. The press-work and general appearance of the volume is highly creditable. J. W. J.

We notice in the "History of that part of the Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys embraced in the counties of Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Union, and Snyder," Prof. A. L. Guss, of Washington, D. C., contributes a chapter, wherein he gives an early glimpse in Pennsylvania interior, a history of the Juniata and the Tuscarora Indians, and explorations of the Indian traders.

A CRITICAL GREEK AND ENGLISH CONCORDANCE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. Prepared by Charles F. Hudson, under the direction of Horace L. Hastings, editor of *The Christian*. Revised and completed by Ezra Abbot, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. *Seventh Edition Revised*. To which is added *Green's Greek and English*

Lexicon. Boston, Mass. H. L. Hastings, 47 Cornhill. Crown 8vo, pp. 742. Price, \$2.50.

Since the publication of the Westminster Revision of the King James version of the New Testament, the attention of the public has been directed more than ever to critical studies, and much discussion has been evoked concerning the merits of the work. There are probably few works which point out so many of the facts and considerations which influenced the revisers in a large proportion of the changes made as the work before us. Within its pages will be found a list of all the various readings of the leading critical editions of the New Testament, so arranged that the status of every word can be seen by a glance at the pages of the Concordance. The present edition contains every improvement that the soundest critical judgment could suggest. The supplement has been especially improved. J. W. J.

ANNOTATED CATALOGUE OF THE HARRIS COLLECTION OF AMERICAN POETRY.—A large part of the remarkable collection of writings of our American poets, of the Hon. Albert G. Greene, of Providence, R. I., was purchased after his death by C. Fiske Harris, a gentleman of similar tastes. In 1874, Mr. Harris's collection numbered 4129 volumes, to which, up to the date of his death, not less than 1000 volumes had been added. The Hon. Henry B. Anthony next became the owner of the collection, and by will left it to Brown University. Mr. J. C. Stockbridge, a member of the Library Committee of the University, is preparing "An Annotated Catalogue of the Harris Collection of American Poetry," which will contain between four and five thousand titles, a feature of which will be the notes upon the more rare and valuable treasures of the collection, and brief biographical sketches of the poets represented. Two editions will be published, the first a quarto of 50 copies only, in sheets, for \$10, the second, an octavo, in paper cover, for \$5. J. W. J.

FISHER.—BUTLER.—John Fisher, weaver, of Falls township, Bucks County, married Mary Janney, *née* Hough, of Wakefield township, 3 mo. 2, 1710. Their daughter, Mary Fisher, married John Butler, 1 mo. 27, 1740. Can any one give the names of the parents of John Fisher and John Butler, or any information relating to the ancestors of either or both of these?

Canonsburg, Pa.

TH. MAXWELL POTTS.

Replies.

RURAL SOCRATES (Vol. VII. p. 236).—The author of the "Rural Socrates" was Hans Caspar Hirzel, a Swiss physician, who was born at Zurich in 1725, and died in 1803. The translation into English was made by Arthur Young, the author of "Rural Economy."

BRUNHILDE.

MRS. LAURA A. KEMPER, 101 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio, who is a descendant of Oliver Cromwell, can very likely put "Genealogist" on the right track. Mrs. Kemper is preparing genealogies of the Dorseys and of the Kempers. J. A. MCA.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. X.

1886.

No. 3.

GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES, ITS CAUSE, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMIGRANTS.

BY ANDREW D. MELLICK, JR., PLAINFIELD, N. J.

The old world and its people, two hundred years ago, were well tired of each other. So some one tells us, and the student of early emigration to the American Colonies soon discovers abundant evidence verifying this statement. He finds that in the latter part of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries a countless host of dissatisfied and oppressed Europeans, turning their faces from the east, embarked on the frail vessels of that period, for the shores of that vast continent which would be to them an asylum free from political oppressions, and a retreat full of that repose which they knew from bitter experiences would be denied them in their own countries.

The birth of society is no older than is the love of man

for the land of his nativity. All ordinary rules and principles governing the actions of men seem contradicted by emigration from an old to a new country, whereby men voluntarily combat the dangers and difficulties of savage nature in a wilderness beyond the seas, after abandoning the graves of their ancestors, the friends of a lifetime, and the hearthstones around which have centred all the affections and sympathetic experiences of their own families and those of their progenitors. Yet at the time of which we write, notwithstanding the prevalence of this universal and world-wide sentiment, it was powerless to stem the great tidal-wave of humanity that rolled irresistibly Americaward. Ship after ship, their decks crowded with Scotch refugees, dropped anchor off Perth Amboy, enriching, as Grahame writes, East Jersey society "by valuable accessions of virtue that had been refined by adversity, and piety that was invigorated by persecution." Quakers and Dissenters from Old England landed in Pennsylvania, and Puritans from that same little island joined their brethren in Massachusetts, augmenting that sturdy stock which was laying the foundations of the future American nation. The forests that had for centuries fringed both banks of the Delaware, were felled by the brawny arms of fair-haired Swedes. Huguenots, among them the best blood of France, as well as her most skilled artisans, swelled the population of New York and the more southern provinces, while rotund Hollanders, smoking long Delft pipes, still sailed their high-pooped shallops up Hudson's River, settling on its shores, and penetrating to the little Dutch settlement that has since grown to be the capital of a great State. While these latter were home-seekers, they had not left Holland from religious or political motives.

But nowhere on the continent of Europe did this spirit of unrest hover with greater persistency than over the beautiful valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries. The cycle of the eighteenth century had not rolled away many of its years before thousands of Germans had turned their backs on all they would naturally hold most dear, and sought

homes in foreign lands. Expatriation is a severe ordeal, even when the native shores of the exile are sterile and barren of fruitfulness; how much more severe must be this experience to one who, by unjust laws and an unrighteous government, is forced to sever the invisible links of affection that bind him to a land of pleasant abundance, and a home seated amid environments of picturesqueness and beauty. The Teuton is by nature stable; his affections intuitively take deep root in the soil of his native land, and no one holds in greater reverence the sacred name of home and fatherland. How, then, do we account for this great exodus from Germany, especially from those fair regions bordering the valleys of the Rhine and the Moselle, the Nahe and the sinuous Neckar? If his native hills, rivers, and homesteads are so dear, how is it that at the present day we find the German to be in the greatest number of all the foreign population in far-away America? To properly answer this question it will be necessary to consider the political aspect of Germany at the time referred to, and to take a retrospective glance at the history and condition of the common people for several anterior decades.

One does not delve very deep in continental annals of the eighteenth century without discovering that at this time the condition of Germany was most deplorable. Many of the innumerable kingdoms, duchies, principalities, independent towns, and free cities, that were strewn disconnectedly over the land between the Rhine and the Danube, had rulers who claimed an almost absolute sway over their hapless subjects. They often demanded their lives, their fortunes, their services; the latter not called upon always for the benefit and protection of their own country or community, but to be bartered for gold to other governments. Successive furious wars had raged, with but short intermissions, for several generations; in their train had come blood, murder, the destruction of property, and, what was worse, the demoralization and despair of the inhabitants; and the end was not yet. The map of Europe was to undergo many changes, and the destiny of all Germany was to be determined. The

great Frederick was yet to mould his small kingdom into the powerful nation of Prussia. Even when that work was accomplished, and fifty years after that illustrious king had returned from the Seven Years' War, the German people were to gather themselves together for the greatest struggle they had yet attempted; but it was with happier hearts and a more abounding faith that they entered into this contest, for they felt the glow of a national patriotism, and each blow struck was for a common cause and fatherland. The sun of peace, prosperity, and greatness cannot be said to have risen on Germany till the year 1813, which saw the end of the prolonged struggle that may be considered to have commenced with the Thirty Years' War.

But we must go back of the year 1700 to look for the original cause of German emigration. In the early part of the seventeenth century the peasants, burghers, and great middle class of Germany were well to do. The prosperity was occasioned by the long-continued peace, giving to the people the opportunity of cultivating their fields and promoting agriculture,—the foundation of opulence in all countries. Some historians consider that garden and field cultivation in 1618 were superior to that of two hundred years later, arguing that the present century has only seen Germany brought back, agriculturally, to where it was those long years ago. Tillage, of course, produced much less variety, many of the grains and vegetables of the present century being then unknown. Flax was a staple, and much money was made from the cultivation of anise and saffron. Everywhere were vineyards, and in the fields were to be seen hops, wheat, horse-beans, turnips, teasle, and rape. The houses were much inferior to those of now, but they were not deficient in interior comforts. Many a German matron of the present time exhibits with pride the curiously-carved chairs and cupboards, ornamented spinning-wheels, and treasures of earthenware and drinking vessels, that, having escaped the vicissitudes of the years gone by, have been handed down to her as precious heirlooms of those ancient days.

Yes, it was a happy time for the common people of Germany! The scars of war were healed. Of course they had their burdens; the nobles were oppressive; there was the door tax, the window tax, and other heavy impositions, and much that was earned must go to support the comforts and luxuries of the castles and manorial houses. But as the people knew nothing of true liberty, they were satisfied and happy in following their peaceful avocations; they gave no thought to war or to the fact that the politics of Germany was a bubbling caldron of conflicting interests, on the verge of boiling over, and little they recked of the horrors in store for them in the near future. What did they know of the bloody horoscope that was being cast by the disputes of the house of Hapsburg and the German rulers? or of the princes that were unfurling the banners of the two hostile religious parties? In Catholic communities the inhabitants were well content with their parish priests, and in the Protestant towns and hamlets the faithful pastors filled all the needs of the people. In the village *Gasthaus*, in the evenings, there may have been talk of fighting and suffering in Bohemia; but it mattered little to the villagers, as they drank their beer and smoked their pipes, except as furnishing subject for chat and wonder. As the months and years rolled on rumors grew more rife, and localities named grew much nearer; by 1623 it was in Thuringia that conflicts were reported. By the next year there was no longer any doubt that Middle Germany was being overrun by foreign troops; in a few months the Spanish soldiers, under General Spinola, broke in the lower Palatinate, and all the miseries of war fell upon the entire Rhine valley. For over a quarter of a century the whole country was devastated by contesting armies. Hordes of Cossacks, Poles, Walloons, Irish, Spaniards, Italians, English, Danes, Finns, and Swedes, together with their camp followers, tramped over German soil, settling like swarms of locusts on the comfortable villages and fat fields, obliterating, in a few months' stay in a locality, every vestige of the accumulations of years of patient toil.

Readers of German history are familiar with the bitterness and woe of the next three decades,—an epoch fraught with such distress that the mind almost refuses to contemplate the detailed and prolonged sufferings of the German people. Gustav Freytag, who has pictured in strong outline the desolations of this time, considers the reason that the war raged for a whole generation, and exhausted a powerful people, was because none of the contending parties were able to prosecute it on a grand or decisive scale. He claims that the largest army in the Thirty Years' War did not equal an ordinary corps of modern times. The Austrian commander, Tilly, thought forty thousand to be the greatest body of men that a general could properly handle; during the war it was rare that an army reached that magnitude. The fighting was mostly done by smaller bands distributed over a wide area of country, and the distress brought upon the communities was not more caused by the sacking and pillage of the soldiery than by the wretched system of camp followers in vogue at that time. Not only the officers, but the privates also, were accompanied on their campaigns by wives, mistresses, and children; they, in their train, often had a following of a much worse character, and all the dissolute men and women of a community were generally to be found about the camp of an occupying army.

This condition of affairs was not confined to the foreign soldiers, but the evil attached to the German troops as well. Wallhausen reckons as indispensable to a German regiment of infantry, four thousand women, children, and other followers. At the close of the war, in 1648, General Gronsfeld reports that the Imperial and Bavarian armies contained forty thousand, drawing rations, and one hundred and forty thousand who did not. These figures give some slight idea of the horrors of war at that period. Picture an army made up of many nationalities, with its greater army of followers largely composed of the depraved of both sexes from all parts of Europe! The troops were paid, clothed, and fed by their respective governments; but what of the great outlying camp? It could only subsist and exist by thiev-

ing, oppression, and crime. The thatch was torn from the cottages, that the horses of the marauders might be bedded; the cottages were razed to furnish materials for building huts; the carts were taken from the yards, the oxen from their stalls. The passage of an army meant the entire disappearance of all the cattle. The immense flocks of parish sheep that nibbled the grass on the sides of the stony heights, and roamed over the abundant verdure of the meadows, found their way to the roasting ovens and stew-pots of the great mob; and the national wool of Germany, known in every market of the world, was lost forever. The large cities proved a place of refuge for the upper classes, as in them some semblance of government and order was maintained; but for the country people there were no such retreats. They were robbed and maltreated; and, if they did not promptly disclose the hiding-places of their treasures, were beaten, maimed, and often killed. Their lads swelled the ranks of the soldiery; their daughters, alas! were often kidnapped and coerced into the ranks of the concubines. Did an army remain long in one locality, fear seized upon the inhabitants; and the effect of the feeling of terror and insecurity, and the horribly vicious associations with which they were surrounded, produced a condition of despair and moral recklessness which was appalling. Frequently the villagers themselves turned robbers, wives deserted their husbands, children their parents, and many fled to the mountains and forest for a place of safety. It was a time when the face of Jehovah seemed turned away from Germany,—when the whole land apparently lay under the shadow of the Almighty displeasure.

The middle of the century brought peace. The thirty years of tears and blood were over. The graves could not give up their dead; the treaty of Westphalia might assert the triumphs of religious and political liberty in Germany, but it could not restore the virtue of the dissolute, nor the prosperity of the communities. Nor did the sorrows end with the war; there were still desolated homes, abject poverty, and rampant crime! For thirty years the vagrants of

Europe had made Germany their abiding-place; they did not all leave with the troops, but wandered about the country, a disorderly rabble, terrorizing the people. Still, there was peace! Bells were ringing, bonfires burning, and in the cities peace banquets were spread and anthems being sung. The rocky fastnesses, the distant forests, and the larger cities gave up their refugees. The people again gathered in their dismantled villages and on their wasted lands; the gutted fields were inspected, holes in the barns repaired, and their damaged and often tottering houses were made habitable. The broken links of society were welded, and the forging of the great chain of progress and growth, which had been so rudely broken, was again undertaken.

Recuperation, however, was slow, and the impoverishment of the people so great as to render them almost helpless. In some neighborhoods sixty per cent. of the population had disappeared, and three-fifths—yes, four-fifths—of all property had been dissipated: furniture, tools, and utensils were gone, and the peasants, in again attempting their industrial pursuits, found themselves almost in a state of nature. In some principalities the improvement was more rapid than in others. Prussia was raised from the lowest depths of misery and desolation by the energy and wisdom of Frederick William, the great Elector, who ruled from 1640 to 1688; and in the south and east, where the country enjoyed the blessings of peace for comparatively a number of years, slow but continued strides were made toward betterment. But on the western frontier and along the valley of the Rhine and its tributaries no such opportunity was given the exhausted people for regeneration and revival. Peace had not come to stay! For nearly a century yet these fair regions were to lie devastated and prostrate, the plunder and fighting ground of France and its allies.

I have dwelt thus long on the detailed horrors of the Thirty Years' War and the subsequent years because it was a time fated to have a momentous effect on the future of our own country. The result of that cruel contest, and the after paralyzed condition of affairs, was the tide of emigration

that rose toward the close of that century, swelled to a great flood in the next one hundred years, and since then has rolled, and even now is rolling, a vast human sea of Germans across the American continent. Without doubt other influences assisted and encouraged this great movement. Despotic princes, petty differences between small states, sumptuary laws, extortions, and cruel conscriptions in late wars, all helped to wean the German from his country. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, which cost France seven hundred thousand of her best citizens, brought much suffering on the Protestants of Germany. Huguenots from over the borders flocked in great numbers to the shelter afforded by the Lutheran Palatine Elector. This insured to that prince and his people the vengeance of Madame de Maintenon; she gave peremptory orders, through Louvois, that the Palatinate should be utterly destroyed, and one hundred thousand French soldiers were despatched by Louis XIV. to do the work. Thousands of Germans were forced to escape religious persecution by flight. But the original idea of emigration, the first setting in motion of the ball of expatriation, was due to that foundation of all Germany's subsequent miseries, the Thirty Years' War; and had it not been for that prolonged conflict, which so weakened the country as to render the people unable to withstand their future trials, our nation would to-day be without millions of citizens that now honor it and make it the greater because of their intelligence, industry, frugality, and virtue.

In 1672, Louis XIV. astonished Europe by the rapidity with which he conquered three provinces and forty fortresses in Holland; but the dykes were cut, and the newly-elected stadtholder, William of Orange, formed an alliance with Germany and Spain. In the several years of war that followed, the Rhine country was repeatedly ravaged, the devastation earning for General Turenne and the French the execration of the world. Hardly had this war terminated by the treaty of Nymeguen, in 1679, before Louis XIV. laid claim to several German territories, leading to another distressing contest of four years, the Rhenish province bearing

the brunt of the suffering. The treaty of Ratisbon, in 1684, ended this conflict, but within two years William III. of England formed the league of Augsburg against France, and, in 1688, Louis's army was again desolating the Palatinate and other portions of Germany with fire and sword, destroying the towns, villages, and castles, until, to this day, from Drachenfels to Heidelberg, the line of march is marked by crumbling walls, ruined battlements, and blown-up towers. A short rest was brought the Germans by the peace of Ryswick, in 1697; but it is useless to continue the narrative of Germany's wars through the conflict of the Spanish succession, Frederick the Great's campaigns, and the continuous fighting of the eighteenth century. Sufficient has been recounted in the above rapid review to bring before the mind of the reader ample evidence to show why the Germans, especially those of what is now Rhenish Prussia, should have, notwithstanding their love of home, been so impoverished and disheartened as to be constrained to sorrowfully turn their backs on Germany, and seek in the new world that peace, freedom, and protection which had been denied to them and their fathers on their native soil.

(To be continued.)

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

The author of the recently-published "History of Dauphin County," in the chapter devoted to the "Newspaper Press of Harrisburg and of the County," states that "there are no files of the first newspaper," and "our entire knowledge consists in the fact that it is stated in the *Oracle of Dauphin*, in 1807, when noting the death of Major Lewis, and in the *Chronicle*, in 1827, when referring to the authorship of the ballad on 'St. Clair's Defeat,' that the first newspaper venture at Harrisburg was by Eli Lewis." The first number of *The Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburg Advertiser* was issued October 20, 1792, by John W. Allen and John Wyeth.

In the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be found No. 3 of Vol. I. of *The Harrisburgh Journal and the Weekly Advertiser*, published on Wednesday, September 9, 1789, which therefore antedates the publication of the *Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburg Advertiser* somewhat over three years. The *Journal* was "printed by T. Roberts & Co.," who announce in their advertisement at the foot of the fourth page, "Subscriptions at Two Dollars *per annum*, Advertisements in English and German Languages, Essays, and Letters of Intelligence are thankfully received; and Printing in its different Branches is done with Care and Expedition."

In size the paper (four pages) is 10½ by 16½ inches, with twelve columns of printed matter, each three inches wide. The title is printed from two-line Minion old-style type, and is embellished with a wood-cut representing a globe supported by the Goddess of Liberty on one side and Gottenberg on the other, surmounted by the American eagle with

outspread wings, encircled by thirteen stars. The motto within the scroll beneath we have been unable to decipher. The general typographical appearance of the paper will compare favorably with newspapers of the period.

The advertising patronage of the number is contained in the first column of the first page, and out of five advertisements two were inserted by the publishers. One reads: "To the Public. The Gentlemen that were intrusted with Subscription Papers, for the Harrisburgh Journal and the Weekly Advertiser are requested to send them in as quick as possible, as the paper is now in circulation, And we remain your Humble Servts. T. Roberts & Co." Following this, Lieut. John Gloninger, of the Troop of Light Dragoons, notifies the members to meet at William Palms, in Londonderry township, Oct. 1st., to elect one Captain, two Lieutenants and one Cornet. Squire John Kean requests the owners of a piece of Green Baize, which had been stolen, to come forward and prove property; and Alexander Graydon, Clerk of the Quarter Sessions, notifies all persons who have been recommended for Tavern Licenses, "that they do not receive an absolute Licence (as has been erroneously supposed) which is of no avail against the Penalties, on selling Liquors by the small measure without Licence." Extracts from the Journal of the House of Representatives of August 28 fill the remainder of the page.

The second page is made up of "Law of the Union," comprising "An Act to regulate the collection of the Duties imposed by law on the tonnage of ships or vessels, and on goods, Wares and Merchandizes imported into the United States," and "Foreign Intelligence," from London of May 12.

The third page contains intelligence from Vienna, May 16; Constantinople, April 7; Warsaw, May 2; Hamburg, June 2; Stockholm, May 22; Charleston, August 10; Halifax, August 1; New York, August 29; Philadelphia, September 2; and a reprint on "Jealousy," from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, which concludes:

"Now all the good he gets of his wife,
She wears the breeches, he the horns for life."

Under an embellished heading, the first column of the fourth page is devoted to Poetry; and the following lines, which may possibly be from the pen of Eli Lewis, describe the advantages of Harrisburg as a site for the "Federal town."

HARRISBURGH EXPLAINED,
in the following Petition.

Whereas it is of consequence,
Congress should fix its residence—
That seat of honor and renown,
Call'd long since the "federal town;"
The people now of Harrisburgh,
From a conviction not absurd,
That there's no other situation,
Can equal this in all the nation;
Your honors do most humbly pray,
To make it your abode for aye.

Nature provideth here so ample,
We only select a sample,
Of what this blessed place affords,
Enough to tempt a House of Lords!
Where'er you turn your wond'ring eyes,
Ten thousand pleasing prospects rise!
The streams meandering thro' the vales,
"Blue Hills," whose height no skies assails;
The air salubrious, sweet and bracing,
All fogs, and noxious vapors chasing;
And as no mortal man can think,
But what you all must eat and drink,
Our market give, ye gods, such meat,
As ye, in your own hotel's, eat;
We've beef and veal, and lamb and mutton,
As fine as e'er was table put on;
And dunghill fowls, wild ducks and widgeons,
And snipes, and geese, and quails and pigeons
Pheasants, and ortolans, be sure,
To please the daintiest Epicure.
Our river gives us fish in plenty;
Of sorts we reckon more than twenty—

As Shad and Salmon, pretty picking,
 Without a bone your throat to stick in ;
 That Susquehanna theme of song,
 Upon whose waves are borne along
 An hundred thousand loads of wheat,
 Transported in Tioga fleet—
 Tioga fleet! yes, here in peace,
 Congress may sit till time shall cease,
 Nor ships with horrid broadsides scare 'em,
 Nor soldier with a gun come near 'em.

At present we've two hundred houses,
 All fill'd with loving wives and spouses ;
 But timber, shingles, scantling, boards,
 The neighborhood great store affords ;
 We'll give you stones all veined with blue,
 And thank you when you take them too ;
 But as for bricks, you pay for making,
 They cost us time and pains in baking ;
 We've carpenters and masons good,
 As ever work'd in stone or wood ;
 Artists in every kind of work,
 To build you houses in a jerk.
 We've tailors, saddlers and shoemakers,
 Printers, Bakers, and good clock makers ;
 Taverns in plenty too abound,
 And liquors of all sorts are found ;
 Besides all these, there are " extersort,"
 We need not mention our superiors,
 Both for convenience and delight,
 To crown the day and 'eke out the night :
 Then come good Sirs make this your seat
 Where Nature's choicest bounties meet :—
 The public good prompts this petition,
 From yours with reverence and submission.

Cives.

An "Eastern Anecdote," copies of the following Acts of Congress: "An Act to Establish an Executive Department, to be denominated the Department of War;" "An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory North-west of the river Ohio;" "An Act providing for the Expenses which may attend Negotiations or Treaties with the Indian Tribes, and the appointment of Commissioners for managing

the same," approved by "G. Washington, President of the United States;" with the following "Advertisement Extraordinary," completes the make-up of the paper:

ONE THOUSAND GUINEAS REWARD.

Ran away from the Subscriber, within a few years, his *whole estate*, consisting of houses, land, &c. They gradually and almost imperceptibly stole away, after being put in motion by the magick art of one *Intemperance*, who then lived in the family. Any person who will put me in the re-possession of said Estate, shall be entitled to the above reward.

TOPER.

N. B. All persons are cautioned to beware of said *Intemperance*, who, as I am told, has established several places of rendezvous in almost every town, where numbers of the incautious are daily seduced.

ST. THOMAS' CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, HUNTERDON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.

BY HENRY RACE, A.M., M.D.

St. Thomas' Church is believed to be the oldest within the present limits of the county. The Rev. John Talbot, Missionary of St. Mary's Church, at Burlington,—as we learn by a letter of his to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,—visited this section in September, 1723, and found the people making preparations for the erection of a house of worship the ensuing spring. The following extracts are from his letter:

"BURLINGTON, 20th September, 1723.

"REV. SIR,—I have more work to do now than I had before, and I have no assistant. . . . I have been, this month, at Trenton, at Hopewell and Amwell, preaching and baptizing nineteen persons in one day. I visited several persons that were sick, who had been Quakers, and who had come off their errors, with Mr. George Keith; they were 80 years of age, and had never received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in all their lives, but were loth to die, without the benefit and comfort of it; So I was fain to come back again to Burlington to get the elements, then returned to the Mountains and did administer to their great satisfaction. They are preparing to build a church in the Spring, but when they will have a minister I cannot tell. . . .

"Yours, &c.,

"JOHN TALBOT."

Previous to the setting off of Bethlehem Township, in 1728, Amwell formed "the northernmost and uttermost bounds" of Hunterdon County.¹

¹See Act for Dividing and Ascertaining the Boundaries of Counties, passed January 21, 1709-10.

Mr. Talbot "came back again to Burlington" to procure wine for the Communion, which, at that early period, could not be obtained in rural places. The "mountains" to which he "returned" is the range of hills north of Ringoes,—extending from the Delaware River to the South Branch of Raritan. It was then a wilderness, and he may not have selected the easiest place of ascent. There are no mountains between Burlington and Ringoes. The ordinance must have been administered at a private house or houses.

The population, at that time, consisted principally of English Quakers and Episcopalians from Burlington, and of Dutch Lutherans and Presbyterians, who had spread from the settlements on the Raritan and other points in East Jersey and Long Island. In the neighborhood of the church the more prominent of the first settlers were Quakers. This denomination had divided,—one part adhering to the doctrines of George Fox; the other, following the leadership of Mr. George Keith, went over, in considerable numbers, to the Episcopalians.

Mr. Keith was a man of influence. He had held the office of Surveyor-General; was a Quaker preacher; and, after "a testimony of disownment" had been issued against him in 1692 by the Foxites, he returned to England and was admitted to holy orders in the Established Church. In 1702 he was sent back by the Venerable Society as a missionary.

The first church stood on the south side of the road, nearly opposite the site of the present one. It was probably a frame building, for a girder and other timbers in the present house contain mortises and other evidences of having been previously used. The writer remembers seeing a part of the stone foundation, which was still standing in his school-going days. It was surrounded by graves, marked by moss-covered stones, several of which were inscribed with names and dates. Trees and vines had grown up, as if to shield from intrusion the sacred resting-place of the hardy pioneers who had hewn out a home and planted a church in the wilderness.

It is not probable the pious men who built this "forest

sanctuary" were favored for several years with the regular services of a minister, for there were but few in the colonies at that time. It is presumable they met for worship conducted by a lay-reader; and were favored, as often as practicable, with the visits of ministers from Burlington, Hope-well, Elizabethtown, Newark, Woodbridge, and Amboy.

But few of the early records of the church can now be found. We have an old manuscript (for which we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Cornelia L. Hay, of Somerset Junction, Mercer County, who is a granddaughter of Rev. William Frazer and a great-granddaughter of Rev. Colin Campbell, rector of St. Mary's Church of Burlington in 1734), without date, and purporting to be a Memorial, addressed by the Vestry and Wardens of St. Thomas' Church to Rev. Mr. Morton, their rector, expressive of their sympathy and encouragement under the political persecutions he had suffered. We learn from the Fulham MSS., copied into the Episcopal Historical Society's Collections, that Rev. Andrew Morton was licensed by the Bishop of London for missionary services in New Jersey, March 17, 1760. The storm of indignation occasioned in the colonies by the enactment by Parliament, in 1764, of the tyrannical Stamp Act, accounts for Mr. Morton's disfavor. The people regarded the church establishment as closely interwoven with the fabric of civil government, and manifested their repugnance to that odious law without much discrimination.

The names of the Vestrymen and Wardens appended to the paper referred to are :

William Lowry,	John Roat,
Thomas Harris,	John Taylor, Jr.,
Jeremiah Thatcher,	John Taylor,
John Crawford,	George Birkhead,
William Thatcher,	Richard Crooks,
Constantine O'Neill,	Philip Grandin,
George Birkhead, Jr.,	Mansfield Hunt,
Andrew Crawford,	Jonah Park.

(A space large enough for two names is lost by wear; the name of William Lowry is so indistinct as to be uncertain.)

The principal proprietors of the West Jersey Land Society's Great Tract contributed to the pecuniary support of the ministers, as we learn from the following paper, in possession of the writer :

" Whereas the Subscriber, being desirous in assisting to establish the Gospel in Amwell and Kingwood Churches, I have desired John Emley, Attorney for the purchasers of the Society's Great Tract, to pay into the Church Wardens the sum of Ten Pound, yearly, during the Continuance of this present Minister, which Sum is to be paid out of the Society's Rents, as followeth, viz.:

Lord Sterling	£1- 6-8
John Stevens	3- 6-8
James Parker	2- 0-0
Ex'rs of A. Johnston . .	1- 6-8
Francis McEvers	13-4
Nathaniel Marston, Henry Cuyler, Jacob Ludlow.	1-6-8
	<hr/> £10- 0-0

Witness my hand this 4th of October, Anno Dom'i 1766.

JNO. STEVENS."

December 4, 1768, John Grandin, Esq., in behalf of the Wardens, informed John Emley, the attorney of the Society's purchasers, that ten pounds was "more than they wanted,"—a noteworthy statement,—and an apportionment was then made for eight pounds :

Lord Sterling	£1- 1-4	Francis McEvers	10-8
John Stevens	2-13-4	Nathaniel Marston . . .	7-2
James Parker	1-12-0	Henry Cuyler	7-1
Mr. Johnston's fam. . .	1- 1-4	Jacob Ludlow	7-1
			<hr/> £8- 0-0

Half-yearly receipts are appended for each year until November 22, 1773. These are signed by John Grandin, Philip Grandin, or Jonathan Forman, on the part of the Vestry. From this paper we also learn that the same minister officiated at both St. Thomas' Church of Kingwood and St. Andrew's of Amwell.

The Rev. William Frazer was the successor of Mr. Morton. He was licensed in London, December 21, 1767, and the following year took charge of the two churches of Kingwood and Amwell, and a third at a place he calls Musconetcong, twenty-eight miles north of the former. In a letter to Rev. Dr. Benton, of London, describing his missionary field, he writes that there were thirty families at Kingwood, but no suitable church edifice, public worship having to be celebrated in private houses. We have a manuscript sermon of Mr. Frazer's, to which is prefixed in his handwriting, this statement: "Preached at Kingwood on Friday, 11th of November, 1768, being the day appointed for the Congregation to meet in order to fix on a place where to build a new church." It was at this meeting decided to erect a stone building on the opposite side of the road from the former one. (The road is the line between Kingwood and Alexandria townships.) The land belonged to Lewis Stevens, Esq., and was a part of Cornwall Farm, which he purchased of his brother, Hon. John Stevens, in 1766. The new church was not completed for several years. In a sermon delivered July 12, 1772, Mr. Frazer complained of their want of alacrity in finishing the work. He said, "There are scarcely five months in the year in which we can *conveniently* meet to offer up our prayers and praises to Almighty God."

Rev. Mr. Frazer labored with great fidelity and devotion until the breaking out of the Revolutionary war. The civil commotion of that period involved the Episcopal churches. The missionaries received their appointment, and partly their support, from a society chartered by the British Crown; and the liturgy included prayers for the King and Parliament. The colonial churches had petitioned for sixty years for an American Episcopate. This reasonable request had always been unfeelingly refused, and non-juring ministers were promptly recalled. Under these circumstances the Patriots very naturally associated the Church of England with the tyrannic British government; the animosity was bitter and intense, and many of the houses of worship were closed and the congregations dispersed.

After peace was declared, Mr. Frazer returned, reopened his churches, and resumed his ministerial labors with general acceptance. He died July 6, 1795, aged fifty-two.

There is a tradition we often heard repeated in early life that a company of Hessian soldiers were quartered in the church one winter during the Revolution. We think it more probable, if there is any truth in the story, that it was only a squad of marauding stragglers, for a short time. This section of Hunterdon was not congenial to Hessians or Tories.

After Mr. Frazer, Rev. George Woodruff, from Trenton, preached at St. Thomas' once in two weeks. Then the Rev. Clarkson Dunn, from Newton, N. J., succeeded him. There was a period of several years in the early part of the present century, when the regular services of the church were entirely suspended. The membership had become small, and there was, probably, no Vestry; for the church and grounds were badly neglected. In 1822 the church was thoroughly repaired. The old-fashioned pulpit, which stood opposite the door, was taken out, and one of a different style placed in the east end; and the floor, roof, and seats were replaced by new ones.

Religious services were then again resumed under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Douglas, of New Brunswick, N. J., and a Sunday-school commenced. Bishop Croes officiated occasionally. After Mr. Douglas came Rev. Mr. Jaques, at that time principal of a classical school at Port Colden, N. J. After him, Rev. William C. Crane preached on alternate Sundays at St. Thomas' and Clinton for two or three years,—1836–38. He had been Professor of Mathematics in Washington College, Mississippi. He was a man of superior scholarship, fine social culture, and exceeding amiability and loveliness of character. While he was rector of these two charges, a new Episcopal Church was built at Clinton; and it was at his suggestion, and through his influence, that the present substantial wall was built along the churchyard front at St. Thomas'. After leaving these churches he returned to Mississippi.

After Prof. Crane retired, services were conducted for several years by James R. Dunham, of Clinton, a lay reader.

In 1845 Rev. James Adams took charge of St. Thomas', Clinton, and Flemington. He resided at the latter place.

Rev. Mr. Jaques succeeded Mr. Adams. He lived at Port Colden, in Warren County, as when formerly in charge.

After him Rev. Mr. Forgas officiated for a year or two, and retired.

There was then a suspension of religious services for about ten years, the church being considered unfit for use. During part of this period the Rev. Dr. Boggs, of New Brunswick, N. J., preached in the school-house at Pittstown.

In 1875-76, chiefly through the liberality and under the direction of Hon. Frederic A. Potts, of Pittstown, the church was thoroughly repaired; the imperfect part of the wall was rebuilt; the plastering, the roof, the floor, and seats were renewed.

For several years after these repairs were completed Rev. Edwin K. Smith, of Lambertville, officiated as rector; and in 1883-84 Rev. William Wright conducted the service and instructed the Sabbath-school. By the Bishop's appointment Rev. Mr. Smith has again charge and general oversight of the parish.

The old church has a rustic and venerable appearance. Around it, on every side, are grass-covered mounds, beneath which

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."

Inside, near the chancel, lies a marble tablet, a tribute to the memory of Lewis Stevens, whose willing hands helped to raise its walls; and in front, by the path to the entrance, side by side, as if in martial rank, repose six brave men who fought for freedom at Trenton and Monmouth. After life's last weary march they are bivouacked in this silent camping-ground of the dead.

ENGAGEMENTS AT TRENTON AND PRINCETON, JANUARY 2 AND 3, 1777.

[The following document is printed from a contemporaneous writing in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is endorsed: "Relation of the Engagement at Trenton and Princetown on Thursday and Friday the 2^d & 3^d of Jan^y 1777 by Mr. Hood 3^d Batt^a."]

About 12 oClock on Wednesday morning Orders came to them to march from Crosswicks to Trenton—they arrived at Trenton on Wednesday morning ab^t 9 oClock¹—in one hour after, the Alarm Gun fired and all thee Battalion got under arms immediately—they were ordered to march over the Bridge & form a Line with the whole Brigade Comman^d by Gen^l Cadwalader—in about 1 h^r after they preceived the Enemy advancing and firing their artillery, on which they were ordered to take possession of a wood up the Creek to prevent the Enemy from out flanking—at this time the Enemy & two of our Brigades were engaged beyond Trenton on the Princetown Road. Our People retreated into Trenton.—They on this returned back to the Bridge & form'd in a line—with 3000 men & 2 field p^s in the Main Street—and 2 field p^s secreted behind Mr. Waln's house opposite the Mill—& some Rifle men in the Mill, & artillery all along the Creek—after they were so station'd the Enemy advanced towards the Bridge. While they were advancing a Cannonade on both sides commenced, & the Enemy threw a number of Shells which did no execution and one Cannon Ball, passed through the 3^d Batallion & killed 2 men.—the Enemy advanced ab^t half way over the Bridge, when they were repulsed it is supposed with considerable loss. as a heavy fire was kept up both in front and

¹ This should read Thursday morning, January 2.—See Calendar for year 1777; and for further information, Journal of Sergeant William Young, P. A. MAG., Vol. VIII. pp. 262-3.

flank with the artillery and musquetry, for ab^t 12 minutes. the firing ceased in the dusk of the evening—they were then ordered to form a square round the Woods and to make up their fires & to lay on their Arms,—ab^t 12 oClock at Night they were ordered under Arms—they were then ordered to lay down their arms & return to their fires.—a little after One ordered to Arms again. they united the several Brigades together & the Artillery advanced before them & the army followed, this was all done with greatest Silence—they continued their March round the head of the Mill Creek dam, & pass'd a Bridge and so continued their rout to the Princetown Road, & then Cross'd it & pass'd into a bye road & proceeded about 1 mile to the northward of Princetown—and continued this rout till day light when they saw Princetown—and came through the Woods & field on the Back of the town and perceived the Enemy ab^t 700 on the rise of a Hill ab^t $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile from the town,—a firing began by the Virginia Brigade, and then it was supported by Gen^l Cadwaladers brigade which was at first put in a little confusion, but rallied under the Hill immediately.—in the meantime a New England Brigade advanced and the Rifle Men flanked the Enemy, and they broke & run immediately upon w^{ch} our people pursued them, advanced to the Town, they fired one Shot into the College, when a man waved his Hat, another Shot was fired & a flag was sent out & they surrendered, to the number of 86—afterwards a number more was brought in to the ammo^t of 200—in this action ab^t 100 of the Enemy was killed & ab^t 14 of ours. (We drove off 100 head of Cattle with the Army.) Gen^l Mercer advanced at the Head of his Brigade between a Barn & a house near where the Engagement began—his horse was shot under him & fell, when the Gen^l was recovering from the fall the Enemy thrust a Bayonet in his head, it is said he died of his wounds, and Captain Shippen shot through the head—this party of the Enemy were entirely scattered & numbers of them were taken in small parties.—at Princetown 5 Field p^s taken one of w^{ch} spiked up, several Baggage Waggons, and some ammunition & Stores—they then halted

at Princetown ab^t 1 hour when they heard a platoon firing on the Princetown Road, they were order[d] under arms & to form,—Gen^l Miflin came to them & told them the Enemy was a coming, to prepare for a Brush—they then march'd to Kingston took to the left went up Mill Stone Creek ab^t 3 Mile, the head of the Army halted there for the Rear—that the informant went to a farmers to get some refreshments, fell asleep and waked in the morning, the Army was gone—he heard they were at Sommerset Court house on Saturday morning and that he intended to proceed to join Gen^l Heath; that

AN ENGLISHMAN'S OPINION OF THE BOSTONIANS
IN 1774.

[The following letter, addressed to Dr. Thomas Parke, of Philadelphia, is in the autograph collection of Mr. Charles Roberts.]

LONDON 18 April 1774

DEAR FR^p.

Your favour of 5 January did not come to hand in time for the cloth to be sent either by Falconer or all. It is now sent by Capt. Williams packed in brown paper & inclosed in a trunk marked B Z N^o. 5 addressed by Mr. John Strettell to his Correspondent Tho. Assheton of your City who will deliver it to your order.—

I thank you for the account you gave me of the tea affair, a particular detail of which my Fr^d. Lewis had before obliged me with. It is a subject of great national importance & accordingly affords a fund of conversation here. The Bostonians have acted I think with imprudence and have furnished the ministry with a plea for adopting measures which will be deemed, & ought to be deemed despotic. For tho' that term is mostly restricted to our absolute monarchy, yet it applies as well to a body of men as to one man, supposing that governing body to be attached to the gov-

erned by no representative alliance, & to assume to themselves the power of judging in cases wherein they themselves are parties. By an Act of Parliament the Port of Boston is to be blockaded, & all business of imports & exports to be removed to Marblehead ab^t 17 miles more to the northward. Other regulations of their civil Governm^t are preparing for them, by which it is expected their Charter will be materially invaded. This mode of punishment has been justly objected to as confound^s the innocent with the guilty, & punishing a whole province for the guilt of a few individuals. The accused too are deprived of the opportunity of being heard in their own defence. A privilege which is not only founded in the original Principles of Law & Justice, but has been fenced with peculiar Care by the Spirit of the English Constitution, in which it has always been regarded as an essential point that no man shall be condemned unheard. A well drawn petition representing these arguments in a strong & proper point of light was presented to the house by such natives of the province as happened to be then in London. But in vain: the measure was determined upon by the ministerial Junto, & was only brought into parliament for the sanction of the Legislature. It is now rather a question of power than of right. The ministry have gone too far to recede, & if the Bostonians prove refractory there must be an appeal to the *ultima ratio regum*.

I shall be very glad to hear from you whenever opportunity suits & am

Yr. Affectionate Fr^d

Jos. Woods.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF JAMES
CLAYPOOLE.

(Continued from page 202.)

LONDON 15 11 mo 1682-3

TO WM. POPPLE & ROB. STEWART—

“I take very kindly your advise about the vine plants, and your willingness to accommodate me therein but the season of the year was not suitable but now I hope it may be very seasonable so I desire you to send me as many as can be packed in one hhd. wth Earth to preserve them I hope there may be 1000 p^s by w^t I hear and also I desire one peck of grape seed and pray advise me how long they may probably keep to grow again for the ship I intend to send them by will hardly sail from hence till the end of the next month, and it may be two months before she arrive in Pensilvania, so that if they will not in probability grow if they be not set till 3 mo May it will be in vain to send them at present, however I desire the seed for I believe that will Keep all the Year, a peck of Chestnuts, and if it were not for troubling you too much, I would desire a Tunn of white wine and a Tunn of Clarret to carry wth us wⁿ we goe to Pensilvania but pray let it be good wine.”

LONDON 16 11 mo 1682-3

TO EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

“Here have come letters from Wm. Penn above a month since that he was well in health and was setling the countrey and they had began to build a City w^{ch} they call Philodelphia and there had been that summer 21 sayl ships arrived there wth Passingers.”

LONDON. 16 11 mo 1682-3

TO ABELL RAM—

“I am still of y^e same mind as I advised thee formerly to imbarq in the spring for Pensilvania and hope to be ready

wth my whole family ab^t the beginning or before the middle of the month called Aprill, so I have constituted in my stead here and sealed writings wth Jno. Bawden and Jno. Gardner partners M^tcht^s of good Eminency of this City * * * these two I recommend to all my Correspondents and am assured that if they try they will find safety and satisfaction in it."

LONDON. 17 11 mo 1682-3

TO SAML. CARPENTER—

"I understand thy purpose is for Pennsilvania I wish thee all happiness and prosperity in thy undertakings, and do hope I shall see thee there in a few months for I doe intend if the Lord permits to remove thither in the spring ab^t the beginning of the 2^d month wth my whole family, and am very desirous that our friendship may continue and that we may have dealing and concerne together."

LONDON, 6 12 mo 1682-3

TO ROBERT TURNER—

"As for the time that we purpose to goe from hence, I suppose it will be in y^e 2 mo, but whither the middle or latter end I know not, we are all inclined to goe in this vessell now putt up, she is a Brave ship of 500 Tons burthen & 26 Guns called the Concord, the M^r Wm. Jeffries, who has used long the Virginia trade and is well acquainted wth that voyage, we are to give 40s. ꝑ Tonn for Dry Goods and 25s for liquors, and to pay full 5 lb ꝑ head for all above 12 Years of Age, and all under 12 50s. & sucking Children free, but we have not yet signed Charter party so are neither of us Ingaged, but if thou sends any goods thy order shall be observed in w^t ship they shall be sent, last night Guly Penn had a letter from her Husband dated 16th. 10 mo in Maryland, where he was treating wth Baltamore ab^t the Bounds, in w^{ch} they went on very Amicably and like to have a fair Conclusion, he was very well, and had not been sick at all so far as we know * * * They had a Generall Assembly and the forreigners naturallized & New Castle added to Pennsilvania and had many blessed meetings to y^e great satisfaction of friends and others."

LONDON, 9 12 mo 1682-3

To WM. CHARE—

"If thou couldst send a good fisherman that knew to Catch and cure sturgeon or had a generall skill in fishing he should have very good terms from me, such as may satisfye any reasonable man, for in Dellaware river there is a vast quantity of Sturgeon so that they leap into y^e Boats, and there is also many whales and abundance of other sorts of great and small fish, this week we have recd letters from thence to our great Satisfaction."

LONDON— 16 12 mo 1682-3

To EDWARD CLAYPOOLE—

"We are to be ready at Gravesend to sail if wind and weather permits the 30 2 mo called Aprill so that through the help of the Lord we may hope to be in Pensilvania before Midsummer: for Cap^t Arnold by whom went the President of our Society & servants arrived there in 29 days and another great ship abt the same time in less than 5 weeks."

I suppose it will be in y^e 2 mo. but whether the ship will be ready to go we are all in doubt.

LONDON, 10 1 mo 1682-3

To THO. COOKE—

"I have bin in y^e Country this week to dispose of my house, and some things there, w^{ch} is wholly done & all my families removed to London."

LONDON, 13 1 mo 1682-3

To BENJAMIN FURLEY—

"As for thine and the Franckfords land to be sett out upon a Navigable River, that is only in y^e power of y^e Governour to doe, and not so far in his power as to prejudice others, or take away their lotts, if thou or any others will give mee Instructions, I shall serve you soe farr as I am capable: as for your Lotts in Philadelphia you being y^e first purchasers there is no question but you will have 100 ackers for every 5000 allotted there * * * Geo: Keith is yet in prison: Von Helmont is now at my house, and George Fox who is in health, both their loves is to thee, and thy wife; Guly Penn is safe delivered of a daught: and its like will be ready to go for Pennsylvania in y^e 7th. or 8th. month.

* * * Here is great ¶secution in most places in England : at London we are kept out of o^r meetings, and severall friends carryed to prison, and their goods strained in divers places, but truth, prosperity, and y^e Lord is with Us."

LONDON 13 1 mo 1682-3

TO JAMES FREEMAN—

"I have this day agreed with a ship to go for Pennsylvania, shee is to be ready to sail from Gravesend y^e 16th 3 mo. upon a great penalty, y^e ship is about 500 tunn 26 gunns 40 men: y^e m^r an Experienced Virginia trad^r has been y^e Voyage 7 or 8 times, and is a very Civill and Kind, and does accomodate us wth all things y^t we can desire, w^{ch} would be tedious to rehearse, but in short it is accounted y^e best ship y^t sailes to y^e West indies, and a bett^r conveniency we could hardly have in all Respects, if wee should stay 7 year for it: 5 lb ¶ passeng^r and 2 lb ¶ tunn goods, to carry 160 to 180 at y^e most, I write this that if any friends or others at Bristoll intends for those parts they may give timely ord^r to agree."

LONDON, 17 1 mo 1682-3

TO FRAN. & GEO. ROGERS—

"I hear you have sould yo^r land; but now it is risen so y^t Wm. Penn sells noe more than 3000 acres for 100 lb, besides Wm. Penn may take it a little unkindly that you would not hould so small a concerne with him in his Country:"

LONDON 1 2 mo. 1683

TO WM. PENN.

"I had sight of two letters from thee, one to G. F. & One to A. P. & G. N w^{ch} were very acceptable to us, after the many wicked lying reports that were spread ab^t concerning thee, and indeed it was very comfortable to us to hear & see of y^e goodness of y^e Lord to you. * * * Two days since I recd. thine to me & my wife dated 29th. 10th. mo. w^{ch} was a great refreshment to us, and I take it very kindly that in the midst of such great concerns thou wouldst remember us & write to us, two sides wth thy own hand, for I believe thou hast but little time to spare and many people to write to, * * * y^e

20th. inst. my wife and I wth G. F. & Bridget Ford came to thy house at Worminghurst where we were very kindly entertained by thy dear wife and stayed there till y^e 26th., then came away, and that morning she & thy 4 children were in good health, we had a comfortable time of it wth George, I believe I shall never forget it * * * I have not had one letter from Pensilvania but thine, I wonder that neither my son Jno. nor Edward Cole my serv^t nor Tho. Holmes, Jno. Goodson, R. Withers, Dr. More would not write me one line, yet I cannot tell what to think, unless some letters be miscarried or gone far ab^t, thou sais thou hast written to P Ford ab^t y^e Society but he tells me little, but that y^e Charter was not confirmed by y^e Assembly & y^t y^e Presid^t wanted Assis^{ts} to carry on y^e affairs of y^e comp^a so that we are like to suffer, both in our Stock and reputation, w^a it comes among the people I am afraid, they will say they are all cheated, for y^e Charter or Patent w^{ch} thou signed was a great inducement to many to subscribe & to others to pay in their mony that had subscribed, & we did not doubt but according to our desire and thy promise y^e first assembly would confirm y^e Charter, and choose assistants to manage y^e business as to y^e Presid^t he has no power but by a Comittee or Court of Assist^{ts} & the other officers must see that their orders be performed but if you leave him alone & will not afford him help he may well be disgusted and let y^e Comp^{as} concerns goe to Ruine and that will greatly redound to y^e dishonour of truth & y^e Reputation of friends both as men & Christians (thee as well as others) & be a great hurt to y^e Country so Dear Wm. I intreat thee do not slight it but get all things done in Relation to y^e Comp^a to answer our ingagemen^{ts} & y^e peoples expectations, if the Charter be uneasy let it be mended, if it cannot be mended lay it aside and make another for a Charter there must be, or y^e comp^a cannot subsist and then as to Assistants, if some refuse others may be chosen & if not so many as y^e Articles express, yet some there ought to be that may have the power and carry on y^e business to y^e Peoples satisfaction, I know it not, but I doubt there is some feud w^{ch} y^e height of y^e Presid^t possibly might

occasion, but thou knowest that it is meekness must overcome haughtiness and love must overcome Enmity, he is a man may be won & governed in love but if he would not be persuaded, but be perverse and stubborn to y^e prejudice of y^e Society, he may by our first constitution & agreem^t be laid aside, and another chosen in his room if R. Withers would not act in my stead, he should not have taken it upon him, and then we should have taken another I think it is very unkindly done & I know not how he can answer it, but I do not conclude it to be so till I hear farther I am still preparing to get away, and many have been my Exercises & troubles wth unreasonable men, but I have ended most of them * * * I am glad to hear our son Jno. is imployed in surveying, and take very kindly thy counselling of him, I hope he will reform and be a comfort to us at last"

LONDON 15 3 mo 1683

TO BENJAMIN FURLEY—

"The day wee have fixed on to bee at Gravesend is y^e 20th of y^e next month and then any passeng^r y^t will goe may be entertained on board at y^e Shipp's Cost: but till y^e 30 noe demurrage to be paid: so it will be yett about 6 weeks, before we leave England, which thou maist advise y^e Frankfurts, that they may be ready against the tyme. and I shall if thou wilt give mee ord^rs ingage for them that so others may not take up y^e Roome, for wee intend hee shall carry but 120 or 130 though wee yielded to more formerly If I do ingage it is requisite I should have half y^e passage w^{ch} is 50s. $\frac{1}{2}$ man remitted mee, and y^t being paid y^e M^r is obliged under a penalty not to saile without them till y^e day limited, w^{ch} is to bee y^e 30th 4 month and then those that are not ready may be left behind, and must loose their $\frac{1}{2}$ frei^t w^{ch} is reasonable: for y^e m^r must lay in a store answerable to his numb^rs and must at y^e day bee ready and then to stay for a few with 40 seamen on board, and It may bee 100 passeng^rs would be a great prejudice to the own^rs so is provided against in o^r Charter party. Pastorius and his friend talk of goeing in shipp, w^{ch} will be or pretends to be gone next week"

LONDON 5th. June 1683

TO BENJ. FURLY—

“I have according to thy ord^r secured passage for them (to wit the 33 persons named in thy letter) in the Concord Wm. Jefferies M^r for Pennsilvania * * * and have signed & sealed Charter party whereby I am ingaged to pay for the said Persons 50s $\frac{2}{3}$ ps for every one that is wanting upon the 6th July w^{ch} is the day lymited for sayling from Gravesend if wind and weather $\frac{2}{3}$ mits upon the Penalty of 500 lb and if I stay the ship upon my concerns I must pay the ship 5 lb $\frac{2}{3}$ day for every day after the 6th 5th mo but he is obliged to be at Gravesend and to receive all passingers on board and entertain them at the ships charge upon the 30th Ins^t and then to sayle by the 1st opportunity if we are all ready otherways to stay till the 6th next mo: and no longer and for all other accommodations for Cabins and Provisions and landing us at Philadelphia and waiting there 10 da. at the least upon us, it is all inserted wth all large extent as can be desired and the people may be sure of kind and honest dealing both from me and y^e M^r being as I advised formerly a very fair conditioned man and for room and air far beyond w^t may be had in a little ship for he is lymited to carry but 140 at most and has room enough for 150 but he is not to stay beyond the day for one person but to sayle if wth 60, so now I having engaged by thy ord^r I desire thee not to fayle but send me the money, & let the friends gett here in good time to take up their goods & ship them again and buy such necessarys as they want w^{ch} will take up 6 or 8 days time, so before the last day of this mo: they ought to be here.”

LONDON, June 15. 1683

TO BENJ. FURLY—

“I have according to thy ord^r of w^{ch} I advised in my last agreed possitively wth Cap^t Jefferies M^r of the Concord for the passage of the 33 Dutchmen.”

LONDON— June 19. 1683

TO BENJ. FURLY—

“I believe we shall not sayle from Gravesend till near the middle of next month. * * * here are various reports of

scarcity in Pennsylvania and Wm. Penn is coming home, but is all Invented, I assure thee we have no bad news nor any discouragem^t, but all well, so far as we heare."

LONDON, July 10. 1683

TO BENJ FURLY—

"It troubles me much that the friends from Crevillt are not yet come and the wind being still contrary, I doubt we shall goe away wthout them, the ship went to Gravesend the 7th and intends for the Downs the 17th and then to be gone wth the first fair wind, we have loytered severall days on their account, and shall doe still, w^{ch} may be 50 lb damidge to the ship, but we cannot blame them, but if it were the will of the Lord I should be heartily glad they might come before we goe, for it troubles me to think w^t a great disappointment it will be to the poor friends besides the loss of their money w^{ch} I have pd to the M^r long since, this stay of the ship is by consent on both sides but if I detayn him beyond the time agreed upon, I must pay 5 lb ꝑ diem demurrage, I send my son again this day to Gravesend to see for them we goe all this week. have acquainted Tommans wth w^t thou writes there is another great ship near 500 Tonn bound for Pennsylvania, w^{ch} friends have agreed for, and is to be ready the next month, her name is the Jefferies, Tho. Arnold M^r, If the wind should be westerly wⁿ we come into the Downs we must stay, and if it be possible I will get him stay 2 days for them wth a fair wind but I cannot ꝑmise it, I may write again from Gravesend, we have many convenient Cabins made and private rooms for familys and 14 Excellent Oxen killed and 30 Tonn beer & abundance of bread and water so that we are victualled for 120 people, & may want $\frac{1}{2}$ them for w^t I see yet, w^{ch} is a great disappointm^t to y^e M^r & owners."

PHYLADELPHIA 2 10 mo 1683

DEAR BROTHER EDWD. CLAYPOOLE—

My last to thee was the 10 5 mo wch I Sent from Gravesend by Captain Manly, wth 6 Aggat Knives, wch I hope are come Safe to hand If I can I will upon this sheet Send thee

Copy of the said letter, As to our voyage from England to this place, we went on board the Concord at Gravesend the 24 5 mo and after we lost sight of England wch was in about 3 weeks time, we were 49 days before we saw land in America, and the 1 8 mo some of us went ashore in Pennsylvania: the blessing of the Lord did attend us so that we had a verry comfortable passage, and had our health all the way: We came to this city the 8th or 10th 8 mo where I found my servant had builded me a house like a barne without a Chimney 40 foot long and 20 broad, wth a good dry Cellar under it which proved an extraordinary conveniency for securing our goods and lodging my family, Although it Stood me in very dear, for he had run me up for dyat— & work—near 60 lb Starling which I am paying as mony—coms in for goods to this I built a kitchen of 20 foot squar where I am to have a double Chimney, wch I hope will be up in 8 or 12 days, I writt to thee too send me 4 blacks viz a man, a woman, a boy, a Girl but being I was so disappointed in England as not to send thee those goods thou wrote for; I could not expect—thou wouldst send them, If they had been sent I should have taken it verry kindly & have ballanced accot. with thee in some reasonable time. Now my desire is that if thou dost not send them all however to send me a boy between 12 & 20 years: & if thou wilt send some Rum & Molasses wch are now in great demand 58 q Gall & 28 q Gal, I will dispose of it for thee and send the produce either in bils for England or—silver, or oyl or some other way which yet we know not thou must send allso a tun of sugar 2 hhd thirds—& 2 hhd fourths & $\frac{1}{2}$ tun of Ginger 5 cwt scrapt & 5 cwt. scalded & I shall if thou. wilt be $\frac{1}{2}$ concerned, my lott in this place proves to be Especially for trade one of the in the Citty & though I imploy my time in serveing the Society being treasurer for wch I have 100 lb start yet my wife & Children with my direction shall mannage the business as well as if I did it myself, & I will be accountable for all, so I desire thee let us have a little trade together, & as I writt formorly if thou will take for thyself or for any other 1000 or—2000 Acres of land in this

Country the sooner y^e better for people come in so fast that it is like to be much dearer in a little time its Judgd about 1000 people came in 6 weeks so that it is already worth double what it was 1000 Acres being now at 40 lb starl Samu'll Carpenter is next but one to me, & is lickly to git a great Estate quickly—Wm framton is one the other side of me building a great brewhouse, If I had time and could write for cold having no Chimny I would have fild some sheets of paper in giving thee acct. of the Country & our settlement^t trade & laws &c but now I must be excused till another time, only this in short I do believe it will prove a verry healthy Country & that great improvements may be made in a few years by Industry & skill: I have sent thee by this Vessell the Comfort—Georg Thorp Mr. 12 beaver hats which I brought from England 12 black & white No 6 is 8 at 50s Ɔ Ɔs No 7 is 4 at 55s & the 6 white beavers are 3 lb Ɔ Ɔs which are the prices they are sould at London for though they cost me something less buying a great percell, I desire thee to sell them amongst thy acquaintance as well as thou canst either for more or less as allso a fatt of french barly cont Nett 450 lb at 4d is 7lb 10s & y^e hatts coms to 49 lb which in all £56.10.—I hope thou hast reed 80 lb of Wm Lewger for my Accot. & something of Joseph Grove, to whome remember my love & tell him I could not now write to him, & also to Ralph Weeks, & tell him that I shall againe write Effectually for my Correspondents at London to pay his bill for 42 lb I was strangly disappointed or I should not have disappointed him, but it was chiefly his fault for I never reed a word of Advise of his bill to this day so I could not accept it,—ordinary Musce. sugar is sould hear at 40s Ɔ cwt our mony which is 6s for a ps of 8 or 15d for an Engl shilling the difference being 2.5 Ɔ lb I have other goods which I would send if I had time to pack them, or that I knew that they were fit for your markett, pray advise Ɔ first if horse harness may do well & I have some Silver Hafted knives & Agget knives which I would send upon advise from thee or I could load a vessell with pipe staves & timber: I could not git 1s of Brother Claypoole at

parting towards the money he owed me & my Brother Norton is not able at present to pay me any thing I have trusted him with above 30 lb more since I came so that now he owes me above 200 he is in a thriveing way and the governor has given him a place that may be worth to him 40 lb or 50 lb p anum he does intend to sell his land and houses whear he lives & come to dwell at this towne & then he will pay me he sayes what he owes me advise what commodity Whale oyl may be with you for we have 24 men fishing in the bay that are like to make a good Voyage, hear is a great deal of silver in our river that was taken at y^e Rack which may be purchased at reasonable rate with—goods as Rum Molosses & sugar, I have a great deal more to write but time failes for the boat is going quickly so must Conclude.

Thy Assured Loving Brother

Let me know of y^e recdt of this p first Here is an inclosed from Brothr. Norton.

Invoyce of a Box of Hatts & a Barrll of french barly shipt in the Comfort Geo Thorp mr: for Barbados & consigned to my Brothr. Edward Claypoole for my proppor Accot. mrked as p margent & 13 Knives

IC No 1 A Barrll. cont 450 lb Neat of French	
Barley at 4d.	£7.10—
No 2 A Box cont 18 Beaver Hatts	
No. 6 is 8 bta Beavers Hatts 50s	£20.—“—“
No. 7 is 4 bta Beavers at 55s	11.—“—“
No. 6 is 6 white Beavers at 60s	18.—“—“
For the Box & Canvas & Cord	“ 3 “
12 Silver Hafted Knives & one od blade at	8—10—
Summe	£65. 3—

My Wife has advised me to send thee my Silver Hafted Knives wch I have added to y^e Invoyce so it is now £65.3.— I desire thee to sell them if not thou maist keep them thy-

selfe at 9 lb I was offered by one of my Neighbours last weeke 12 lb for them or mony wch is near 10 lb starl So I hope they will yield 10 lb, but sell them as well as thou canst: I have sewed them in Canvas & directed to thyself & delivered them to y^e mastr. Perticuler Accot. as foll, they are warranted starl silver upon y^e Goldsmiths word

23 oz 8 wat. Silver wch I can affirme to be

right wait at 5s. 2d.	£6.	1.—
12 Hafts the workemanship at 3s.	1.	16.—
13 Blads 12 in y ^e Hafts & putting in cost me	—	13.—
	—	—
Summe	£8	10.—

PHILADELPHIA y^e 23 11 mo 1683

FRAN & GEO ROGERS

The 19th Ditto I reed. yors. by way of Maryland dated 18 7ber which was an answer to mine dated 10 5 mo, wch is verry uncharitable and is uncivill, & you must needs have been filled with pride and Enmity or you could not have vented yor. selves so opprobriously, me thinkes you might have queried with me first & have had my answeere before you had Judgd me so scornfully, Especially considering y^e matter was so small & did not at all concerne yor. reputation, but yor. purss only—viz £30.3.6 reed. for you a little before I came away from London of wch you have had £18—I may say Justly about 20 lb these several years being due to me by Geo Gamble whose Estate Geo Rogers reed to pay his Debts withall: the right of which Debts appears by y^e Accot. Sent Tho Wheddon, & againe to W^m End, Then for y^e 10 books of 3 F wch I left ready bound with Edw Haistwell to send you ¶ first: I concluded you might easily sell them as you had done y^e other 10 bookes and that they would produce free of all charges 7 lb then there would not be much due to you, In Justice & equity not above 3 lb and the reason I calculate it thus at this time is because I ¶ceive by what you write that you would not pay to Wm. End (to whom I had given a letter of Atturny) any part of Gambles Debt, so I have ordered Edw Haistwell to pay him y^e

7lb.17.6 & that Debt of Geo Gambles I leave wholly in
yor. hands so that you would have lost but about 3 lb by me
if we had been all drowned, & that would not have been lost
wholly, for you have my Sonne Jns. Bed pillow Bedcloths
& other things that he brought from Sea with him: wch you
pretended for a year & more to send me & never did: besides
this, I writt you that you might drawe the Ballance upon me
in Pensilvania, wch if you had done I would have pd yor.
bill allthough it had been for 20 lb more: allso I told you
that if you had occasion for mony in Pensilvania either for
and or otherways I would be willing to transact for you &
disburss for you, & y^e time may come when you may have
occcasion for my friendship as much as you dispise me &
scorn me now. Now farther in answeare to y^e Particulers of
your letter as fold. first you charge me with a designe to
prevent you for draweing a bill upon me by ordering my
letter not to be sent till I was gone, I assure you that was
not the reason of keeping that letter & not sending it away
by first post; but this was y^e reason: I was often threatened
by Rob. Hubbold who had attached me for 1000 lb for Rich
Gayes Accot. & did Expect every day a summons to give
answer & security to y^e Court, even at Gravesend where we
stayed till 25 5 mo I accounted myselfe in danger & at deal
allso, so that if I had been served with a sumons before I
had gott away, I must have gone back & have lost my passage
in that ship: & then that 30 lb must have been Expended as
occasion had offered to defend my selfe by law wch you know
is chargeable in England: If you had given me that 30 lb
for procuring y^e rest you had been but grateful, for it was
with y^e hazard of my life and Estate that I got it for you;
for sometimes y^e trouble & perplexity of it was so great that
it made me sick, & many a sorrowfull carefull hour I had
about it, both with the Assurers & Attachers; & I would
have given sometimes 100 lb of my owne mony to have been
clear of it; you may find upon yor. Accot. Currnt. that I gave
you Credt. in one sum for that Assurance mony £145.7.11
wch I could have wiped you of every penny and have gained
halfe to myselfe, or it may be 100 lb of it and you should

never have known it, If I would have complied with some of y^e Attachers & have lett them condemne it: and then I should have been such an one & you represent me to be, but I was consciensiously honest, & drove it as far for yor. Interest as I could possibly have done for my owne, and you have ill rewarded me but I can comitt my cause to y^e Lord, who knowes y^e secretts of all hearts & that I never designed to cheat. you, but to pay you and all men what I owe them to 1d. but I assure you I never had a great Estate as some did suppose allthough my charge was verry considerable, & I lived still pretty plentifully hoping still it would be better, and at last near the time of my comeing away I was wronged by severall to my loss and hindrance some hundreds of pounds Especially Rob Stepmy who did most treacherously and wickedly by me, the day before I came from London, & when I came to Gravesend, if a friend had not helped me, I must have sould some of my goods to provide some necessaries I wanted, so you may see I was not very high, yet not so low spirited & shabby as to intend to cheat you of 1d. As for my sending noe bill on W^m End, if there was none wch I cannot tell, it was merely forgotten and not purposely omitted, however I wrote Effectually to W^m End y^e 10 5 mo that he should pay you 10.2.6 for my accot. wch I believe he would informe you of y^e first opportunity, as for yor. complaing of me & Exposing me as a cheat, & of sneaking low spirited shabby tricks I value it not, for I have done nothing by you but what is excusable in y^e sight of God and Man: & you cannot expose me to root me out of y^e hearts of y^e faithfull friends of truth, but you may expose yor. selves, & manifest yor. pride & enmity, Especially Francis Rogers, for whom I am really troubled that he should be so captivated and in Bondage to y^e spirit of his Brother Georg for outward Advantage & conveniency in trade; I must confess when first I read yor. letter, it was a temptation to me and passion was rising in my minde & an Indignation against you, but then sinkeing downe to y^e word of Gods Patience I was preserved in the Humillity and tenderness, & now I am over it in my spirit and can say y^e Lord forgive you, Especially Francis

who in his circumstances, Is most to blame : what could you not remember some kindness that I have done you formerly how I have been out of Cash to serve yor. occations above 2100 lb at a time, & how I took up yor. protested bills on Clutterback for 1000 lb in a few days & I never wronged you in all y^e Courss of or. dealing of 1d. so pray reflect upon yor. selves that you have been too severe & unkind : I have stated y^e Accot. here underneath as I am willing to make it up with you : And if you can make it appear that I have done you any wrong I shall readily make you satisfaction, & so I conclude

Yor. Friend J. C.

Fran & Geo Rogers Dr.

1678

6 mo To Bala of Gambles & Wheddons Accot

then due to me 17.—15.—

To Postidg letters since —.— 8.—

To Intrest $\text{£} 5\frac{1}{2}$ years at 8 $\text{p} \text{ } C$ 7.—19.—

This to be pd in London $\text{£} 26.— 2.—$

To Ballance of this accot to be pd them
by Ed. Haistwell 5.—10.—

31.—12.—

Fran & Geo Rogers Cr.

1683

5 mo £ Bala of accot. then due to them . . . $\text{£} 30.— 3.—$

£ Intrest of 7 mo at 8 $\text{p} \text{ } C$ 1.— 8.—

Summe $\text{£} 31.—12.—$

£ J C Errors. Exp.

Philad y^e 24 17 mo 1683

I shall give order to Edw Haistwell to pay you y^e 5lb. 10.s if y^e bookes be not sent, but if they be I must desire you to sell them & pay yorselves, & y^e overpluss send me in Beef when any ship comes from Corke hether. I hope Fran

Rogers thou will not thinke much to sell 10 bookes for me
wch cost me above 30 lb printing for the service of truth
J. C.

You must send a Generall Release when E. H. payes you
y^e 5lb 10s And pray send my son Johns Bed & other things
hether

Sent by Jasp goeing to Maryland & so to Corke

Since y^e aforegoeing I mett with y^e Conveniency of Thos
Holmes his bill for six pounds wch I was verry glad of & I
send it you hereinclosed for I had rather pay you 20s. too
much then 5s. too little: It is y^e 1st. bill for six pounds pble
at 20 da. to yorselves or ord. in Dublin ye value of me, so
now if you have reed y^e bookes I must desire you to sell
them & y^e proceed wch I hope will be about 7 lb send me
hether in some provision as above I am

Yor Friend J. C.

(To be continued.)

THE ATTITUDE OF THE QUAKERS IN THE PROVINCIAL WARS.

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

INTRODUCTION.

Among the papers to be found in the collection of the Historical Society is the "brief" of an argument made on the twenty-sixth of February, 1756, before the Lords of Trade, in support of a petition to the King by sundry inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This petition—as will be seen—asks, for various reasons, that the King shall be advised by the Privy Council to withhold his sanction from a certain Military Bill, as it is called, then recently passed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania; and, further, that Quakers should be forever disqualified from sitting as members of that body,—a change which would have been, if granted, completely revolutionary. This "brief" throws a strong light upon the relations existing during sixteen eventful years in the history of the Province (1740–1756) between the Crown and the Proprietaries and the people, as represented in their Assembly, and especially upon the great question involved in their taxation by their immediate representatives,—a question the discussion of which familiarized them with principles in defence of which the war of the American revolution was fought.

Some preliminary account of the state of the Province is necessary in order that the grounds upon which the petition is based may be understood.

In 1739 Andrew Hamilton, who had been for many years Speaker of the Assembly, said to that body on retiring from office, "It is not to the fertility of our soil and the commodiousness of our rivers that we ought chiefly to attribute the great progress this Province has made within so small a

compass of years in improvements, wealth, trade, and navigation, and the extraordinary increase of people who have been drawn from almost every country of Europe; it is all due to the excellency of our constitution. Our foreign trade and shipping are free from all imposts except those small duties payable to his Majesty by the statute laws of Great Britain. The taxes are inconsiderable, for the sole power of raising and disposing of the public money is lodged in the Assembly. Other incidental taxes are assessed, collected, and applied by persons annually chosen by the people themselves. . . . By many years' experience we find that an equality among religious societies, without distinguishing one sect with greater privileges than another, is the most effectual method to discourage hypocrisy, promote the practice of the moral virtues, and prevent the plagues and mischiefs which always attend religious squabbling. This is our constitution, and this constitution was framed by the wisdom of Mr. Penn," etc.

Sixteen years later, in 1755, the petition we are considering presents a different picture, describing "the melancholy condition of this colony, involved in all the complicated miseries and distress of a cruel war, numbers of your Majesty's subjects on the several frontiers having of late been barbarously murdered by bloodthirsty savages and whole townships broken up and driven from their habitations; while the danger continually grows with the growing ambition of a restless and perfidious enemy."

There can hardly be a doubt that the picture drawn by the petitioners is a correct one. The Province was defenceless against the attacks of the French and Indians for some years prior to Braddock's defeat, in July, 1755. The question is, who was responsible for it? The petition lays the blame upon the Quaker majority in the Assembly, and says that the lack of means of defence was due to their religious scruples, which led them to vote against warlike measures. But there is another side of the question to be considered before we come to such a conclusion.

The Province of Pennsylvania in 1740 had about 100,000

inhabitants.¹ The population was divided into three distinct groups,—the Quakers, in Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks; the Germans, or Palatines as they were called, in Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton; and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, in York and Cumberland. The country west of the Susquehanna, with the exception of the last-named counties, was a wilderness occupied by Indians for some distance beyond the Alleghenies, where it was bounded by the line from Erie to Pittsburgh, which was being fortified by the French. Of the inhabitants of the Province, one-fourth or one-fifth were Quakers, about one-half were German, and the rest emigrants from the north of Ireland. The influence of the Quakers was still predominant, although the large emigration from Europe had, in the latter years of the period we are considering, much lessened it. The principal business of the people was agricultural, to which they added such commerce to Europe and the West Indies as was required to transport thither their provisions. During this period, while the French and Indians were destroying the lives of the people of the back counties and their property, the material prosperity of the Province was never greater. The imports and the shipping had increased twofold and the exports threefold, and more than 25,000 Germans alone emigrated to the Province. There was no land tax, and had been none for nearly forty years. The expenses of government were paid by an excise and by tavern licenses. There was little gold or silver in the Province, the greater portion having been drained out of the country to pay for English imports. The Assembly was in the habit of meeting extraordinary emergencies by issuing paper money,—that is, lending the credit of the Province to those who would pay a good interest for it and give ample security for the return of the loan. To this policy was attributed by the Provincials, with Dr. Franklin at their head, the extraordinary prosperity of

¹ Dr. Smith says (Brief State, p. 4) that the number in 1755 was 220,000, and Dr. Franklin (Preface to Galloway's Speech) states that the number of houses in the Province in 1752 was 20,000, with an average population of about five each.

the country, which was thus abundantly supplied with a cheap currency. The royal government and the Proprietaries were no friends to paper money,—at least to that issued by the English colonies,—and on this subject there was a constant controversy between the Assembly of the Province and the Governors appointed by the Penns. To irreconcilable differences on this point, and not to religious scruples, are no doubt to be ascribed much of the embarrassment of the English government in Pennsylvania in raising men, money, and supplies for the prosecution of the war.

The Province was then ruled by Deputy or Lieutenant-Governors appointed by the Penns as Proprietaries and confirmed by the King. They were assisted by a council which had no legislative power. That was exclusively vested by the charter in the Assembly, which exercised great authority by virtue of that instrument and claimed much more,—a pretension which was strongly opposed by the Penns and their Governors. This body was granted, by the amended charter of 1701, power, among other things, “to appoint committees, prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances, with all other *powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of free-born subjects of England.*” Under these large powers the Assembly, prior to 1740, had secured two important concessions which had much to do with the question of their motive in withholding or granting the supplies that were asked for by the Proprietaries and the Crown for the prosecution of the war. These were, *first*, that to the Assembly belonged exclusively the right not merely of disposing of the public money, but of the means and method by which it should be raised; and, *secondly*, that the decision of the Lieutenant-Governor, approving or disapproving a bill passed by the Assembly, should be final and not subject to reversal by the Proprietary.

After 1751, this Assembly was composed of thirty-six members, and it cannot be doubted that it most truly represented the wealth and intelligence of the Province. Of this

number twenty-six represented the home counties of Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks. The other ten were sent by the Germans and the Irish of the back counties,—settlements greater in population, but not possessed to so great a degree as the eastern counties of those elements which, according to the theory which then prevailed, were entitled to representation.

The legislative power of the Assembly was subject to two important restrictions only, viz.: *First*, that the measures adopted by it should receive the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor; and, *secondly*, that to the Privy Council in England was reserved the power to disallow and repeal any laws enacted by them within five years after their passage. Every parliamentary expedient for which there was any precedent was resorted to by the Assembly to maintain its power. Among other things it insisted, in accordance with the practice of the English House of Commons, that its money bills should be accepted by the Lieutenant-Governor without amendment.

The Assembly, from the beginning, was always jealous of the authority claimed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and during these sixteen years it learned to distrust and hate the Proprietary administration. It seems, indeed, that for a body of Englishmen bred in the traditions of English liberty, no system more incapable of working smoothly and satisfactorily could well have been devised. The Proprietary was not only their Governor, but he was the absolute owner of far the larger portion of the soil of the Province. Hence his public duties, so far as they concerned the wise government of his people, were constantly coming into collision with his private interests, which tempted him to govern in such a way as would not be in harmony with the welfare of the people. Thus the Governor objected to the issuing of paper money, both because he supposed that in the end it would ruin the Proprietary's private interests in the lands of the Province, and because the English government regarded such a currency as undesirable and not to be encouraged. The Assembly and the people, led by Dr.

Franklin, on the other hand (rightly or wrongly), regarded this paper money as the panacea for all the ills from which a trading community can suffer, and insisted upon issuing it whenever they were called upon to vote supplies. Again, the private interests of the Penns led them to oppose taxation of their estates (at first absolutely and afterwards in a modified way); while the necessities of the defence, as well as impartial equity, required that all the estates in the Province should be taxed in the same way, so that each might bear its due share of the general burthen. For a long time, too, the Penns refused to pay a proper share of the expenses attending Indian treaties for the sale of land, although such treaties added millions of acres to their own overgrown estate, besides, of course, making more valuable that which they already possessed.

The Governors who were sent out by the Proprietaries were not ordinarily men whose character and conduct recommended the system which they had been employed to enforce here. They were ruled by instructions from the Penn family, and gave a heavy bond to secure their obedience. In their attempt to harmonize the private interests of the family as great landholders with their public duties as Governors, they became involved, even when they tried to act fairly, in constant embarrassment. But most of them were guilty of acts of undignified meanness which forfeited the respect of those whom they governed. Their salaries, as has been said, came from the product of the excise and of tavern licenses,¹ ordinarily from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds yearly. But this did not satisfy them. They would not pass many of the laws adopted by the Assembly unless they were paid for it. Thus Governor Thomas, in 1742, upon being asked to return certain bills, answered that as he saw a good *disposition* on the part of the House, he would approve of them; and the House thereupon resolved that on his approval the Governor

¹The quit rents were at first intended for the support of the resident Governors, but were afterwards diverted to the use of the Penn family in England.—*Hist. Rev.* 14, 83.

should be paid £500. Whereupon he thanked the Assembly for this proof of their regard. This was exactly a counterpart of what took place with Governor Denny and even with Governor James Hamilton (the best of all who were imposed upon the Province), who is not without suspicion of having increased his pay in the same extraordinary manner.¹ The Assembly thought, too, that there were many proofs that the Penns in London, instead of being the protectors and friends of the people of this Province with the King, the Privy Council, and the Board of Trade, were in reality the bitterest and most powerful enemies of their true interests, opposing all measures before the English authorities which seemed to conflict with their own personal and private advantage. They opposed all measures whatever by which their lands were to be taxed for the defence of the Province.

Against such men, therefore, as were sent them as Governors, and the measures which the Proprietaries took to raise money without contributing any share of it themselves, the Assembly opposed the most unalterable and strenuous resistance. No fear of public danger ever swerved them from pursuing a policy which insisted that the Penns should bear what they considered their true share of the cost of defending the Province. Had the period between 1740-1756 been one of peace, these men would now be ranked with the foremost defenders of constitutional liberty on this continent. Because it was war-time and the Province was defenceless, owing to the disagreement of the Governor and the Assembly,—not as to the necessity of defence, but as to the means of securing it,—they are spoken of in this petition and popularly regarded, even at this day, as enemies to their country, who, owing to their religious scruples, could not make war nor grant military supplies as a means to that defence.

The exact position of the Quakers on this subject it is not difficult to discover, and it is worth retracing.

So far as military service was concerned, they sheltered

¹ See Preface to Galloway's Speech, p. iv.

themselves under the protection of two principles: *First*, that no man, under any English tenure, could be compelled to serve in person who chose to serve by proxy; and, *secondly*, that as they had resolved never to be aggressors, and as they were not sovereigns, they left the rest to Providence. What they meant practically by "leaving the rest to Providence" is illustrated by many passages of their history.

In 1693, Governor Fletcher, who by royal command had superseded Penn and his government in this Province, while openly respecting the principles and scruples of the Quakers concerning war, asked the Assembly for money "to feed the hungry and clothe the naked" Indians (Six Nations) who had been tempted by the French Governor of Canada, Count Frontenac, to forsake their alliance with the English. The money, after some hesitation, was voted.

In 1701 the Assembly was asked to vote money for building a fort on the New York frontier. They acquiesced in the demand "as far as their religious principles would permit."

In 1709 an application was made to the Assembly for money in aid of an expedition against Nova Scotia. The Council and the Assembly, after a conference with the heads of the meeting, decided unanimously that, "although they could not bear arms, their duty was to support the Queen's government by money."

In 1740, at the beginning of the Spanish war (commonly called the war of "Jenkins' Ears"), Governor Thomas urged them to take active measures of defence. The Assembly told him that they could not bear arms themselves, but that he, as the substitute for the Captain-General, had full authority, without the interposition of the Legislature, to organize forces for defence from such of the people as had no scruples concerning war. From such persons the volunteers' contingent of this Province was raised and immediately after the Assembly voted £3000 "for the use of the King, for such purposes as he should direct." The answer given by the Governor to these proceedings was a recommenda-

tion to the King that the Quakers, who with three exceptions composed that body, should be forever disqualified from sitting there as members.

In 1744 the Assembly made no opposition to a proclamation of the Governor calling upon all the able-bodied men of the Province to volunteer for the expected hostilities against the French. Twelve hundred signatures were at once procured in the city for a military association, and in a short time the volunteers throughout the Province amounted to ten thousand men.¹

In 1745 the Assembly voted £4000 to furnish necessities for the troops at Louisburgh. These necessities included "wheat or other grain," and Governor Thomas expended a considerable portion of this money in the purchase of black grain, otherwise gunpowder, and he was never charged with misappropriation of the fund.

In 1746 the Assembly voted £5000, in bills redeemable from the excise in ten years, for the expedition against Canada. These bills were designed to be used as currency, and thus serve to promote the trade of the Province.

In 1747 the Assembly was asked to equip vessels to defend the Delaware Bay and river from pirates. This they declined to do, on the ground, chiefly, that such defence was the business of the Royal Navy.

From this time until 1755 (the year in which the petition was sent to the King) the controversy between the Governors (Hamilton and Morris) and the Assembly—concerning, not the granting of supplies, but the manner of raising them—was incessant. Eight times during these years did the Governor demand money for supplies for military operations against the French and Indians, and eight times did the Assembly agree to grant them for the King's use, *provided* they were purchased by money raised from issuing loans. Eight times did the Governor, in accordance, as he said, with his instructions from the Proprietaries and the Crown, refuse to accept supplies thus offered, although he

¹ These numbers seem too great for the population; they are given in Franklin's Autobiography, Sparks's Franklin, Vol. I. pp. 145, 146.

was forced, in one or two cases, to agree under protest to the bills. In the proceedings during these years there is certainly nothing to show any unwillingness to defend the Province, although there were often evasions of the real difficulty on the part of the Assembly which make some of their acts appear disingenuous and uncandid. Still the main point that the Assembly, on the whole, was in earnest, not only in defending the Province but in maintaining English supremacy on this continent, even if they insisted upon doing it in their own way, seems established. The following occurrence is a curious illustration of it. In March, 1755, Mr. Quincy was sent by the Governor of Massachusetts to ask aid from this Province in victualling the troops in New England. The Assembly voted for that purpose £10,000, and borrowed the sum on the credit of the Province. It is true that the Quakers do not seem to have been unanimous in supporting this policy. In 1755 some twenty of them ventured to recommend "peaceable measures" to their representatives, for which they were soundly rebuked by them; and with others the climax was reached when the Governor undertook to declare war against the Delaware and Shawnese Indians; whereupon six of the old members thought they had gone far enough, and resigned their seats rather than lend countenance to warlike measures. The controversy was closed for the time by the petition, which, it will be observed, while it charges the Assembly with a refusal to defend the Province, objects most earnestly to the approval of the military bill which that body had passed for that very purpose. The chief difference between the petitioners and the Assembly seems to have been this: That while both disapproved of the policy of the Proprietary on many subjects, the former thought that a time when the Province was called upon to endure all that it suffered between 1740 and 1756 was ill chosen to interpose objections, either about taxing the Proprietary estates or any other constitutional or religious scruples against measures intended to defend the Province against hostile incursions. After

peace was declared in 1763, all parties agreed in condemning the Proprietary government, and the Assembly, with only three dissenting voices, petitioned, in its turn, the King to abolish it and to place the Province under the direct control of the Crown.

The bills referred to in the petition are the "Military Bill" and "the Supply Bill of £55,000," both of which had been approved by the Governor. The Military Bill was entitled an act "for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of being united for military purposes." By it a volunteer force was raised, thoroughly organized, and made subject to military discipline. This bill is called in the petition a usurpation of the rights of the Crown. The Supply Bill (by which the Proprietaries' estates were exempted from taxation in consideration of a promised gift from them of £5000) was intended to grant the money necessary for the pay of these troops and for their military operations. By the money and men supplied by these two bills a chain of forts and block-houses, extending from the River Delaware along the Kittatinny Hills to the Maryland line, was erected. They were situated at convenient distances from each other and at the most important passes of the mountains, and were garrisoned with companies, all in the pay of the Province, composed of from seventy-five to twenty-five men each, according to the situation and importance of the place; in other words, a complete system of defence was at last established. In the face of such acts and such results the Board of Trade had the hardihood to declare, in their answer to the petition, that "the measures taken by the Assembly for the defence of the Province were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual, and that there was no cause to hope for other measures while the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military services."¹

This answer is a specimen of the utter disregard of all that the colonists had done and suffered in wars due only to the ambition of the mother country. It sank deep into

¹ Gordon, 339.

the hearts of the freemen of Pennsylvania, and brought forth abundant fruit.

To the Kings¹ most Excellent Majesty.

The Petition

Of sundry of Your Majesty's dutiful & loyal subjects, Inhabitants of the Province of Pensilvania, in Behalf of Themselves & Others.

most humbly sheweth

That. We, Your Majestys faithful Subjects, are most sensibly affected, & alarmed at the present Melancholy Scituation of these Colonys, involved in all the complicated Miseries & Distress of a cruel War; Numbers of Your Majtys. good Subjects, on the sev^l Frontiers, having, of late, been barbarously murdered, by blood thirsty Savages; & whole Townships broke up, & driven from their Habitations, while the Danger continually grows, with the growing Ambition of a restless and perfidious Enemy.

That, in a more particular Manner, we have Reason to be affected, for our own Safety, & the Safety of our Children, in this Province, where it is our Lot to reside; Which, notwithstanding the many Dangers, that, so nearly, threaten us, is still kept in the most naked & defenceless State, & is the only one, of Your Majesty's Colonys, in these parts, which has not armed a single Man, nor, at the Publick Expence, provided a single Fortification, to shelter the unhappy Inhabitants, from the continual Inroads of a merciless Enemy; a mere handfull of whom might, at this Time, carry Fire & Sword into the very Heart of the Province, there being Nothing to oppose to their Fury, Since the Departure of those Troops, to the Northward, which

¹ *Endorsed*

PENSILVANIA

For the Inhabitants in General
Ag^t their Quaker Assembly

To be heard before the Lords of Trade
at their Office over the Treasury
On Thursday 26 Feb^r 1756
At 11 in the Forenoon

Mr. Yorke
Mr Forrester
For the Petitioners

Your Majesty was graciously pleased to send to the general Assistance of Your Colonies.

That the past inactive, & defenceless, State of this rich & populous Province has probably, been productive of a double Evil; for, it is to be feared, that it has, not only, influenced some of the Neighboring Colonies, & cooled them, in the general cause; but likewise, alienated our Indians, from us, & encouraged our Enemies, in their present unwarantable & alarming Encroachm^{ts}; it being most certain, that no Governm^t, or Colony, can either be happy at Home, or respected Abroad, without a manly Exertion of its natural Force, both to repel outward Violence, & assert its just Rights.

That as our Estates & Fortunes lie in this Province, we cannot but be concerned for its *Reputation* as well as Safety, & therefore we are sincerely grieved to behold, not only, the Protection, which is due to Ourselves, refused, thro' an *unnatural* Scheme of Policy, but, likewise, the Hands of *several* Thousands of brave Men, amongst us, thereby, *tied up*, who are eager to risque their Lives in the Field of Honour, in Conjunction with our generous fellow Subjects, of Virginia, & the Provinces to the Northward of us who have done, & are doing, so much, to assert the comon Cause, of these bleeding Colonies.

That, from long Experience, we have No Hopes, of seeing the afs^d Grievances redressed *here*, while a great Majority of Men, whose avowed Principles are *ag^t bearing arms*, find Means, continually, to thrust Themselves into the Assembly of this Province, & who have been, frequently, called upon to put the Province in a Posture of Defence, both by Messages from their Governors, & Petitions from great Numbers of their Constituants, in different Counties, but have, always, evaded the Point, & spun out the Time by unseasonable Disputes, altho' Nothing be required, for this Purpose, *but the bare Sanction of a Law, to collect, & conduct our natural Strength as a Colony.*

In Consideration of All which, We, Your Majesty's most dutiful & loyal Subjects humbly pray That Your Majesty wo^d graciously condescend to take our Condition under Your wise & princely Consideration, Which, upon Enquiry, will be found to be singularly Distressing & Grievous; *And* that Your Majesty wo^d farther be graciously pleased to interpose Your Royal Authority, that this important Province, scituated in the Centre of Your Majestys American Dominions, may be put into a *Posture of Defence*, Which,

under Your sacred Majestys wise & equitable Administration, we can firmly trust, will be done with the tenderest Regard to the general Safety of the Colonies, as well as, the particular Preservation of those Rights, & Priviledges, with which, we, & all, Your Majestys Subjects, are so highly favoured; *And* Your Majestys most dutiful & loyal Subjects, the *Petitioners*, shall ever pray.

Will Allen	Will. Humphreys
W ^m Plumsted	Samuel McCall Sen ^r
Rob ^t Strettell	J. M. Nesbitt
Arch ^d McCall	Townsend White
Cha ^r Edgar	David Franks
John Inglis	Thomas Witting
Jno Searle	John Belle
Sam. Carsan	W ^m Henry
Jno. Blackwood	Alex ^r Lunan
Ja. Peller	Daniel Goodman
William Blair	Chas How Jun ^r
Peter Peterson Vanhorn	Alexr. Barclay
James Arbuckle	Micha ^l Hulings
John Nelson	William Scott
Robert Ragg	Henry Woodrow
Tho Grame	W ^m Dowell
J. Moland	Pr. Turner
John Wilcocks	John Redman
William McIlvain	F. Jones
Alex ^r Stedman	Andrew Hodge
Alex ^r Huston	William Rush
Jas Humphreys	D. Chambers
Sep ^t Robinson	John Rowan
Jos Maddox	Philip Benezet
Jo. Turner	Atwood Shute
Pr. Turner Jun ^r	Alex ^r Stuart
Wm. Grant	Thomas Gordon
Joseph Wood	Jacob Duché
Wm Clifton	Joseph Swift
Thos Harper	Isaac Snowden
Tho. Glentworth	John Kidd
John Young	Nathan Cook
Tho. Bourne	Richard Arell
Geo. Smith	Thos. Rodgers
Cornelius Bradford	Joseph Hall
Alex ^r Alluire	Richd Budden
John Groves	Gilb ^t Tennent
John Jennings	Tho. Lawrence
Amos Strettell	Watt Goodman
W ^m Bingham	Rob. Greenway
Charles Stedman	Redm ^d Congughan

John Wallace
Thos Cadwalader
Sam McCall Junr
Jo. Sims
Joseph Stamper
Thos. Gilbert
Fra. Alison
Daniel Benezet
Matt^a Clarkson
William Hodge
Hugh Hodge
Richard Treat

Jenkin Jones
Walter Moote
W^m Shippen
James Trotter
Charles Batho
John Swift
Jno. Jenkins
Zachs. Nieuuran
Jno. Kearsley
Hugh McCulloch
Will. Coxe
John Sayre

Janry. 14. 1756. *Seven Petitions*, of the foregoing Tenor, signed by 5. or 600 of the Inhabitants, were presented to the Secretary of State, &, we have Reason to think, were afterwards considered, by the Cabinet Council.

As all the World agrees, that America, ought to be defended, but yet, that the *King alone*, cannot controul *any* Assembly & much less, a *Quaker* Assembly—and, as the Pensilv^a Assembly claim, I know not what, extraordinary Privileges, (but, for the which, there will be found very little Authority, when exam^d into) So it was thought, that Nothing wo^d releive the present Exigency, or save the province of Pensilv^a, & in Consequence thereof, all the King's Dominions in America,—but only, some Bill, to put Assemblys there, upon the same Footing, as they are in the King's own Provinces in America; we^h was the more necessary, & the more just, because that the Quakers in Pensilv^a, have, upon every Applic^a, for 16 years now passed, refused to raise a Militia, refused to put the Country in a Posture of Defence, refused to raise Men or Money, for the King's Service, declare themselves principled agt. *all* Military Measures, & at length, declared, even *Self Defence, to be unlawful*, and that, at a Time, when the Indians, & Enemy, were in the Heart of their Country, burning & destroying, the Inhab^{ts}, with unheard of Crueltys & Barbaritys.

And, as, it was thought, that a Bill, of that Kind, wo^d be most proper, & best, if proceeding from the Board of Trade,
1756 Feby 7 So, a Duplicate, of One of those Seven Petitions, was, on the 7th of Feb.: Instant, presented to His Ma-

jesty in Coⁿ in order that it might get referred to the Board of Trade.

Feb 11. *That* Petn. was referred to the Com^{tee} of Privy Council.

Feb 12. *The* Com^{tee} of Coⁿ referred it to the Board of Trade.

Feb 18 *The* Board of Trade sent for, & heard, in part, M^r Paris, Soll^o for these Petn^{es}, & Mess^{rs} Partridge & Charles, as agents, for the Quaker Assembly.

The Necessity of the Case is glaring; The Facts, in this Case, are extreemly few, & stand fully *admitted*, in the present Assemblys Militia Bill (as they call it) w^{ch} was passed on 25 Nov^r last, by their Assembly, when the Country was rising, to tear them Limb from Limb, if the did not do something, It was passed, in their own *Words*, without a Sillable of *that* particular Act, being amended, by the Gov^r; and is a Bill, for no earthly Purpose, but to defeat the King's Service,¹ & to make *Quaker Proselytes*; and in another Bill, for giving the King, (as they pretend) 60000[£], wch, was passed on the 27th of Nov^r last.

Nevertheless, the Agents pres^t, most importunately, for Time, to be heard *by their Counsel*, before the Board of Trade, for that, the Relief to the Petn^{es}, w^{ch} *might* be given, was, such, as *might* affect their ancient Privilages, & strike at the Root of their Constitution, (alluding to their Right of setting in the Assembly) & for that they wo^d shew, that it was *not* the Assembly's Fault, but the Lieu^t Gov^r's Fault, that the Country was not properly defended.

And the Lords of Trade, to prevent clamour, being raised,

¹ It is to be remembered that the Charter and the laws made pursuant to it were regarded by both parties as of paramount authority. While the Assembly contended that all its laws which had received the royal approval were of equal validity with an Act of Parliament, its opponents insisted that those laws which did not please them were either not sanctioned by the Charter, or that the Assembly had abused the power given it for wrong purposes. The power of the King over the Charters had been swept away by the revolution of 1688.

gave them, at their most earnest Entreaty, until Thursday the 26th Instant.

This Petition, w^{ch} is referred to the Board of Trade, is signed, by the principal P^{ersons}, of Rank & Fortune, in & about the City of Philadelphia, & is not made up, in Number, by inconsiderable P^{ersons}.

These sev^l Petn^s come, from English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch & German settlers; from Members of the Church of England, from Presbyterians & their Ministers, from Independants, Anabaptists, & their Teachers, Jews & Christians, all Sorts of P^{ersons}, Quakers only excepted.

The Assembly,¹ from their perverse Obstinacy, having turned a Deaf Ear, to the repeated Demands, from all the Inhabitants, the Petn^s now pray that Relief, from his Majesty, w^{ch} their own Assembly, *unnaturally*, deny them.

This is the Cause, not of the Petn^s alone, It is the Cause of his Majesty & of the Publick, of America, & of G^r Britain itself, &, as such, it requires to be considered.

The Defence of the *other* Parts of America, in Gen^l, & all the Money, Troops & Assistance, sent thither, at prodigious Expence, *must* be defeated, if Pensilv^a, (whose Back Frontier, is near 250 Miles Wide) is left open, & defenceless, in the Center of all his Majesties' Colonys.²

There, the Enemies and Savages, have a very wide Entry, & may pierce, into the very Heart, of all the British Settlements.

So that the guarding the back Front of all the *other* Colonys, is doing just Nothing at all, unless Pensilv^a, *also*, be put in a Posture of Defence.

¹The best proof that the people of the Province were satisfied with the conduct of their representatives is found in the fact, that during these sixteen years, the majority in favor of its measures was not lessened at each annual election. Indeed, on the points in controversy referred to in the Petition, the Assembly was practically unanimous.

²The reader will find in the "Historical Review of Pennsylvania," p. 442, a statement of the sums voted by the Assembly for military purposes during four years,—1754–1758. They amount to £218,569 sterling. This does not include the amounts voted for similar purposes previously, as stated in the Introduction.

The French are sending, (or have already sent) very great Reinforcements, on their part,

We must have great Numbers, to oppose them.

Pensilva^a can supply very great Numbers, of fitter Men, than can, possibly, be sent from hence.

They have great Numbers, who are able, willing & *desirous* to defend their own property, & his Majesty's Dominion, & have, *incessantly*, prayed, & desired, to be so employed, but their Assembly will *not* let them.

It cannot be disputed, but that Men may be Cheaper & speedyer, raised there, than transported from hence.

Every Man, in the Country there, is a good *Spadesman*, consequently, a good Pioneer.

Every Man there, is most expert, at his *Hatchet*, & will, instantly, cut down a Tree, & make Barricade.

Those are Services, not ordinarily performed, by Common Soldiers.

They are Excellent Shotsmen; for, in Order to introduce the Use of Arms into the Country, there have been stolen from the Assembly, heretofore, Acts, giving great Rewards for destroying the pernicious Creatures called *Squirrels*,¹ which made them excellent Gunners.

They are hale, healthy, Farmers, living upon their own Lands.

They know the Country,

They are acquainted with the Woods, & with the Indians, & with their Manner,

They are used, & seasoned, to the Climate

And there are great Numbers of such, in the Country, *desirous* to list.

All we^h Facts, (if they are not Self Evident) *We* have a Witness here, to prove.

Whereas, the sending, from hence, *all the whole* Number of

¹ This is an amusing instance of the ignorance which prevailed in England in regard to this Province. In the early days of its history one of its most considerable products was peltries, or the furs of wild animals. They needed fire-arms for some higher game than "the pernicious creatures called squirrels."

Troops, that will be wanted, to oppose the Enemy, will be attended, with great Delay & Expence, The Men sicken, in long Voyages, &, when they arrive, are unseasoned to the Climate.

So that it cannot be expected that; much above half the Number, sent from hence, can be capable of Service, when they arrive.

The Quakers in Pensilv^a, are not one Fifth of the People there; They consist principally, of the Descendents of those Quakers, who originally went over thither, & they are generally settled, in the South Part of the Province, most out of Danger, & are the Persons that are *last* to be devoured; So that the Murder & Destruction of their Fellow Subjects, the more modern Settlers, who make their Frontier, is, to them, a light matter, being, *themselves*, out of the present Danger; & They, most piously, Cant, that, according to their Religious Perswasions,¹ *Self Defence, is unlawful.*

Supposing they were *sincere*, those, who maintain such an Opinion, are unfit for Rule & Gov^tment, who are principled, contrary to the universal Sense of all Mankind, besides themselves.

And that *Principle* of theirs, shews the Necessity, of what we desire, namely, that they sho^d be *excluded* from the Assembly.

These are the People, who impiously trust, that the Lord will raise Walls & Bulwarks, round them, without their using any, the ordinary Means, which he has put in their Power, for their own Preservation.

But are their scrupulous Consciences, to govern, the Rest of their Fellow Subjects, who are as 4 to 1 agst. them? Are they to enforce the Rest of the King's Subjects, to set still, & have their Throats cut? Are they to give up Pensilvania, & perhaps, in Consequence, all America, into the Hands of his Majesty's enemies?

Or, is America, to be saved & preserved, by the ordinary

¹ The Assembly, of course, never declared that self-defence was unlawful.

Means, which all wise States use, to defend & preserve, their Empires?

That is the true, & only Material, Question between us.

It appears, very doubtful, whe^r this Behaviour of the Assembly, do's proceed from Conscience, or from a Spirit of Opposition to the King's Service, & Persecution of all their Fellow Subjects.

If we look into their Militia Bill,¹ we shall find them usurping, the power of the Militia, w^{ch} by Law, is solely in the Crown, (not only in this Kingdom, but most expressly, in *all his Majesty's Dominions*;) & which, by the Charter, is delagated to the Proprietor, whom the King has made Capt. Genl. there, into the Hands of the People.

They prohibit the listing of those Men, who wo^d be of the *most Service*, Young Fellows from 19 to 21, who have no Familys, & who are the hailest, strongest & best, for the Service.

They exempt all P^{er}sons, who, to save their Mony, or their Service, can work themselves up, to be of a scrupulous Opinion, which, in other Words, is, *be but a Quaker, & you shall neither serve, or pay.*

And a Multitude of other Cautions, are incerted, throughout their Militia Act, to defeat, & prevent, his Majesty's Service, by all the Means in their Power; & they might be fairly charged, with aiding & abetting his Majesty's Enemys, in passing such an Act.

What more co^d his Majesty's worst Enemy do, than to prevent, by all Means in his Power, any Men, from being raised, for Defence of their King & their Country.

It is most manifest, from that insolent Address,² presented

¹ The "Military Bill" (not Militia Bill, as it is called here) produced the chain of forts which guarded the passes, and which so effectually protected the Province, that from the time they were established no Indian or French invaders ever penetrated through them.

² This address came from neither the Yearly nor Quarterly Meeting of Friends. It was signed by twenty persons, who, having the full right to send a petition to the Assembly, did so on their own responsibility. That body informed the petitioners that they were assuming greater power than they were invested with, "particularly in relation to an Act

to the Assembly, by 20 Quakers, that this Assembly is lead by the Nose, by that illegal Caball, called their *Yearly Meeting*, & their *Quarterly Meeting*;

Those Meetings have been, by Act of Parliament, declared dangerous, to the State, & so, they most certainly are.

If they confine themselves to Religious Matters, only, No other Sect of People, are allowed to hold Synods, or Church Councils, not even the Established Church itself.

But these Meetings intermeddle in State & Policy, They, by their Resolutions, awe & controul Government & Legislature.

The Assembly in Pensilv^a is *half* their Legislature, (they have only the Gov^r & Assembly) & I do think, there never was, a more insolent Paper, than the Quaker's Address to the Assembly, of the 6th of Nov^r last.¹

When his Ma^{ty}, the Prop^r, the Lieu^t. Gov^r, the Peopl in Gen^l, their Indian Allies, & their bleeding Country, had one and All, repeatedly, called upon, them to raise Men & Money, & to defend themselves, & the Enemy was in the Hart of their Country, destroying it, & murdering the Inhabitants, those 20 Fellows address them, to pursue Measures, *consistent with their peaceable! Principles*, & declare they are mighty ready to contribute, to *benevolent Purposes*, but they give them ano^r Charge, not to trust their Com^{tees} with any Mony, For such Com^{tees} *may possibly* apply that Mony, to purposes *inconsistent with our peaceable Testimony*, and, if they do, they tell them, flatly, they'l rather suffer, than pay a Tax, for *such Purposes*.

And, agreeable to this Edict, from this Yearly Meeting, the Quakers, in the Assembly, by their Mony Bill, whereby, they say, they have given the King 55.000[£] have not appropriated a Shilling to any *Military Purpose*,

So that their Com^{tees}, if they sho^d ever get the Mony, & sho^d be better disposed, than the Assembly themselves, & sho^d apply that Mony, to any necessary *Warlike Purpose*, may be, passed in 1711, granting £2000 for the Queen's use, and that, therefore, their prayer was an unadvised and indiscreet application to the House."

¹ It will be found in Votes of the Assembly, Vol. IV. p. 496.

hereafter, at the Mercy of a Quaker Assembly, as not warranted for *such* Application,

But they have taken care enough, that their Com^{tees}, shall not apply *their* Mony, to *any* Purpose, whatever, either *Benovolent* or *Military*.¹ For they have, most carefully, enacted, that the 5000[£], w^{ch} was given by the Prop^{rs} (& was none of the Countrys Mony) shall *absolutely* be payd to their Com^{tees}, but they have not enacted, that the Provincial Treasurer, or the Trustees of the Loan Office, *shall pay* one Single Shilling (of their 55.000[£]) to their Com^{tee}, Indeed, if he chuses to pay it then, & give him a Rec^t for it, that Receipt is to be a good Discharge to him, but they have left him at full Liberty, either to pay it to them, *or not*, just as he pleases.

As to the King's repeated Calls, upon them, to put their Country into a Posture of Defence, & to raise Men & Mony, that, I suppose, is too notorious, to require any Proof, at this Board.

As to the People's daily Call upon them, *desiring* to arm & defend themselves & their Country, it's proved by the present Petn^s, but it's more fully, strongly & *expressly proved*, by their own Declaration, in their Militia Bill.

As to the Prop^{rs} Calling upon them, I have Liberty to produce, a Copy of their Standing Instr^{ns}, to their Lieut. Gov^{rs}, to procure a Militia, & a *Militia Law*.

I have also, to produce, the Prop^{rs}. other Instruction, given to their Lieut. Gov^{rs}, upon occasion, of ye present Rupture.

The Prop^{rs}, at their own cons^{ble} Expence, sent them over Cannon, to defend the River Delaware, & the City of Philadelphia.

¹ The Quakers did not refuse to grant the money. They desired to grant it as they had always done; that is, by lending the credit of the Province by issuing bills and taxing certain of the estates of the Proprietaries. The Governor at first refused, in accordance with his instructions, to accept the money raised in such ways. The Governor, finding the Assembly obstinate, however, compromised the matter, approving the bills against his judgment, hoping that the Crown would disallow and repeal them. The money and men raised in this way were used, as has been said, for building the forts and supporting a military establishment.

The Prop^{rs} made them an offer of 400[£], to build a Fort, or Block House, at the Back of their Province, & to allow 100[£] a Year, towards the Maintainance of it, if the Assembly wo^d contribute; but they wo^d not contribute a Shilling.

The Assembly proposed a *former* Bill, for raising Mony for the King, by a Land Tax, & that the Proprietors unimproved Lands sho^d be arbitrarily taxt, by some Assessors, we^h the Assembly wo^d name; we^h was a mere Feint, in Order to say, that *they* were ready to give Mony, but that their Prop^{rs} wo^d not consent to it, because they were to contribute.

They were askt, what they imagined their Prop^{rs} Share might amount to & they talkt of 500[£].

Even that Sum, if they had really confined it to that, was grately disproportionate; But their Friends there (who well knew the Prop^{rs}. Inclinations) Subscribed that Sum, instantly, for them.

But, the very Moment the Prop^{rs}. heard of it, They ordered, what? Not to *Subscribe* 500[£] only, But to pay 5000[£] for the King's Use.

This left the Assembly beyond excuse; and they had made Such a Bustle, that *they*, on their Parts, were mighty ready to pay, but that the Prop^{rs}. would not contribute, that they were *forced* to give the King Mony, or, at least, to *say* that they did—But, as they fell into their own Snare, & *never intended* to give any,¹ So they have given it in the Manner before observed.

This Board knows, that the Prop^{rs}. have offered large Donations, of great Quantitys of their valuable Lands, upon the most advantageous Terms, to encourage, as farr as 3000 Men, Officers & Soldiers, to enlist, for the Defence of his Majesty's American Dominions.

As to the Lieu^t Governor it is most notorious, & well known,

¹The answer to this charge—that they never intended to give the money—is that it was immediately used for military purposes, as stated in the last note. As to the “large donations of land” promised by the Lieutenant-Governor, it was discovered that neither as Governor nor as attorney for the Proprietaries had he any authority to make the grants.

that he has called upon them, without ceasing, Day after Day, Layd the Kings Orders & Commands, before them, Called, demanded & insisted upon, their raising Men & Mony, & putting the Country into a Posture of Defence; But this Lieu^t Gov^r, & every Lieu^t Gov^r, for these 16 Years past, on the like Occassions, have met with Nothing, but downright Refusels, & Religeous Scruples & Quarrels, Contentions & Abuse, from their Assemblys, whenever they touched on any *such* Point., It is not 9 Months ago, that the Assembly presented a Petition to the King, ag^t this Lieu^t Gov^r, pretended, as usual, a *very great Zeal* for his Service, but that their wicked Lieu^t Gov^r prevented them, under Pretence of Instruction he had rece'd, from the King, & the *Prop^r*, & opposed all their Bills; That Petition was heard, & a Stinging Report made, by this Board, on *30 May 1755*, (w^{ch} we desire may be read) whereby, their *Pretence* was found absolutely without Foundation, & whereby, this Board *exposed* the Assemblys pretended Zeal Viz^t.

That the Assembly had, indeed, resolved to give a *Sum*, to the King's Use, only by 18 Votes ag^t 16.

But, when they come to consider what that Sum sho^d be, Viz^t.

Shall it be 20000[£]? No, 25 to 8.

15000[£]? No, 25 to 10.

10000[£]? No, 22 to 11.

5000[£]? No, 24 to 8.¹

As to our *Indian Allys*, Their Chiefs have come down, in Person, but on 8 Nov^r last, & demanded a positive & Categorical Answer, from the Assembly, wh^er they would fight, or not? If they wo^d fight, they wo^d joyn them, most hearth'ly, If they wo^d not, they wo^d take Care of them-

¹There was, it is true, some dispute at this time concerning voting money for the King's use, as the majority of the Assembly did not believe that it was then needed. On the 6th of May, however, of the same year, on the announcement by the Governor that more than one thousand Frenchmen had taken the fort built by the Virginians on the Ohio, the Assembly voted unanimously £10,000 as an aid to the King, and £20,000 for replacing defaced and ragged bills of credit.

selves, & leave them. And these Mulish People wo^d give them No Answer.

Call for the Minutes of Coⁿ, containing this Proceeding.

So that *all Sorts* of P^{er}sons have, most importunately, called on the Assembly, but to no Purpose, in the World.

But they have, as our Petition most truly states, refused Assistance themselves, lost our Indian Allys, & cooled the Zeal of some of the Neighboring Colonys; who don't think that *Some* sho^d defend *All* but that *All* sho^d unite, in one Comon Cause, ag^t the King's Enemys; as, indeed, *All* the *Other* Colonys have done, Save only, those Quakers, in Pensilv^a.

And now, to fill up the Measure of their Iniquity, as they have been forced, & driven, to do *Something*, they have passed these two wicked Bills,¹ to take ye Militia out of the Hands & Power of the Crown, & its Cap^t Gen^l & Deputy & give it to the People, & to prohibit & prevent raising Men for his Majesty's Service, & insidiously, to *pretend* to give him Mony, but for no *Military* Purposé, in the World, & to render it absolutely precarious, whe^r there shall be one Shilling of it payd, or not? But if payd, they have again, taken ye Execution of Govern^{mt}, into the Hands of the People, in this Instance also, & have appointed a Com^{tee} of 10 P^{er}sons, named by themselves, to apply the Mony, to such *benevolent* Purposes as those 10 P^{er}sons please.

The Relief we pray is.

That these two Bills may be rejected,

And that the King be advised to recommend it to his Parliament, that no Quaker be permitted to Sitt in any Assembly, in Pensilv^a, or any Part of America.

Whose pretended Scruples may defeat (have defeated) all his Majesty's Purposes, & endanger the Loss of America.

We are well aware of these Canting People's Defence, Viz^t.

¹These "two wicked Bills." Nothing would have suited the purposes of the Assembly better than that the Governor as Captain-General should have levied a force from such as desired to enlist as volunteers, of whom there were many at all times. This plan the Assembly itself had proposed to the Governor in 1740.

Objⁿ 1— We have had great Contests, with our Lieut Gov^r, & he has been in Fault, or else, we sho^d have done *great* Things, for the King's Service.

Answer This is a Cause between ye People, & the Quaker Assembly, Or rather, between the King & ye Assembly, The Gov^r is no Party. We will try You, out of Your own Mouth., Read Your own Militia, Act in which there is not a Single Sillable, but Your own Words.

You had a Complaint (and a false one too) heard, but 9 Months ago, ag^t Your Lieu^t Gov^r.

And, whenever You have, another, here is a Gentleman in the Room (Mr Paris) who will readily defend that Lieu^t Gov^r, who has laboured, even more than enough, to have served th King; but ye Quakers have only abused him for it, as they have done *all* their Lt Gov^{rs}, for 16 Years past, if ever they ment^d any Thing for Defence of the Country, tho' by the King's Commands.

Objⁿ 2— We the Quakers, have a Constitution, & Charter of Privileges, by which, we have a *Right*, to sitt in the Assembly—And, consequently, to defend Pensilv^a, or, to give it up to the French, (for *that must* be included in *such* an Objection).

Answer If that was ever so true, it makes a Bill in Parliam^t *necessary*, to take away that Right which You have, by Your own Acts, forfeited.

But You are talking, loudly, of some Charter, or Constitution! but will be hard driven, to shew *any* such.

The Laws of this Country give no Such Right to Quakers.¹

1661—*The Corporation Act* 13 Car^d 2, Stat 2, Cap. 1 requires Oaths from all p^{er}sons in Corpor^{ns}, in England,

¹ The argument in regard to the position, disabilities, and rights of Quakers by the English law has no application whatever to the government of Pennsylvania. The Charter was not granted to Quakers, nor was there any such body as the Quaker Assembly except in the abusive language of their enemies in England. The Charter granted certain privileges to William Penn and his fellow-adventurers, not as Quakers, but as free-born Englishmen; and to insure those rights an Assembly was provided for, with the ample powers already referred to.

1662.—*The* 1st. Act of Parliam^t, we^h Names Quakers, was an Act for preventing Dangers by Quakers, 13 & 14 Car 2 Cap 1 & subjects them to great Penaltys, if they don't *sweur*, & calls their Meetings, unlawful Assemblys, & dangerous to ye Publick Peace & Safety.

Thus stood the Law in England, in ye Year 1680. when ye Pensilv^a Charter was granted.

1680 Mar 4 — *The* Charter was granted, but there is not a Sillable, in that, of any Exemption, & much less of any Privilege, whatever, to any *Quaker*.

1688 *Quakers* were never ꝑmitted to take an Affirmation, in *any* Case, whatever, until 1 W. & M Sess 1 Cap 18. Sect 13. And then, upon their taking certain Affirm^{as}, they were exempted from the Pains & Penaltys, inflicted upon, Popish Recusants, & Protestants, Nonconformists by former Acts; but that Act gave them no Qualification, to hold any Office, or Place, even here.

1696 *The* first Priviledge ever granted to Quakers, by Parliam^t, was by 7 & 8 W. 3. Cap. 27 Sect. 19; By which, upon their taking the Declarations therein men^d, they were at Liberty to vote for Members of Parliam^t here.

1696 *But*, in ye same Year, by ano^r Act, Cap 34 (we^h extended *originally*, only to England, Wales & Berwick) It was provided, that no Quaker, Even making the Declar^a, sho^d be qualifeyed, or ꝑmitted to give Evidence, in any Criminal Case., or to serve on any Jury or to bear any Office, or *Place of Profit*—This Act to continue 7 Years; & to ye end of Next Sessions.

Note.—The s^d Act was again continued, by 13, & 14. W. 3. Cap. 4.

Note.—An Assembly Man in Pensilv^a holds an office of Trust & *Profit* both. for they have enacted there 6^s ꝑ Diem, to every Member, & 10^s ꝑ Diem, to their Speaker.

1696 *Another Act*¹ was made, in ye same Year, extreemly

¹ How far this Act extended in the sense claimed by this argument to any of the colonies, has often been discussed. It certainly did not extend to the Charter or Proprietary governments, and especially to that of Pennsylvania. 1. Because its provisions are in direct conflict with the

material to our Case Viz^t. 7. & 8. K. W. Cap. 22. Sect. 9. w^{ch} do's, expressly, relate to the Plant^{as}. It Enacts. That All Laws, By Laws, Usages or Customs, at this Time, or w^{ch} hereafter, shall be in Practice, or endeavored, or pretended to be in Force or Practice, in any of the s^d Plant^{as}, w^{ch} are; in any wise, repugnant to the therein before men^d Laws, or any of them, So far as they do relate to ye s^d Plant^{as}, or any of them, or w^{ch} are any ways repugnant, to this present Act, or to any other Law, hereafter to be made in this Kingdom, So farr as such Law shall relate to, or mention the s^d Plantations, are illegal, Null & Void, to all Intents & Purposes whatsoever.

1707 *The Act 6 Anne, Cap. 23.* Quakers, refusing to make the Declar^a, shall not vote for Members of the House of Commons.

1714 *By the Act of 1 Geo; 1. Stat. 2. Cap. 6.* A Declar^a is made, for the Quakers. and the Act of 7. & 8. W. 3. Cap. 34. is extended to Scotland, & is made perpetual, for England, & for Scotland and (w^{ch} is most material), *That Act was extended, to the Plantations, for 5 Years from the 17th of March 1714, & to the End of the then next Session.*

So that the prohibitory & disqualifying Act, ag^t Quakers,¹

grant made by the Charter of Charles II., which was a solemn contract entered into between the King and William Penn and his fellow-adventurers, not to be broken, of course, by an Act of Parliament of this kind. 2. Because power was reserved by the Charter to the King to repeal in a particular way, within a certain time, obnoxious laws. 3. Because nowhere else in this controversy between the Penns and the Assembly was such a claim set up; and, 4. The mere opinion, even of the Privy Council or the Ministry, that any given statute was in violation of the English law amounted to nothing. Such a question, if it ever arose, must, of course, be a matter for judicial inquiry and decision.

¹ The question of the qualification of office-holders in Pennsylvania was settled, first, by order of the Privy Council; and, secondly, by the provincial statute of 1705 referred to in the text. By the amended Charter of 1701 all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ, promising allegiance and fidelity, etc., should have the capacity of serving the Province "legislatively and executively." The Privy Council in England disallowed and repealed the Act of 1700, in regard to attests referred to in the Charter of 1701. In 1703 it sent to Colonel Quarry and others

became in Force, in the Plantations, from 17 March 1714 to 17 Mar 1719, & to the End of the next Sessions of Parliament, thereafter.

And the other Act 7. & 8. W. 3. Cap. 22. was, & is, a *perpetual Law*, always in Force, in y^e Plantations.

1721 By the Act of 8, Geo, 1; Cap. 6. A New Declarⁿ is given to the Quakers, but No Privilege granted them.

Thus Stand the Laws of G^r. Br., & the Charter for Pensilv^a.

By which, No Quaker is p^rmitted to hold any Office or Place of Trust, or Profit.

But we shall be told that, on

1683. Apr 2. Mr W^m Penn, then Prop^r, granted to the People a Charter, called the Frame of Governm^t, whereby he (*so far as in him lay*) gave the Inhab^{ts} sundry large Privileges, but none at all to Quakers, as such, nor that relate to their Right, as such.

I believe they cannot prove, or produce, any Evidence of such a Charter; But, besides, that Charter, being found inconvenient, was in May 1700, surrendered up, by the People, to him; as appears by the very next, Instrument.

Secondly, that Mr. W^m. Penn, on

1701. Oct. 28. *Granted* to the People, a *new Charter*, of Privileges (*again, so far as in him lay*) Whereby all p^rsons, who profest to beleive in Jesus Christ, notwithstanding their other p^rswasions in Point of Conience & Religeon sho^d be

a *dedimus potestatem* requiring them to administer to all officers in the Province the oaths of abjuration and allegiance, and requiring them to sign the tests provided by the Toleration Act. By his instructions he was directed to require from the Quakers *an affirmation instead of an oath* (see 2 Minutes of Council, p. 89). In 1705 the Assembly, taking into consideration the repeal by the Privy Council of the Act of 1700, and the order of the Queen in regard to oaths and affirmations to be taken by all officers, passed an Act giving to such order the force of a provincial statute, and directed that they should be taken by all officers in the service of the Province. These two Acts, settling the qualifications of officers here (the Act of 1701 and the Act of 1705), were in force and constantly acted under up to the time of the American Revolution.

capable to serve that Government, in any Capacity, both legislatively & executively, *promising Allegiance & Fidelity taking such Attests, as by an Act (of 1700) directing the Attests of sev^d Officer^s & Ministers*, as now amended & confirmed in y^e present Assembly (of 1701) were directed to be taken; & that the Assembly sho^d have Power to chuse a Speaker, & other their Officers, & sho^d sitt, upon their own Adjournments &c. & sho^d have all other Powers & Privileges of an Assembly, according to the Rights of the Free born Subjects of England, & as is usual in any of the Kings Plantations in America; And that y^e qualifications of Electors & Elected & all other Mtrs & Things relating to Elections of Representatives to serve in Assemblys, shall be & remain, as by ano^r Law of this Govr^{ment} made at New Castle in 1700, intituled *An Act to Ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly & to regulate the Elections.*

I believe they cannot shew, any such Charter, as that, in Evidence; but, if they do, it is gone; For tho' M^r Penn might, & did, grant, as farr as in him lay, The Crown wo^d grant no such Matter, but expressly repealed both those Acts of Assembly.

1705 *Thirdly.* They will insist upon it, that they have a *New* positive Act of Assembly of Pensilv^a 4^o Anne,¹ passed between y^e 4th. of Octo^r & 12 Jan^r 1705, by w^{ch}, Quakers, are intituled to sett in y^e Assembly, if elected; and by w^{ch} the Affirm^a is fixed for them; and by w^{ch}, they have been pleased to exclude, every Churchman, or Protestant Dissenter, from the Assembly,² tho' he sho^d take a thousand Oaths, *unless* he qualifies himself by making y^e Declar^a, in such Manner, as if he was a *Quaker*, for they make y^e

¹ Fo. 67. New Edition. [The reference here is to *Laws of Pennsylvania*, printed in 1742 by B. Franklin.]

² Of course no attempt was made to exclude "every Churchman or Protestant Dissenter" from the Assembly. All candidates for office were on precisely the same footing, and each took the same tests and made the same declarations,—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Baptists. The only difference was that the Quakers were permitted to confirm their declaration by an affirmation, while the others were required to do so by an oath.

Quakers Declar^a the *Sole & only* Qualification, to be taken by every Member.

To this we answer, It was a void Act, by the very Charter of Pensilv^a; In w^{ch}, there is an express Clause & *Condition* incerted, that, for fear they sho^d assume to them selves improper Powers, Every Act, they make there, shall, within 5 Years, from y^e making, be layd, before the *Privy Co^{ll}*. Now, first, we suspect, & secondly, we will prove, that this Act was *Not*, within 5 years, from the making, layd before the *Privy Co^{ll}*, and it's (for that Reason) void.¹

Our Suspicion arises from this,——. In the same Year, & Sessions, in 1705, they past ano^r Act,² An Act directing (only) the Qualifications of Magistrates & Officers, as also the Manner of giving Evidence, Viz^t, by Affirm^{as}——But that Act the Crown has seen, & has *repealed*——It is therefore *suspicious*, that the Crown wo^d not suffer an Act, of the same Sessions, of so much a higher Nature, to have stood, had they seen that.

But We don't rest on Suspition, only, Next, we come to y^e most effectual Proof, the Matter admits of, that it was *not* layd before the *Privy Co^{ll}* according to the Charter, within 5 Years after making; For we have the Clerk of the Co^{ll}'s Certificate, That from 14. Octo^r 1705, to 14. Oct. 1711, No Order of Co^{ll}, referring the Act to the Board of Trade, (as there must have been,) Nor no Order of Co^{ll}, either rejecting, or confirming, this Act, appears on the Co^{ll} Books,——Those 6 Years take in more than the 5 Years, for transmission, & the 6 Months for the Crown's Approbation——& no such Act seen, or heard of, before Y^e *Privy Co^{ll}*,——They may keep Papers, in their Pockets, & after a Length of Time, print them, in a Book & call them Laws.

¹ It seems idle to argue that statutes which were constantly enforced, and which were regarded by all parties in the Province as forming a part of our Code, were, from some cause, without any legal validity; and yet such are the straits to which the enemies of the Assembly were forced to resort! No one ever denied that these statutes were in full vigor except the advocate in this cause.

² Fo. 103. [Franklin's Edition of Laws of Pennsylvania, 1742.]

But, if not presented to the *Privy Co^l*, within 5 Years from the making., They are void, by the King's Charter to Pensilv^a.

And so this Third Pretence of Constitution, is entirely gone.

Fourthly and Lastly, They pretend, that They, have ano^r Act of Assembly,¹ that gives them these Privileges, & that this last Act, was actually *confirmed by the Crown*, on 27 Mar 1725, & was intituled *An Act prescribing y^e Forms of Declar^a of Fidelity, Abjuration & Affirm^a*, instead of the Forms heretofore required in such Cases, & was passed between 14. Octo^r. 1724. & 21st. of Augst. 1725.

We answer That ye Fact (by some strange Accident, w^{ch} we don't know, nor can acco^t for) is true. But yet, as an Act of Parliament, is Something stronger, than an Order of Co^l, So this last Act, was, & is, null & void, to all Intents & purposes whatsoever.

The Position. is true, & most easily proved.

The 7. & 8. K. W^m. Cap. 22. was, & is, a perpetual Law, & in its orig^l Creation, & ever since, extended to the Plantations.

No Act here, had ever qualifed Quakers, to hold Offices, or Places of Trust.

But the Act of 7, & 8. Wil. Cap. 34. had disqualified them.

That Law was, from Time to Time, continued, & at last made perpetual, in England, & in Scotland, & was extended to the Plant^{as} also, *for a Time*.

And having been once extended thither, We hope, the Pensilv^a Act, was null and void, in its Creation, & that the Crown, by Confirming what was, in its Creation, void, could not make a Nullity a good Law.

When first I began Stating our Objection, to this last Pensylv^a Act, I imagined, that y^e Time (for w^{ch} y^e disqualifying Act of Parliam^t was enacted to be enforced in the Plant^{as}) took in y^e very Time, when this Pensilv^a Act was made, Viz^t. extended to 1724, & 1725; but, upon looking back, the pro-

¹ Fo. 310. [Franklin's Edition of Laws of Pennsylvania, 1742.]

hibitory Act of Parliam^t was extended to y^e Plant^{ns}, (So farr as I can find) only to 1719 or 1720. And the qualifying Pensilv^a Act was past *after* that Time Viz^t. in 1724 or 1725.

So that my Answer to this Act, is not so strong, as I at first thought it, but yet it affords Some Argument.

But if, it had None at all, & that this boasted Privilege was gained, to the Quakers, by their own Pensilvania Act, of 1725, Confirmed afterw^{ds}, by the Crown, They have forfeited it, and y^e Preserv^a of America, requires that they sho^d forfeit.

For all Society & Gov^{mt}, is formed *for* Defence.

When Persons in Power, declare, (as these do) We cannot, We will not, defend, The Bond, & first Principle of Society, & of Nature itself, is broke & dissolved.

And You ought not to govern.

Wherefore We pray, as before.

That the Militia Bill, & Mony Bill, may both be rejected.

And that his Majesty may be advised to recommend it to This Parliament, That No Quaker be ~~per~~mitted to sitt in Assembly, in Pensilva^a, or any other American Colony.

But that y^e People of Pensilv^a may have *such* an Assembly, as the People in the King's Governm^{ts} in America, have, that is to say, an Assembly, whose Members shall be qualified by *Oaths*.

There is no Occasion to fear Pensilvania's raising, much better Sums, than this 55000[£] if they had a Christian Assembly, of ~~per~~sons, who intend to provide for the Kings Service, which these Canting Quakers never once did, & there can be none raised yet, For they are not to begin the Work of assessing, until the end of May next, & the payment is to be long after that.

THOUGHTS ON THE SITUATION OF THE INHABITANTS ON THE FRONTIER.

BY HON. JAMES TILGHMAN.

[James Tilghman was born in Maryland, 6th December, 1716, studied law, and was admitted to practice at Annapolis, from whence he removed to Philadelphia about 1760. Eminent in his profession, and familiar with the landed interests of Maryland, at the request of John Penn, in 1765, he accepted the appointment of Secretary of the Land Office of Pennsylvania, succeeding William Peters. In October of 1764 he was chosen a member of the Common Council of the City, and on January 29, 1767, qualified as a member of the Provincial Council. He died 24th August, 1793. The original of this paper is among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and was written circa 1772.]

As the People settled under the Province of Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela and Yoghiogeni Rivers, and in other parts to the westward of the Laurell Hill, have been made uneasy by the Propagation of an opinion that the Province cannot extend westward beyond that Hill, and have been encouraged by designing men to refuse obedience to the Government of Pennsylvania, as well as to forbear paying the Proprietors for their Lands, it may not be improper to explain the subject in order to quiet the minds of such as are really disposed to enjoy the benefit and protection of Government. And to enable the reader to form a judgment of the observations contained in this paper it may not be amiss to insert at large the Bounds of the Province of Pennsylvania. They are comprised in the following words: "All that Tract or part of Land in America, with all the Islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River from twelve miles distance Northward of New Castle Town unto the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, if the said River doth extend so far Northward. But if the said River shall not extend so far Northward, then by the said River so far as it doth extend, and from the

head of the said River the Eastern bounds are to be determined by a Meridian line, to be drawn from the head of said River unto the said forty-third degree. The said Land to extend Westward five degrees in Longitude, to be computed from the said Eastern Bounds; and the said Lands to be bounded on the North by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northward, and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a straight line Westward to the limits of Longitude above mentioned." From this description it will appear that the Province of Pennsylvania is to extend five degrees of Longitude from its Eastern Bounds, which are the River Delaware and the part of the circle where it was supposed the fortieth degree would pass, nor is it limited westward by the Laurel Hill or any other natural bounder. The Surveyors, who were first from England, to run the partition lines between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and who are persons of confessed mathematical Abilities, calculated a degree of Longitude where the west line was run to consist of . . . miles, in which they were supported by the Calculations of other gentlemen of known abilities. These Surveyors extended the west line to the distance of . . . miles from Delaware, which ended about . . . miles to the westward of Cheat River, at an Indian war-path, where they were stopped by the Indians, who attended the running of that line, so that that line must still continue . . . miles farther to complete the five degrees of Longitude. Now, whether the western Frontier is to be a crooked line, parallel to the River Delaware, or a straight line, to be drawn from the end of the five degrees (a matter which is not yet settled), every body acquainted with the Situation of the Country must be satisfied that it will extend far beyond the Laurel Hill and over the Monongahela, tho' the precise termination is not certainly known.¹ The Exact settlement of

¹ It hath been alledged that the Provincial Surveyors had no authority to run beyond the Bounds of Maryland; and that any farther their

this Frontier is what the Proprietors of Pennsylvania are extremely solicitous to compleat, and they will certainly have it done as soon as matters can be negotiated with the Crown. But it is not so easy to have things of this kind transacted in England as many people may conceive. The perplexed State of publick affairs at home, for sometime past, hath so engaged the attention of the Ministry that it is difficult to get anything of a private nature done. The Applicants for a New Grant on the Ohio have been several years negotiating that matter with great assiduity and constant attention, yet no Grant is obtained that we hear of, however probable it may be that it will take place. The truth is, the Ministry are so taken up with the internal concerns of the Nation that every proceeding relating to America is very slow in its progress. It hath been the fate of several Colonies in America that the People have settled up to and even beyond their bounds before they have been ascertained. And the case of Pennsylvania, should it be so, is not new or singular. In such cases the settlers have sustained little or no Injury. They have retained their settlements, and only changed Landlords. Whoever takes up Land under Pennsylvania and pays for it, is sure of having his money returned, if he should be obliged hereafter to pay another Landlord for it. And as to Government: Every man of a quiet and peaceable disposition who is in the possession of property, or in expectation of acquiring it, would chuse to live under some Government for the Security of his person and property. The settlements beyond the Laurell Hill, on Lands taken up under Penn are most of them certainly, and all of them probably, within the Bounds of the Province. The Government of Pennsylvania is as favorable to the Subject as any in America to say no more of it. And nobody will assert that the Proprietors of Penna. are not the

line is not to be regarded. To this it may be answered, that it is not yet settled how far the Bounds of Maryland extend, and that whether the Surveyors had authority to proceed or not, the distance they run cannot be questioned, and that serves to show how far the Province of Pennsylvania will extend, as well as if they had run by Authority.

most indulgent Landlords. Why, then, need the People be uneasy either about paying their taxes to the publick or paying for their Lands to the Proprietors? If they are governed at all, they must pay the Expenses of Government, for which they have the advantage of the Security and protection of their Lives, Liberties, and Estates. If they pay for their Lands, which should hereafter found to be out of the Province (of which, however, there is no probability), they will have their money refunded. If they will not submit to the Government of Pennsylvania, what Government are they under? What safety have they of Life, Liberty, or Estate? As every good man who has any share of Property is so strongly interested to live under some Government, those who are of contrary sentiments must either be such as are inclined to tyrannize over their neighbours, or whose actions or circumstances make it convenient to them to be out of the reach of civil power. When what hath been said is considered with due attention, it is to be hoped the People will be convinced that there is no reason to doubt of their being within the Province of Pennsylvania, and that those who would persuade them that it does not extend beyond the Laurell Hill, and to oppose the Government, must be actuated by the private views of Interest or a desire to live without the restraint of Laws.

LETTER OF WILLIAM ELLERY.

(COMMUNICATED BY FRANK WILLING LEACH.)

[The original of the following letter is in the possession of Miss Ellery, of Newport, R. I., a granddaughter of the "Signer," who resides in the old family mansion on Thames Street. The letter is written by the "Signer" to his elder brother, Benjamin. Benjamin Ellery was born February 5, 1725; graduated from Harvard 1747; and died December 12, 1797.]

PHILADELPHIA July 10th 1776

DEAR BROTHER,

I am extremely obliged to you for your repeated Favours, and am glad to find that amidst your Misfortunes, and our common Calamities you preserve so much Fortitude of Mind.—We have lived to see a Period which a few years ago no human forecast could have imagined. We have lived to see these Colonies shake of, or rather declare themselves independent of a State which they once gloried to call their Parent—I said *declare* themselves independent; for it is One Thing for Colonies to declare themselves independent, and another to establish themselves in Independancy—For this Establishment the Congress are exerting every Nerve, and I rejoice to see this as well as the other American States ready to execute their Measures—Six hundred of the Associators of this State have already marched and Thousands are preparing to march to the Jersey.—The Lower Counties are ready to send forth the Troops they can spare to oppose the Army under Genl. Howe, and Maryland will soon furnish its Quota of the Flying Camp. I wish it may be feasible to attack the British Forces before the Reinforcement or rather the Army shall arrive—By the best Accts We can get, 20,000 Troops may be daily expected.—A great Stroke will be struck in a short Time. The Events of War are uncertain.—God send the Victory. We have nothing New.—

I send you inclosed the News-Paper of this Day, in which you will take Notice that the Declaration of *Independency* was proclaimed at the State-House; but it is not published that the late King's Arms were taken from thence and the Court House that Morning and were burned that evening near the Coffee House.—What a surprizing Alteration hath taken Place here in the Course of a few Months!—However there are still in this State, as well as in Jersey, the Lower Counties, Maryland and New York a Number of Tories who will show themselves should Howes Army be successful. I am as much afraid of those villains as of the British Troops with their mercenary Auxiliaries—A good Lookout is constantly kept and any Rising of them will be immediately suppressed.—Major Rogers who was under Guard here made his Escape last Evening. He may do Mischief, if he should not be taken—I shall agreeable to your Desire write to a certain Gentleman, by the Bearer of this. As we have nothing New to communicate do not write to the Colony.—I am determined to write to the Governor every Fortnight whether We have any Thing New or not, and oftner if any Thing material should in the mean Time occur.—I wrote to him last Saturday and shall in Course write to him next Saturday Week. By calculating you will know when to wait upon him for News.—I shall write to you as I have Opportunity and hope you will continue your Favours to yrs W. E.—My Love to your Wife & Children.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN
AND DAVID HALL, 1763-1777.

(Continued from page 232.)

Postscript to my Letter of May 9th.

This Letter I had written last Saturday, to have been sent by the Packett, but as there were none on this Side on that Day, there will none be dispatched from hence till next Month.

On Monday last the Consideration of American Affairs was to have come on; and as a full House was expected, every body but Members were excluded, except the Agents of the Colonies, who had special Leave to be present at the Debates.—But so much time was spent that Day upon the Affairs of the East India Company, that the other was adjourned till Wednesday.

On that Day, when the House was about to proceed on the Affairs of America, the Agents were, by a fresh order, specially excluded.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Townsend) made a long Speech, which those who heard it say, was a very fine one, in which he largely expatiated on the Necessity of drawing some Aids from America, and yet such as should be as little as possible burthensome to them, or should actually be attended with some Advantage.—Of the latter kind he proposed a Duty on Wine, Oil, and Fruit imported to the Colonies from Spain and Portugal, allowing the Ships at the same time to go thither directly, without touching at England.—The others were, taking off the Drawback on China Ware and Glass, and a Duty on Paper, Painters Colours, and Tea, to be paid in America, the 25 ¢ on the Tea now left here being first remitted, and the Duty to be 3^d ¢ Pound only.—Mr Grenville slighted these Duties as Trifles, and proposed emitting a Paper Currency for America by Act of Parliament to be issued on Loan, the



William Strahan Esq.^r
From a Painting in the Possession of
John Spottiswoode Esq.^r

Interest to be disposed of by Parliament.—The Chancellor then said, he was coming to that, having a Bill for that Purpose ready to propose, insinuating, that M^r Grenville had stole his Project and [prevented] him.—They then [went] upon the affair of the Disobedience of New York, which M^r G. endeavoured highly to exaggerate.—Various Proposals were made to enforce Obedience for the future. One was to lay a Duty on New York, besides those on other Colonies, and to apply the Produce of that Duty to the Subsistence of the Troops in the Barracks.—Another to empower their Officers to quarter the Troops on private Houses.—Another to empower the Governor to draw on the Treasurer of the Province for the Sums necessary, enjoining the Treasurer, under a severe Penalty, to pay, and indemnify him for so doing.—Another (Grenville's Proposition) that an Oath, by way of Test, should be enjoined to be taken by all Officers, Civil and Military, Councillors, Assembly Men, &c. in the Colonies before they entered on the Execution of their Trusts, that they believed in, or admitted, the Right of Parliament to tax America, and that they would be faithful to the Parliament, or Words to this Purpose. At Length after long Debate (for they sat till one in the Morning) it was carried, on a Division, 183 to 95, to order in a Bill to prohibit the Governor in New York to proceed in Legislation with the Assembly, by consenting to any Act of theirs, till they had yielded Obedience to the Act of Parliament here for quartering of Soldiers in America.—The Minority consisted of those who were against all severe compulsory Measures, among whom was Secretary Conway, and of those who were for the other different Propositions, which I have above enumerated.

This Account, however, I am afraid is far from a perfect one, being collected by Scraps from different Members. Yesterday I heard M^r Conway intended to move the House for a Reconsideration of this Vote of Wednesday; but as I have not been abroad today I know not whether he really did it.

The Ministry have, in fact, been greatly embarrassed with

this Affair, being pressed upon it by the Opposition early in the Session, which drew from them an inconsiderable Promise that they should take some Measures or other, which they hastily admitted were necessary, in order to support the Sovereignty of this Country—For I have reason to think, that had they been left to themselves, they would gladly have left the Matter sleep, and given the Colonies some time to recollect themselves, and to have come voluntarily into what is here called their Duty. But the Opposition will not suffer this; and all the real Good-will of the Ministry to the Colonies can procure for them seems to be this, That nothing done by one Delinquent Colony should draw Inconveniencies on the rest that have not given Offence, and that this last mentioned Measure with New York, as the mildest of those proposed, should be taken, something being necessary to quiet the Clamours of the Opposition, and to save the Honour of Parliament.

The Affairs of the East India Company are still depending. Another General Court is called for Monday next.—The ordered the late Transfers in that Stock to be printed, and have ordered in a Bill likewise to restrain their making too large Dividends, and to exclude all those from Voting at General Courts who have not been Proprietors for at least Six Months, in order to prevent Stock-jobbing mid the too frequent Practise of splitting Stock, to multiply Votes, £500 entitling a Proprietor to a Vote.—But whether these, or what other Regulations, or whether any at all, will actually take place, it is impossible yet to say.

The Parliament will hardly rise till the middle or end of next month.

LONDON, May 16th 8 in the Evening.

TO MR. DAVID HALL
Philadelphia.

LONDON, June 12, 1767.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last of May 9th and 16th by the Britannia, Jefferies, and the Packett, I have been so exceedingly busy,

that I have had little time to attend to Politics of any kind ; but this was the less material as during the Debates relating to North America and the East India Company, in the House of Commons, none have of late been admitted besides the Members. They still remain sitting, and will remain so, as I told you in my last, till towards the End of this Month. And now the Business of the Session is beginning to draw to a Conclusion. With Regard to North America, an Act is brought in, and will certainly pass, (which I have seen and read) disabling the Assemblies of New York and Georgia to pass any Law, and to render invalid every Resolution or Vote that they shall make (other than a Vote for adjourning such Assemblies) untill they have fully complied with the several Acts of Parl^t made here for the Quartering of Soldiers in the Colonies.—How this will be relished, or what Effect this will have with you, Time will discover. For my own part I am, as a Well-wisher to both Parties extremely sorry that Matters are not in a better Way of being accommodated, without being obliged to have Recourse to irritating Measures, by which both Sides will in the End be Sufferers, and our common Enemies the sole Gainers. But as I am far from being apt to despond, I still hope that Things will at length take a conciliating Turn.

As for the Affairs of the East India Company, they are still in a very unsettled State. They have had many General Meetings since I wrote last (which I had not leisure to attend) chiefly with a View to prevent the Bill, (now past the House of Commons,) from passing in the Lords House restraining them from dividing above 10 per Cent for one Year, an Inconvenience which the Proprietors have, against the unanimous Opinion of the Directors, brought upon themselves, by their precipitately voting a Dividend of 12½ % Cent. as I told you in my last. This is the first time the Parliament have taken Cognizance of their Affairs as a Trading Company; which however disagreeable to some of its Members, will certainly be attended with salutary Effects, in preventing much Fraud and Stock-jobbing.—Another Bill is likewise in the House of Commons for disqualifying

such Proprietors from Votes, who have not been possessed of Stock for at least Six Months, but I fancy this will not pass; among other Reasons, because it has a Tendency to lower the Value of the Stock, if the Purchaser is not intitled to an immediate Vote.—Lord Clive is on the Way home, having appointed M^r Verelst to succeed M^r Sumner in the Presidency of Bengal, but many of the Proprietors want M^r Vansittart to succeed him; whether they will be able to carry it, I cannot yet say; but I believe not. These Jarrings of the *Proprietors* and *Directors* must, if they are not soon composed, very much hurt their Affairs.

As for the *Ministry*, there is at present no Talk of any immediate Changes; and I think it is most likely, as they have wrestled through the Session so far, they will keep their Stations till towards Winter. But as the Friends of the Devonshire, Bedford, Newcastle, Grenville, and Rockingham Families are, I am well informed, now firmly united, there is not the least Doubt but they will get into Power again about that time.—So many repeated Changes of Hands is doubtless disreputable to any Government, and must set us in no very advantageous Light to the rest of Europe, who cannot fail to conclude, that a State is very weak, whose Members are so fluctuating.—Nothing hath yet been done; with respect to the lowering the Price of Provisions, which still continues very high. Perhaps, indeed, it is almost impossible for the Legislature to interpose in that Matter to any good Purpose, as every thing naturally finds its own Price at Markett. Opening our Ports to the importation of Corn was certainly a proper Measure, and it has had some Effect.

I am now busy about coming to an agreement with the King's Printer (whose Patent commences next January come twelvemonth) about which I wrote to you some Years ago, and to which I refer. As the time is fast approaching, every thing must be got in readiness to set to work at that time.

This is an Affair of Consequence, which at this time a'day I should hardly think of imbarking in, but that I have Sons

in the Business to succeed me. The Gentlemen, however with whom I am to be connected, as well as every Circumstance attending it, is extremely agreeable. And you know it is the most reputable part of our Trade in Britain, which is some Allurement to invite one to be concerned in it. I shall be able, I believe, to tell you more about this in my next.

J. Rivington, I find, is gone to pieces with you; an Event, which I wonder did not happen sooner. He owes a vast deal of Money here; but as those who gave him Credit knew whom they trusted, nobody pities them. If he had been a more worthy Man perhaps he had not met with so much Indulgence. If you hear anything particular in regard to the State of his Affairs with you, you will mention it in your next.

My Wife is again laid up with another fit of the Gout. If she gets soon well again, as I hope she will, I still purpose to make out my Journey to Scotland next Month. But I shall certainly write you by next Packett before I go. All the rest of my Family are well, As is our Friend Dr Franklin, whom I saw yesterday, and who is sincerely concerned for the present Situation of Affairs respecting the Colonies. Our best and kindest Good Wishes to Mrs Hall and all Friends with you. I am ever

Dear Davie

Most cordially Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

To MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia.

LONDON Feby 13, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE

My last to you was dated Dec^r 12th and 19th in which I told you that the 2000 Dollars were not then come to hand. They are since sold, as by the inclosed Note, and produced clear £458 : 17 : 9, for which I have credited your Account.

The Lottery is now finished; and I am very sorry to tell you that five of them came up Blanks, which I herewith inclose to you, as they are of no Use. The other (N^o 38,998)

was drawn a Prize of £20, which I sold this Day for £18 : 1 : 0 for which I have given you Credit.

I am sorry, indeed, that the Watches are so little in request with you, for the Sake of the Maker, who is an honest Fellow, just beginning the World. I am sure they are cheap. But if no better can be done with them, they must be sold at public Vendue; and you must put the Loss sustained by them to my Account. It cannot, I think, be any great Matter, and I shall not grudge it in an Attempt to serve him.

The Magazines for August were sent by another Ship, so were those since that, for Sept^r and Oct^r and those for Nov^r Dec^r and Supplement were sent some Days ago by Capt. Duncan. These same Mags are a very troublesome Article both to you and me; but I see the Necessity of their being attended to.

Your large Order I have partly shipt to day, either on board Sparks, or Storey, I don't know yet which of them; that is, 6 Trunks and the Cask of Printing Ink. The remainder, at least as far as can be had, will be shipt in the Course of next Week on board Cap^t Storey, who tells me he shall certainly sail the Week thereafter. As you desire me to give him the Preference, and as I believe all the Ships now on the Birth will sail nearly about the same time, I thought it best to give him as much as I could. This Cargo will come pretty soon to you, and I shall take all the Care I can, in future, that your Orders shall never be retarded beyond what Necessity demands. I shall also remember New Books of Character.—And, in short, will take what care I can that you shall have little Reason for future Complaint, which I am sensible is disagreeable for you to make; but these Newspapers and Magazines are a constant Plague to us both.

As to Politics, I have really hardly any thing to say. The Administration is now likely to remain settled for some considerable Time. My Letters upon this Subject, therefore, cannot be very interesting.—The Duke of Grafton is the Cement of the whole, and tho' he hath neither many Family

Connexions, nor, what is still more necessary to one in his Station, many parliamentary ones, he possesses much of the public Esteem and Confidence; and all acquiesce in his continuing to take the Lead, which is somewhat singular, as he is yet a very young man.

Immense Sums are daily given to secure Seats in Parl^{mt} and it is reckoned that not fewer than 30 or 40 Nabobs will get into the House this ensuing Election—Men who in the East, by Rapine and Plunder, in most Cases attended with the most shocking Instances of Barbarity, have, suddenly, acquired immense Wealth. Such you will perhaps think not the most proper Guardians of our Constitution and Liberties.

The Bill for continuing the Restraint of East India Dividends to 10 £ C^t for one year longer (which I mentioned in my last) is now past both Houses tho' not without Opposition. Mr Dowdeswell, in the Commons, proposed, with a view to protract the Matter, to refer the Examination of the Company's Affairs to a Select Committee; but Lord North shewed so clearly the Expediency of the Bill, and the Absurdity of appealing to a Committee in a Point wherein the House itself had already decided, that the Motion was dropt without a Division. Indeed every disinterested honest man must see the Propriety of this Restraint; especially those who know and Consider the precarious Tenor upon which they hold their territorial Revenues, which are collected by a Method that varies very little from Military Execution, and in which Service our Army there are employed in the Field near nine Months in the Year. Add to this, the Difficulty of investing these Revenues (for they cannot be remitted in specie) and of converting their Commodities into Money, when the European Marketts are so glutted.—Lord Clive hath of late been extremely ill, and set out about three Weeks ago for Nice, as the only Chance he has of prolonging his Life.

Last Monday I heard Lord North open the Budget, which he did to the General Satisfaction. It is needless to give you the Particulars; but there is to be no new Taxes this

Year. We lessen the National Debt a Trifle, and borrow by a Loan, and a Lottery of £1,900,000 at 3 per cent to pay off the remainder of the unfunded 4 $\frac{2}{3}$ C^t. He assured us, that we were, in general, in a very prosperous Condition; that the present Peace was like to be lasting; but that if, contrary to all Expectation, a fresh War should break out, Care should be taken to put the State in the best Condition possible to exert ourselves with Glory in the Prosecution of it. Mr Grenville, as usual, Endeavoured to find Fault; but to no Purpose. His Speech was unanimated and confused, and was plainly dictated by Discontent and Disappointment, tho' he affected to say he reckoned it an Honour to be out of place. An Honour, however, I dare say, he would wish very soon to be stript of. In all his Speeches he never fails to bring in North America.—In this, he observed, that after all the Expence we had incurred during the late War, in ridding them of their Enemies the French, the Protection of the Conquests we had made there cost us annually £500,000 a Sum, which, in our exhausted State, with such a Load of Debt, we were by no Means able to bear.

I see the Commotions in Boston, and other Places, are not yet wholly subsided; and that some over-zealous Patriots (particularly Otis) endeavour to keep up the Ball of Contention, by prompting the People to make public Resolutions against wearing our more expensive Manufactures; Resolutions in themselves by no means blameable, nor of real Importance to the Mother Country, if they are not in a Situation to pay for them. But why all this Bustle about it, just at this Juncture? and just after the total Repeal of the Stamp Act? I will freely give you my Opinion; which is, that nothing is to be apprehended from all this; for that the growing State of the Colonies, both as to Numbers of People, and the Extent of their Settlements, will afford an ample Field for the Consumption of all the Manufactures we can spare them (let them encourage Manufactures among themselves as much as they please) for a long Period to come: And as to their Allegiance, which some are appre-

hensive about here, that is secured by their natural Connexion with, and strong Attachment to this Country, as well as by their want of our Protection, without which they are not in a Condition to defend themselves against their and our Common Enemies.—Am I, or am I not mistaken?

My Wife hath been once more obliged to have recourse to Bath, after suffering much by a severe Return of her old Distemper. She hath been there but a fortnight, and begins already to feel the usual Relief from the Waters. I intend she shall stay there till towards Summer, and will take her to Scotland; a Jaunt, which I hope will quite establish her. All the rest of my Family are quite well, and, as usual, doing well. My eldest Son I have taken into Partnership with me last Christmas.—George is still at Oxford, and hath lately got a Fellowship there, which is about £70 a Year, and will ease me a little of the Expence of his Education. Andrew makes an excellent Second to his Brother above stairs. And Peg. is now almost ready for a Husband, and will, if I mistake not, make a very good Wife.

My cordial Respects to M^{rs} Hall and your Fireside, and believe ever,

Dear Davie

Most affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

I find Miss Franklin is lately married. Pray is she well and properly settled? My best Comp^s to M^{rs} Franklin and her.

Shall I purchase any more Ticketts for you in the ensuing Lottery, notwithstanding former bad Success? The Scheme of it you will see in the Chronicle, not quite 2 Blanks to a Prize.

LONDON March 12, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you the 24th of last Month by Captain Storey, by whom I sent the Remainder of your large order, part of which I had before sent by Sparks, amounting in the whole to £838:16:3.—I wrote to you also by last Packett, Feb. 13.—To both which I refer.

I have little new to write you. The Parliament was dissolved yesterday, and every body is now engaged in Electioneering, both in Town and Country.—Wilkes is returned once more, and having obtained his Pardon, as they say, and I am apt to believe, by the Interest of the Duke of Northumberland, that he might not interfere with his Son Lord Percy's Election for Westminster, is now a Candidate for the City of London; and the Cry of *Wilkes and Liberty* is beginning to be re-echoed in our streets. I cannot think he will by any Means succeed; Yet it is impossible to say what the Folly of the lower Class of Livery-men (by much the majority) may accomplish. But whatever the Event may be, I shall ever consider the Choice of such a Man to be a lasting Disgrace to the City of London.

Bating the unavoidable Bustle occasioned by the Elections, we are in a State of perfect Tranquillity. No Talk of the least Change in the Ministry, or any material Alteration of any Kind or in any Department whatever. Lord Chatham remains in Statu quo.—The Question is, Whether his long-continued Illness is real or political, or partly both. Those who deem it political (which I do by no means think is the Case) imagine that finding himself unable to bring in his Brother Grenville, he had determined, tho' in place himself, to leave the rest of the Ministry to themselves, without affording them the least Assistance, till they had got into some Scrape, and then to have taken that Opportunity of telling the King that he could not pretend to get his Business properly done without Mr Grenville's Help.—If this ever was his Intention, he has hitherto been disappointed. But for my own part I am apt to think it is all over with him and his Projects.

The Kings Speech, you see is a very good one. I heard him deliver it, which he did, as he always does, with great Propriety. He is much, and deservedly beloved; for surely there is not an honester or better-natured Man in his Dominions; and if some factious Spirits do not interfere, I have no doubt but every thing will go on very smoothly. The great Object is, the Reduction of the public Debt, and

the Encouragement of every Branch of Commerce, upon which the national Credit wholly depends. I think Things seem also to be somewhat composed in America. I cannot say, what People, who take a partial View of other Side of the Atlantic may imagine; but this I am certain of that our Prosperity and Security depend upon our Union, our firm and lasting Union, let who will say to the contrary.

Before next Packett sails the Elections will be mostly over; in the Cause of which, if any thing remarkable occurs I shall then acquaint you with it. Much Money will be expended, much Riot will prevail; but there is no Help for it. It is in some Measure the unavoidable Consequence of our Liberty, which will every now and then run into Licentiousness.—But still, take us for all in all, we are the happiest Nation this World ever contained: and I trust in Providence, that tho' our public Affairs may now and then wear an unpromising Aspect, and unworthy Men may sometimes force themselves into Power; yet I hope, before matters come to Extremity, the Nation will come to their Senses, and not suffer a Fabric, the Work of Ages, and the Envy of the rest of the World, to be materially injured.—In this Hope I, for my own part, remain, and am very happy.

My Wife continues at Bath, and recovers more and more every Day. All my family are well at home. Business is very brisk with me; and having been much confined of late Years, I propose to make an Excursion to Scotland early in the Summer, and to take my Wife and Daughter with me. But of this more in my next. In the mean time, I am with wonted Zeal and Attachment, and kind Remembrance of your honest Wife and Bairns.

Dear Davie

Your faithful and affectionate
Friend and Servant

WILL: STRAHAN.

To MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia

(To be continued.)

AN INDEX TO THE OBITUARY NOTICES PUBLISHED IN THE "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE,"
FROM 1728-1791.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

Abbott, John, of Portsmouth, N. H.,	Mar. 3, 1768.
Acworth, John,	Dec. 18, 1744.
Adlum, John,	Dec. 15, 1773.
Alexander, William,	Jan. 22, 1744-5.
Allen, Margaret, wife of the Hon. William,	May 15, 1760.
Allen, Mary, mother of the Hon. William,	April 24, 1760.
Allinson, Mrs. Elizabeth,	Sept. 1, 1768.
Allison, Rev. Francis,	Dec. 1, 1779.
Alston, Mary, wife of William, of South Carolina,	Sept. 2, 1789.
Anderson, Colonel, of New Jersey,	April 1, 1736.
Andrews, Ruth, widow of Captain Thomas, of Hingham, Mass.,	Dec. 12, 1732.
Applewhaite, Hon. Thomas, of Barbadoes,	Aug. 10, 1749.
Apthorpe, Charles, of Boston,	Nov. 23, 1758.
Armisted, John,	July 2, 1788.
Armstrong, William,	Oct. 12, 1774.
Arthur, Captain Samuel,	Sept. 16, 1789.
Arthur, Rev. Thomas, of New York,	Feb. 19, 1750-1.
Ashbridge, George,	Mar. 10, 1773.
Assheton, Ralph,	Mar. 11, 1745-6.
Assheton, Susannah, wife of Ralph,	Nov. 15, 1767.
Atkin, Thomas,	April 14, 1773.
Atkinson, Samuel,	Feb. 24, 1775.
Atlee, Samuel John,	Nov. 29, 1786.
Bacon, —, wife of Enos,	June 29, 1791.
Baine, John,	Aug. 25, 1790.
Bankson, Sarah, wife of Andrew,	Jan. 18, 1786.
Barber, Captain,	Oct. 26, 1789.
Barclay, Alexander,	Jan. 17, 1771.
Barclay, John, of London,	Mar. 5, 1788.
Barns, Barnaby,	Mar. 26, 1777.
Barton, Mrs. Esther,	June 29, 1774.
Bartow, Thomas,	Dec. 17, 1782.
Bayard, Mary, wife of the Hon. John,	Aug. 24, 1785.
Bayard, John Richardson,	Aug. 5, 1756.
Baynton, Elizabeth, widow of John,	Aug. 20, 1788.
Baynton, John,	May 12, 1773.

Baynton, John,	Mar. 26, 1788.
Baynton, Peter,	Mar. 1, 1744-5.
Beach, Edmund,	Feb. 28, 1787.
Beatty, Rev. Charles,	Sept. 9, 1772.
Beere, Jonathan,	Nov. 23, 1785.
Benezet, Anthony,	May 12, 1784.
Benezet, Joyce, wife of Anthony,	July 19, 1786.
Benger, Elliott, of Annapolis,	June 13, 1751.
Bennet, Richard,	Oct. 26, 1749.
Beveridge, John,	July 2, 1767.
Biddle, Mrs. Mary,	Feb. 10, 1773.
Biddle, Mrs. Mary,	May 20, 1789.
Barber, Captain,	Oct. 26, 1789.
Bingham, William,	Feb. 23, 1769.
Bird, William,	Nov. 26, 1761.
Blair, Mrs. Frances,	Feb. 2, 1786.
Blair, Rev. James, of Williamsburg,	May 12, 1743.
Blount, Colonel Jacob, of Newbern,	Oct. 21, 1789.
Blunston, Samuel,	Oct. 3, 1745.
Bolles, Ebenezer, of New London, N. Y.,	July 15, 1762.
Bond, Mrs. Anne,	April 13, 1774.
Bond, Miss Nancy,	Sept. 18, 1776.
Bond, Dr. Phineas,	June 16, 1773.
Bond, Dr. Richard,	Dec. 23, 1772.
Bond, Dr. Thomas,	April 3, 1784.
Bonfield, Acklam,	April 30, 1779.
Bowen, Mrs. Lucy,	Aug. 16, 1775.
Bowman, James,	Oct. 12, 1774.
Boyd, Rev. Adam,	Dec. 1, 1768.
Boyd, Adam,	Dec. 15, 1768.
Boyle, Hugh,	Sept. 14, 1791.
Boys, —, wife of Elias,	Feb. 2, 1791.
Bradford, Andrew,	Nov. 25, 1742.
Bradford, Dorcas, wife of Andrew,	Dec. 27, 1739.
Bradford, Rachel, wife of William,	July 5, 1780.
Bradford, William, of New York,	May 28, 1752.
Bradway, Mary, midwife,	Jan. 6, 1729-30.
Bray, Andrew,	July 15, 1789.
Brearley, Elizabeth, wife of David,	Aug. 13, 1777.
Bridges, Cornelia, widow of Edward,	Feb. 12, 1783.
Bridges, Miss Kitty,	Aug. 19, 1772.
Bright, James,	Mar. 9, 1769.
Brooke, Henry,	Feb. 11, 1735-6.
Brown, Mary, wife of John,	Nov. 17, 1784.
Browne, Priscilla, wife of Charles,	May 19, 1779.
Brownell, —, wife of George,	July 6, 1738.
Bryan, Hon. George,	Feb. 2, 1791.
Budden, Captain James,	Jan. 16, 1788.
Bullock, Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph,	Aug. 3, 1791.

Bullock, Miss Polly,	April 13, 1774.
Burges, Captain John, of New York,	Mar. 20, 1753.
Burke, Thomas,	Mar. 31, 1773.
Butcher, John,	Sept. 29, 1763.
Cadwalader, Elizabeth, wife of John,	Feb. 21, 1776.
Cadwalader, John,	Feb. 15, 1786.
Cadwalader, Dr. Thomas, of Trenton,	Nov. 24, 1779.
Cahill, Captain Michael,	Dec. 4, 1760.
Caldwell, James,	Sept. 17, 1783.
Callender, Mary, wife of Robert,	Oct. 3, 1765.
Callender, William,	May 5, 1763.
Campbell, Rev. Colin,	Aug. 14, 1766.
Campbell, John,	Mar. 27, 1776.
Cannon, Sarah, widow of John,	June 9, 1784.
Carmichael, Mrs. Catherine,	Aug. 7, 1774.
Carmichael, Rev. John,	Nov. 23, 1785.
Carmichael, Mrs. Phœbe,	Oct. 28, 1772.
Carmick, Stephen,	July 6, 1774.
Carpenter, Mrs. Hannah,	Mar. 19, 1772.
Carson, Joseph,	June 8, 1791.
Carver, William, of Boston,	Oct. 30, 1760.
Cash, Caleb,	Mar. 3, 1773.
Chamberlin, Lewis,	May 28, 1772.
Chancellor, Dr. William,	Oct. 21, 1762.
Chandler, Rev. Thomas Bradbury, of Elizabeth- town,	July 5, 1790.
Charles, Robert,	Aug. 16, 1770.
Chew, Mary, wife of Dr.,	May 30, 1734.
Child, Mrs. Elizabeth, of Boston,	Mar. 24, 1752.
Clark, James,	Aug. 15, 1771.
Clarkson, Dr. Gerardus,	Sept. 22, 1790.
Clay, Mrs. Ann,	June 24, 1789.
Clayes, Captain Elijah,	Dec. 8, 1779.
Claypoole, Deborah, daughter of Joseph,	Dec. 7, 1791.
Claypoole, Mary, daughter of David C.,	Aug. 6, 1788.
Clëgg, Edmund,	July 28, 1784.
Coates, Mary, Jr.,	Feb. 2, 1769.
Codding, Peter,	June 29, 1791.
Colden, Alice, wife of Cadwallader, of New York,	Jan. 28, 1762.
Colden, John, son of Cadwallader, of New York,	Aug. 30, 1750.
Coleman, Rebecca, widow of William,	Sept. 20, 1770.
Coleman, Hon. William,	Jan. 19, 1769.
Combs, Captain John,	Sept. 15, 1779.
Conn, Rev. Hugh, of Annapolis,	July 30, 1752.
Conyngham, Martha, wife of Redmond,	Aug. 11, 1768.
Cook, Mrs. Alathea, of Annapolis,	Feb. 20, 1753.
Cooke, Mary, wife of Nathan,	Mar. 5, 1772.

Cosby, Captain Henry,	Oct. 25, 1753.
Cotting, Elizabeth, wife of Elias,	July 22, 1756.
Cowgill, Elizabeth,	Jan. 13, 1772.
Coxe, Nancy, daughter of William,	Oct. 24, 1781.
Crosby, Joshua,	July 3, 1755.
Crosby, Governor William, of New York,	Mar. 19, 1735-6.
Cross, Rev. Robert,	Aug. 14, 1756.
Crouch, Joseph, of Annapolis,	Feb. 20, 1753.
Culbertson, John,	Nov. 26, 1767.
Cummings, Rev. Archibald,	April 23, 1741.
Currie, Mrs. Margaret,	Mar. 7, 1771.
Currier, Thomas, of Baltimore,	Jan. 19, 1780.
Cushing, Hon. Thomas, of Massachusetts,	Mar. 19, 1788.
Cuthbertson, Rev. John,	April 6, 1791.
Darrah, William,	June 11, 1783.
David, Deborah, wife of John,	Aug. 6, 1788.
Davies, Rev. Samuel,	Feb. 12, 1761.
Davis, Rev. David,	Aug. 24, 1769.
Davis, Miss Hannah,	Jan. 5, 1769.
Davis, Rev. John,	Feb. 3, 1773.
Davis, William,	June 27, 1765.
Davy, Hugh,	June 30, 1773.
Dawes, Abraham,	Feb. 7, 1776.
Dawes, Edward,	June 1, 1774.
De Figuera, Joseph Joachim de Onella Evas- concellos,	Sept. 4, 1766.
De Hart, Captain Jacob Morris,	Aug. 2, 1780.
De Lancey, Hon. James, of New York,	Aug. 7, 1760.
De Lancey, Stephen, of New York,	Dec. 3, 1741.
Delarge, Peter,	July 3, 1766.
De Ternay, Charles Louis, of Newport,	Jan. 10, 1781.
De Wit, Dr. Christopher,	Feb. 7, 1765.
Dickinson, Mary, widow of Samuel,	Mar. 26, 1776.
Dickinson, Mary, wife of Philemon,	Aug. 10, 1791.
Dickinson, Samuel,	July 24, 1760.
Dixon, Roger,	June 25, 1772.
Dobbs, Arthur, of New York,	May 9, 1765.
Done, Elijah,	Oct. 21, 1736.
Donnell, Mrs. Anne,	Sept. 7, 1774.
Douglass, Dr. William, of Boston,	Nov. 2, 1752.
Dowell, Captain William,	June 16, 1768.
Downs, Rev. Jonathan,	Oct. 31, 1771.
Doyle, Major John,	Oct. 15, 1788.
Doz, Andrew,	Dec. 24, 1788.
Doz, Miss Rebecca,	Jan. 11, 1775.
Drayton, William Henry,	Sept. 15, 1779.
Drinker, John,	Nov. 20, 1782.
Duffield, Rev. George,	Feb. 3, 1790.
Dundas, James,	Jan. 16, 1788.

Dunn, Mary, widow of Thomas,	Feb. 7, 1776.
Easton, Patience,	Dec. 23, 1772.
Eddrington, Miss Mary, of Elizabethtown,	Feb. 2, 1764.
Evans, Edward (aged 111), of Providence,	Mar. 3, 1768.
Edwards, Mrs. Ann,	Sept. 19, 1771.
Edwards, John,	Aug. 22, 1781.
Edwards, Martha, wife of Captain Marshall,	Mar. 5, 1777.
Edwards, Mary, wife of the Rev. Morgan,	Aug. 24, 1769.
Eldwein,* Johannetta Maria, wife of Rt. Rev. John,	Sept. 16, 1789.
Elithorpe, Henry, of Middletown,	June 30, 1790.
Ellingwood, —, wife of Samuel, of New Hampshire,	Mar. 3, 1790.
Ellis, Lydia,	Dec. 21, 1742.
Emlen, Hudson,	Mar. 31, 1768.
Emlen, Mrs. Rachel,	Sept. 19, 1771.
Erwin, Arthur,	June 22, 1791.
Evans, Dr. Cadwallader,	July 7, 1773.
Evans, Hugh,	April 9, 1772.
Evans, Jane, wife of Dr. Cadwallader,	Mar. 17, 1768.
Evans, John,	Sept. 23, 1774.
Evans, Hon. John,	Dec. 17, 1783.
Evans, Mary, wife of the Hon. John,	Sept. 11, 1782.
Evans, Nathaniel,	Nov. 5, 1767.
Evans, Oswald,	Dec. 8, 1779.
Evans, Peter,	June 20, 1745.
Evans, Rees Jones,	Nov. 6, 1782.
Evans, Rowland,	Aug. 19, 1789.
Eveleigh, Nicholas,	April 20, 1791.
Evet, John,	May 27, 1731.
Ewing, Rev. John,	Oct. 12, 1774.
Ewing, Dr. Thomas,	Oct. 16, 1782.
Eyre, Colonel Benjamin G.,	July 15, 1789.
Fallon, Mary, wife of Dr. James,	Mar. 28, 1781.
Farley, Dr. James,	Oct. 13, 1773.
Farmer, Rev. Ferdinand,	Aug. 23, 1786.
Farquier, Hon. Francis, of Williamsburg,	April 7, 1768.
Finley, Rev. Samuel,	July 24, 1766.
Finley, Sarah, wife of Rev. Samuel,	Aug. 7, 1760.
Finley, Miss Susannah,	Sept. 8, 1773.
Finney, Richard,	Sept. 14, 1769.
Fish, John,	June 11, 1767.
Fishbourne, Mary, wife of William,	Oct. 10, 1781.
Fisher, Mrs. Sarah,	Jan. 16, 1762.
Fistoe, Rev. Daniel,	Nov. 9, 1774.
Fleeson, —, wife of Plunket,	Mar. 26, 1772.
Flower, Colonel Benjamin,	May 2, 1781.
Flower, Henry,	May 20, 1736.

* Ettwein, of Bethlehem, Pa.

Fogo, Captain,	Sept. 30, 1736.
Forbes, Hugh,	Jan. 3, 1771.
Forbes, General John,	Mar. 15, 1759.
Ford, Philip,	Nov. 13, 1766.
Foster, Josiah,	Jan. 18, 1770.
Foster, Rev. William,	Oct. 11, 1780.
Foulke, Judah,	Jan. 31, 1776.
Francis, Tench,	Aug. 24, 1758.
Frankland, Sir Henry, of Boston,	Mar. 24, 1768.
Franklin, Mrs. Ann, of Newport,	May 5, 1763.
Franklin, Benjamin,	April 21, 1791.
Franklin, Deborah, wife of Benjamin,	Dec. 23, 1774.
Franklin, Elizabeth, wife of William,	Aug. 30, 1777.
Franklin, Mrs. Esther,	Aug. 13, 1788.
Franklin, Mary, widow of Peter,	Aug. 21, 1766.
Franklin, Peter,	July 3, 1766.
Franks, Jacob, of New York,	Jan. 26, 1769.
Franks, Miss Polly,	Aug. 24, 1774.
Frazer, Joseph,	April 20, 1774.
Freeman, Thomas,	Mar. 14, 1737-8.
French, David,	Aug. 26, 1742.
French, John,	July 23, 1763.
Furman, Mrs. Sarah,	Jan. 21, 1741-2.
Gain, Rev. Thomas,	June 2, 1790.
Gardner, Francis,	June 23, 1773.
Georges, John,	Dec. 22, 1737.
Gib, Rev. Adam, of Edinburg,	Sept. 24, 1788.
Giles, Jacob, of Maryland,	Feb. 4, 1784.
Gleaves, Mrs. Margaret,	Oct. 4, 1775.
Glenn, Robert,	July 27, 1774.
Goddard, Sarah,	Jan. 11, 1770.
Godfrey, Thomas,	Sept. 29, 1763.
Goldsborough, Robert,	Jan. 14, 1789.
Goldsborough, William Tilghman,	Dec. 27, 1786.
Gordon, Elizabeth, wife of the Hon. Patrick,	Sept. 19, 1734.
Gordon, Hon. Patrick,	Aug. 7, 1736.
Gostelow, Mrs. Lydia,	Jan. 2, 1772.
Graeme, Dr. Thomas,	Sept. 9, 1772.
Green, Jonas,	April 23, 1767.
Green, Timothy, of Boston,	Oct. 10, 1763.
Greene, Nathaniel, of Charleston,	July 19, 1786.
Greenleaf, Isaac,	July 25, 1771.
Grier, Rev. James,	Dec. 7, 1791.
Griffith, Rev. David,	Aug. 12, 1789.
Griffitts, Thomas,	Dec. 16, 1746.
Gross, Michael,	April 4, 1771.
Groves, Dr. Alexander,	June 6, 1738.
Growden, Joseph,	May 25, 1738.
Growden, Lawrence,	April 12, 1770.

Grubb, Emmanuel,	Aug. 20, 1767.
Grubb, Mrs. Mary Shippen,	Mar. 9, 1774.
Guest, Mrs. Anne,	Jan. 16, 1772.
Haddon, John, of New York,	Jan. 31, 1748-9.
Hagner, Frederick,	July 23, 1788.
Hanmem, John,	Mar. 31, 1773.
Hamilton, Andrew,	Aug. 6, 1741.
Hamilton, Andrew, Latin elegy,	Feb. 17, 1741-2.
Hamilton, Rev. John,	April 28, 1773.
Hanson, Hon. John,	Dec. 3, 1783.
Har, Captain John,	Mar. 26, 1788.
Harding, Rev. Robert,	Sept. 2, 1772.
Hardy, Hon. Samuel, of New York,	Oct. 26, 1785.
Harrison, Henry,	Jan. 9, 1766.
Hart, Joseph,	Mar. 5, 1788.
Harvey, Mrs. Catherine,	Jan. 26, 1769.
Harvey, Childermas,	Dec. 7, 1768.
Hassel, Samuel,	June 27, 1751.
Hatkinson, John,	May 23, 1771.
Hazard, Mary, widow of Robert, of Newport,	Mar. 13, 1738-9.
Hazard, Nathaniel, of New York,	Jan. 17, 1765.
Hazlet, William,	Aug. 24, 1791.
Hayes, Henry,	Nov. 15, 1786.
Head, John, Jr.,	Feb. 16, 1791.
Heffernan, John,	June 23, 1773.
Henry, Rev. Hugh,	Dec. 23, 1762.
Hawes, Joseph,	Nov. 17, 1779.
Hicks, Richard Penn,	Feb. 16, 1791.
Hicks, William,	May 28, 1772.
Hill, Ann, wife of the Hon. Henry,	Dec. 26, 1787.
Hill, Mrs. Mary,	Nov. 27, 1776.
Hill, Dr. Richard,	Feb. 4, 1762.
Hillborn, Amos,	Jan. 24, 1771.
Hiltzheimer, Hannah, wife of Jacob,	Mar. 17, 1790.
Hinds, Abel,	July 15, 1789.
Hodge, Dr. John,	Jan. 3, 1771.
Holeget, Matthew, elegy on the death of,	Mar. 5, 1788.
Hollingsworth, —, daughter of Levi,	Feb. 6, 1788.
Holt, Elizabeth, wife of John,	Mar. 12, 1788.
Home, Archibald, lines on the death of,	Aug. 16, 1744.
Hopkinson, Hon. Thomas,	Nov. 14, 1751.
Hopkinson, —, son of Francis,	Aug. 23, 1775.
Hoskins, Joseph,	Mar. 31, 1773.
Hough, Joseph,	June 2, 1773.
Howell, Mrs. Abigail,	May 18, 1774.
Howell, Ebenezer,	Nov. 14, 1787.
Howell, Jacob,	Mar. 24, 1768.
Hugg, John,	Feb. 16, 1730-1.
Hughes, John,	Feb. 20, 1772.

Humphreys, Benjamin,	Nov. 29, 1738.
Humphreys, Edward,	Jan. 10, 1776.
Humphreys, Elizabeth,	Feb. 10, 1790.
Humphreys, Mrs. Hannah,	Feb. 24, 1773.
Hunt, Peter,	Sept. 22, 1768.
Hunter, Rev. Andrew,	Aug. 9, 1775.
Hunter, William, of Williamsburg, Va.,	Sept. 10, 1761.
Husted, Miss Rachel,	June 29, 1791.
Inglis, John,	Aug. 23, 1775.
Irwin, Hugh,	May 24, 1753.
Jacobs, John,	Feb. 3, 1773.
Jackson, Paul,	Oct. 1, 1767.
James, Miss,	April 20, 1774.
Janney, Rev. Robert,	Jan. 7, 1762.
Janney, Jane Elizabeth, widow of Rev. Robert,	Jan. 7, 1762.
Janifer, Daniel St. Thomas,	Sept. 21, 1774.
Jervis, John,	Mar. 9, 1785.
Jewell, Joseph,	Jan. 22, 1782.
Johnson, Colonel Philip,	Sept. 11, 1776.
Johnston, Gabriel, of South Carolina, Williamsburg,	Aug. 20, 1752.
Joliffe, Richard,	Aug. 5, 1772.
Jones, Rev. Mr.,	July 7, 1760.
Jones, Mrs. Anne,	Oct. 2, 1772.
Jones, David,	Jan. 26, 1785.
Jones, Isaac,	Oct. 18, 1773.
Jones, John,	Jan. 4, 1775.
Jones, John,	May 3, 1780.
Jones, Rev. Thomas,	April 2, 1788.
Jordan, Robert, Henry,	Oct. 7, 1742.
Jordan, Robert,	June 2, 1743.
Judah, Samuel,	Oct. 24, 1781.
Kearsley, Dr. John,	Jan. 16, 1772.
Keasby, Edward,	Sept. 29, 1779.
Keen, Mounce,	Oct. 11, 1770.
Keene, Lawrence,	July 29, 1789.
Keith, Lady Anne,	Aug. 7, 1740.
Keith, Sir William, of London,	Mar. 13, 1749-50.
Kelly, Erasmus,	Dec. 29, 1784.
Kelsey, Rev. Robert,	July 15, 1789.
Kendall, Dr. Joseph,	Mar. 9, 1785.
Kennedy, George,	May 7, 1783.
Keppele, —, wife of Major John,	Nov. 27, 1776.
Keppele, Mrs. Catherine,	Nov. 9, 1774.
Kerin, Edward, of New York,	July 23, 1777.
Kighley, Mary, widow of Hugh Basil,	Mar. 21, 1771.
Killen, Mrs. Rebecca,	Oct. 6, 1773.
Killen, Mrs. Rebecca,	Jan. 10, 1776.

Kilpatrick, John,	Nov. 25, 1772.
King, Joseph,	June 30, 1773.
Kinsey, Hon. John,	May 17, 1750.
Knight, Mary,	Mar. 16, 1769.
Knight, Mrs. Mary Chew,	Nov. 8, 1770.
Knight, Mrs. Susanna,	April 6, 1774.
Knowles, Mrs. Sarah,	Feb. 11, 1735-6.
Knox, Mrs. Jane,	Nov. 9, 1774.
Kolb, Jacob,	Oct. 11, 1739.
Kollock, Jacob,	Mar. 26, 1772.
Lardner, Lyn-Ford,	Oct. 12, 1774.
Lawrence, Rebecca, wife of Thomas, Jr.,	Dec. 5, 1771.
Lawrence, Thomas,	April 25, 1754.
Lawrence, Thomas,	Jan. 25, 1775.
Lee, Alice, wife of John,	Sept. 3, 1783.
Lee, Major-General Charles,	Oct. 9, 1782.
Lee, Hon. Thomas, of Annapolis,	Dec. 18, 1750.
Leech, Thomas,	April 8, 1762.
Levy, Nathan,	Dec. 27, 1753.
Lewis, Miss Alice,	July 7, 1773.
Lewis, Jacob,	April 6, 1774.
Lightfoot, Michael,	Dec. 5, 1754.
Littler, Mrs.,	Mar. 13, 1773.
Livesey, Mrs. Catherine,	Dec. 16, 1772.
Livingston, Hon. Mr.,	Dec. 20, 1775.
Livingston, Hon. William, of Elizabethtown,	Aug. 4, 1790.
Lloyd, David,	April 8, 1731.
Lockerman, Mrs. Susanna,	Dec. 1, 1773.
Logan, Hon. James,	Nov. 7, 1751.
Logan, Hon. William,	Nov. 6, 1776.
Logan, William, Jr.,	Jan. 23, 1772.
Lort, John,	Mar. 23, 1774.
Louttit, James,	Dec. 5, 1765.
Loxley, Maria, daughter of Benjamin,	May 16, 1787.
Loxley, Mrs. Mary,	Mar. 9, 1774.
Lukens, James,	Mar. 9, 1774.
Lukens, Joseph,	Oct. 6, 1784.
Lunan, Alexander,	Aug. 2, 1770.
McCall, George,	Oct. 16, 1740.
McCall, Miss Polly,	May 19, 1773.
McCarthy, Daniel Bull, of Dublin,	May 28, 1752.
McClellan, Archibald,	Dec. 22, 1773.
McClellan, Dr. Archibald,	June 1, 1791.
McCreaff, William,	June 29, 1791.
McFarland, Captain Andrew,	Feb. 26, 1777.
McKean, Mary, wife of Thomas,	Mar. 17, 1773.
McKean, Rev. Robert, of New York,	Oct. 29, 1767.
McQuire, Edward,	Jan. 4, 1775.
McVeagh, Colonel Benjamin,	Sept. 12, 1786.

McWilliam, Richard, of Wilmington,	May 24, 1775.
Macalpine, James,	April 4, 1775.
Mackenzie, Captain Robert R. A. (tombstone), of Boston,	Nov. 25, 1762.
Mackey, Charlotte, wife of William,	May 19, 1779.
Macpherson, Mrs. Margaret,	June 7, 1770.
Magaw, Lucia, wife of the Rev. Samuel,	July 28, 1790.
Magaw, Mrs. Sarah,	Feb. 24, 1773.
Magins, Celia, wife of Thomas,	Aug. 19, 1789.
Mainwairing, William,	Oct. 27, 1763.
Manning, Rev. James,	Aug. 10, 1791.
Martin, Dr. Hugh,	Jan. 2, 1784.
Martin, William Thomas,	Sept. 5, 1754.
Mason, Charles,	Nov. 8, 1786.
Massey, Thomas, of Newport,	July 14, 1763.
Masters, William,	Nov. 27, 1760.
Masters, William,	Aug. 13, 1788.
Mather, John,	Nov. 17, 1768.
Maxfield, John,	Dec. 28, 1774.
Mease, John,	Jan. 21, 1768.
Mease, Mrs. Mary,	July 9, 1767.
Melcher, Colonel Isaac,	July 14, 1790.
Meredith, Charles,	Jan. 8, 1783.
Meredith, Martha, wife of Reese,	Aug. 31, 1769.
Meredith, Sarah, wife of David,	Feb. 1, 1770.
Merewether, James,	April 22, 1742.
Mifflin, George,	July 20, 1785.
Milner, Miss Susannah,	Jan. 4, 1774.
Milner, Hannah,	July 13, 1769.
Mitchell, —, wife of John,	April 27, 1791.
Moland, John,	{ Jan. 8, } { Jan. 15, } 1761.
Moland, John, lines on the death of,	Dec. 30, 1762.
Moncrieff, Rev. William,	Nov. 15, 1786.
Montgomery, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Joseph,	Mar. 23, 1769.
Montgomery, Governor John, of New York.	July 8, 1731.
Montgomery, Miss Nellie,	July 9, 1772.
Moore, Alexander,	Sept. 12, 1786.
Moore, Miss Fanny, daughter of William,	Aug. 4, 1768.
Moore, Sir Henry,	Sept. 14, 1769.
Moore, John,	Dec. 7, 1732.
Moore, Dr. Samuel Preston,	July 20, 1785.
Moore, William,	June 18, 1783.
Morgan, Evan,	Feb. 17, 1763.
Morrell, William,	July 20, 1785.
Morril, Mrs.,	Aug. 13, 1788.
Morris, Elizabeth,	{ Feb. 12, } { Feb. 19, } 1767.
Morris, George Anthony,	Nov. 17, 1773.

Morris, Isabella, widow of Lewis, of New York,	April 9, 1752.
Morris, John,	Mar. 19, 1785.
Morris, Lewis, of New York,	May 29, 1746.
Morris, Mrs. Phæbe,	Mar. 24, 1768.
Morris, Rebecca, wife of Samuel,	Jan. 26, 1791.
Morris, Robert Hunter,	Feb. 21, 1764.
Morris, Sarah,	Nov. 1, 1775.
Morriss, Mrs. Mary,	July 27, 1774.
Morton, Samuel,	Feb. 24, 1773.
Mountz, Joseph,	Nov. 11, 1789.
Neate, William,	June 21, 1775.
Neave, Samuel,	Sept. 14, 1774.
Nevill, Hon. Samuel, of New Jersey,	Nov. 8, 1764.
Newall, Dr. James, of Allentown, N. J.,	Feb. 23, 1791.
Nichols, Catherine, wife of William,	June 25, 1788.
Nichols, Mrs. Margaret,	May 13, 1743.
Nichols, William,	April 13, 1774.
Nicoll, Mrs. Joanna,	Dec. 7, 1772.
Norris, Charles,	Jan. 23, 1766.
Norris, Isaac,	July 17, 1766.
Norris, Joseph,	Oct. 18, 1733.
Norris, Mary, widow of Isaac,	May 12, 1748.
Norris, Miss Sally,	June 29, 1769.
Norton, William,	July 20, 1785.
Ogilvie, Rev. John, of New York,	Nov. 30, 1774.
Ogle, Hon. Samuel, of Annapolis,	May 24, 1752.
Ord, John,	Dec. 19, 1781.
Ormston, Rev. Mr.,	Nov. 18, 1731.
Otis, Hon. James, of Boston,	June 11, 1782.
Owen, Dr. Edward,	Sept. 18, 1729.
Owen, Dr. Griffith,	Mar. 7, 1731-2.
Owen, Owen,	Aug. 6, 1741.
Owen, Rebecca, daughter of Owen,	Dec. 11, 1755.
Oxley, John,	May 26, 1743.
Oxnard, Thomas, of Boston,	April 25, 1754.
Paca, Anne, wife of William,	Feb. 23, 1780.
Page, Edward,	May 23, 1771.
Palmer, Madam,	Feb. 7, 1733-4.
Paris, Austin,	Mar. 26, 1729-30.
Paris, Austin, lines on the death of,	April 9, 1730.
Parker, James,	July 12, 1770.
Parker, Joseph,	May 29, 1766.
Parker, Richard,	Jan. 16, 1772.
Parks, William,	July 12, 1750.
Parr, James,	Dec. 14, 1785.
Parry, John,	Oct. 2, 1740.
Paschall, Benjamin,	Sept. 7, 1785.
Pasco, Mrs.,	Aug. 31, 1774.
Patterson, Hon. Samuel, of Delaware,	June 8, 1785.

Pearce, Richard,	Mar. 26, 1781.
Peller, James,	Jan. 18, 1775.
Pemberton, Catherine, wife of Rev. Ebenezer, of New York.	June 13, 1751.
Pemberton, Charles,	May 7, 1772.
Pemberton, Esther, widow of Charles,	Sept. 18, 1776.
Pemberton, Israel,	Jan. 22, 1754.
Pemberton, Joseph,	July 25, 1787.
Pemberton, Rachel, widow of Israel,	Feb. 28, 1765.
Pemberton, Mrs. Sarah,	Dec. 6, 1770.
Penn, Hon. Richard,	April 18, 1771.
Penn, Springett,	Jan. 22, 1767.
Pennock, Joseph,	April 11, 1771.
Penrose, James,	Sept. 12, 1771.
Perkins, Lieutenant,	June 2, 1768.
Perkins, Lieutenant (Eighteenth Regiment),	June 2, 1768.
Peterkop, William,	July 17, 1776.
Peters, Rev. Richard,	Nov. 8, 1764.
Peterson, Detteif,	Aug. 27, 1783.
Peterson, Jacob,	Jan. 26, 1774.
Phillips, Miss Teresia Constantia, Kingston, Jamaica,	April 11, 1765.
Pickles, William,	Sept. 17, 1783.
Plumsted, Clement,	May 30, 1745.
Plumsted, William,	Aug. 15, 1765.
Polegreen, Elizabeth,	Sept. 29, 1768.
Pollard, Miss Mary,	Mar. 19, 1772.
Pothecary, Elizabeth, wife of Edward,	Sept. 5, 1734.
Potts, David,	Nov. 19, 1730.
Potts, James,	Nov. 26, 1788.
Potts, John,	June 16, 1768.
Potts, Ruth, widow of John,	Jan. 11, 1786.
Potts, Mrs. Sarah,	Jan. 13, 1773.
Potts, Hon. Thomas,	Mar. 30, 1785.
Powell, Samuel,	July 1, 1756.
Powell, Thomas,	Oct. 6, 1784.
Pratt, Hon. Benjamin, of New York,	Jan. 20, 1763.
Pratt, Mrs. Sarah, of Hingham (aged 100), Boston,	Dec. 24, 1760.
Preston, Mrs. Margaret,	Aug. 26, 1742.
Preston, Samuel,	Sept. 15, 1745.
Price, Rev. Dr.,	June 15, 1791.
Price, Benjamin,	Feb. 20, 1766.
Price, John,	Mar. 17, 1773.
Price, John,	Feb. 9, 1774.
Price, Lydia, wife of Elisha,	Sept. 20, 1780.
Price, Richard,	June 29, 1791.
Price, Robert Friend,	Aug. 7, 1782.
Proctor, Mary, wife of Thomas,	July 15, 1789.

Purviance, Samuel, Sr.,	Sept. 19, 1781.
Putnam, Israel, of Hartford,	June 16, 1790.
Randolph, Betty, widow of Peyton, of Richmond,	Feb. 12, 1783.
Rankin, Captain,	Mar. 23, 1785.
Rankin, Mrs. Rebecca,	June 23, 1773.
Raper, Caleb, of Burlington,	Aug. 8, 1745.
Rasin, William,	Feb. 25, 1762.
Read, Alice, wife of Charles,	Nov. 23, 1769.
Read, Mary, wife of Thomas,	July 10, 1782.
Read, Charles,	Jan. 6, 1736-7.
Reading, John,	Jan. 28, 1768.
Reading, John,	Oct. 27, 1768.
Redman, Joseph,	Sept. 29, 1779.
Reed, Miss —, sister of Joseph Reed,	Mar. 23, 1785.
Reed, Esther, wife of Joseph,	Sept. 27, 1780.
Reed, Joseph,	Mar. 9, 1785.
Rey, John,	July 16, 1767.
Reynell, Mrs.,	Mar. 31, 1773.
Reynell, John,	Sept. 8, 1784.
Rhea, John,	Mar. 31, 1773.
Rhyddarch, Philip,	Sept. 17, 1730.
Rice, Evan,	Feb. 6, 1772.
Rice, Joseph,	May 26, 1790.
Richardson, John,	June 23, 1737.
Richardson, Joseph,	Nov. 22, 1770.
Richardson, Thomas, of Annapolis,	July 7, 1768.
Riché, Sarah, wife of Thomas,	July 6, 1791.
Ridgely, Dr. Charles, of Delaware,	Dec. 7, 1785.
Rind, William,	Sept. 1, 1773.
Robeson, Andrew,	June 6, 1781.
Roberts, Martha,	Feb. 9, 1769.
Robinson, Rev. Robert,	Oct. 13, 1790.
Robinson, Septimus,	Jan. 8, 1767.
Rodgers, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John,	Feb. 3, 1763.
Rogers, Captain,	Mar. 3, 1773.
Rogers, Thomas,	July 29, 1772.
Roosevelt, Jacobus, of New York,	Aug. 15, 1771.
Ross, Mrs. Ann,	June 9, 1773.
Ross, Elizabeth, wife of John,	Oct. 16, 1776.
Ross, Rev. George,	Nov. 22, 1753.
Ross, John,	May 15, 1776.
Ross, Margaret, daughter of John,	Sept. 4, 1766.
Ross, Miss Marion,	Oct. 20, 1773.
Rowan, Rev. John,	Oct. 18, 1775.
Rush, William,	Dec. 7, 1791.
Sanders, George,	Oct. 6, 1763.
Sansom, Samuel,	Mar. 2, 1774.
Schuyler, Major-General,	April 6, 1785.

Schuyler, Peter, of New York,	Mar. 11, 1762.
Scott, Samuel,	April 30, 1777.
Scudder, Dr. Nathaniel, of Trenton,	Oct. 3, 1781.
Scull, Jasper,	June 23, 1773.
Scull, Robert,	Sept. 4, 1760.
Seidel, Nathaniel,	May 22, 1782.
Sellers, Samuel,	June 9, 1773.
Seneca, George,	Sept. 23, 1769.
Sharpas, William, of New York,	Nov. 15, 1739.
Shaw, Captain John,	Nov. 13, 1776.
Sheppard, Prudence, wife of Nathan,	Mar. 15, 1786.
Shoemaker, Benjamin,	July 2, 1767.
Shoemaker, Isaac,	Aug. 4, 1779.
Sinnickson, Andrew,	Sept. 8, 1790.
Sinnickson, Miss Rebecca,	July 6, 1774.
Sipple, Waitman,	May 21, 1772.
Smith, Ann, wife of Dr. William,	April 12, 1780.
Smith, Ann, wife of Robert,	June 10, 1789.
Smith, Elizabeth,	Oct. 14, 1772.
Smith, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Robert,	Mar. 5, 1777.
Smith, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas,	Feb. 3, 1779.
Smith, Mrs. Mary,	April 23, 1739.
Smith, Richard,	Nov. 2, 1751.
Smith, Samuel,	July 17, 1776.
Smith, Susannah, wife of Jonathan,	Oct. 25, 1780.
Sonmans, Dr. Peter,	Mar. 20, 1776.
Spotswood, Hon. Alexander, of Virginia,	June 12, 1740.
Sprogel, Lodowick,	Feb. 21, 1781.
Stanton, Daniel,	July 5, 1770.
Stapleford, John,	Mar. 1, 1743-4.
Starkey, Mrs., of New York,	July 21, 1743.
Stedman, John,	Dec. 15, 1773.
Steel, George,	Mar. 30, 1744-5.
Stephen, Captain Alexander,	May 19, 1768.
Stevens, Mrs. Elizabeth,	Dec. 24, 1772.
Stevens, Lewis,	May 21, 1772.
Stevens, Samuel, of Roxbury,	Nov. 22, 1764.
Stevenson, George,	Aug. 6, 1783.
Stewart, Peter,	Oct. 6, 1773.
Stiles, Miss Polly,	Aug. 3, 1784.
Stille, Rev. Isaac,	Oct. 31, 1781.
Stockton, Job,	Oct. 3, 1771.
Stone, Daniel Jenifer,	Oct. 27, 1773.
Story, Lieutenant Samuel,	Dec. 11, 1782.
Story, Thomas,	Sept. 23, 1742.
Stout, Peter,	Jan. 26, 1774.
Strain, Rev. John,	June 1, 1774.
Streight, Anna Maria Christina, wife of the Rev. Christian,	Sept. 4, 1782.

Stretch, Joseph,	April 11, 1771.
Strettell, Amos,	Jan. 19, 1780.
Stuart, Mrs. Margaret,	Jan. 12, 1774.
Sturgeon, Hannah, wife of the Rev. William,	Jan. 12, 1769.
Sturgeon, Rev. William,	Nov. 8, 1770.
Styde, Rev. Simeon,	Aug. 27, 1783.
Sykes, John,	Nov. 21, 1771.
Symonds, Mrs. Mary,	June 18, 1773.
Tasker, Hon. Benjamin, of Annapolis,	July 7, 1768.
Tate, Anthony,	April 18, 1781.
Tateham, William, of Deptford, N. J.,	June 21, 1739.
Taylor, Abram,	May 7, 1772.
Taylor, Henry,	Aug. 17, 1791.
Taylor, Jacob,	Mar. 11, 1745-6.
Telfair, Rev. David,	April 29, 1789.
Tennant, Catherine, widow of the Rev. William,	Oct. 1, 1783.
Tennant, Cornelia, wife of the Rev. Gilbert,	Mar. 27, 1753.
Tennant, Rev. Gilbert,	Aug. 2, 1764.
Tennant, Rev. William,	Mar. 26, 1777.
Thatcher, Mrs. Elizabeth,	Aug. 15, 1771.
Thom, Mrs. Mary,	Sept. 8, 1773.
Thompson, Dorothea, wife of John,	Sept. 11, 1776.
Thompson, Jonah,	Nov. 24, 1780.
Thompson, General William,	Sept. 12, 1781.
Tilghman, Anne, wife of James,	Dec. 26, 1771.
Townsend, Richard,	Mar. 30, 1731-2.
Trapnel, Benjamin,	July 13, 1774.
Treat, Rebecca, widow of the Rev. William,	July 20, 1785.
Trotter, Benjamin,	Mar. 24, 1768.
Turnbull, Mary, wife of William,	Aug. 6, 1783.
Turner, Mrs. Sarah,	April 14, 1773.
Tuthil, Mrs. Sarah, of Ipswich, Mass.,	Feb. 17, 1731-2.
Van Gezell, Mr.,	May 9, 1787.
Van Horne, Phœbe, wife of the Rev. Peter Peterson,	July 16, 1788.
Vanlear, Dr. Bernard,	Feb. 10, 1790.
Van Vleck, Henry,	Feb. 2, 1785.
Villeneuve, Gideon,	Mar. 23, 1784.
Vining, Benjamin,	Dec. 14, 1785.
Vining, John,	Nov. 22, 1770.
Waddel, Mrs. Gelsie,	Jan. 27, 1773.
Waddell, John, of New York,	June 3, 1762.
Wakefield, Thomas,	Mar. 29, 1770.
Wallace, Dr. John,	Sept. 11, 1776.
Walton, Jonathan,	Feb. 3, 1790.
Wanton, Hon. John,	Oct. 2, 1740.
Ward, Hon. Samuel,	Mar. 27, 1776.
Warder, Lydia, widow of John,	Mar. 26, 1767.

Washington, Mrs.,	Sept. 2, 1789.
Watt, Rev. James,	Dec. 23, 1789.
Watts, Robert, of New York,	Sept. 27, 1750.
Watson, John,	July 9, 1761.
Watson, John,	Mar. 23, 1791.
Webb, Martha, wife of William,	Jan. 2, 1788.
Weeks, Mrs. Mary,	Jan. 30, 1772.
Weiberg, Rev. Casper Diderick, D.D.,	Aug. 25, 1790.
Weiberg, Salome, daughter of the Rev. Cas- per D.,	Sept. 1, 1790.
Wesley, Rev. John, of Liverpool,	April 20, 1791.
West, William,	Nov. 13, 1782.
Weyman, William, of New York,	Aug. 4, 1769.
White, James,	July 25, 1787.
White, Thomas,	Oct. 6, 1779.
Whitefield, Rev. George,	Oct. 11, 1770.
Whitehead, James,	Feb. 7, 1776.
Wilcocks, John,	April 2, 1763.
Wilcocks, Mary, wife of John,	Feb. 4, 1784.
Wild, Esther,	Jan. 8, 1767.
Wilkinson, John,	June 19, 1782.
Wilkinson, Josiah,	May 24, 1753.
Willcocks, William, son of Robert,	July 15, 1756.
Williamson, Maria, wife of the Hon. Hugh,	Oct. 20, 1790.
Willing, Ann, wife of Thomas,	Feb. 14, 1781.
Willing, Charles,	Dec. 5, 1754.
Willing, Charles,	Mar. 26, 1788.
Wilson, Rachel, wife of the Hon. James,	April 19, 1786.
Wisner, Jacob,	Mar. 7, 1787.
Wister, Mrs. Sarah,	Sept. 5, 1771.
Witherspoon, Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John,	Oct. 20, 1789.
Withy, Sarah, wife of James,	June 20, 1787.
Wood, Thomas,	Mar. 16, 1769.
Woodford, General,	Dec. 20, 1780.
Woodruffe, Hon. Samuel, of Elizabethtown,	Aug. 18, 1768.
Worsam, Richard,	May 15, 1766.
Wright, James,	Mar. 15, 1775.
Wright, Mrs. Susannah,	Dec. 22, 1784.
Wynkoop, Mary, wife of the Hon. Henry,	Sept. 7, 1781.
Wyly, Samuel, of Charleston, S. C.,	Mar. 17, 1768.
Young, Hon. Benjamin, of Annapolis,	Mar. 5, 1754.
Young, James,	Feb. 3, 1779.
Young, John,	June 8, 1785.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER FROM REV. RICHARD PETERS TO REV. WILLIAM SMITH,
D.D., FIRST PROVOST OF THE COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA.—

PHILADELPHIA 28th May 1763.

DEAR SIR:

My last is of the 28th of the last month under cover to Mr. Penn. You will wonder that I did not write more by Captⁿ Budden, nor say a word by the two other ships that sailed to London about the same time, especially when I told you that my letter was but the beginning of a great deal that I had to say to you. The truth is, I was unfortunately called away from Newcastle all of a sudden to settle a long Administration account of the Estate of Mr. Cookson at the Instance of Mr. Jo. Galloway of Maryland who married Hannah Cookson, on an appointment which could not be postponed. There was I forced to stay with the greatest reluctance till the very day before the Commencement which was held on the 17th Instant before a very crowded audience. As it was Synod time we were favoured with a large appearance of Presbyterian Ministers, whilst only two of our own Clergy Mr. Barton and Mr. Ingliss could be spared from their churches, being oblig'd to prepare their Congregations for Whit Sunday which you know is a large Communion Day. Two of the Graduates were preferred to vacant Tutorships, Davis in the English School and Long in the Latin School, and Mr. Hunt, of whom I have taken care for your sake, will have a Tutorship likewise in the English School which is full, in order to give Mr. Kennersly leisure to teach all the boys of other Schools that are wishing to learn how to read and speak properly in public. This you know has been disused and we have suffered much for want of it.

I am sorry to tell you that a foolish but tart difference has arisen between the Faculty and our good Friend Francis Hopkinson on account of a grammatical squabble, wherein Mr. Hopkinson was the Aggressor, but he did not mean to offend any of the Faculty, only to expose Stuart the Printer; I should not mention this, but only to inform you that the Faculty applied to Sam. Evans to write the Dialogue and to Mr. Jackson to write the Ode for them. Mr. Duché and Mr. Hopkinson declining to have anything to do with it by means of this Squabble about the Grammar. My Endeavours to reconcile prov'd unsuccessful. It is unfortunate that we have not at this time any public performance more worthy of being laid before the Publick. You must make the best Apology you can. The printed Theses will shew you who took their Degrees of right; In my Absence the Faculty recommended for honorary Degrees the Rev^d Jo Rogers and the Rev^d W. Miller and Mr. McKean the Lawyer at Newcastle.

Another very unfortunate affair happened. Robert Jones Son of Mr. Isaac Jones, who has gone thro all the Schools & really has a good way of speaking, affronted Dr Allison before all the Candidates for Degrees, he himself being one of the Class, and would not make the least Acknowledgments, but insisted on its being heard by the Faculty, who heard

the matter coolly, and being willing that it should be made up without formal Judgment they gave Bobby Jones time to make some, tho never so small an Acknowledgment to D^r Allison, who said he would be content with anything that would but save his Authority, but Jones absolutely refused to make any at all and quitted the Academy. I wanted to reconcile this matter also, and expected success, but in this also I was disappointed & Mr. Jones & Family are much disgusted.

These things and some others that I cou'd name will, I know give you Pain, but at this time it may be better for you to be silent, and let these matters rest in your Breast. On your return all may be set right.

It gives your Friends here a great deal of concern that you have had so much trouble in defending yourself against what was said to your prejudice about Mr. Beatys Collection. The noise as I wrote you, was very strong at first, but it has subsided for sometime. From your first Letters we all saw the thing in its true Light. Tho Mr. Beaty acted agreeably to his Instructions which was to consult D^r Chandler and others as to what was best to be said to the Publick, and sundry other Charities were mentioned in these Instructions, yet the Original Intention for which Mr. Beaty was sent was only to get an increase to the Fund for the support of the widows of desserving Ministers. Of all other matters but this last you was ignorant and might therefore innocently say what you did. Unfortunately the young man you mentioned it to, assisted by Du Berdt, made a bad use of what you said. I gave D^r Allison the printed Letter wth your Defence certified by Mr. Penn and D^r Chandler and desired him to shew it to his Brethren. This I did as soon as the first of them arriv'd. He said he had wrote to you that the Matter was already explained and set right, and when I again consulted him while the Synod was sitting, he professed great and sincere friendship for you, again declared that it was entirely over, and he did not believe, as this was truly the case, that it would do any good to have it publicly read.

I shew'd it likewise to Mr. Allen and left it with him at his own request, and I hope at meeting you will be able to remove any unfavourable Impressions that may still remain with him towards you. I cou'd find by his discourse that he had a great sense of the very great Services you was doing for us, and make no doubt, but as both he and you are very open on all occasions, everything will be discussed and settled between you to mutual satisfaction. You will wonder at my silence about him and his Voyage, but truly I do not know what to write. His taking his Daughters with him, at so tender an age, without any Relatives or Acquaintances in England, filled my mind with many fears respecting them, and him; and he is so generally put in the wrong for taking this voyage that I found the subject too uncomfortable, and therefore dropped of entirely.

I have had much discourse Mr. Chew and at times with the Governor and from both I learn that tho some unfavorable Impressions concerned of you were not worn off yet your extraordinary merit and success were amply acknowledged and I am sure they will on your arrival make you quite sensible that they are real friends of the Institution, & therefore cannot but give you a mighty hearty welcome and act towards you a just and kind Part. God restore you to us in good health, and then I think you will find things much better than you can imagine, and we shall be able to put all things on a good footing.

What to do with my Sister I do not know: but as I have reason to think you will have been at Liverpoole, you will have satisfied her that it is not possible for me to come over this year. I suffer very greatly on

her account and more than I can express. I wish her disappointment may not have a bad Effect on her in the weak State I have reason to think her health & Spirits are.

You wrote in so affecting a manner on this subject that I am forced tho with reluctance to postpone my Voyage till your return. I feel everything the most sincere and cordial Friendship can feel when I think of the hazard you run from the great Fatigue both of mind and body that you are obliged to undergo. It is enough of itself to overset you, but at the same time to be under an Apprehension that all your Labours & Anxieties may not meet with suitable Approbation and endearing Returns of affection from those in whose Service you are, must needs be very afflictive and will engage me I am sure and your other Friends to exert ourselves to the utmost. Indeed at times I am dispirited myself, and with all my upright Intentions I am prompted almost to despair of doing Good. Every body here is in a Scramble for Wealth and Power, and there are so many jarring and opposite Interests and Systems, that no real comfort can continue long in any mind which is obliged to act in concert with men of such worldly Spirits. Mr. Stedman and Mr. Duché are both extremely kind and give me all the Assistance in their power with the utmost assiduity and readiness in conducting the Academy Business; we never fail to consult with one another, and tho' we can't do much in your absence yet we do all we can. I am sure we all long for your return, we wish you may do all your Business with the greatest despatch, and rejoice most cordially at your success: It is beyond our most sanguine Expectations, and as it is all owing to your own personal merit, and none of us can pretend to put it on any other footing, you may be assured you will be enabled to do everything for our College that your own extensive Understanding can suggest. Your enemies will become your Friends, and the Institution, after it is put by your means into an independent State, will find many more Friends than it would ever have had, and its Friends I trust will all be yours.

The New Buildings are finished and I think it will be an easy matter to find some reputable person who will take upon them at a yearly rent to provide all necessaries and to be subject to such Rules of Oeconomy and Discipline as will keep those in perfect good order, who shall be allowed to live in them. I do not encourage any Schemes, (and I believe others think as I do), till we shall be favoured with your Judgment and assistance. I blush to tell you that we have not one Church Tutor in all our Academy. There is not a Churchman upon the Continent as I can hear of that is fit to make a Tutor; and it is from downright necessity that we are obliged to take such as offer. I have drawn by order of the Trustees a Bill of Exchange for £800. sterling on Mess^{rs} Barclay in favour of the Proprietors and Mr. Hockley sends the Bill over by this conveyance. As Mess^{rs} Barclay have not acknowledged in any letter to me that any money was in their hands which was collected by you, Mr. Coleman, who you know is a very nice man did not care to be the Drawer of the Bills. I therefore have done it by order of the Trustees. As I am to receive the money from Mr. Hockley it will immediately be put to interest. Pray care that the Bills be duly paid. I am so well known as to make Forms unnecessary. For the future I desire you will consult with the Gentlemen in whose hands any of our money is lodged and get from them the Form of the Bills they shou'd chuse to have drawn upon them and send it over to me. Is it not necessary that they shou'd acknowledge by Letter what sums they have received.

I hope you have paid back, (as you say in one of yours that you intend it) the money you have received from Mess^{rs} Barclay on my Letter of

Credit. If it be any way inconvenient to you I do not urge it, only mentioning it arises from what you say in one of yours.

Gov. Moore is in Town, I shew'd him some of your late letters and I think he is satisfied as well as Dr P. Bond that all will receive you kindly notwithstanding there may have been Imprudence of speech committed by those who should have had more guard over their Tongues.

Mr. Thomas Willing is to be married next week to Nancy McCall a sweet fine lady but low in Stature. She is deem'd to have an excellent Understanding and will do the Honours, as well as shine in the Oeconomy and management of a Family.

Mrs. Tench Francis the late Nancy Willing is . . .

Mr. Cox is so much engaged in Jersey that we have seldom his company at the Academy.

Mrs. Smith and her Children all enjoy perfect health. I cannot persuade her that you will have the comfort I have mentioned in this and other letters. We talk often about it but part as we meet each retaining their different opinion.

Mr. Sturgeon is much obliged [to] you. You are, and I hope he tells you in very grateful terms that he thinks you are, his best Friend. I fancy he is endeavouring to secure an handsome Retreat for he is every now and then making purchases of lands and they say he understands how to make good Bargains.

I am Dear Sir

Your m^t affectionate humble Servant

RICHARD PETERS.

WASHINGTON LETTER.—The following letter of Washington to his brother Samuel (believed to be unpublished) is to be found in the Autograph Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania :

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, ABOUT

MILES FROM BOSTON July 20 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,

Agreeable to your request I am now set down to write to you, although in the first place I have scarce time to indulge Inclination of the kind, and in the next place do not know how, or whether it may ever get to your hands.

I came to this place the 2^d Instant & found a numerous army of Provincials under very little command, discipline or order. I found an Enemy who had drove our People from Bunkers Hill strongly Intrenching and from acc^s had reason to expect before this, another attack from them; but, as we have been incessantly (Sundays not excepted) employed in throwing up works of defence, I rather begin to believe now, that they think it rather a dangerous experiment; and that we shall remain some time watching the motions of each other, at the distance of little more than a mile & in full view from the best acc^s we have been able to get, the number of the Enemy amounts to between 10 and 12,000 Men; part of which are in Boston, & part on Bunker Hill just by—our numbers including sick, absent &c are between 16 & 18,000; but then, having great extent of Lines & many places to defend, & not knowing where the attack may be made (as they have the entire command of the water & can draw their whole force to any one point in an hour or two^s time without any person but the Commanding officer who directs it having the least previous notice of it) our Situation is a little unfavourable, but not so bad but that I think we can give them a pretty warm reception if they think proper to make any advances towards us—their situation is such as to secure them from any attack of ours.

By what we can learn they are sadly distressed for want of fresh Provisions—Beef (the milch cows in Boston) sells from one shilling to 18^d ster^s per lb—Mutton higher, & these only to be had for the sick—The number of those killed and wounded in the engagement on Bunker Hill could not fall short of 1100, ours did not exceed 450—a few more such victories would put an end to their army and the present contest—

The village I am in is situated in the midst of a very delightful Country, and is a very beautiful place itself though small—A thousand pities that such a Country should become the theatre of war—A month from this day will bring on some Capital change I expect; for if the Enemy are not able to penetrate into the Country, they may as well one would think, give up the point and retreat home; for if they stay at Boston & Bunkers Hill (which is another [obscure] unto it, and separated by a small Ferry [obscure] Charles Town which is part of the Neck) I say if they stay at those places forever the end for which they were set cannot be accomplished; & to compel them to remain there is the principal object we have in view; indeed the only.

We have seen nothing of the Riflemen yet, nor have we heard any thing certain of them.—I have only time to add my love to my Sister & the Family & to assure you that I am with unfeigned regard & truth
Dr Sir

Y^r affect^d Brother and friend

G^o WASHINGTON.

P. S. In the late Ingagem^t of the 17th ulto the Enemy by the best, acc^t^s we can get had 1040 Men killed & wounded [obscure] of 92 were officers—our loss amounted to 139 killed 278 wounded & 36 missing—pray remember me kindly to Mr. Warner Washington and Family when you see them.

THE CLAYPOOL FAMILY.—The following is "A true copy of a letter from Benjamin Claypool of the city of London, to George Claypool of the city of Philadelphia, Merchant in Market Street, in the year 1706-7:"

LONDON March 22^d 1706-7.

LOVING COUSIN.

This comes by the hand of gentleman my very good friend a hopeful young man of a plentiful fortune. I supposed he may have ventured one third of it this voyage. I have recommended him to you for advice, this being his first going to sea, not but that he has a very honest Gentleman to his friend, one Mr. Palmer who proceeds the voyage with him, and has promised him that he will assist in his affairs, but if he should apply himself to you pray advise him cordially as you value me for heartily wish his welfare. To requite your compliance with my curiosity in writing me a particular account of your family, I here send you an account of ours. My grandfather and your great-grandfather was a knight. He had many children. My father and your grandfather was the third son by his first wife to whom he left an estate 900 pounds, and to his eldest son by his second wife he gave £600. per annum. My father married Mary Angell. Her father was Fishmonger to King Charles the First. My father was a Justice in Corun and member in Parliament. They had fourteen children, eight sons and six daughters. I mention them in order of birth. Mary who married to William Leild Esquire. He was a Justice of the Peace, member of Parliament, and Captain of Militia. John married Oliver Cromwell the Protector's daughter, Elizabeth who married Doctor Alexander Staple an English knight but his estate was in Ireland. Robert a Linen draper,

but died a batchelor. Wingfield a captain of Horse. Granelly a Cor-
onet. Dorthy married a parson with a good temporal estate none
living but a grand daughter lately married to one Jones a linen-draper.
Frances married to a rich gentleman in Lincolnshire and died of her
first child. James your good father, Edward a captain of Foot but
went to Barbadoes and there married a rich widow by whom he had two
daughters, viz. Mary and Frances. Martha died a child second Martha
died unmarried Norton and myself the youngest. All happiness attend
you here and hereafter is the hearty desire and daily prayer of your
affectionate uncle

BENJAMIN CLAYPOOL

Our predecessors coat of Arms — [Arms.]
The crest a fleur de luce.

LETTER OF THOMAS CUSHING, in the Collection of Autographs in
the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

BOSTON Jany. 16 1777

DEAR SIR

In my last of the 13 Instant ³ Express I wrote you that I had re-
ceived your Favor of the 28 december last, & that I was obliged to you
for kindly offering to me the Care & management of Building the Two
ships, one for 74 Guns & the other for 36 Guns which the Congress had
determined to Build in this state & that I cheerfully accepted the offer
& should endeavor to execute your orders with respect to the Building
of them with dispatch and fidelity, as to the Terms I left it to your
Honor & the Congress to determine what allowance they would make
me for transacting this business being fully persuaded that they will do
that which is reasonable and just—

I have agreeable to your directions taken the advice of Council as to
the most suitable places for building these ships & they upon consider-
ing the Matter have advised me to build the 74 Gun ship at Boston & the
36 Gun ship on Merrimack River. I wish they had advised me to build
both ships in Boston for ye sake of the poor people. Cannot ye Marine
Committee give me discretionary orders about this matter? The Council
apprehended it would be too great a risque to build both ships at Boston
& also thought they could not be built so Cheap in Boston as in Merri-
mack river—

I have sent a person into the Country to engage proper Persons to fell
the Timber. I hope you will immediately send me the dimensions as
they will be wanted directly in order to determine the size of ye Timber
& in what manner it shall be hewed; please also to send me drafts for
each ship—

It will be extremely difficult if not impossible to procure within this
Government the necessary materials for ye ships—No Iron is to be had
here, ye last sold for the enormous price of Eighty pounds lawfull money
³ Ton, pray send me fifty Tons of Bar Iron from Baltimore immedi-
ately, as many of our northern Vessels are there, you may easily prevail
with some of them to take a quantity upon freight—It will certainly
turn out vastly cheaper for ye Continent, nay I do not see how I shall
obtain it any other way—You may send some also from Philadelphia.
I hope the Congress will also take care seasonable to provide ye Duck
& Cordage for these Ships, Cannot ye Hemp be sent from Baltimore or
some part of Maryland or from Philadelphia, Cordage is got up to the
Enormous price of Nine pounds ³ hundred & is still Rising.—As Cap^t.
Bradford & the other Agents cannot at present pay me any money I
have been obliged yesterday to draw a Bill upon you for Thirteen hun-
dred Dollars in favor of Mess^{rs} S White & Jo Cushing which I doubt not

will meet with due honor—I hope dayly to receive from you some money to discharge all Bills relative to the ships Hancock & Boston & that you will also furnish me with Cash to pay for ye Timber & other materials for ye ship now about to be built.

I remain with great respect

Your most humble ser^{ts}

THOMAS CUSHING

THE HON^{ble} MR HANCOCK.

MELICK-MELICK-MOELICH FAMILY.—Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., is engaged in genealogical researches of the above family, and, being anxious that each branch of it should be accurately and completely represented, he solicits correspondence with persons of the above names living in Pennsylvania. He is especially anxious to obtain copies of records in old family Bibles, of inscriptions on tombstones, and of notes from church and county records. Mr. Mellick may be addressed at Plainfield, New Jersey, box 1154.

CODD—FISH—STURGEON.—In the Record of Marriages of Christ Church, Philadelphia, under date of March 5, 1756, will be found that of John Codd and Mary Fish, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. William Sturgeon.

MARRIAGE OF JOHN DICKINSON.—In the Autograph Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be found the following letter:

GENTLEMEN,

I earnestly intreat as a Favor of great weight with Me, that you will not insert in your News Paper, any other account of my Marriage than this—

“Last Thursday John Dickinson Esquire was married to Miss Mary Norris”—

Your mentioning it in any Manner whatever different from this, or giving in any Part of your Paper an account of the expressions of Joy shewn on the occasion, will give inexpressible Pain to me, and very great Uneasiness to a number of very worthy Relations—

Your Compliance with my Request will oblige, more than you can imagine,

Gentlemen,

Your most obed^t Servant,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Monday—

To Mess^{rs} W^m & Tho^s Bradford.

Mr. Dickinson was married on Thursday, July 19, 1770.

In conformity with this request, *The Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser* of July 26, 1770, announced the marriage in almost the same words as given in the letter, likewise the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. But Mr. Dickinson must have omitted to communicate his wishes to the publishers of the German newspapers of the city, for we find the following in *Die Wöchentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote* of July 24: “. . . . Und letztern Donnerstag ist Herr Johann Dickinson, der Rechten Doctor, und hochberühmter Verfasser der sogenannten *Briefe eines Pennsylvanischen Landmanns*, mit der Jungfer Maria Norris, der hinterlassenen einzigen Tochter weyland Herrn Isaacs Norris, gewesenen vieljährigen würdigen Sprechers unserer Assembly, ehelich verbunden worden.”

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN PENNSYLVANIA, PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, ELEMENTARY AND HIGHER, FROM THE TIME THE SWEDES SETTLED ON THE DELAWARE TO THE PRESENT DAY. By James P. Wickersham, LL.D. Pp. 688, 8vo. Lancaster, 1886. Illustrated.

In a well-printed and neatly-bound volume of nearly seven hundred pages, the author, who was for many years Superintendent of Public Education in Pennsylvania, and therefore possessed peculiar advantages for becoming familiar with his subject, has given a very thorough and necessarily valuable description of the beginning, growth, and development of the educational system of this State. The accomplishment of the object which he had in view involved the exercise of very great care in investigation and preparation, and the expenditure of much effort in gathering materials, and the pages of the book show that he has been both painstaking and energetic. The results are extremely gratifying and satisfactory. The study of any general historical subject is peculiarly difficult in Pennsylvania, because of the diverse currents of population speaking different languages, which came here before the arrival of Penn or which his liberality caused to pour into the province in the early days of its settlement; but Mr. Wickersham has been able to overcome this difficulty, and neither the Dutch, Swedes, English, or Germans have been forgotten or neglected. Naturally, the first schools in the province had their origin in some one of the many religious organizations, and a church or meeting-house could rarely be found with which a school more or less crude in its curriculum and management was not in some way connected. These were superseded, or, rather, with the increase of population their ground was occupied by what Mr. Wickersham designates neighborhood schools, or schools supported in the different localities by voluntary contributions from the near inhabitants. Mr. Wickersham calls attention to the interesting fact that our public school system was the natural outcome of these neighborhood schools, and that at the time of its adoption there were four thousand school-houses in the State supported in this way. It is also most interesting to see how clearly our present public school system was foreshadowed by Thomas Budd, who died in 1698; and in fact a plan of public education was contemplated by Pennsylvania in the original frame of government for the province, but it had to be subsequently abandoned. In his Almanac for the year 1758, Christopher Sower, of Germantown, suggests a plan of public education very similar to that now in use.

Mr. Wickersham says of the Moravians, that "no other religious organization in proportion to membership has done so much either to provide a good education for its own children, or to plant schools among the heathen in different quarters of the globe." They established at a very early day schools at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz. The earliest book upon the subject of school-teaching in this country was that written in 1750 by Christopher Dock, a Mennonite upon the Skippack.

The Academy, which afterwards became united with the University of Pennsylvania, the leading institution of learning, was chartered in 1753. The famous "Log College," from which so many of the celebrated Presbyterian divines of the last century were graduated, was established by Tennent in Bucks County in 1726.

Thorough as it is, there are some inaccuracies and some important omissions in Mr. Wickersham's book. A bibliography of the books upon educational subjects published in Pennsylvania during the first century of its existence would have been a valuable addition. There are numerous references of this character, but his list is quite imperfect. In the

collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are a large number of works for the instruction of children, published in Philadelphia by Johnson & Warner about the close of the last century and the beginning of the present one, whose examination would have thrown a great deal of light upon that period. And strange to say, while much attention is given to the New England Primer, there is no reference whatever to the Primer of Pastorius, the first educational book prepared in Pennsylvania. Where, however, so much has been done, and done well, it seems invidious to dwell upon things overlooked rather than those accomplished, and it must be conceded that Mr. Wickersham has written a book worthy of very high commendation, and one which will long be the authority upon the topic of which it treats. S. W. P.

NEWS FROM PITTSBURGH IN 1777.—(Extract of a letter from Pittsburgh, dated March 24.) "I must inform you that matters have a very gloomy aspect here. Daniel Sullivan has returned from the Indian country, and brings accounts of Indians being assembled, in order to attack the Kittanning and this post, and of several other things too tedious to mention. A few days ago the Indians killed one Andrew Simpson, and took or killed a brother of Captain Moorhead's near Kittanning. They scalped Simpson and left a tomhawk and war belt on him, and a piece of writing in his shot pouch, dated Niagara 8th February, 1777, called a message from the Chiefs of the Mowhawks, Onondagoes, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras, Missaragoes, and Chippewas, to the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, now at Vanyngo, the purport of which is, that we have wrongfully settled their lands on the Ohio and Susquehanna, and ordering us to quit them immediately, or abide by the consequences—that we have no foundation for our pretence (as they call it) of Colonel Butler's coming against us, as we know he has no army with him—they therefore think that our design is against them, but whether or not, they insist on our quitting their lands immediately, and not make any excuse, by pretending to acquaint our Congress, &c. of their behaviour.

"In consequence of the before-mentioned intelligence and depredations, a Council of War was held at this place this day, in which it was determined that it would be most advisable for Col. Crawford's battalion, and two companies of Col. Wood's battalion, at Fort Pitt and Wheeling, not to march till further orders, and that 100 men should be immediately sent to the Kittanning, and 25 men to attack the following places,—Logg's-Town Holliday's Cove and Cox's."

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—We have received part eight of the second series of the "Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society," containing "The Literary Works of the Foreign Missionaries of the Moravian Church," by the Rev. G. T. Richlet, of Saxony, and "Letters of Condolence addressed to Count Nicholas Lewis von Zinzendorf, on the Death of his Son Christian Renatus," the former translated and annotated, and the latter prepared by the Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, and "Sketch of the History of the Moravian Congregation at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning," by Robert Rau. This number concludes the second volume of the Transactions of the Society, which embraces a period of ten years, from 1877 to 1886.

BARTOW GENEALOGY.—Rev. Evelyn P. Bartow has issued a supplement to the Bartow Genealogy, tracing the family back two generations,—that is, to 1590. Copies can be had by addressing the author at Rahway, N. J. Price, 50 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHIA GENEALOGICA AMERICANA: AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX TO AMERICAN GENEALOGIES AND PEDIGREES CONTAINED IN STATE, COUNTY, AND TOWN HISTORIES, PRINTED GENEALOGIES, AND KINDRED WORKS. By Daniel S. Durrie. 8vo, 245 pp. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., 1886.

This is the third edition, revised and enlarged, of this valuable compilation, which is of so much assistance to all who are engaged in the collection of genealogical matter. It will be found to contain about six thousand five hundred more references than the second edition of 1878, the whole number being about twenty thousand, alphabetically arranged. A useful feature of the book is the list of works containing genealogical information to which the index refers. This will enable librarians to add to their collections many valuable compilations. We commend the book to all genealogical students.

DOCUMENTS, CHIEFLY UNPUBLISHED, RELATING TO THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATION TO VIRGINIA AND THE SETTLEMENT AT MANAKINTOWN, WITH AN APPENDIX OF GENEALOGIES, PRESENTING DATA OF THE FONTAINE, MAURY, DUPUY, TRABUE, MARYE, CHASTAIN, COCKE, AND OTHER FAMILIES. Edited and compiled for the Virginia Historical Society. By R. A. Brock, Corresponding Secretary and Librarian. 8vo, 247 pp. Richmond, Va., 1886.

This is the fifth volume of the new series, "Virginia Historical Collections," and one which has given us pleasure to examine. G. D. Scull, Esq., late of this city, but now of London, England, found in the Bodleian Library a volume of bound manuscripts endorsed, "Original Papers relating to the French Plantation in the West Indies." Finding them to contain matter relating to the emigration to Virginia in 1700 of Huguenot refugees, he had copies made and presented a transcript to the Virginia Historical Society. It is these records, which Mr. Brock has enriched with many annotations, and for which he prepared an Appendix of Genealogies of much value, and a full index, that we award all commendation. The paper and typography of the book are very creditable. We believe that life and annual members of the Virginia Historical Society receive these works free of charge; but it is not necessary that members shall be residents of the old Commonwealth. The fee is fifty dollars for life membership, or five dollars per annum for active membership.

VIRGINIA CAROLORUM: THE COLONY UNDER THE RULE OF CHARLES THE FIRST AND SECOND, A.D. 1625-A.D. 1685, BASED UPON MANUSCRIPTS AND DOCUMENTS OF THE PERIOD. By Edward D. Neill. Small 4to, 446 pp. Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y. 1886. \$4.

Under this title the Rev. Edward D. Neill has brought together a vast amount of information regarding the history of Virginia under the rule of Charles the First and Second, gathered in an extensive reading of documents of the seventeenth century. In his Preface he writes, "The student of the English colonization of America has regretted that there has been so little published upon the development of the Virginia Colony during the Carolan period. With the hope that it might lead to a more intelligent comprehension of the motives and social surroundings of the chief men of the era this work has been prepared. The writer has had no political theory, nor religious party, nor provincial prejudice to sustain. As far as possible those who were prominent in shaping the destinies of the Colony have been permitted to express their own views

in their own words, as found in letters to their friends or in communications to the English Government. Their revelations conflict with some traditions and 'old wives' fables,' and may not be acceptable to those who dislike

'Records, on a page
Whence many a pleasant tale is swept away.'

The duty of the historian is to be careful not to distort facts, nor to conceal that which is true."

These words of Mr. Neill fitly describe the character and scope of the work. The extracts present a plain unvarnished tale. No attempt is made to write a history of the period of which they treat,—they are the material from which a history must be written. No one is better qualified than Mr. Neill to judge of what is of sufficient importance to go into such a collection, and the intelligent notes he has furnished will greatly aid the student who uses his book. Our readers will remember that the first chapters of the work appeared in this Magazine. In their present form additions have been made to them. F. D. S.

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—Robert M. Lindsay, of 1028 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, has published an etching of Old Swedes' Church (Gloria Dei), by Ludwig E. Faber. It is beautifully executed, and is a fine specimen of art. It is suitable for framing, being thirteen by eighteen inches. Should Mr. Lindsay's venture in this line meet with the success it deserves, we understand it is his intention to publish a series of views of historic buildings in and near Philadelphia.

Queries.

HUNN.—John Hunn, of the city of Philadelphia, was one of the delegates to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. Information is requested concerning him.

WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

ROBINSON.—William Robinson, Jr., served as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789-90, from the county of Philadelphia. Information is desired for a biographical sketch.

WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

PANELES.—I find in a pamphlet issued by the Continental Congress in 1774, printed by William & Thomas Bradford, Articles of Association, in which the members of the Congress bind themselves and their constituents to abstain from the purchase of English goods till certain taxes be repealed, the word *paneles* given as an article of importation. What was meant by the word? It occurs thus: "Until such parts of the several Acts of Parliament passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, *paneles*, coffee, sugar—etc etc—is repealed."

WILLIAM KITE.

Germantown, Phila., September 9, 1886.

NATHANIEL EVANS.—Information is desired of the date of the death of the father of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans. The latter was buried in Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 31, 1767.

I. T. E.

Replies.

NATHANIEL EVANS (Vol. X. p. 360).—The *Massachusetts Gazette* of October 31, 1771, announces the death of "Mr. Edward Evans, of New Jersey, father of the Rev. Nathaniel Evans."

BRUNHILDE.



ANDREW ALLEN.
Member of the Continental Congress.

Andrew Allen

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. X.

1886.

No. 4.

ANDREW ALLEN.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES P. KEITH.

Andrew Allen, born June, 1740, was a son of Chief-Justice William Allen by his wife Margaret, daughter of Andrew Hamilton, the eminent barrister. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia,—later the University of Pennsylvania,—and graduated in 1759 with his brother James, and William Paca, of Maryland, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Samuel Powel, who was afterwards Mayor of Philadelphia, and others,—the second class graduated from that institution. He then studied law under the direction of Benjamin Chew, at that time Attorney-General, and about July, 1761, went abroad to finish his education at the Temple. Returning home almost exceptionally well educated, he at once took the position in the community placed at his hand by the social and political influence of his father. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court

April 20, 1765. The corporation of Philadelphia chose him as a Common Councilman in October, 1768. On the resignation of Mr. Chew, he was appointed Attorney-General of the Province, and held that office until the Revolution, about seven years. He was invited to a seat in the Provincial Council by his brother-in-law, John Penn, qualifying December 24, 1770. In May, 1774, he was sent by the Council, with James Tilghman, to Virginia to induce the Governor of that colony to unite in a petition to the King for a settlement of the boundaries. He was appointed Recorder of Philadelphia June 25, 1774. About this time the dispute with Great Britain on the subject of taxing the colonies became the all-absorbing topic, and Allen was in unison with the popular feeling, even to preparing for resistance. He was one of the founders of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry. On November 2, 1774, some twenty-eight citizens, who, it is said, had often met for fox-hunting, formed themselves into this company of Light Horse. They were all men of substantial means, who had something at stake in the fate of their country, and who needed not pay to keep them in the field. Some of them were representatives of the *élite*, and others afterwards attained such prominence in public affairs as shed lustre on the organization; but at that time Andrew Allen was the most distinguished man among them. The officers first chosen were: Captain, Abraham Markoe (formerly of the Danish island of St. Croix); First Lieutenant, Andrew Allen; Second Lieutenant, Samuel Morris (previously Sheriff of Philadelphia County); Cornet, James Mease. The company, after serving at its own expense throughout the war which ensued, has since maintained perpetual succession, and is now commonly known as the First City Troop. Allen may be presumed to have favored the compromise suggested early in 1775 by the British House of Commons, viz., any colony to vote a proper supply, and in consideration to be excepted from each act of Parliament taxing America; for he was present at the meeting of the Provincial Council which commended it to the favor of the Assembly. This compromise was not accepted; being

addressed to the colonies separately instead of through Congress, it asked them to desert each other. It was, perhaps, however, Allen's influence as much as John Penn's incapacity or love of quiet which kept the Penn government from taking a forcible stand against the Whigs. Allen was one of the Committee of Safety appointed by the Assembly, June 30, 1775, for the defence of the Province; and he was appointed one of the delegates to the Continental Congress. When, however, after active service on the Committee and in Congress, he saw that the latter body was only making ready to declare independence, he withdrew from the cause. He resigned from the City Troop in April, 1776, and after June 14, 1776, no longer attended the meetings of Congress, although had he been present on the 1st and 2d of July, he could have prevented the vote of Pennsylvania being given for independence. His last public office was that of member from Philadelphia to the Assembly, which he was chosen in May, 1776, running as a Moderate, or one in favor of reconciliation with England. There were four to be chosen, and the vote stood: Samuel Howell, 941; Andrew Allen, 923; George Clymer, 923; Alexander Wilcocks, 921; Thomas Willing, 911; Frederick Kuhl, 904; Owen Biddle, 903; Daniel Roberdeau, 890. Clymer was the only one elected of those wished for by the advanced Whigs. These figures show how evenly divided was the community on the question of independence. Its advocates, some of the voters having gone to the war, could not get a majority over a good conservative ticket; although Galloway's statement, that not one-fifth of the people desired independence, is evidently wrong, as to Philadelphia at least. Christopher Marshall says in his diary: "I think it may be said with propriety that the Quakers, Papists, Church, Allen family, with all the Proprietary party, were never seemingly so happily united as at this election, notwithstanding Friends' former protestation and declaration of never joining with that party since the club or knock-down election [of 1742]. Oh! tell it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of Askalon, how the testimony is trampled upon!"

After the Declaration of Independence, Allen attached himself to the British army, and was with it at its entry into Philadelphia. In March, 1778, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an Act of Attainder against him, in consequence of which much of his property was sold. The Treaty of Peace prohibited any future confiscations, and provided that any persons could come to the United States, and remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavors to obtain restitution.

Allen went to England about the close of the war, but visited Pennsylvania in 1792, and remained a few years. The treaty of 1794 with Great Britain provided that British subjects holding land in America, or American citizens holding land in England, should, with their heirs and assigns, hold and dispose of the same as if natives, and that the United States make restitution for losses occasioned by the non-payment of debts to British subjects contracted before the peace, to be ascertained by commissioners to be appointed. He endeavored without success to collect the money paid to the State on his land contracts. He seems to have resided afterwards with his daughter, Mrs. Hammond. He died March 7, 1825, in Montagu Street, Portland Square, London, aged eighty-five years.

Andrew Allen married April 24, 1768, Sarah, eldest daughter of William Coxe, alderman of Philadelphia, by his wife Mary, daughter of Tench Francis, Esq., Attorney-General of Pennsylvania. William Coxe was a son of Col. Daniel Coxe, Chief Justice of New Jersey, by his wife Sarah Eckley, of Philadelphia.

Issue of Andrew Allen:

Andrew, founder of the Anchor Club in Philadelphia; British Consul in Boston; d. s. p. Clifton, near Bristol, England, December 3, 1850; married Maria, daughter of Charles Coxe, of Sydney.

Ann, died unmarried.

Elizabeth, died unmarried.

Margaret, married May 20, 1793, George Hammond, the first British Minister to the United States, and for some

time Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. She died December 8, 1838.

Maria, died unmarried.

John Penn, born October 25, 1785, M.A. (Univ. Oxon.), died unmarried.

Thomas Dawson, born October 25, 1785, M.A. (Univ. Oxon.), rector of North Cerney, Gloucester, d. s. p.; married August 26, 1840, Jane, widow of Rev. E. C. Henry, and daughter of E. H. Mortimer.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE'S NOTES OF A JOURNEY FROM
PHILADELPHIA TO NEW HAMPSHIRE, IN THE
SUMMER OF 1777.

[The original MS. of these notes is in the possession of the Rev. Alfred L. Elwyn, of Philadelphia. William Whipple, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born at Kittery, Maine, January 14, 1730. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of 1775, and the Committee of Safety; a member of Congress, 1776, September, 1777, and 1778-79. Assigned by the Assembly of New Hampshire to the command of a brigade of troops organized to oppose the march of Burgoyne, he joined the army under Gates at Saratoga, and commanded the New Hampshire troops in that campaign. In 1778 he took part in Sullivan's expedition to Rhode Island. He died November 28, 1785.

William Ellery, who accompanied him, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and also of the Articles of Confederation, was born at Newport, R. I., December 22, 1727. From May, 1776, to 1785, with the exception of 1780 and 1782, he was a delegate to Congress. As a member of the Marine Committee, and subsequently of the Board of Admiralty, he did eminent service for his country. During the occupation of Rhode Island by the British (1777-78) Mr. Ellery suffered considerable loss of property. He died February 15, 1820.—Ed.]

W[illiam] E[llery] & W[illiam] W[hipple] set out on a journey from Philadelphia for the Eastern States on the 13th June 1777 at 6 O^h Clock in the morning.

Breakfasted with that Generous Whig Quaker Stephen Collins who lives about 3 Miles from Philadelphia.¹ Our next stay was W^m Mills's,² at the Cross Roads eleven Miles from Mr. Collins's, where we met a number of Prisoners who had been taken in the late Skirmishes—this is a Tolerable house.

From Mills' to M^cCauleys, at the sign of the moon & half

¹ He resided on Turner's Lane, a short distance west of the German-town Road.

² Now Willow Grove, Bucks County.

moon, where we lodg'd, is Eleven Miles.¹ Here we had good Beds; & if it had not have been for a few Buggs W. E. would not have lodg'd on the Floor half the night. The People were civil & obliging. Set out from McCauley's a little before five & rode 16 Miles to Cookens, where a Tavern had been formerly kept, but was now dropt by Reason of the Landlord's Death; however the[y] received us, & fed us & our horses.² It's a pity a good Tavern was not still kept here. The House is prettily situated a few Rods on the left of the Road, fronting a fine Meadow intersected by a Beautiful Rivulet; at a distance you see Fields of different kinds of Grain, and the Prospect is Bounded by high woody Hills. We were regaled here with a good Dish of Tea, good cream, good Bread & Butter and some nice broiled ham as a Relisher. We were both tired and hungry, W. W. drank Tea and crown'd his Breakfast with a bowl of Milk. W. E. confined himself to Tea & Bread & Butter at which he shone; the Reckoning very moderate. After you have rode from Cooken's about a mile, take the right hand Road, ride on half a mile & take the next right hand Road that offers—the Road from thence is fair to the Lahi [Lehigh] which is the western Branch of the Delaware. When you reach the Lahi take the left and persue its Banks till you Reach the Ferry³ which is about a mile; as you approach the Ferry, the Beautiful little town of Bethlehem opens to your View, which lies on the North side of the Lahi, where are the Principal publick Buildings, in this Fraternal Sowcial, Society of Moravians. The River presents a Magnificent appearance. The Moravians purchas'd here about 4000 acres of Land in 1741.⁴ In 1742 they made

¹ "William McCauley" is registered among the innkeepers of Plumstead township, Bucks County, as early as 1772. His inn was probably located at Gardenville, where the Durham road crosses that leading from the Easton road to Point Pleasant, on the Delaware.

² See Pa. Mag., Vol. X. p. 205.

³ The ferry at Bethlehem was located about where the present railroad bridge spans the Lehigh.

⁴ The first purchase of land made by that Church was a tract of five hundred acres, in the winter of 1741, but title was not passed until April,

their first settlement. There are at present in Bethle^m about 600 souls. There are 64 private families. The Rest live in public Buildings. In the Men's House,¹ which is about 80 feet long and 50 feet wide and three stories high, lodge 120 single Men & Boys. The single women's House is about 100 feet in Length and 42 in breadth, 150 belong to it & 124 sleep in it. The Widows' house is 80 by 45 and contains 30 widows.² Besides these the Tavern [The Sun] which is large & commodious, the Mills Merchant's Stores and Tanyard, belong to the Society. They too have a public Farmer. Have died since the first Settlement 450—the burying Ground is regularly laid out; The bodies of the Males are in separate districts from the Females when dead as well as while Living. They marry without courting. The Young Man who wants a wife communicates his designs to the Elders, they chuse a wife for him, if they like Each other it's a match.³ From Bethlehem to Eastown is 12 Miles, where we lodged at M^r Shannon's.⁴ While we were standing with M^{rs} Shannon at the door, She recollected that she had seen M^r W. in Montserat⁵—they came to an ecclarisiment soon. From their countinances, and Behaviours discovered, that they had been acquainted while they were single, & immediately left them to talk over past scenes—we had a good Dish of Tea Good Beds &c, and fare'd the Better perhaps for the acquaintance before hinted at. We left Eastown at 5 in the morning and Breakfasted at Cary's

1742. Successive purchases on both sides of the Lehigh had increased the number to near five thousand acres at the date of this journal.

¹ The middle building of the Young Ladies' Seminary. Twice during the war for Independence it was occupied by the Continental Hospital.

² Paintings of both of these buildings, which are still standing, are among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³ Prior to and for years subsequent to the date of this journal, courtship, as now practised, was not allowed, and the part taken by the elders of the congregation was advisory.

⁴ Theophilus Shannon's inn stood on the northwest corner of Northampton and Fermor (now Second) Streets.

⁵ Mr. Whipple had been a sea captain, in the West India trade, prior to the Revolution.

twelve miles from Eastown.¹ Between Eastown & Cary's we met Col: Dyer² Col: Williams³ & M^r Law⁴ Bound to Phila^d At Eastown we passed the Delaware where it forks and forms the western Branch call'd the Lahi before mentioned. There are about 60 or 70 Dwelling Houses in this town, a court house & hansom Dutch Church. From Cary's we rode to Swayseys in Oxford Township 9 miles, where we Baited our horses.⁵ By the appearance of the Beds good Lodgings may be had here. In our way to the next stage we stop'd at a little Moravian settlement call'd Hope consisting of 5 or 6 private Houses some mechanic's shops a Merchant's store and one of the finest & most curious Mills in America. All the Moravian Buildings are strong, neat & compact, and very generally made of stone.⁶

We din'd at Jon^s Willis's about 8 miles from Swayseys at a place called Log Jail.⁷ Jersey like the other Middle & Southern States is not divided into townships. The names of places where there are little Knots of Houses are many of them uncouth, and some of them indecent.⁸ From Wil-

¹ At Concord, Warren County, N. J.

² Eliphalet Dyer. See Drake's "Dict. Amer. Biog.," p. 292.

³ William Williams. Ibid., p. 989.

⁴ A member of the New Haven, Conn., family of the name.

⁵ Barnabas Swayze, a large landholder at this date, resided about one and a half miles southwest of Hope.

⁶ In 1769 the Moravians purchased of Samuel Green a tract of about fifteen hundred acres in the present Hope township, Warren County, N. J., to which they gave the name of Greenland. A town plot was surveyed, and in 1775 given the name of Hope. As a Moravian town it was abandoned, and the entire tract sold in 1808. The mill and a number of buildings are still standing. In 1778, Gen. du Chastellux, of Lafayette's staff, passed through the town, and in his journal describes the saw-mill with its appliances for bringing the logs out of the pond to the mill by the same power that sawed them.

⁷ For many years Jonathan Pettit was landlord of the inn at Log Jail (now Johnsonburg), a famous place for Whig gatherings. It is believed the first war meetings in New Jersey were held in this house.

⁸ This is an error, for at this date Sussex County was divided into Walpack, Oxford, Greenwich, Hardwick, Mansfield, Newton, and other townships. The uncouth names of "knots of houses" may have been "Sin Corner," "Hen's Foot," "Hard Scrabble," "Fleatown," "Hog

lis's we rode to Sussex Court House¹ 10 miles; in the Goal under the Court House were 24 Tories who are imprison'd for various periods according to the degree of their Crimes and fined in various sums according to their Estates. Indeed from what I could learn the fines were so large as to amount to a confiscation of their Estate. Poor Devils! they who fall into the hands of the Enemy are like to have their Estates drawn from them by free *Donations*, as appears by Tryon's Letters to Col: Billop, and they who by their infamous Conduct expose themselves to the justice of their Country loose them by Fines, sequestrations & confiscations. We lodged here at Hoffmans who is a *strong Whig*—from Sussex Court House to Carey's at Hardys town² where we Breakfasted is 10 miles, from thence to Col Hathorns³ is 17 miles here we dine'd W. E. eat Salled in the Dutch taste,⁴ from thence to Brewsters is 16 miles where we lodged & were detained till 10 O^b Clock in the morn'g by the rain. Brewsters came from the East End of Long Island where farming is carried on in the N England stile.⁵ The Country in N. York on the East side of the Jersey line is much better cultivated than in the Jerseys. From Brewsters to Hudson's River is 11 miles. The ferry is 3 miles and from the ferry to fsh Kills⁶ is 5 or 6 miles—we had been told that Week's was a good house it may be so some times but we could get no meat to eat. They had some indifferent wine upon which and some Bread & cheese W. W. din'd. W. E. drank Tea & eat Bread and But^r for his dinner. This might have been put up with if it had been accompanied with good

Hollow," "Dark Moon" (here an inn stood at this date), "Shades of Death," etc.

¹ Now Newton.

² Near Hamburg, Hardiston township, Sussex County.

³ See Poore's "Polit. Reg. and Congr. Directory," p. 437.

⁴ Dressed with warm instead of cold vinegar, and garnished with pieces of browned fat of ham or bacon.

⁵ The Brewsters became settlers in Duchess County, N. Y., as early as 1760. In 1777, Samuel Brewster was a member of the Committee of Safety of New Windsor, Orange County.

⁶ The Hudson was probably crossed from New Windsor to Fishkill.

humour, but our land Lady was the most Illnatured unmanly Vixen that ever poor traveller was plagued with, she refused to Broil a slice of Pork or toast a bit of Bread, this house sho^d be avoided.

From Weeks's we rode to Adriances¹ 10 miles where we Lodged; we were treated with good Nature, Milek Toddy, and Bread & Butter. Here Doctor [Manasseh] Cutler who we miss'd at Fish Kills, came to see us & spent the night with us. From Adriance to Patterson's² is 10 miles, where we Breakfasted on the Best Coffee we had met with on the Road. W. W. troubled much with Head Ake. •

From Pattersons to Dibbles in Danbury is 16 miles where we Dined very well & were civilly treated; 19 dwelling Houses were Burnt in this town by the British Soldiery in their late Incurtion, for which Infernality they pay'd dear by the loss of many of their lives.³

From Dibbles to Chandlers in Newtown is 10 Miles, here we Lodged comfortably. Two thirds of town are Tories. The Parson of the parrish (Beach) prays for the Tyrants of Britain every Lord's day and it seems with impunity.⁴ From Chandler's to De Forest's,⁵ New Stamford, is 8 Miles, we were well treated here. From thence to the ferry⁶ is 6 miles & from the ferry to Darby 3 we Baited at Curtis's. Here was a female who was travelling to Oxford, and who was a Snuff taker. W. E. offer'd her part of his snuff which she refused saying she had no small change; whether she perceiving the saddle bags on his horse and observing their [size?] concluded he was a pedler with his Bag-full of snuff &c and that what he offer'd was as a sample, or whether it was owing to her want of Breeding he cant say, she other-

¹ In the present East Fishkill township, Duchess Co., N. Y.

² William Patterson, innkeeper, and subsequently a judge of the Court of the Common Pleas of Duchess County, lived in what is now Patterson township, Putnam Co., N. Y.

³ Danbury, Fairfield Co., Conn., was burned by Governor Tryon's troops, April 27, 1777.

⁴ Rev. John Beach, of Trinity Parish.

⁵ Anthony de Forest.

⁶ Over Housatonic River.

wise appeared to be a decent woman, this and the favorable opinion he entertains of the fair sex leads him to think her Conduct was owing to the former. However after telling her that he believed she took him for a Pedler and assuring her that he was not of that order of Events and that he did not mean to take money for his Snuff he gave her a portion of it and she thank'd him with a Curtsey. From Darby to New Haven is nine miles. Here we din'd at Adam's and after dinner visited M^r Sherman¹ pass'd the uper ferry after 6 O^b Clock and arriv'd at Brantford about 8 put up at Baldwin's where we were kindly entertained and well Lodged. The good Landlady seems disposed to contribute all in her power to the Happiness of travellers. From Baldwin's to Stone's² in Guilford is 10 miles, here we breakfasted—from hence to Killingsworth,³ where we dined. The weather being Extream hot lay by till towards the Evening, then set out for Say Brook at the ferry met Cap^t Saltinstall⁴ who came with his Boat the Better to accommodate us over the river. W. W. went on Board the Trumbull;⁵ from thence walked to Parsons'es in Lim⁶ whether he had before sent his horse, and where he found his Companion (W. E.) regaling himself with a dish of Coffee. At this place we met Gen^l Green's Lady attendid by the Gen^l Brother on her way to Camp, it seems this Lady's Love is so great that neither Rocks nor any other difficulties is a Bar to her pursuit of the Gratification of it.

We left Parsons's about 4 O^b Clock and arrived at New London before 8, where we Breakfasted & were vissited by some Gentm of the town W. W. had some conversation with

¹ Hon. Roger Sherman.

² A descendant of John Stone, a fellow-passenger with the ancestors of Hon. William M. Evarts, S. B. Chittenden, and William H. Seward, who landed at Boston, June 26, 1637.

³ The highway from Guilford to Killingsworth was at the date of this journal, and is still, one of the finest in New England.

⁴ Gilbert Saltonstall, captain of marines, of sloop-of-war "Trumbull."

⁵ Sloop-of-war "Trumbull," of ten guns; subsequently captured in the West Indies.

⁶ Lyme, formerly East Saybrook.

M^r Shaw¹ on Business & cross'd the ferry between 11 & 12 and rode 12 miles to Russel where we expected to dine but were disappointed however we rested our horses it being very hot, and gave them some green hay, we also had a drink of milk and water from thence we rode 8 miles to Thompsons, who is a rich farmer but does not know how to live here we got a Supper of fryed Veal and Pork & went to bed early in hopes of a good nights rest but soon after we got to bed W. W. was most violently attacked by the Bugs & was obliged to get up, he hall'd the Bed on the flower, hoping by this means to avoid them but did not succeed, W. E. was fortunate enough not to be disturb'd—set out about 5 and rode 8 miles to Champlin in Charlestown where we stopt to Breakfast. W. E. rode 8 miles farther to I Potters a friend of his, where W. W. joined him about Eleven and went on to Little rest dined at M^r Champlins a friend of W. E from thence to Judge Potters one mile where we drank Coffee at 6 set out for Greenock arrivd at Judge Greens about 10 here we Lodged very comfortably & were treated with great Hospitality & not permitted to depart before Breakfast set out between 8 & 9 rode 2 or 3 miles out of our way by mistake owing as is supposd to W. E. wearing his Glasses which he had not done before on this Road arriv'd at Providence between 12 and 1—W. W. put up at a Tavern W. E. went to a friends house some distance from the town—here I separate from my Friend and Companion M^r Ellery, was vissited by several Gent^m of the town dined, Lodged & Breakfasted at this house and in the morn^s viz July 1st vis-sitted M^r Chickly who has had a severe stroke of the Palsey but is now on the Recovery, I was treated last Year in Company with Mr. S.[amuel] Adams with great Hospitality by this Gent^m—I did not leave Providence till 10 O^h Clock—as I missed my Road on the Plain met with no entertainment till I arriv'd at Mans of Wrentham where I dine'd on cold Roast Veal & Salled from hence I rode 18 miles to Ames'es²

¹ Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., a leading and patriotic citizen of the town.

² The hostess of the inn was the widow of Nathaniel Ames, the famous compiler of Almanacs.

in Dedham where I Lodged here I met M^r Whainwright a Young Gent^m who serv'd his time with Dr. [Manasseh] Cutler & who is on his way to the Army—set out from Ames's about 5 & arriv'd at Bracketts¹ in Boston between 7 & 8, after Breakfast deliver'd Letters to sundry Persons, dine'd at M^r Bradfords in Company with M^r T. Cushing² & M^r [R. T.] Paine—this last Gentleman is much alter'd in his dress since he left Philadelphia which was in December last, he then had short straight hair, but now a Prodigious fore top, Ear Curls, & an immense quantity of hair tyed in a Club behind, on the whole his head is dressed in the true Macharoni stile. I made several short vissits in the afternoon & spent the evening with my old Friend M^r [Henderson] Inches and suped on Lobster, which is a great rarity.

Wednesday y^e 3d^a July set out from Boston. Dined at Lynn & Lodg'd at Ipswich.

Thursday y^e 4 set out from Ipswich & arriv'd home in the Evening.

¹ See "Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston," p. 61.

² For a letter of Thomas Cushing, see Pa. Mag., Vol. X. p. 355.

GERMAN EMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES, ITS CAUSE, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMIGRANTS.

BY ANDREW D. MELICK, JR., PLAINFIELD, N. J.

SECOND PART.

In the preceding paper it was endeavored to show that, even early in the seventeenth century, the Germans had good cause for deserting Fatherland. When resolved on expatriation, their steps all turned westward, and they seemed of one mind as to what country offered the greatest inducements to home-seekers, and presented the most complete assurances of relief from the heavy burdens under which they had groaned in Europe. The tide of emigration set steadily towards America, and from those early days till now, the name and thought of our country has been as a sweet savor in the nostrils of oppressed Teutons. Commencing as a little rill, the current gradually increased in volume, until, as we learn from recently-published statistics, between 1880 and 1884 the yearly exodus from Germany averaged nearly one hundred and seventy-five thousand souls; that of two millions six hundred and one thousand Germans now living outside of the Empire, two millions are citizens of the United States.

There is no accurate record of the earliest Teuton emigration to America. Mr. Edward Eggleston, a diligent student of colonial history, claims that Germans came with the Puritans to Massachusetts Bay, and, without doubt, some of the so-called Dutch of the New Netherlands were High Dutch, or Germans, from the Rhine, beyond the Holland border. Before the close of the Thirty Years' War the vast movement from the Rhine country may be said to have commenced, and the year 1640 found Germans settled on

the Delaware in the Swedish colony planted by the Lutheran king, Gustavus Adolphus. But until 1682 the arrival of immigrants in this country was neither frequent nor regular. In the preceding year William Penn had advertised to the world his liberal government, and offered, in Pennsylvania, homes for the persecuted and oppressed of all nations. Penn had acquired his great American grant of forty thousand square miles of territory from the Crown, in payment of a debt of sixteen thousand pounds due his father. The King named the tract after the elder Penn, and it is interesting to know, as illustrating the modesty and simplicity of the son, that he strongly objected to this appellation, even going so far as to attempt the bribing of an Under Secretary, that the name might be changed. In 1683, Francis Daniel Pastorius, a Franconian German of education, arrived with other emigrants at Philadelphia, taking up land at Germantown, commencing that settlement with thirteen families. Arents Klincken erected the first two-story house, Penn being present, and helping to eat the raising dinner. Within a few years this settlement was augmented by the arrival of over one thousand Germans, among whom were the ancestors of the present prominent Pennsylvania families of Ritzenhouse, Shoemaker, Carpenter, Potts, and Van Wart. The most of them came from near the city of Worms, in Westphalia. They must have felt grateful for their quiet provincial homes, when they heard of the dreadful ravages of the French, in 1689, who laid waste the entire country from which they had emigrated, the flames rising from every hamlet, market-place, and parish church in the Duchy of Cleves, in which Worms is situated.

The greatest influx of Germans commenced about 1700. Within the following twenty-five years vast numbers fled from the desolations and persecutions at home to the English colonies in America, and it is estimated that over fifty thousand, within that time, reached the Province of Pennsylvania. A few miles from Coblenz, on the Rhine, is the well-built and attractive town of Neuwied; it has now a population of about ten thousand, comprising Romanists,

Lutherans, Moravian Brethren, Baptists, and Jews, who live together in great harmony. Count Frederic of Wied, whose family still occupies the spacious palace at its north end, founded the town in 1653, on the site of the village of Langendorf, which was entirely destroyed in the Thirty Years' War. Here, in 1705, arrived a number of Lutherans, who had fled from persecutions at Wolfenbrüttel and Halberstadt. The then Count of Wied, who welcomed all comers, without distinction of religion, gave them residence and protection. Here they remained for some time, and then went on down the river to Holland, where they embarked, in 1707, for New York. After a severe and protracted voyage, a violent storm drove their small ship south of Sandy Hook, obliging the master to take refuge in the capes of the Delaware, and ultimately land his passengers at Philadelphia. Determined to continue to the Province of New York, the emigrants left the Quaker City, journeying overland; travelling thitherward, they reached the edge of the Schooley's Mountain range, in Morris County, New Jersey, and were suddenly confronted by the view of a charming valley. Below were the pleasant reaches of the Musconetcong, flowing tranquilly between grassy banks, with rich meadows rolling back in gentle undulations, seeming fairly to invite settlement. To these tempest-tossed wanderers it appeared, indeed, a land of promise; what more could they desire in a search for homes? New York Province certainly would offer no richer or more inviting locality; here they decided to remain. Passing down the mountain, they drove their tent-stakes and laid their hearthstones as the commencement of a settlement which has been known from that day to this as the German Valley. Many now well-known families in Morris, Hunterdon, and Somerset Counties take their origin from this ancient little Lutheran community.

Hendrick Hudson, after his voyage in the "Half-Moon," in 1609, in writing of the locality on which now—a populous crescent—the city of Newburgh rests, mentions it as a "pleasant place to build a town on." As the Palatine

parish of Quassaick, on this "pleasant place," a town was laid out, about one hundred years later, by emigrants from Germany. The company comprised forty-two persons, who, under the guidance of their pastor, Joshua Kockerthal, had been sent to America by Queen Anne, who had guaranteed them ninepence a day for a year's support, and a grant of land on which to settle. They had been driven to the fields in midwinter by the destruction of their homes by the French, and had applied to the English government for aid, as Protestants who were suffering from abject poverty because of their religious beliefs. On reaching New York, Lord Lovelace had them transported to Quassaick Creek, and ultimately, his successor Governor Hunter issued to them a patent for twenty-one hundred and ninety acres of land. The first place of worship in Newburgh was a little Lutheran church, twenty feet square, built by these German settlers. The settlement, as a German community, did not prosper. The Palatines, who were mostly husbandmen, found the rough hill-sides much inferior for cultivation to the rich lands they had known over the seas. Attracted by descriptions from friends, located in Pennsylvania, of the fertile regions they inhabited, the individual owners gradually sold the plots originally apportioned them and removed to that Quaker colony. By 1743 practically the place had changed from a German settlement to a Scotch-English neighborhood. Notwithstanding the comparatively short time the Palatines lived on Quassaick Creek, they left an indelible mark on the country, and a record of which the people of Newburgh are still proud. That city's historian, Mr. E. M. Ruttenber, writes that "no citizens of more substantial worth are found under the flag of this, their native land, than their descendants; no braver men were in the armies of the Revolution than Herkimer and Muhlenberg. Had they done nothing in the parish but made clearings in its forests and planted fields, they would be entitled to grateful remembrance; but they did more: they gave to it its first church and its first government, and in all its subsequent history their descendants have had a part."

The citizens of London were astonished to learn in May and June, 1709, that five thousand men, women, and children, Germans from the Rhine, were under tents in the suburbs. By October the number had increased to thirteen thousand, and comprised husbandmen, tradesmen, school-teachers, and ministers. These emigrants had deserted the Palatinate owing to French oppression, and the persecution by their prince, the Elector John William, of the House of Newburgh, who had become a devoted Romanist, though his subjects were mainly Lutherans and Calvinists. Professor Henry A. Homes, in an able paper treating of this emigration, read before the Albany Institute in 1871, holds that the movement was due not altogether to unbearable persecutions, but largely to suggestions made to the Palatines in their own country by agents of companies who were anxious to obtain settlers for the British colonies in America, and thus give value to the company's lands. The emigrants were certainly seized with the idea that by coming to England its government would transport them to the Provinces of New York, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania. Of the latter Province they knew much, as many Germans were already there. Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, had published circulars in Germany extolling the colony and inviting settlement. Penn had also well advertised in the Palatinate the inducements for settlers offered by his grant. The emigrants had also heard of the success of Pastor Kockerthal's little colony which had gone to New York the previous year, and they were all anxious to be transported to a country where rich lands were to be had at no cost, and where their efforts for subsistence would be undisturbed by oppressions.

The English government was much distressed by the arrival of this vast number of impoverished emigrants. Their coming not having been anticipated, no plans had been made for their distribution in the colonies, or their care in England. Means were taken at once to notify the Dutch and German authorities that no more would be received. This certainly had the sympathy of the Elector Palatine, who

had already published an order punishing with death and confiscation all subjects who should quit their native country. Great efforts were made to prevent suffering among these poor people; thousands of pounds were collected for their maintenance, from churches and individuals, all over England; they were lodged in warehouses, empty dwellings, and in barns, and the Queen had a thousand tents pitched back of Greenwich, on Blackheath. Here, on that historic moor, where Wat Tyler and Jack Cade had assembled the rebellious men of Kent, and where, later, Claude Duval and other bold riders of the road were wont to relieve belated travellers of their gold and jewels, was presented the strange spectacle of an encampment of five thousand alien people, speaking an alien tongue, awaiting with patience and confidence a help and relief they felt sure would come from the sympathy and compassion of Protestant Englishmen.

Although Mortimer, in his "History of England," says it was never known who encouraged them to this emigration, a committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1711, elicited facts, as their report shows, going to prove that the Queen's government was not altogether guiltless in provoking the movement. The Palatines testified that they had left their country because of books and papers, containing Queen Anne's picture, that had been distributed, urging their coming to England, that they might be sent to Her Majesty's plantations in the colonies. It is hardly to be believed that they would have come almost at one time, and in such great numbers, without having received encouragement from agents or others, who must, at least apparently, have made promises with authority. The Germans evidently expected that immediately on arrival in England they were to be despatched in a body across the sea; but no one stood ready to carry out such a programme. If the government had made promises, it was with expectation of no such liberal response. To carry thirteen thousand people would require a great fleet of the small vessels of that time, and there were no ships for such a service. Much time would

also be required in preparing for their arrival in America, and in perfecting arrangements for their final settlement. Notwithstanding the great efforts made by the English people, very much distress followed this unhappy hegira. Disease decimated their ranks, and many wandered about England, becoming a poverty-stricken incubus on the parishes. Numbers of the younger men enlisted in the British army serving in Portugal, and some made their own way to Pennsylvania, presumably by effecting arrangements with the masters of vessels, whereby, on arrival, their services were to be sold for a term sufficient to secure payment of their passage-money. This was not an unusual means of emigration to the colonies at that time.

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland petitioned the Queen that some of the people might be sent to him, and by February, 1710, thirty-eight hundred had been located across the Irish Sea, in the province of Munster, near Limerick. The government granted them temporary help, and within three years twenty-four hundred pounds had been expended on their removal and maintenance while settling. In 1715 they became naturalized citizens. Professor Homes recites in his monograph that they now number about twelve thousand souls, and, under the name of Palatinates, continue to impress a peculiar character upon the whole district they inhabit, both in a social and economical way. Farrar writes of them, in the beginning of this century, that they have "left off sauer-kraut and taken up potatoes, though still preserving their own language;" that "their superstitions savor of the banks of the Rhine, and in their dealings they are upright and honorable." Kohl, a German traveller of 1840, testifies that they have not lost their home character for probity and honor, and that they are much wealthier than any of their neighbors.

According to "Luttrell's Diary," about one-tenth of the whole number that reached England were returned by the Crown to Germany. This action of the authorities seems to have been provoked in consequence of the portion returned not being Protestants, and for that reason out of favor.

Among the exiles were a large number of people from Heidelberg. Professor Rupp thinks that more than six thousand persons had left that vicinity within twelve months. They had suffered persecution because unable to change their religion as often as did their government. The Elector Palatine, Frederic II., became a Lutheran; Frederic III. turned Calvinist; Ludovic V. restored the Lutheran Church, while his son and successor embraced the Calvinist faith. He was succeeded by a Catholic prince, who cruelly oppressed the Protestants. All travellers remember with pleasure the beautiful university town of Heidelberg, that, almost hidden in dense foliage, occupies a narrow bench of land between the lofty Königstuhl and the restless Neckar, which here forces its foamy way through a narrow gorge, to the broad Rhine plain just below. Away up on the side of the mountain, clinging to the very edge of a wooded precipice, is the most magnificent ruin in Middle Europe. The royal residence and stronghold of generations of Electors, it was three hundred years in growing from a castle to a palace; and then came the French, with their claim to the Palatinate, and this royal architectural pile was battered and desolated, but fortunately not entirely destroyed. Beyond the castle, higher up, on a little plateau, is a restaurant and garden,—the Wolfsbrunnen. Here the citizens of the town meet on Sundays, fête days, and holidays, to listen to music and chat under the trees with their neighbors. As they blow the foam from their cool steins of beer and overlook the ivy-clad ruin, with its quadrangles, bastions, moated exterior walls, and graceful interior façades, studded with sculptures and statues, they must find abundant subjects for thought and conversation. If they are inclined to "mourn over Israel," they need not give all their tears to the defacement of that effective mass of stone; their minds and sympathies can revert to the miseries of their towns-people in the years gone by, before they had become a portion of united Germany.

In the early part of the Thirty Years' War the imperial Count Tilly sacked Heidelberg, putting five hundred of the

inhabitants to death. Later on, in the same war, the generals of the French captured the city, and people without number were slaughtered. In 1688 the French were again in Heidelberg; this time they burned the place to the ground, reducing the castle, and blowing up its ancient and massive corner tower, although the walls were twenty-one feet thick. One-half of the structure fell into the moat below, where it lies intact to this day, a most picturesque ruin. Heidelberg was rebuilt only to be once more, in 1693, overwhelmed by the armies of Louis XIV. Flames again rose from every building, and the citizens,—men, women, and children,—fifteen thousand in number, stripped of everything, were turned at night into the fields. Not long after, the Elector induced the inhabitants to rebuild the town under a promise of liberty of conscience and thirty years' exemption from taxes. Within a few years this same Elector, growing more devoted to his Romanist faith, served God in his fashion, which was by breaking his promises, and beginning severe persecutions against his Protestant subjects. It is then, Rupp tells us, that thousands from this vicinity, despairing of a future at home, escaped to England.

Before we return to Blackheath, where we left some of them under tents, let me place in strong contrast to the wretchedness just portrayed the picture a traveller draws, a few years later, of the happiness and peace of Germans in the American colonies. Some time before 1745 Germans from Pennsylvania penetrated into the Shenandoah Valley, near Harrisonburg, Virginia. The traveller before referred to, visited that neighborhood during the French and English War, and writes as follows of the country and people: "The low grounds upon the banks of the Shenandoah River are very rich and fertile. They are chiefly settled by Germans, who gain a sufficient livelihood by raising stock for the troops and sending butter down into the lower part of the country. I could not but reflect with pleasure on the situation of these people, and think if there is such a thing as happiness in this life, they enjoy it. Far from the bustle of the world, they live in the most delightful climate, and on the richest

soil imaginable. They are everywhere surrounded with beautiful prospects and sylvan scenes,—lofty mountains, transparent streams, falls of water, rich valleys, and majestic woods, the whole interspersed with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs, constitute the landscapes surrounding them. They are subject to few diseases, are generally robust, and live in perfect liberty. They know *no* wants, and are acquainted with but few vices. They possess what many princes would give half their dominions for,—health, contentment, and tranquillity of mind.”—*Howe's Coll. of Va.*

The Lord Proprietors of Carolina agreed, in 1709, with Christopher de Graffenried and Lewis Michell, from Switzerland, to sell or transfer to them ten thousand acres of land in one body, between the Cape Fear and Neuse Rivers. They formed a land company, and, of course, were much in need of settlers. They covenanted with the English authorities for the transfer of about seven hundred of these poor Heidelberg refugees to the colony. Before the end of the year they had arrived with them at a point in North Carolina where the rivers Neuse and Trent join. Here they established a town, calling it New-Berne, in honor of Berne, Switzerland, De Graffenried's birthplace. Each man, woman, and child was granted one hundred acres of land, tools for building houses and cultivating the soil, and with provisions for twelve months' subsistence. De Graffenried proved false to these people, as, in their ignorance, they failed to secure titles, and later on he mortgaged the entire grant for eight hundred pounds, and the lands ultimately, through foreclosure, fell into the hands of the heirs of the mortgagee. Notwithstanding this great check to their prosperity, the Germans, by their industry and economy, acquired other property and comfortable homes. Many years later they petitioned the King, and were partly indemnified by a grant of ten thousand acres, free for ten years from quit-rents. As is the experience of all new colonies, they at first suffered great trials and privations. Before two years had passed one hundred of their number had been massacred by Tuscarora Indians. But, as is shown by Williamson, the his-

torian of North Carolina, their industry and frugality triumphed over all obstacles, and the State is to-day greatly benefited by the wealth and holdings of the descendants of these persecuted emigrants from the valley of the Neckar.

It has not been found possible to properly account for all the thirteen thousand Palatines that reached England. Queen Anne sent some of them to Virginia, settling them above the falls of the Rappahannock, in Spotsylvania County, from whence they spread into several adjoining counties, and into North Carolina. Irving mentions that when George Washington, in 1748, was surveying lands in this portion of Virginia, he was followed by German emigrants with their wives and children. Most of them could not speak English, but, when spoken to, answered in their native tongue. "Such were the progenitors of the sturdy yeomanry now inhabiting those parts, many of whom still preserve their strong German characteristics."

After the Irish transportation, the largest number that was moved in one body, and probably the final one under government auspices, was the fleet-load that, in the spring of 1710, was despatched to New York. Lord Lovelace having died, Robert Hunter was commissioned as "CAPTAIN GENERAL, GOVERNOR in CHIEF of, and to, the provinces of NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY, and territories thereunto belonging, and VICE ADMIRAL and CHANCELLOR of the same." Gordon writes of him as a man of merit and personal beauty, and a friend of Steele, Addison, Swift, and the wits and the literati of that day. His appointment was said to have been due to the influence of his friend Addison, who at that time was Under-Secretary of State. On reaching the colonies, Governor Hunter, growing much interested in the Province of East Jersey, became a large owner of its lands, acquiring tracts and plantations both north and south of the Raritan, and probably in Hunterdon, for we find that in 1713-14, when that county was set off, it was named in his honor. The Governor established a home at Perth Amboy, overlooking the lower bay and ocean; here he retired when in need of rest from the labors of the New

York administration, and, while enjoying the beautiful panorama of hills, islands, and watery expanse, and the sea-breezes, blowing fresh from Sandy Hook, employed his leisure by correspondence with Swift, Addison, and other English friends. In 1719, Hunter went to London, and did not return to this country. While there, he exchanged with William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop, who succeeded him in the executive office. He did not, however, lose his interest in New Jersey; but continued to acquire land in the Province, and retained his friendship with the people through correspondence.

Before this royal Governor embarked for America, he was invited by the Board of Trade to make suggestions regarding the disposition of the remaining Palatines. Among the many plans proposed, it was decided to transfer them to the New York colony, for the purpose of engaging in raising and manufacturing tar, resin, and turpentine for naval purposes. A fleet of ten ships set sail with Governor Hunter, in March, having on board, as is variously estimated, between three and four thousand Germans. They covenanted before embarking that after arrival they would labor for a sufficient time to discharge the cost of their transportation and settlement, after which each emigrant was to receive forty acres of land, exempt from taxation for seven years. The voyage was of nearly five months' duration, the ships arriving at intervals between the middle of June and the last of July. The emigrants were encamped on Nut, now Governor's Island, for about three months, when six thousand acres of the Livingston patent was purchased for them, one hundred miles up the Hudson, the locality now being embraced in Germantown, Columbia County. Eight hundred acres were also acquired on the opposite side of the river at the present location of Sauger-ties, in Ulster County. To these two points most of the emigrants were removed. Professor Homes names twenty-two hundred and nine, as the greatest number settling on the river. The papers signed by the Palatines themselves in the "Documents relating to the Colonial history of New

York" reduce the number by several hundred, and Mr. Edward Eggleston, who has lately been making researches in the British Museum on the subject, writes me that "in the manuscript report of the Board of Trade and Plantations, dated 1721, the number of Palatines settled contiguous to Hudson's River is set down at twenty-two hundred and twenty-seven." It is known that over four hundred died during the voyage. From one hundred and fifty to two hundred of them, mostly widows and sick persons, remained in New York City, and the orphans, amounting to almost as many more, were apprenticed by Governor Hunter in New York and New Jersey. Among the poor widows was Johanna Zenger, with three children, one of whom, John Peter, at that time thirteen years old, was bound to William Bradford, printer: his it was whose trial for libel, in 1734, was a *cause célèbre* in the early legal history of the city of New York.

The manufacture of turpentine and naval stores did not prove a successful undertaking. During the two years necessary to await the result of their labors the Germans grew dissatisfied: they complained of ill-treatment, and especially of the bad character of the provisions supplied by Livingston, the government inspector and contractor. Growing insubordinate, Governor Hunter attempted coercion, which but widened the breach; many wandered off seeking new homes, and, in the autumn and spring of 1712-13, seven hundred deserted the Hudson, and, making their way sixty miles northwest, settled in one of the fertile valleys of Schoharie County. Owing to ignorance regarding land-tenure, and the carelessness with which they had taken up their especial holdings, much suffering was eventually caused these migrators by the discovery that the titles to many of their properties were invalid. After nearly ten years of harassing litigations and contests, one-half of them, for a third time, moved on, floating down the Susquehanna River for three hundred miles, and finally finding homes under the friendly government of Pennsylvania. Palatine Bridge and township, in Montgomery County, New York, indicate the

point to which a second portion of these Schoharie Germans removed, and a third contingent settled in Herkimer County, at a place since known as the German Flats.

The Livingston Manor emigrants always felt that they had great cause for grievance against the authorities of the Province of New York. Whether they were right or not it is at this late day difficult to determine, but there is no doubt that the existence of such feeling resulted in after-years to the great advantage of Pennsylvania. Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist, who travelled in America in 1748, remarked on the populousness of Pennsylvania, and that the Province of New York had much fewer inhabitants. He explains that fact in the following manner: "In the reign of Queen Anne, about the year 1709, many Germans came hither, who got a tract of land from the English government which they might settle. After they had lived there some time, and had built houses and made corn-fields and meadows, under several pretences they were repeatedly deprived of parts of their land. They returned violence for violence and beat those who thus robbed them of their possessions. The most active people among the Germans being taken up, they were roughly treated, and punished with the utmost rigor of the law. This, however, so far exasperated the rest that the greater part of them left their homes and fields and went to settle in Pennsylvania. There they were exceedingly well received, got a considerable tract of land, and were indulged in great privileges, which were given them forever. The Germans, not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, wrote to their relations and friends, and advised them, if ever they intended to come to America, not to go to New York, where the government had shown itself so unequitable. This advice had such influence that the Germans, who afterwards went in great numbers to North America, constantly avoided New York, and always went to Pennsylvania. It sometimes happened that they were forced to go on board such ships as were bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania, in sight of all the inhabitants of New York."

By this time the fever for emigration was deeply seated in Germany. Ship after ship sailed up the Delaware from over the seas, black with Palatines, Hanoverians, Saxons, and Austrian and Swiss Germans. Spreading over the present counties of York, Lancaster, Berks, Adams, and Northampton, they soon made their industrious presence known by the innumerable houses of logs that fastened themselves to the sloping sides of the valleys, and by the shrinking back of the forests, from the patches of well-tilled clearings that began to mosaic the Pennsylvania wildernesses. They brought with them their axes, mattocks, and mauls, and land that had lain for ages under the dark canopy of the trees, fattening on the richness of decaying leaves and vegetation, was open to the warm sunlight, until acres of forest were converted into arable fields, smiling with the results of well-directed labor. It was not that Province alone that benefited by the spirit of unrest that had seized upon Europeans. Maine, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana received accessions to their populations by the arrival of emigrants. Gayarrè, the historian of the last State, says that some of Louisiana's best citizens and wealthiest sugar-planters have sprung from a little colony of three hundred poor Germans that settled on the river, thirty or forty miles above New Orleans, in 1722. But it was towards Pennsylvania that the great tide of emigration steadily set. By 1717 such vast numbers were arriving as to cause much uneasiness to some of the early English settlers in the Province: the Governor's Council in that year made note of the fact that it might be a very dangerous consequence having so many foreigners from Germany daily disposing of themselves, without producing certificates from where they came or what they were, and without making application to any of the magistrates. This led to measures being taken whereby all arriving emigrants were obliged to be registered by the Secretary of the Province; in that way over thirty thousand names of the later foreign arrivals are preserved and on file at the State-House in Harrisburg. This unnecessary fear of the

German influx did not prove of long duration. We find the royal Governor saying, in 1738, "This Province has been for some years the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate and other parts of Germany; and I believe it may truthfully be said that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the industry of those people."

To those of us whose ancestral trees root in Rhenish soil, it is gratifying to discover that all histories of, and published accounts of travels in, the American Provinces bear testimony that the Germans powerfully promoted the character of the population of the Middle Colonies. Having in their own country been disciplined in habits of industry, sobriety, frugality, and patience, they were peculiarly well fitted for the many laborious occupations of a new land. They were soon regarded as the most economical, as well as the most industrious, of the people, and the least attached to the use of rum and malt liquor. A plodding folk, they were intent on their own business, attentive to the duties of religion, but perhaps devoted themselves too little to politics. McMaster, in his recent history, asserts that wherever a German farmer lived were to be found all the results of honest labor, order, and thrift; and that their buildings, fences, thoroughly tilled fields, and nurtured orchards were in marked contrast to the lands and improvements of their more careless English and Scotch neighbors. Other writers tell of the simple primitive manners and frugal habits of the Germans, which, together with their contented spirits and honest dealings, made them valued acquisitions to the communities, and most suitable infusions among the inhabitants of the Provinces.

Pennsylvania continued, up to the time of the Revolution, to be the objective-point for German emigrants. Ships, brigantines, snows, pinks, and bilanders—mostly English bottoms—plied with great regularity between the Maas and the Delaware, transporting the Palatines—as they seem to have become historically known—from Rotterdam to Philadelphia. The vessels were small and the voyages pro-

longed, but the frequency with which the same craft—as shown by the records—entered the capes of the Delaware, implied a traffic partaking somewhat of the character of a ferry. For, year after year, the ships “St. Andrew,” “Phoenix,” “Dragon,” “Patience,” “Morton-House,” “Pennsylvania,” “Two Brothers,” “Nancy,” and many others, discharged their human cargoes at Philadelphia, the average passenger-list embracing one hundred and fifty souls. In the year 1719 some six thousand are said to have landed, and Proud avers that in the year 1749 twelve thousand Germans arrived in the Province. Sypher claims that prior to 1727 fifty thousand people, mostly from the Rhine country, had emigrated to the Quaker colony. In 1766, Benjamin Franklin testified before a committee of the House of Commons that he supposed that there were in Pennsylvania about one hundred and sixty thousand white inhabitants, of whom one-third were Quakers and one-third Germans. And so it was that each twelve months saw the population of the Province much increased and enriched by a people who brought with them the greatest of all wealth, industry and integrity, and characters that had been superpoised and developed by years of suffering and persecution.

THOMAS WHALEY OF VIRGINIA AND THEOPHILUS WHALE OF NARRAGANSETT.

BY ROBERT PATTERSON ROBINS, M.D.

Nearly ten years ago I presented in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* a paper upon "Edward Whalley the Regicide," which provoked considerable criticism both in Philadelphia and in New England.¹ In the course of the short controversy which followed some interesting facts were elicited concerning not only the Edward Whalley under discussion, but also other Whaleys who had settled in Virginia and New England. Following up a hint given me by the learned and indefatigable antiquary Dr. Neill, of St. Paul, Minnesota,² I instituted some investigations into the history of one Thomas Whaley of Virginia, the results of which, embracing also the curious coincidence of certain events in his life with corresponding events in the life of a New England Whalley, I desire to lay before the readers of the magazine.

In the year 1676 there occurred in Virginia that important and interesting revolution known in the history of the colony as Bacon's Rebellion. To go into a discussion of the causes and results of this popular movement is not to the purpose of this paper. It is sufficient to say that an armed force was sent by the Colonial Assembly to punish certain tribes of Indians for outrages committed upon the settlers, and after a short time in the field was recalled by an arbitrary mandate from the Governor, Sir William Berkley. In just indignation for this interposition in their movements to promote the public safety, the army, under Nathaniel Bacon, the younger, revolted, and a year of civil war

¹ *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. I.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 359.

ensued. Sir William Berkley was ultimately successful, and upon the death of Bacon, the execution of certain of his associates, and the flight of others, the insurrection was finally quelled. It must not be supposed that this movement was confined to the lower strata of the colony: Bacon, the leader, was a wealthy planter, and a member of the Colonial Assembly (his uncle, the elder Bacon, being one of the Governor's Council), and among his supporters were William Drummond, once Governor of the Province of North Carolina; Giles Bland, Collector-General of the Customs; and Richard Lawrence, a graduate of Oxford and a man of wealth and high intellectual attainments.

With Bacon was associated, in both the Indian and civil wars, one Thomas Whaley, of whose earlier history the records of the colony give us no account.¹ He first comes into prominence after the death of Bacon, although it is reasonable to suppose that he was engaged with him from the outset, judging from the manner in which the contemporaneous accounts speak of him. These narratives are very curious, and will well repay a perusal; they are reprinted in the first volume of "Force's Tracts,"² and are four in

¹ Among the "Virginia Adventurers of 1620" mentioned in Smith's "History of Virginia" (Vol. II. p. 55) is Thomas Wale. As this emigrant must have been at least twenty years of age, it is not probable that he was the Whaley of the Rebellion. But we make note of other Waleys in Virginia and Maryland in the seventeenth century: the records of Somerset County, Maryland (at Princess Anne), thus record, June 10, 1681, the brand of one Edward Wali, of that county,—“poplar leaf of the right ear, cropt of the left, and underbitted of the left.” This is the Whaley of the *Robins Narrative* of 1769 (Penna. Mag., Vol. I. p. 60); it was conjectured that he might be Whaley of the Rebellion, but the inherent improbability of this theory was shown in the Penna. Mag., Vol. II. p. 115. Closely allied to this Whaley were “George Wale and Lewis his wife,” who conveyed a “parcel of land” to him in 1678. (Penna. Mag., Vol. IV. p. 258.) Memoranda of others of the name apparently unconnected with the family on the Eastern Shore or the Whaley of the Rebellion have unfortunately been mislaid, but there is no doubt that there were several different families of the name in Virginia during the seventeenth century.

² Tracts and other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discov-

number, but Whalley is mentioned in two only, and then after the death of Bacon.

In the first account¹ we find him engaged in the defence of Colonel Bacon's house :

... "This execution being over (which the Baconians termed crewilty in the abstract) Sr. William ships himself & soulder for York River, casting Anchor at Tindells Point; from whence he sends up a hundred and 20 men to surprise a Gard, of about 30 men and boys kept at coll. Bacons howse, under the command of Major Whaley; who being forewarned by Hansford fate, prevented the designed conflict with the death of the commander in chiefe, and the taking som prisoners."

The second narrative² gives a somewhat more detailed account of this same encounter, and, although it is somewhat verbose, I produce that part which relates to Whaley, because it is desirable that all the data relating to him should be collected in one place. The story reads as follows :

"Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon. sends abroad a party of men from off aboarde, under the command of one Hubert Farrell, to fferitt out a company of the Rebells who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major Whaley, before mentioned.³ Coll. Bacon⁴ himsele, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the management of the enterprise; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had no sooner resolved upon the on-

ery of the Country to the Year 1776. Collected by Peter Force, Washington. Printed by Peter Force, 1836.

¹ An Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia. Written in 1676, by Mrs. An. Cotton, of Q. Creek. Published from the original manuscript in the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* of 12th Sept., 1804. Washington: Printed by Peter Force, 1835. (See p. 9 for this extract.)

² A Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia, In the Years 1675 and 1676. Published from the original manuscript, in the First Volume (Second Series) of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston: Printed by John Eliot, No. 5, Court Street, 1814. (For the extract, see pp. 41 *et seq.*)

³ Unfortunately, this narrative is only fragmentary, and the former reference to Major Whaley is missing.

⁴ Bacon the elder, uncle of the Rebel, and a member of the Governor's Council.

sett, but they consult on the manner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell withe the designe; which required Curage, and Expedition: and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by fireing; but to take, kill, or drive them up to their Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them into the howse: this method was good had it bin as well executed, as contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the challenge, with his mouth, demanding who coms there? but the other answer with their Musquits (which seldom speakes the language of friends) and that in so loud a maner, that it alaramed those in the howse to a defence, and then into a posture to salley out. Which the other perceveing (contrary to their first orders) wheeles of from the danger, to finde a place for their securitye, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, givinge the Bullits leave to grope their owne way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes; and in his fate the soulders (or the greater part) through their hearts, now sunk into their heels which they were now making use of instead of their hands, the better to save their jackits, of which they had bin certainly stripped, had they com under ther enimies fingers, who knows better how to steale then fight, notwithstanding this uneven cast of Fortunes malize. . . . It is trew Whalys condition was desperate, and hee was resolved that his Curage should be comformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intelligence how Hansford, and som others, was sarved at Accomack;¹ which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a man, then to be hanged like a dog; if that his fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of Stealeing; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty.² But let Whalys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an opposition against his Assalent according to his condition, yet those in the House with him stooode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the whole exseeded not 40) prest into the servis, much against their will; and had a grater antipethy against

¹ At a court martial held by Sir William Berkley "on board Capt. John Martins shipp," Jan. 11, 1676-7, Hansford, Carver, Wilford, Farloe, and others were hanged on the charge of treason.

² It must be remembered that this account is intensely partisan, and does not reflect even the sentiment of the day. Modern writers throw an entirely different light upon the conduct of Bacon and his associates.

Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those wounds he receved in the salley at Towne, which in this action proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage: . . . For the failure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refered to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude into the Howse with the Centrey) not onely injureous to their owne party by letting slip so faire an occasion to weaken the power of the enemy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerablest parson on that side; but it was and did prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: . . . When that West Point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secured, for the Governour, these two Gen:¹ was at the Brick-howse, in New Kent: a place situate allmost oppossitt to West Point, on the South side of Yorke River, and not 2 miles removed from saide point, with som soulders under their command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on that side; he haveing a ship, at that time, at Ancor near the place. They had made som attempts to have hindred Granthams designes (of which they had gained som intelligence) but their indeviours not fadging, the sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the command of Whaley, to reinforce their own strength."

The narrative breaks off at this point, the remainder having been lost, and with it the later contemporaneous history of Bacon's generals. But we can gather some other points with regard to Whaley from the proclamations of Sir William Berkley with regard to the dispersed rebels, which were incorporated as acts of Assembly, and are to be found in Hening's Statutes at Large.² The first is entitled *An Act of Indemnity*, and was passed "at a grand Assembly, begunn at Green Spring, The 20th day of February, anno Dni. 1676-7, annoq. Regni Rs. Carol. Sedi. xxixth etc." After reciting the free pardon and indemnity

¹ Drummond and Ingram.

² The Statutes at Large being a collection of all the laws of Virginia from the first session of the Legislature, in the year 1619, etc., by William Waller Hening. New York, 1823.

to be granted to those concerned in the late rebellion, the act reads:¹

“Provided alwayes, and it is the true intent and meaning of these presents, that this present act of pardon, indemnity and oblivion, nor anything therein contained shall give noe other benefit whatsoever unto Nathaniell Bacon the younger . . . nor to Richard Lawrence, Thomas Whaley and John fforth, who were principal actors in the said rebellion, and are fled from justice, not dareing to abide their tryall, all which aforesaid persons, were notorious actors and abettors in the aforesaid horrid rebellion against the kings majestie, but that they and every one of them and their estates, reall and personall, shalbe, and are out of this present act excepted and foreprized according to an act of this assembly for that purpose passed this present assembly.”

By the second act,² passed the same day, and which is referred to in the first, Lawrence, Whaley, and Forth are “adjudged to be convicted and attainted of high treason to all intents and purposes, and all and every the messuages . . . shall stand and be forfeited to the kings most sacred majestie &c. &c.”

Sir William Berkley ceased to be Governor in 1677, and returned to England. The rancor against the “rebels” gradually subsided, and in 1680 we find an act³ passed at a General Assembly, held at James’s City, which pardons Joseph Ingram, Gregory Walklett, Thomas Whaley, John Forth, and John Langston; but provides that if they “Shall at any tyme after the passing of this act accept or exercise any publique office whatsoever within the said colony of Virginia, that then such of them as doe soe, accept or exercise aforesaid, shall to all intents and purposes stand as if he or they had beene totally excepted by name out of this act.”

With these acts of Assembly ends the recorded history of Thomas Whaley in Virginia; no mention is made of him in any other document which has come under my notice, nor does there seem to be any knowledge as to where he had gone or what had become of him. Had he returned to

¹ Hening’s Statutes, Vol. II. pp. 369, 370.

² Lib. id., p. 376.

³ Lib. id., p. 461.

Virginia, doubtless we should have heard of him in 1688, asking for a removal of his political disabilities.

At some date prior to the year 1680 there appeared in Rhode Island a singular man, who at the end of the last century was the object of much speculation, and whose history, as much of it as is known, is detailed at some length by the learned Dr. Stiles, of Yale College, in his collection of investigations on the subject of the Regicides in New England.¹ From this account I abridge the following details: The wanderer was said to have come "from Virginia at the beginning of the Petaquamscot settlement, which was soon after Philip's war, 1657, and the Great Swamp fight." Colonel Willet, who was a citizen of North Kingston and a man of prominence and intelligence, allowed the new-comer to settle on his farm,—on a piece of land at the north end of Petaquamscot Pond, near Narragansett Bay,—and from him is derived much of the knowledge we have of the settler. The latter built himself a hut on the high bank, and "subsisted by fishing and writing for the Petaquamscot settlers. He was soon found to be a man of sense and abilities; and it was a matter of wonder that he refused to live otherwise than in a mean and obscure manner." The name given by this singular man was Theophilus Whale, and "from his name he was early suspected to be the regicide; and being questioned upon it, his answers were so obscure and ambiguous that they confirmed his acquaintance in that belief, which I found fixed and universal at Narragansett in 1755, and which remains so there and at Rhode Island to this day."²

¹"A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I.," etc., by Ezra Stiles, S.T.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. Hartford, 1794. Pp. 339 to 357.

²This was also the case in 1878, when I visited Narragansett Pier, and made a pilgrimage to the grave of Whale. There are many descendants of Whale, now calling themselves Whaley, who live in North Kingston and the environs of Narragansett. Indeed, in Updike's "History of the Church in Narragansett" (p. 350) occurs the following curious passage taken from the record of the Narragansett Church, under date of April 16, 1772: "In presence of many witnesses, Mr.

Among the points which confirmed Colonel Willet in common with his neighbors in this belief were certain circumstances which he was accustomed to relate as supporting his theory that Theophilus Whale was none other than Edward Whalley the Regicide. "Several Boston gentlemen," he said, "used once a year to make an excursion and visit at his father's house. As soon as they came they always inquired eagerly after the welfare of the good old man: and his father used to send him, when a boy, to call him to come and spend the evening at his house. As soon as Mr. Whale came in the gentlemen embraced him with great ardour and affection, and expressed great joy at seeing him, and treated him with great friendship and respect. They spent the evening together with the most endearing familiarity, so that the colonel said he never saw any gentlemen treat one another with such apparently heartfelt cordiality and respect." Another incident of much the same nature is current tradition in Narragansett: "In Queen Ann's War a ship came up the bay and anchored before Mr. Willet's door. The name of the captain was Whale, and he was a kinsman of Mr. Whale who lived but one mile off, and made him a visit, when they recognized one another with the affection of kindred. After an agreeable interview, the captain invited Mr. Whale to dine with him on board ship; he accepted the invitation and promised to come. But considering further of it, he did not adventure on board, rendering as a reason that this was truly his cousin, yet he did not know but possibly there might be some snare laid for him to take him."¹ This is vouched

Fayerweather married Mr. Sylvester Sweet to Miss Martha Whalley, of Narragansett, the bride being given away by her father, Mr. Jeremiah Whalley, one of the descendants of old Colonel Whalley, who came away from Great Britain on account of being one of the regicides of King Charles the First, of ever blessed memory, and who sat in the mock court before which that excellent Prince, that blessed martyr, was arraigned, tried, and condemned, and who was called proverbially (in the day of it) one of King Charles's Judges."

¹Stiles's "Judges," p. 343, also Updike's "History of the Church in Narragansett," p. 350.

for by Colonel Willet, and was known to all the neighbors, confirming them in the belief that Whale was the regicide.

With his accustomed energy, Dr. Stiles sought an interview with Samuel Hopkins, a grandson of Whale, from whom he elicited the following facts: That Theophilus Whale married in Virginia, *circ.* 1670, one Elizabeth Mills; that he was the father, by this marriage, of seven children, —(1) Joan, born in Virginia, (2) Elizabeth, born in Virginia in 1672, (3) Martha, born in Narragansett in 1680, (4) Theodosia, (5) Anna, (6) Lydia, (7) Samuel. The place of birth of Theodosia, Anna, and Samuel was uncertain, but probably one or more of them was born in Virginia. It was also in evidence that Whale was a man of good education, and that he was engaged in the Indian wars in Virginia, and that "for the first years of his living at Narragansett he followed fishing in Petaquamscot Pond; at length weaving, and in this he spent most of his life."

Elizabeth, the wife of Whale, died about 1715, and then the old man went to Greenwich to live in the family of his daughter, Mrs. Spencer. The date of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to be 1719 or 1720, and his age is estimated as at least one hundred and three years.

The only document known to have been signed by Theophilus Whale was a deed of assignment to his son Samuel Whale, dated February 20, 1711. This deed Dr. Stiles saw, and describes the signature as a "good, free hand writing, and a sharp, running hand." This paper unfortunately has been lost; had we access to it now, a comparison with accredited signatures might tell us something of the origin of the signer.

I have now adduced all that is known to me of Thomas Whaley, of Virginia, and have added to this the leading facts in the history of Theophilus Whale, of Narragansett, not because I think that any sufficient theory can be based upon the curious coincidence in their histories, but because it is well to collect these facts together, so that should any additional evidence be developed in the future, it may be the more easily compared with what is already known.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF JAMES
CLAYPOOLE.

(Continued from page 282.)

PHILADELPHIA y° 1st. 12 mo 1683.

WM. END & DANLL SAVORY

My 2 last to Wm End was y° 19 4 mo & 10 5 mo from London, since have noat from you: I ꝑceive by a letter to me lately from Fran & Geo Rogers that they will not pay you any part of that mony due to me by Gamble & Wheddon, so I have ordered them to keep it all in their own hands & have made up accot. with them Accordingly, so to answer y° 7. 17. 6 due to you. for mony recd of Miles Foster I send you inclosed Tho Holmes bill on John Tottenham for 8 lb pble to yor selves or ord^r in Cooke at 20 da. sight, the value of myselfe wch will Ballance accot. between us. here is a letter of Advise with the Bill wch allso Mentions a bill of 6 lb sent Fran & Geo Rogers Miles Forster is arrived in East Jarsey & is there Secretary wch is a verry propp & profitable place for him, so its probable now he will pay you those bonds sooner than y° time exprest for I thinke he is an honest Ingenuous dilligent man, we are all in health & lik y° place verry well with my true love to you both I rest
Yor.

PHYLADELPHIA y° 1st. 12 mo 1683

THOMAS COOKE

My last to thee was the 30 4 mo from London wherein I advised that I had paid the ballance of thy acct being £51—14 to Jno Bawden & Jno Gardner, since have none from thee, we sayled from Gravesend abt. y° 25 5 mo and were seaven weeks between sight of England and America, & we have all had our health indifferent well, and like the place and countrey, and the blessing of the Lord is our portion,

and his presence and love & life we enjoy to our great comfort and satisfaction, I should have written to thee and other friends long before this time, but first for above a month, which took up most of the 9th. month we were getting our goods on shore and settling them & than the 10th & 11th. month have been so cold, that we could seldome write, and the Societys business hath taken up so much of my time, besides the great uncertainty in such opportunitys as we had for sending, so that all things considered I may be verry well excused, I might give thee a large Account of the countrey, and divers matters relating thereunto, but thou may have it by word of mouth wth more satisfaction from Jasper Fariner by whom I send this only as to $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ vision till we can raze some of our own, they are and will be deare, vizt Porke & beef salt or fresh 3d $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ lb wch is $\frac{4}{5}$ value of English money, vizt. 15d is an English shilling, & a ps $\frac{3}{8}$ wch cost there 4—5—goes here for 6s Butter and cheese by retaile 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, big wholesale 6 d. at least I believe Irish beefe and Porke, will field currantly 40s. $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ brl. in Quantitys, so if thou or any other have a mind to send a small vessell from 50 to 100 ton wth $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ vision hither may doubtless turn to a very good acct. thou may consign to me if thou pleases I shall doe as well as I can for thee, and for returns for y^e pceed we have timber and Pipe Staves, but the principall thing is Piggs of fine Silver wch we Purchase under 5d. $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ oz starl., and sometimes bills of Exchange present, I am now Sending for London a bill of Exchange for a good Summe, and near 400 oz of fine silver, besides we shall have tobacco to send, and the goods of the southern Plantations, as Sugar, Cotton Indigo & Ginger &c. for here are 2 if not 3 Ships going to those parts at this time, and there is a Sloop with a great many men lys below in the river bound to fetch Silver from the rack, so that I hope we shall have a trade in a few years, as well as our neighbours as New England, Virginia, Maryland &c we have corne plentifull in the countrey though it is now dear here because the river hath been long frozen, Indian corne 3s. Wheat 5s. Rye 4s. $\text{\textcircled{P}}$ bush: English goods we sell generally for almost double money, wch is 60 to 70 $\text{\textcircled{P}}\%$

advance, Irish frize & Stockings is a good commodity, it is now very cold and time is short through multiplicity of other business, so for further advice I must referr & at present conclude

PHYLADELPHIA the 1st. 12 mo 1683

ROBERT ROGERS

I intended to write to thee and some other Friends soon after my arrivall In America, which was the 1st day of the 8th month, but had not an opportunity for sending & have had a great deal of trouble in settling my goods and family, and for two months together it hath been so cold I could seldome write, I might give thee a large account of the countrey and trade and matters relating thereunto but thou may have it wth more satisfaction from Jasper Farmer by whom I send this, only as to ~~Þ~~vision till we can raze some of our own &c as mentioned to Tho Cooke verbatim.

PHILADELPHIA the 13th 12 mo 1683

EDWARD HAISTWELL

I have not written to thee since I came hither, nor to any one in England, having met with many exercises and hindrances, so I have before me to answer thine 31st 5 mo 16 6 mo & 1 8 mo as to Sr. St. Jno. Broidrick who I perceive complains against me I shall write him a letter in a little time by another messenger that is to goe hence for Maryland and so for England which may satisfye him, at least vindicate my reputation from his slanders, Inclosed I send a 1st. bill drawn by our Governour Wm Penn upon John Danoas of Corseham for 30 lb starld. pble to George Foreman at 10 da. sight and by him Indorced to me, and by me to thee wch is to be paid at Philip Fords, I desire thee receive the said 30 lb for my account as soon as thou canst and pay to Thomas Hart £15 & take a receipt in full I say 15 lb & pay Jno. Haywood 5s. pvided he will give a receipt in full I thought I had ordered it soe from Deale, the rest of the 30 lb & wt. other money thou hast of mine in thy hands pay to Edwd. Man in part I have 4 small wedges of fine silver

near 400 oz which I keep for an opportunity to send for England, and have had some of it near 3 months also have some Beavors, Raccons, Musquasses & buck skins to send £ first which shall be for Ralph Weeks in full Allexander Parker & Edwd. Man and if I can get another great wedg of silver which I have been treating for, I shall send it to thee and give order for goods to be sent me, here is Tobacco, Skins, Silver, Pipe staves & timber to be had for returns for England, and whale oyle & bone our Fishermen have taken 4 or 5 Whales allready in the Bay and are like to continue fishing till the end of y^e next month wch will be the best time, and there is hopes of getting a great many, if thou sends ps $\frac{3}{8}$ may be a very good commodity, & I can returne thee fine Silver wch we buy here for a ps $\frac{3}{8}$ & 4d. starld £ oz and may be worth in England from 5—6 to 5—9 £ oz there is a vessell going out of the River, that has lain here all this winter wth. abt. 100 men bound for the Rack to fetch silver from whence we have had a great Quantity there may be expectation of bringing 20 oz. 30000 lb worth, I had a very abusive letter from Francis & George Rogers to which I have sent them an answer directly for Ireland and a bill of Exc^a. for the ballance of their acct. drawn by Tho. Holmes, so thou must not send the books if not already sent, but if so have ordered them to return me the £ ceed in some provisions, I have assigned them the whole money of Gamble & Wheddon so have sent Wm. End & Danl. Savory a bill alsoe to ballance their account, I am to have something from Saml. Clarridge, wch when thou writes to him put him in mind of it, and further I have noe account depending with any one In Ireland, Remembr mine & my wifes dear love to P. F. A. P & wife, P. W. & wife, must write to them all & to many other Friends, as to Tho : Hart Jno. Osgood Ph. Ford Wm. Sharlow Jno. Sweetaple Jno. Bawden, Ed. Man Tho. Glover Jno. Wallis Wm. Purrier J. Hall R Gawthorn to whom remember me £ tticularly & to our maids & Kingstonee Friends Jno. Rouse & wife have sent considerable effects to my brother Edwd. at Barbadoes and shall send more wh. opportunity psents £ advice £ first

& wt. news, my time is expired so must conclude though
have many things to write

Thy Loving Friend

Direct and seale y^e Inclosed.

PHILADELPHIA 12th 12 mo 1683

DEAR FRIEND

CHRISTOPHER TAYLOR

Concerning my deputation from thee to serve in the Register office &c. I have considered that it will not be for the Credit. of the Governour nor neither of us for me to act as a Deputy in that wch. is but the business of one man, neither is there any need of a Deputy but by reason of thy removing from hence, where the office must be kept, And this way of getting grants for offices, and putting in deputys for a share of the gain may be an ill President, and made use of to the peoples wrong in times to come, wch. we must be carefull of for truths honour & our own, and further I believe the Governour would not have conferred that office upon thee, had he expected thou wouldst have removed from thence, so this I have to propose that thou consent in answer to this to let me (if the Governour please to grant it) have a Pattent for the office in my own name, and I will signe and seale to thee any obligation that is p^{ro} to pay to thee y^e $\frac{1}{3}$ pt. of the Profit of the sd. office, wch. wth. my true love to thee & thy wife

I desire thee let the bearer Isaac Pearson the Govend. smith have as many coles as the shallop will carry without measuring & for wt. is or will be farther measured I hope thou wilt keep some small acct. & I shall serve thee in a greater matter, Let the Coles now to be sent to be out of the 1st heap if there be enough, I doe not p^{ro}pose to have a pattent for the office for any advantage or profit beyond wt. I have in being thy deputy for I desire but $\frac{2}{3}$ as above but to prevent reflections wch. has been grossly given already in publick neither doe I insist upon it to have the office my selfe but leave it to thee to settle any other in it if thou please, for as a deputy I cannot will not serve

PHYLADELPHIA 24th 12 mo 168 $\frac{1}{2}$

DEAR FRIEND GAWEN LAURIE

I was very glad to hear of thy safe arrivall in East Jarsey and should have written to thee by Wm. Hage, but about the time of his going hence, I had business in hand that required necessity of dispatch, and sometimes it falls out so here, that one has not an hour to spare in severall days but I hope when this summer & the next winter is past, we shall have more rest and quietness, I long to see thee and to have some discourse with thee, which to attain I must break through difficulties, and lay aside my business, and I think it will not bee many weeks first the weather being also encouraging, I have often thought it would have been as a blessing and comfort to us, if it had been the will of the Lord to have cast our lots near together in this part of the world, that we might have enjoyed the benefit of thy good society & Counsell here, as we have in our native country, which has been an Advantage to us both inwardly & outwardly, however I hope we shall still live in that blessed union, and fellowship of the Gospell, & heavenly love, that we may bee always ready, and willing to lend a helping hand in time of need: Since we came from England as well as before, the Lord our God has been with us and blessed us, and preserved us through many trialls and dangers we had a comfortable passage and the presence of the Lord was with us, and we were kept in the Savour of life, so that our conversation was such as becomes the gospell, and answered the witness of God in all people, after we lost sight of England, that day 7 weeks we got sight of American land, and the 1st. 8 mo (which was the month I was borne in Just 49 year) I went ashore in Pennsilvania, about the 10th we came to this place staying on board 7 or 8 days to get our goods out of the ship we had before we came here the carcase of a house finished 40 foot long & 20 broad with a cellar, and we have added 20 foot to it, and have been from that day to this fitting it to dwell in, my lott proves to be one of the best in the Town, having 102 foot to the River & 396 long & abt. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in the high street, there is a swamp runs

by the side of my lott, that with a small charge might be made navigable, and a brave harbour for sloops and small ships, here are divers ways to improve a stock of 1 or 2000 lb to very great advantage, but I am not for striving or making hast to be rich, but my Intent and desire is to goe on quietly and moderately and to have a regard to the Lord in all my ways and Proceedings and principally and above all to seek the kingdome of God and the righteousness thereof, that his plantation work may goe on as well as ours, that righteousness may run down like a stream, and peace & truth may kiss each other, that we may grow as trees of righteousness the planting of the Lord, and bring forth fruit to his praise, we have had our share of trialls & troubles here but the Lord has been with us, and comforted us with his presence, and life and power, and the Joys of his Salvation, so that our consolation has abounded and far Exceeded our troubles, so that we have noe cause to repent our coming hither, but to bless the Lord for his leading hand and counsell, we have here verry pretious heavenly meetings, and many Friends have a blessed living testimony, and we are united in sincere love, so that we have the mark upon us of the disciples of Christ Jesus Wm Penn our Governour has been Exceeding kind, and is so still to me & my Family as if we were his nearest relations, and I hope his love will continue, & I know it will, as wee abide in Christ Jesus the heavenly vine the root of life from whom we receive nourishment, for that is the spring & fountaine of the Everlasting love & fellowship: Truly he is very pretious in his Testimony, and conversation, and we may be sure he takes counsell of the Lord, for there is much of the wisdome that is from above manifest in his conduct & manidgmt. of affairs here, by wch. he is made a fit instrument in the hand of the Lord for the work and service he is called to, and I wish with all my heart that all the Governours upon the Earth were such as he is.

I have heard that thou art chosen by the Proprietors and come over to be Governour of East Jarsey, which is well and may be a blessing both to thee and the people if thou

stands in God's counsell and acts in his wisdome otherwise high places are slippery, and more snairs attends him that Governs than him that Suffers, so my dear Friend my desire is that thou maist walk in wisdome's path, and wait at the posts of her Gates y^t Thee may fill thy Treasury, and then thou wilt be the Peoples Treasure, and have their hearts, and then it will be easie to govern & righteousness will Establish your Governmt., I know thou art grave and solid, & wise, & patient having a command of thy own spirit, and many other Qualifications and Indowments fit for a Governour, yet all will not doe without the pure wisdome that is from above, and a meek and Quiet Spirit which is of great price with the Lord, for the meek he guides in Judgment and he teaches the humble his ways.

I have lately seen a letter or a copy of one in thy name disowning Saml. Jennings, and charging him with breaking his Allegiance to the King, and betraying his trust with Edwd. Billing, and acting contrary to the Principles of Truth, and comparing him to plotters & subverters of Governmt. &c. ordering the said charge to be published which I did admire at and was much grived to see, & could wish it had been deferred till thou and hee had discoursed together, and that had been gospell order. and its possible he might have given thee such Satisfaction as to have prevented this publick disowning, or thou might have convinced him of his error (if he be wrong) and brought him to repentance, and so have saved him, which is better than to destroy, as Christ Jesus came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them, for my part when I think of it I am grived and dread the consequence of it, how the Enemies of truth, and of the Prosperity of these new Plantations will open their mouths agt. us, and say, wt. are these Quakers now they are tryed with Governmt, they rise up against one another to destroy one another, for it seems as if thou wouldst Induce the people to disown his power as being Illegall, and expose him to the severity of the law as a Traytor agt. the King, and to be disowned by Friends as a Treacherous person that acts agt. the Principles of truth, and all this from reports & seeing the acts

of their assembly, without speaking with him or writing to him, for my part except I had seen it, I could not have believed that a man of thy wisdome and moderation that knows the Practise and order of the Gospell in such cases should give such a rash Judgment, but I am afraid thou hast adhered to the Counsell of some that are rotten hearted, and would lead thee into the snares of death, as they have done their own souls, yet I am in hopes that when this business comes to be debated before Soild weighty Friends and either thee or he is sensible of your Errour, there will be a condescending and the breach healed and not made wider for I would not have the hand of the Lord, goe agt. either of you, for I love you both, and my desire to the Lord is, that you may be preserved, and be a blessing to the people over whom you govern, I and my wife and 8 children are all at this place in good health, and soe have been mostly since we came, John my Eldest writes for the Register James is book keeper to the Society, so with mine and my wives dear love in the truth to thee I rest

Thy Endeared Friend

PHILADELPHIA y^e 4th. 2d. Month. 1684

EDWARD HAISTWELL

My last to thee was y^e 13th 12 month whereof Inclosed is Coppy then sent a bill for 30 lb: this is the 2d bill: I have through Multiplicity of buisnes & being absent from home lost some oppertunitys of sending my silver & skins, but now I hope I shall gett them away by Tho: budd & some other freinds who are to come here from Burlington to goe for Maryland & goe by shipping for London, Just now is come to hand thine of 11 9 mo 3 Captain Purvis & one for James, I observe thou hadst reed 4lb. 18s. Debenter money of the nine which is well & pd. y^e Cheese monger &c. I wish thou hadst pd. John heywood 5s. which is all I owe him, for he writes Peevishly about it, but I remember very well that offered him the money divers times if he would take what was due to him which he refused & in his letter he writes as if I was run away in his Debt so pay him 5s. and take his

receit in full, & I have done with him, I have been 3 weeks from home about 150 miles of whare they take the whales, they took 2 while I was there, they had killed about 12 in all & lost 3 of them & they intend to stay till the end of this month & may expect to gitt 5 or 6 more they fish for the Society but must be pd. the Markett prise for $\frac{2}{3}$ of the oyle & bone besides some other Charges we are at so that we are like to gett no great Matter by it this time, this is the first year of their fishing and they were not provided with Nessesarys in time else they might have made 100 lb each man here being great plenty of whales & very easy to take them here is also abundance of Sturgeon & other fish, many things I should write laergly of but have not time nor opportunity being ~~ϕ~~plexed with the Societys business far beyond what ever I expected or would have undertooke if I had known it for 3 times my sallary, I hope it will be better quickly for the president has laid down his place, & we are to have a Generall Court this month, I cannot write to the Comittee or counsell there till our affairs in better order & I have more leasure.

The 29th. 5 mo 1684

Since the above written which I missed the opportunity of sending I have recd. thine of the 2d. 1 mo the chief Import of which is an account of the wonderfull frost &c. and great persecution throughout England, which we are sorry to hear, but satisfied in this that the Lord will preserve in the time of Tryall all that trust in him, and reward them many fold for all their sufferings, that are faithfull to him, As for Sr. St. John Broidrick defaming of me which I perceve he has done to Friends and others, Pray tell him I take it very unkindly, and did not Expect it from him he might consider how I accomodated him with great Summs of money by Exca. 4 or 500 lb at a time when none Else would to his great conveniency and my hazard for if he had dyed in the Interim, I believe I had lost it every penny, and then his not paying the bills in divers months after they were due whereby I lost the Profit of one return by Exca. if not two, which might have been double what I charge him for

Interest, It is true Fran: & Geo. Rogers winked at it to keep in his favour or for some Private advantage, but there is no reason or Equity, that I should lose it, then for the 20 lb I charged him with in a former account, but in the first account I gave his sons it was omitted by reason the Goldsmith pd. it, and I had not accounted wth. the Goldsmith, and had paid divers sums without receipts that 20 lb being omitted he denied it, and I could not prove it, soe I said little of it, and rather than I would have gone to law with him, I would have lost it, but I believe in my conscience he had it, and it is plain the goldsmith chargeth me with it: And of this there is 14—3—8 due to me which it is like he will never pay, As for the 40 lb he sais was charged in a former, if he can make that appear I will pay him 60 lb for it, but I have examined the acct. and find most certainly that it is not charged twice, satisfye G. F & I O and other friends in this case, where he has scandalized me; Inclosed I send thee an Invoyce of 4 hhd. & 1 bale furs, and 330½ ouz. silver, which to gather amounts to £172—6—4, and the 30 lb. bill of Exca makes 202—6—4 whereof I desire thee to pay Thomas Hart 15 lb. Ralph Weeks 42 lb. provided I may have a discharge in full, Alexander Parker 50 lb. Thomas Glover 53 lb. and take up my bond and send it me cancelled, and the rest to Edwd. Man wch. I hope may be 40 lb, the silver comes to me a great deal finer than Starling, therefore I rate it at 5½s. 3 ouz. and hope it may yield more, but sell it as wel. as thou canst, as also the Skins and furs, and pay Jno. Haywood 5s. in full, I owe no money else to any in England, but to Jno. Osgood and Wm. Sharlow, which I shall take care to pay in a little time and the rest due to Edwd. Man, we are forced to trust most wt. we sell, and People will not pay in 6 or 9 months, the Societys Treasurer before I came into the Country, had sold almost all their goods for great profit but upon trust w^{ch} is standing out to this day, so that we have neither cred^t nor money, and now must sue people at law, or be forced to loose all, we have a corne mill going, and are setting up a saw mill and glass house, we hear of a Cargoe by Cap^t East for the Society, but he is not yet ar-

rived, I had a very bad bargain of Jno. Bawdens wine, so that they had my commission business for nothing they rated it at 20 lb p pipe and it is not worth 10 lb, and I doubt will never sell unless for Vinegar for it is all Pricked but one Pipe, there was but about 6 Pipes came safe into my seller, and I lost above 1 hhd. & $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Clarret, the seamen and quarter M^r were the verryest Rogues & Thieves as is to be found in Newgate and the M^r a base Imperious Envious fellow, I would not have gone back with him for 1000 lb, if there be any money in thy hands for my acct, send me p the first good opportunity 3 firkins of the best keeping-butter, & 5 f of cheshire cheese, & 2 firkins soap, or if the Cheese monger in white chappell or Tho. Cooper, will send me a tunn or two of cheese & 10 or 12 firkins of butter, I shall make him returns in a little time to his content, or if anyone will send any commoditys that may be p per as linen serges crape and Bengall, and other slight stuffs, but sends no shoes, gloves stockings nor hatts nor wine of any sort, but if thou wilt send 10 or 20 br^{ls} Mum Iron bound may turn well to acct. for my part I am so weary of the Societys business, that I will get clear as soon as I can, and then I shall be more capable to serve myselfe & others, Deliver the Inclosed, I should write to divers, & will If I have time, if not thou must Excuse me to them, I have above 800 lb owing me in America, but it comes in very slowly, tell Jno. Turner, Jno. Sweetapple about their land that they can have no benefit of it till they either come or send or any others that have bought land, send no window glass nor lead, but Iron is much wanted, and nayls very much vizt 6d 8d & 10d a Tunn of each sort would quickly sell, I conclude.

The Iron monger that lives by Jno. Corke would fain have sent a Tunn of sorted potts, and have trusted me for the returns, if he will now doe it lett me have a Tunn p first 20 small beams to weigh from $\frac{1}{4}$ lb to 5 lb & 1 or two for 10 lb the scales we can fix here & 2 or 3 doz. brass cocks of severall sises.

Tell Richard Gawthorn I take it very unkindly and can-

not tell how to digest it that which he forced from me in my sickness at Gravesend.

Before the sealing hereof I was necessitated to draw a bill on thee for 20 lb ~~£~~ble at 20 da to George Thorp, which I was very unwilling to doe but it was to stop a gap, which I could not doe otherwise, so I must desire Alexander Parker to stay for 20 lb till I can send farther effects.

THE LANCASTER ASSEMBLY OF 1780.

BY D. McN. STAUFFER.

The list of subscribers to the Lancaster Assembly of 1780, given below, has been hidden for a century and more among the papers of an old family of the borough, and is now first published. It possesses interest in the names still familiar in the town and county, and as showing that even in the dark days of the Revolution there were still some residents of the old borough who could not entirely forego the delights of social intercourse. The letter of protest which follows presents the views of certain others of the inhabitants, and it was well-meant and courageously expressed, even if it did not carry conviction to the hearts of their gayer fellow-citizens:

Edward Hand, Mrs. Ewing, Mrs. Hand, Jasper Yeates, Mrs. Yeates, Matthias Slough, Mrs. Slough, Miss Barr, George Ross, Mrs. George Ross, William Parr, Mrs. Parr, Miss Parr, Miss P. Parr, John Witmer, Mrs. Witmer, Andrew Graff, Mrs. Graff, George Graff, Mrs. George Graff, Jacob Ziegler, James Ross, Mrs. James Ross, Frederick Kuhn, Paul Zantzinger, Mrs. Zantzinger, William Barton, John Hubley, Mrs. John Hubley, Joseph Hubley, Christopher Wirtz, Mrs. Wirtz, Miss Wirtz, Charles Hamilton, Mrs. Hamilton, Miss Hickenson, Henry Stuber, Mrs. Stu-

ber, William Wirtz, Mrs. W. Wirtz, Frederick Hubley, Mrs. Frederick Hubley, Jacob Graff, Mrs. Jacob Graff, Jacob Hubley, Robert Purdy, Mrs. Purdy, John Offner, Mrs. Offner, Jacob Baily, Mrs. Baily, Miss Baily, Thomas Cuthbert, Mrs. Cuthbert, Miss Cuthbert, Sebastian Graff, Mrs. Sebastian Graff, Miss Conner, Miss Betsey Conner, Miss Hart, Miss Hubley, Miss Sabina Hubley, Miss Wright, Miss Bethel, Miss Plunkett.

In the above list, the name at its head is that of General Hand, who must have been then temporarily at his home in Lancaster, for his military service seems to have been continuous to the close of the war at Yorktown, and in August, 1780, he was assigned to the command of one of the brigades of light infantry then formed. He married Margaret Ewing. Judge Yeates is too well known to need further mention. Matthias Slough for many years was an inn-keeper at the southwest corner of Centre Square, and his house was the one at which these assemblies were usually held. George Ross and James Ross were the sons of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, the elder Ross having died in July, 1779. William Parr was a lawyer in Lancaster and Philadelphia, having been admitted to the bar as early as 1752. The Graffs were a prominent family in the borough, and the Sebastian, near the foot of the list, was the father probably of the others named; he built the house on North Queen and Orange, known as Shober's Hotel.

Frederick Kuhn was a doctor, and the son of Dr. Adam Simon Kuhn, one time burgess of Lancaster, and a man of very considerable influence in the old town. Paul Zantzinger was also prominent as a merchant and a wealthy citizen. William Barton was the oldest son of the Rev. Thomas Barton, long time rector of St. James' Episcopal Church, and who married Esther, the sister of the celebrated David Rittenhouse.

The Hubleys—John, Joseph, Jacob, and Frederick—were the sons of Bernard and Michael Hubley, who came to Lancaster about 1735–40; John Hubley studied law with Ed-

ward Shippen, and was admitted to the bar in 1769; he held many public offices of trust. Of the others little is known, save that their names frequently appear on the early records of Lancaster borough.

But there were others in Lancaster who entered an earnest protest against these, to them unseemly routes and balls; and from the same mass of papers in which the assembly list has been preserved so many years comes a letter from two men honored in the community, who express themselves as follows upon this subject of a similar ball two years earlier in date than that above given:

“LANCASTER, the 8th day of Feb. 1778.

“SIR: We are much obliged to you for the Honor you intended by inviting us to the Company of the Gentlemen within this Town, or to your Ball. But as we think it to be quite contrary to the Character of Ministers of Christ to appear at such Places, you will excuse our not Complying with your Desire. The Rest of our Reasons for acting in this Manner you will see in the Sentiments inclosed. And we can assure you with a great Deal of Certainty that the most part of the Members of our Congregations are of the same mind with us, and you know that they compose the greatest numbers of the Inhabitants of this Town. The English is not our Mother Tongue, you will find therefore many Faults in consisting with the Idiom of the same; but we know you are too much of a gentleman than to exhaust your Wit about such Trifles. We mean no Insult to you, or any of the Gentlemen, it is the true Language of an un-designing & feeling Heart we speak, they are the Dictates of our Conscience. You are therefore at Liberty to let your Company see, hear or read the inclosed lines. We hope you are no Enemy to the Word of God. Open then your Bible and read with a due Attention what you find: James C, 4. v, 8, 9; Chap. 5, v. 1, 5; Ecclesiast., C, 2, v. 1, 2; 1 Corinth. C. 10, v, 6, 7, 9, 11; Luc. 21. v, 34, 35, and be assured that this is & will be the true Word of the most High, who will at his own Time more powerfully manifest it as such, to the unbelieving as well as to his Believers. We have the Honor to subscribe ourselves

“Your most humble and most obedient servants,

(Signed)

“HENRY HELMUTH,

“ALBERT HELPHENSTONE.”

The "Sentiments Inclosed" were as follows :

" To any it may concern.

"There is no need to make a long Detail of the great Misery of our present Times. The most bloody and unnatural War rages in this Country. Both Armys have erected their Standards in our Neighborhood, and Spread Death and Ruin around them. Many Thousands have lost their Lives already. And how many walk about Sickly, wounded and lame? who are held up as mirriours of misery before our Eyes. A most dangerous & infectious Sickness (the natural consequence of War) brings Death exceeding near to us. The Relicts of some ruined Familys beg their Bread at our Doors. Others in the Power of the Enemy, groan under their oppressions—and many die a lingering and cruel Death from Hunger and Cold in the most loathsome places of a Gaol. It is one of the Prerogatives of Mankind by which they are distinguished from irrational beings, to have a Sense of Compassion at the Distress of their Fellow Creatures; the Sight, the Knowledge of it, creates generally a Sort of tender Uneasiness and Trouble which render Sportfull Diversions distasteful and unpleasant to the Mind. How strange then is it for men, to play away in this Time of Distress, Whole Hours and Nights in Companys, where they feast perhaps to Excess, play and dance. How to account for such Behaviour we hardly Know, for it is certain Heathens would not act worse; and how much more unbecoming it is for such who call themselves Professors of the Religion of our tender and most compassionate Saviour. The Thoughtless may place us on the Wrong side of the Question in making such a warr about their innocent Diversions, as they call them. But if we err, a very venerable Body of our Legislative Power keeps us company. It is well known that Congress has resolved that such Diversions should subside during the present calamitys. And if the Precepts of Christianity, human Compassion and Feeling have no weight with you, you at least should so much Discretion as to make others think you unfriendly to the Cause of your Country, by resisting openly what your Superiors so earnestly & wisely have recommended you. Retire for a moment from your Vanity! and we hope Arguments of more Weight will be suggested within your own Breasts against this very unbecoming Behaviour. That this may be the case is the earnest wish of

(Signed)

" PHILANTHROPI."

The Rev. Henry Helmuth, who wrote both the above letter and its enclosure, was at the time pastor of the Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster. He was an able and a good man, one of the last of the twelve Lutheran ministers sent over from Halle before the Revolution, and in the year following the date of his letter was transferred to St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia, where he afterwards became Professor of the German and Oriental Languages in the University of Pennsylvania. He died in 1825, in the eightieth year of his age. The Rev. Albert Helphenstein, or Helphenstone, as he translated it in his signature, was also a Lutheran clergyman, we believe, though we know little about him.¹

¹ [The Rev. John Conrad Albert Helfenstein was an eminent clergyman of the German Reformed, and not the Lutheran church. He was born at Moszbach, in the Palatinate, February 16, 1748. Graduating from the University of Heidelberg, he was ordained, and sent to America in 1772. His first charge was the congregation in Germantown, where he labored until 1775, when he became pastor at Lancaster. In 1779 he was recalled to the Germantown congregation, and died there May 17, 1790.—ED.]

OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK CITY BY THE
BRITISH.

[Under the above caption, in Nos. 2 and 3 of Vol. I., PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., we reprinted extracts from the diary of the Moravian congregation in the city of New York, for the year 1776, which had been prepared for *The Moravian*, by Rt. Rev. A. A. Reinke. The excerpts now presented begin with the year 1775 and end with 1783,—excepting 1778, the MS. of which is missing.]

Ewald Gustav Schaukirk, the diarist, was born 28th February, 1725, at Stettin, Prussia, where his father was a lawyer and member of the town council. Uniting with the Moravian Church, and entering its ministry, he filled positions on the Continent and Great Britain, and in the mission among the negroes in the West Indies. In the summer of 1774 he was sent to America, and the year following was appointed pastor of the New York congregation, where he remained until 1784. The church, a brick building, stood on Fair, now Fulton, between Nassau and William Streets, and was dedicated June 18, 1752. The parsonage adjoined. Mr. Schaukirk was consecrated a bishop in 1785, and died at Herrnhut, Saxony, March 19, 1805.—ED.]

1775.

February 28th. Tuesday.—About noon, the new Hospital, not quite finished, was consumed by fire.¹

March 6th. Monday.—A noisy day, owing to the election of Delegates to the Provincial Congress.

April 23d. Sunday.—The reports from Boston that hostilities had begun between the King's troops and the Provincials,² created considerable commotion.

April 29th. Saturday.—The past week has been one of commotion and confusion. Trade and public business was at a stand; soldiers were enlisted; the inhabitants seized

¹ The hospital at Reneleagh caught fire while the workmen were at dinner, and the wooden portion of the building was destroyed in about one hour.

² Skirmish at Lexington, April 19.

the keys of the Custom House; and the arms and powder were taken from the Corporation. Fear and panic seized many of the people, who prepared to move into the country.

May 26th. Friday.—This evening we were notified that the Provincial Congress¹ had directed that all clergymen who preach in English, are in turn to open the sessions with prayers.

June 6th. Tuesday.—The King's troops were embarked on a man-of-war for Boston.

June 25th. Sunday.—Considerable excitement in Town. Our Governor, William Tryon, was expected today from England; and also General Washington of the Provincials, who has been appointed Commander-in-chief of all the troops by the Continental Congress. Some regard would be shown to the Governor, but the chief attention was paid to Gen. Washington.² The Governor landed late in the evening.

June 26th. Monday.—Gen. Washington left for New England, amid great pomp and show.³

August 24th. Thursday.—Last evening was one of excitement. About midnight some of the town-soldiers began to remove the cannon from the Battery. The *Asia*,⁴ man-of-war watched their movements. Capt Vandeput, who is a humane man, and had no intention to injure the city, but was determined to protect the King's property, fired a couple of guns. His barge and the citizens fired on each other—one of the barge men was killed, and on both sides some were wounded. The firing alarmed the citizens, drums were beat and the soldiers assembled. Twenty one

¹ Convened at the Exchange, foot of Broad Street, on 22d inst.

² Washington, attended by Generals Schuyler and Lee, and escorted by the "First City Troop," in command of Captain Markoe, reached the city in the afternoon, where he was received by the military and citizens.

³ The "City Troop" escorted Washington as far as King's Bridge, and returned to New York on Tuesday evening. They set out for Philadelphia on Thursday.

⁴ The "*Asia*," 64, George Vandeput, commander, arrived from Boston, May 26.

cannons were secured. The Asia then fired a broadside with ball, which damaged several houses.¹

August 25th. Friday.—The excitement unabated and removals from the city continue to be made. A correspondence has been carried on between the Captain of the Asia and the Mayor, and through the latter with the Committee of the "One Hundred," to adjust matters. Gov. Tryon acted as mediator.²

August 28th. Monday.—Moving out of the city continues, and some of the Streets look plague-stricken, so many houses are closed. The dividing of all men between 16 and 50 years into Ward companies, increases the movement.

September 18th. Monday.—The Minute men paraded today, with their baggage and provisions. It was thought they were going on an expedition, but they marched but five miles out of the city and returned in the evening. Many of them got drunk, fought together where they had halted, and on their return the Doctors and Surgeons were kept busy. May the Lord have mercy on this poor City !

October 10th. Tuesday.—On account of an attempt which has been made to take blankets, sheets, &c., from the King's Store, the City is again in danger of being fired upon. The goods taken were subsequently carried back. It is observed that some of the "Head-men" of the City begin to hang their heads down, and many believe they will be ruined men !

October 16th. Monday.—The report that all the Crown officers and our Governor are to be arrested, caused Gov. Tryon to write a letter to the Mayor, which appeared in print. This caused fresh alarm.³

October 19th. Thursday.—This afternoon a Captain of the rifle company which recently marched through Bethlehem, and was returning from Cambridge, died here, and was interred in Trinity Church yard with military honors.⁴ Gov.

¹ *New York Gazette*, August 28.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, October 23.

⁴ Captain Michael Cresap, of the First Regiment Riflemen. His company marched through Bethlehem, July 28. For order of funeral procession, see *N. Y. Gazette*, October 23.

Tryon went on board the Sloop-of-war Halifax, not deeming it safe to remain in the city.

November 3rd. Thursday.—In the city there were again disturbances.¹

1777.

January 7th. Tuesday.—Since the attack and defeat which the Hessians sustained near Trenton, the rebels are again in high spirits; and whereas the King's troops have been ordered down towards Philadelphia from Newark and Hackensack, the rebels are come again to these places, and distress the people greatly.

January 14th. Tuesday.—At the request of Gen. Howe, we loaned several wagon loads of our benches for the entertainment to be held on the Queen's birthday.²

January 18th. Saturday.—Reports prevailed that a part of the rebel army was approaching the city, and early this morning they had made an attack upon a fort above King's Bridge, but were repulsed.

January 20th. Monday.—It appears from the newspapers, that another attempt to destroy the city by fire would be made. The city watch was regulated anew, by which eighty men watched every night in the different wards; and the Light Horse patrol the streets. Today a beginning was made with the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to the King. Every day two wards are taken—the Governor, Mayor, and other officers being present.

March 4th. Thursday.—This afternoon Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, who died on Tuesday, was buried in St. Pauls. Mr. Inglis kept the services. The attendance

¹ Attack of Captain Sears on Rivington's *Royal Gazetteer* printing-office, at the foot of Wall Street.

² January 18, being the Queen's birthday, a royal salute was fired at Fort St. George; his Majesty's Commissioners gave a grand entertainment to the Governor, officers of the army and navy, both British and Hessian, and in the evening an exhibition of fireworks, under direction of Captain Montresor. Sir William Howe gave an elegant ball and supper; the former was opened by Mrs. Clark and Governor Tryon.

was large, notwithstanding the weather [rainy and snowy] was very bad.¹

March 18th. Tuesday.—On Sunday night about 100 rebels being in a house near King's Bridge, some of the King's troops went to capture them. As they entered the house they were fired upon, and the captain and four or five of his men were killed. Forty of the rebels were killed and the others taken prisoners.²

May 29th. Wednesday.—The King's troops are preparing for the campaign. The day before yesterday some of the fleet with fresh troops arrived, and yesterday a large number of troops came in from King's Bridge to embark.

May 31st. Saturday.—As many troops have arrived, some were lodged in the North Church³ opposite us, (who were very noisy), others in the Methodist⁴ meeting-house and in the Old Dutch Church.⁵

June 5th. Thursday.—Troops are constantly being moved.

June 6th. Friday.—Large bodies of troops have been sent into the Jerseys—more German troops arrived.⁶ The Hospital Ship having received sailing orders, Dr. Edmonton (who lodges with us) the other doctors and surgeons, and Dr. Morris, the chief, who lodged in our neighborhood, hurried on board with their baggage.

June 25th. Wednesday.—A rumor states, that the expedition of the army had not succeeded—the enemy were too strongly entrenched—and they returned to Amboy. Since their return our streets have been filling up.

June 28th. Saturday.—Since Thursday a report has prevailed that there had been a smart battle in the Jerseys. After the King's troops had embarked and the day appointed for the sailing of the expedition, the general received intel-

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, March 10.

² *Ibid.*, March 24.

³ Whenever the diarist uses the term "North Church," he refers to the North Dutch Church, corner Fulton and William Streets, at one time occupied by the Post-Office.

⁴ John, near Nassau Street, known as the "Old John Street Church."

⁵ Garden Street, or "South Dutch Church."

⁶ The First Division of the Margrave of Anspach and Baireuth, and Chasseurs, and a body of Hessian Yagers.

ligence that the rebel army was within three miles of Amboy. The troops were disembarked, and marched in the night to surprise Washington. The reports vary much: 1000 killed of the King's troops; 5 or 6000 of the rebels, as many taken prisoners, with their artillery; Washington was among the slain, Stirling dead of his wounds, Gov. Livingston likewise; 400 Pennsylvanians had grounded their arms and come over to the regulars. Seventy were taken prisoners, who together with a couple of field-pieces, were brought to the city.¹ Matters go but slow, and cause concern to all disinterested well-wishers.

July 1st. Tuesday.—The North Church appears to be used again, either as a Hospital or a Prison.

July 3d. Thursday.—The King's troops have returned to Staten Island from Jersey. The rebels have now the whole Jerseys again, except Powles Hook, [now Jersey City] and we are just where we were last year, after being in possession of New York Island. It is very discouraging!

July 14th. Monday.—Gen. Prescott who had the command in NewPort, has been taken by the rebels; being it is said in his country house. A great oversight!²

July 22d. Tuesday.—Yesterday a report prevailed that Gen. Burgoyne has taken Ticonderoga, and is advancing with his army.

July 23d. Wednesday.—It is reported that the Fleet has sailed from the Hook; and that Washington is near King's Bridge.

August 22d. Friday.—There is considerable alarm on account of the rebels having been on Staten Island, destroyed the forage, plundered many of the inhabitants and had a smart fight, in which many were killed and taken prisoners on both sides. It is surprising that they should not be better on their guard. The King's troops have doubtless lost more than they will own.³

August 31st. Sunday.—In the city it has been sickly this month; many people, especially children died. On many evenings 7 or 8 were buried, and on one in particular seven-

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, June 30. ² *Ibid.*, July 21. ³ *Ibid.*, September 1.

teen. As to the war, little has been done as yet; people begin to speak loudly that the commanders don't do what they might, and seem to protract rather than make an end of these calamities. There is a report that Burgoyne has met with a loss above Albany! Provisions here grow dearer, and the outlook for next Winter is gloomy. If there is no opening up the North River wood &c., will be an exceedingly scarce article to obtain.

September 25th. Friday.—Yesterday, but chiefly today, a fleet came in from England with some thousands of troops, and Gen. Robertson with other officers.¹ Late this evening a captain of the man-of-war Zebra, the Honl. J. Tollemache, and Capt. Pennington of the Guards, fought a duel with swords in a upper room at Hull's Tavern. The former drop'd dead, the latter received several wounds.²

October 3rd. Friday.—Troops and Commodore Hotham with transports, went up the North River.

October 6th. Monday.—This afternoon we heard that Fort Montgomery and the other fort had been taken by storm. Many of the King's troops were killed and wounded; among the former four Field Officers. Of the rebels, who were reckoned to be 1200, those that were not killed or made their escape, were taken prisoners.³

October 11th. Saturday.—Today the rebel prisoners were brought in. Near 200 of the privates passed our door and were confined in the North Church.

¹ Among those who arrived were Major-Generals Robertson, Wilson, Patterson, Lord Cathcart, Marquis of Lindsay, and James Rivington.

"Rivington is arrived—let every man
This injur'd Person's worth Confess;
His loyal Heart abhor'd the Rebel's Plan,
And boldly dar'd them with his Press."

² Hon. J. Tollemache, a brother of Earl Dysart, and Captain Pennington, son of Sir Ralph Pennington. The former was pierced through the heart and died immediately; the latter received seven wounds. Captain Tollemache's remains were buried in Trinity Churchyard on Saturday evening following.

³ *N. Y. Gazette*, October 13.

October 24th. Friday.—All the prisoners taken from the North Church, and put on a man-of-war.

October 25th. Saturday.—Today, as well as yesterday, thousands of troops (some from Rhode Island and others from the forts) were embarked for Philadelphia. At the end of the month very bad accounts reached here from the Northern Army; Burgoyne and his troops are made prisoners; therefore Sir Henry Clinton and army went no higher up than Red Hook. They burnt Esopus and many houses, and returned hither, and are going to Philadelphia.¹

November 29th. Saturday.—This week there have been several alarming circumstances :

A plot was discovered that many here (it is said there has been prepared a list of 300 to be arrested) had been enlisted for the rebel service, and intended to fall on the city within or set it on fire, when an attack was made on the island by the rebels. Several were arrested, one Mott and wife, in the Bowery; a shoemaker; a saddler; a milkman; and Skimmey, a tailor, who made his escape.

The rebels landed at Bloomingdale on this island, five miles from the city, and burnt Gen. De Lancey's house, and it is said made one officer prisoner.²

The rebels landed on Staten Island again, which caused great alarm. How to account for all these matters, and the poor out-look to defend what we have is difficult.

From Philadelphia came the news that Mud Island and Red Bank had been taken, but also that the *Augusta 64*, and another frigate had been destroyed in the Delaware, some say by accident. Things look dark every where.

December 27th. Saturday.—Some of the troops returned from Philadelphia. We heard that provisions were very scarce and high there: a quarter of mutton, one guinea; butter 6-8 shillings; and Ship's Bread sells freely in place of the ordinary kind.

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, November 3.

² *Ibid.*

1779.

January 12th. Tuesday.—The arrival of the fleet from Cork was a great mercy, as provisions for the army grew very scarce and allowances had been shortened. Twelve sails also arrived from Halifax with stores and provisions. It is to be hoped that this will render some articles, particularly flour, cheaper for the inhabitants, for the exorbitant prices charged caused distress.

February 27th. Saturday.—On Wednesday evening some troops went over to Elizabethtown and returned the next day. The object to capture the rebel Gen. Maxwell and his brigade miscarried. Some stores were destroyed and a few prisoners brought in.

May 22d. Saturday.—Accounts have been received of the success of the expedition to Virginia; the loss of Pondicherry by the French, gives hopes that the French must drop their alliance with America, and that the Americans must submit. From all sides there is a better aspect now than ever before. Troops have also been in the Jerseys. Little opposition is made on the other side at present, it appears their resources fail them greatly.

July 16th. Friday.—News reached the city that the rebels had surprised the fort at Stony Point, up the North River, and taken it; with the addition that they had put the whole garrison to the sword, which made the account more alarming.¹

July 21st. Wednesday.—Lord Cornwallis and his company arrived from England in the Greyhound.²

July 23d. Friday.—The fort at Stony Point has been evacuated by the rebels and our troops took possession on Monday last. However it has been a bad stroke, a loss of several hundred men to our army.³

August 19th. Thursday.—Early this morning the rebels

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 19.

² Lord Cornwallis, Brigadier-General Paterson, and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stuart, of the Cameronian Regiment. Captain Dickson commanded the "Greyhound."

³ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 26.

made an attack on Powles Hook. The reports vary, but they have again taken some of our people prisoners. Another instance of the great carelessness on our side, when on the other hand the military gentlemen amuse themselves with trifles and diversions.¹ Recently the walk by the ruins of Trinity Church and its grave-yard has been railed in and painted green; benches placed there and many lamps fixed in the trees, for gentlemen and ladies to walk and sit there in the evening. A band plays while the commander is present, and a sentry is placed there, that none of the common people may intrude. A paltry affair! A house opposite is adapted to accommodate the ladies or officer's women, while many honest people, both of the inhabitants and Refugees cannot get a house or lodging to live in or get their living. Such things make us sigh to the Lord that He would have mercy on this land, and make an end of these calamities and the many iniquitous practices. Murders have been perpetrated again lately.

August 25th. Wednesday.—Admiral Arbuthnot with his fleet and transports came up into the rivers, which caused great satisfaction. The Russel 74, with money for the army, arrived on the 23rd.

September 11th. Saturday.—This week two English and two Hessian regiments sailed from hence. According to report, a violent gale scattered their vessels, some were lost and others captured by the rebels. But a few reached this port again.

September 22d. Wednesday.—This being Coronation Day, at noon there was great firing at the Battery, which recently has been repaired and supplied with guns. At night there was a display of fire-works from the shipping.²

September 30th.—The report towards the end of the month

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, August 23.

² The pyrotechnic display embraced the following: "King and Queen illuminated; Royal Salute of Maroons; 12 Sky Rockets; 2 Yew Trees, brilliant fire; 2 illuminated Air Balloons; 2 Tourballoons; 2 illuminated Vertical Wheels; Flight of small Rockets; Spiral Wheels; Chinese Fountain; 2 Cascades of brilliant fire, with two nests of serpents and a Swarm box &c."

of a French fleet coming, was the cause for repairing and enlarging the batteries and forts near the city, especially that on Governor's Island. Two large new forts were also made, one on Long Island opposite the city, and the other a short distance from the city, near the North River. Great sickness prevails.¹

October 18th. Monday.—Of late we are under some apprehension that our chapel might be taken for a hospital. The old Dutch Church, the only one in use for the Dutch, has been desired, and at the end of this week will be taken for that purpose.

October 30th. Saturday.—This week all the troops returned from Rhode Island, which they evacuated. This affair caused various reflections and sensations. Stony Point has been evacuated too, so that now the city is filled with troops from every direction.

November 19th. Friday.—In honor of the defeat of the French, this evening all the troops here paraded. The line formed on Broadway, near a mile long, and marched to the North River, where a *Feu-de-Joie* was made.

December 28th. Tuesday.—Last Thursday the fleet for England, said to be 130 sails, sailed from Sandy Hook. The expedition with Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis has also sailed. The Hessian Gen. Knyphausen is in command here.

1780.

January 18th. Tuesday.—Yesterday we heard that the rebels were on Staten Island, where they plundered the people, burnt Decker's Ferry-house and several wood vessels which lay there. They remained one day on the island and returned with their spoils. The brig Hawk fired on them, and thereby prevented them from destroying another tavern and forage. It being the Queen's birthday, a salute was fired and at night the gentry had great festivities, which were carried too far in expense, in such times of distress

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, October 25.

and calamity. It is said that the ball cost above 2000 Guineas, and they had over 300 dishes for Supper.¹

January 27th. Thursday.—Some of our troops have been to Elizabethtown and Newark, & burnt it is said in the former place, the Barracks, a Meeting house; and in the latter a College or some public buildings used by the rebels. Seventy prisoners were brought in.²

February 4th. Friday.—This week sleighs have crossed over the ice from Staten Island to this city, which has hardly been known before.

March 21st. Monday.—Gen. Robertson who is appointed Governor of New York, arrived from England via Cork and Georgia. He reported Sir Henry Clinton with the army near Charleston.

April 17th. Monday.—We learned that about 200 Continentals were posted near Paramus to prevent desertions. 300 Hessians from King's Bridge and Buskirk, and about 100 Horse went thither, and yesterday before sunrise they surrounded the house in which they were. The post surrendered without opposition; in another, the Major answered to the summons that they would neither give nor take quarter, upon which the house was set on fire and many were killed as they ran out.

May 29th. Monday.—The news of the surrender of Charleston was brought by the Iris.

June 5th. Monday.—At night some fireworks were exhibited on Long Island, and here they had festivities. But previous thereto, the walk at Trinity Church had been increased in width, so that the posts had to be sunk into the graves. The orchestra from the Play House, seated against the Church, and another place for the musicians erected just opposite the Church, gave great offense and uneasiness to all serious and still more to all godly men, and caused

¹ Governor Tryon gave a dinner to Generals Knyphausen, Philips, Baron Reidesel, General Patison, commandant of the city, and others. The supper given by Mayor Hicks consisted of three hundred and eighty dishes, in addition to the ornamental appendages.

² *N. Y. Gazette*, January 31.

many reflections not only on the irreligious turn of the Commandant, but also on the Rector, who it is said had given his consent to it. Profaneness and Wickedness prevail—Lord have mercy!

June 6th. Tuesday.—Today above 6000 Hessian and English troops went on an expedition, with the present commandant Gen. Knyphausen, and Gens. Robertson, Tryon, Mather &c.

June 7th. Wednesday.—Already by 4 o'clock in the morning smart firing was heard, which continued the greater part of the forenoon. Some wounded were brought in, among them Gen. Stirling.

June 10th. Saturday.—Various reports were heard of our troops in the Jerseys. It seems that some of the intelligence they had had here, had been given by a Spy, by which means our troops were led into an ambush; they fired also upon them from out of some houses, by which about 100 of our troops were killed and wounded. In consequence several houses on the Connecticut farms were burnt. However, our troops made room for themselves.

The *Iris* which sailed on Tuesday returned, having fallen in with a French frigate of 36 guns, which she obliged to sheer off, but an American frigate heaving in sight, and the *Iris* having lost some men and being a great deal damaged, she thought best to return to this port. Their lieutenant was so badly wounded, he was brought on shore today.

June 17th. Saturday.—Admiral Arbuthnot arrived from Charleston yesterday, and was followed by Sir Henry Clinton, with part of the army.

June 23d. Friday.—From early in the morning till towards Noon, heavy firing was heard in the Jerseys, and afterwards the smoke from burning houses was seen for several hours. In the afternoon about 30 sails with troops, (of those returned from Charleston), came up from Staten Island, and proceeded up the North River. This was an unexpected manœuvre. The troops had been quartered on Staten Island about the *Blazing Star*,¹ from which it was conjectured that the intention was to march into the Jerseys.

¹ Clute's "Annals of Staten Island," p. 233.

June 24th. Saturday.—Some wounded were brought to the city, and we heard that our troops had left Elizabethtown and had returned to Staten Island. They embarked this forenoon, and in the afternoon passed the city and went up the North River. Washington some days ago had marched toward Paramus and the Cove. Gen. Knyphausen with a part of the troops marched forward and drove the rebels to Springfield, and it is said also to Chatham. They were mostly Militia, and stood and fought better than ever before. The bridge over the Kills to Staten Island was taken up. Various were the reflections! It is thought that Gen. Stirling's being wounded, caused the first delay and obstruction in the intended operations, that old Gen. R. had been a clog in the wheels, requesting a council of war, and objecting to penetrating into the Jerseys, or whatever was designed; that the return of Sir Henry perhaps had caused an alteration. Springfield was burnt.

June 26th. Monday.—A couple of regiments or parts of them, especially Hessians, came to the city, which relieved the citizens from duty. The guard over the prisoners in the North Church has been increased.

July 13th. Thursday.—The pleasing report was heard and confirmed that Admiral Graves with his fleet had reached the Hook, and consequently cometh pretty close after the French. This important news raised again the spirits of many which had been drooping, considering the unfortunate management of affairs here. It appears strongly that jealousy and a lack of harmony among the head men has been the cause why the late expedition into the Jerseys came again to nothing, and other such like things.

July 19th. Wednesday.—Admiral Arbuthnot having taken and manned what men-of-war are here, and got sailors enough as volunteers without pressing, sailed to-day from the Hook with a fair wind for Rhode Island, to meet the French fleet; at the same time Sir Henry Clinton and a part of the fleet prepared for embarking.

July 21st. Friday.—In the forenoon smart firing and cannonading was heard up the North River. A Refugee post

(a block-house where the refugees cut wood) was attacked by near 2000 rebels, among them the 1st and 2d Battalions of Pennsylvania Brigades, under the Gens. Wayne and Irvine, with six pounders. They attempted to storm the abatis but were repulsed with a loss of 90 killed and wounded, and it is thought more. The Refugees were under command of Capt. Ward (refugee) and had 4 killed and 8 wounded. A part of them pursued the rebels, retook some cattle and captured a number of prisoners. They could not be succored from the opposite posts of troops, as there were no boats at hand. Their uncommon bravery has been acknowledged by the Commander-in-Chief in the public papers and they are to have uniform clothing and hats.¹

July 26th. Wednesday.—Towards evening the Hessian General de Huyne was buried with military honors, attended by a vast concourse of people. He was in the expedition to Charleston, from whence he returned sick.²

August 1st.—Yesterday it was confirmed that Sir Henry Clinton and the troops had returned, which caused a painful disappointment to many, and various are the conjectures what the reason may be. It seems they were no higher up than Huntingdon, and that the Commander received intelligence on the return of the *Galatea*, that the French and rebels had fortified themselves so strongly on Rhode Island, that he could not attack them. Others think that it is on account of Washington's movements, who, by report, has been greatly reinforced. Perhaps the true reason is, that the embarkation was so tardy,—they might have started a week earlier, and why?—this is another question.

August 15th. Tuesday.—The heat in these days is almost unbearable.

August 24th. Thursday.—The Rope walk, above the Fresh

¹ For account of the attack on block-house at Bull's Ferry, and order of thanks, signed by John André, D.A.G., see *N. Y. Gazette*, July 24.

² Major-General de Huyne died on July 25 of consumption, in the sixtieth year of his age. He entered the army of Hesse-Cassel in 1738. The regiment of Donop and a company of Anspach grenadiers participated.

Water Pump, where there was stored Brimstone and other combustibles, burnt down tonight. The fire was violent, but did no damage to the surrounding property.¹

September 14th. Thursday.—Admiral Rodney with 10 sails of the line, from the West Indies, arrived at the Hook yesterday. This is very unexpected news. We may now hope that something will be done. Many think that there has been bad conduct somewhere in respect to the first French fleet now in Rhode Island, and our fleet that followed.

September 22d. Friday.—It being the anniversary of His Majesty's, our dear Kings Coronation-Day, great rejoicings were made. Besides the usual firing at noon from the Battery, and 1 o'clock from the ships in the river, and at the Watering Place, in the afternoon all the City Militia, to a very great number, the volunteer companies, and a part of the regulars marched with flying colors out of town, and drew up in line from the East river to the North river, and in the evening a *Feu de Joie* was fired in respect to the day and in celebration of the brilliant victory obtained by Earl Cornwallis near Camden, in South Carolina. It was commenced by seven rockets, seven guns were then fired from the three batteries on Jones', Bunker's, and Lispenard's Hills.² Then followed the fire of the Line from right to left. The Commander-in-Chief, the noble Lords lately arrived with Admiral Rodney, the Governor, all the general and other officers, with a large concourse of people were present.

September 30th. Saturday.—This week the rebel Genl. Arnold came in.³ The prevailing report is, that between him, having command of the Fort and that part of the county, and our side, a plan was formed to take Fort Defiance with the people in it, for which end Major André one of Sir Henry Clinton's aids went thither, but was taken on his re-

¹ Near Bunker Hill, and also noted on Montresor's map of 1775.

² See Montresor's map of 1775.

³ "His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to appoint Benedict Arnold Esq. Colonel of a Regiment, with the rank of Brigadier General."—*N. Y. Gazette*, October 21.

turn. Upon hearing of this Gen. Arnold made off, got on board the *Vulture*, and thus to this city. At the same time a commotion was occasioned, and several persons in the city and on Long Island, were arrested and put in jail. The report was that Arnold had informed against them, as keeping a prejudicial correspondence with the rebels, but the truth is, that one Pool arrested as a spy some weeks ago and condemned, has impeached these persons. This he did to save his life.

October 7th. Saturday.—Gen. Robertson, a Colonel, Mr. Elliott and William Smith, as belonging to Sir Henry Clinton's collateral Council for making Peace, had by commission been to Gen. Washington's Head Quarters. They did not see him, nor were the two civilians allowed to go on shore. They were treated with contempt, and no Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Justice not of their own appointment would be recognized.

November 22d. Wednesday.—The Anspachers entered the North Church for Winter Quarters, and their Major, de Seitz, was billeted on us.

December 16th. Saturday.—The year is near ended and nothing has been done by the troops here. Many sensible and sincere well-wishers lament it with pain, whereas administration does so much for the American affairs. The troops thro' idleness fall into all manner of the worst of vices, contract illnesses, which take off many. Thus they dwindle away by that means, and by small excursions which answer no real purposes. After campaigns which have accomplished nothing, more troops are required. The general language even of the common soldiers is, that the war might and would have been ended long before now, if it was not for the great men, who only want to fill their purses; and indeed it is too apparent that this has been and is the ruling principle in all departments, only to seek their own private interest, and to make hay while the Sun shineth, and when they have got enough then to retreat or go home—let become of America what will!

December 23d. Saturday.—This week an expedition has

at length sailed, it is said for Virginia, Gen. Arnold in command.

1781.

January 6th. Saturday.—This week it was rumored that a considerable part of the Rebel army had revolted, owing to their time being out on New Year's day & not receiving their pay in *real* money. The report caused some excitement in the army here.

January 8th–13th.—Sir Henry Clinton with several thousand troops left Long for Staten Island, and the report is, that he is negotiating with the Revolters, who number now two thousand. However the reports vary often & the commander-in-chief keeps every thing very secret.

January 20th. Saturday.—The revolt of the Pennsylvania troops begins to dwindle away to nothing. Two messengers sent by Sir Henry Clinton were captured and hanged.

February 5th. Monday.—A frigate arrived from Virginia, which brought an account of Gen. Arnold's successful operations there. In this city robberies constantly take place; persons have been attacked on the streets, and a woman and a Scotch officer murdered—mostly by the soldiery. Poor discipline!

March 5th. Monday.—News was received that affairs in Virginia and Carolina are favorable. Lord Cornwallis had driven the rebels into Virginia, and Gen. Arnold was not surrounded as reported.

March 17th. Saturday.—This week news was received that the French fleet sailed from Rhode Island for Virginia, and that our fleet followed them. They were both seen near the bay, it was thought preparing for action.

March 26th. Monday.—Today an account was printed of an action between the English & French fleets off the Chesapeake. The latter were forced to return to Rhode Island. The English squadron entered the Bay which was fortunate, as Gen. Phillips with his troops from here arrived about the same time. The action was disgraceful on the British side; but three ships fought, which suffered considerably, and the French fleet slowly sailed away. The charge is laid to

Admiral Arbuthnot, who either forgot his business or was afraid to fight. However, it afterwards seemed that Admiral Graves was perhaps as blameable or more so.

April 5th. Thursday.—An account of a battle on the 15th or 16th of March, between Lord Cornwallis and the Rebel Gen. Greene, was published today. The Rebel army was defeated with a loss of about 1300 by their own account.¹

April 23rd. Monday.—This week a fleet of victuallers arrived in Charleston; also a number of valuable prizes, among them the *Confederacy*, one of the best of the Rebel frigates.² On Saturday evening a *Feu de Joie* to celebrate Cornwallis' victory.

April 30th. Monday.—The Anspach, with two other regiments embarked today, and we are thus rid of the oppressive and disagreeable billet of the former. The conduct of the Major [Seitz] and his servants has been rude, and the rooms they occupied have been ruined.

May 19th. Saturday.—The news from Virginia this week informed us of the captures made in Virginia, and from Philadelphia, that great mobs there in formal procession buried the money current.

June 12th. Tuesday.—A fleet arrived from Virginia with Gen. Arnold and part of his command.

July 3rd. Tuesday.—Washington has advanced closer to our lines, and the French troops from Rhode Island have joined him. A party of rebels fell on a picket of several hundred Yagers & Hessians, a mile or more above King's Bridge, and killed & wounded a great many.

July 6th. Friday.—Admiral Arbuthnot has sailed for England in the *Roebuck*, and well it is, that he is gone, but it is a pity to take such a fine ship from this station. A fine brig, laden with rum and sugar, bound for this city was taken

¹ Guilford Court-House.

² The "*Confederacy*," 32, was launched near Norwich, Conn., in 1778, and Captain Seth Harding placed in command. In 1779, while conveying Hon. John Jay to Spain, she was dismasted near Bermuda. She was always an unlucky vessel, and at the time of her capture was laden with clothing and other supplies.

near the Hook and carried into Philadelphia, although our fleet lies about the Hook.

July 9th. Monday.—The heat continues intense and is the cause of much sickness.

July 13th. Friday.—Some days ago the French who joined the rebels under Washington and are at White Plains, sent a detachment to attack the fort at Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, which was repulsed.¹

July 17th. Tuesday.—Yesterday an extraordinary Gazette was published of Lord Cornwallis' late operations in Virginia, and an action on the 6th inst. wherein the Marquis La Fayette was worsted and lost three cannon.

July 23rd. Monday.—We heard today that the Rebels were near King's Bridge, and that the French had driven the Refugees from Morrissania. Fine attention!

July 28th. Saturday.—A rumor prevails that Admiral Digby has pursued the French fleet and recaptured six of their prizes.

September 1st. Saturday.—Troops under Gen. Arnold went up the Sound on an Expedition. The principal object of this movement was to lure Washington from his operations against Cornwallis, and thus gain time to send reinforcements to Yorktown. Admirals Graves and Hood sailed from the Hook.² A French fleet from the West Indies has arrived in the Chesapeake.

September 11th. Tuesday.—Gen. Arnold has returned from his expedition.

September 13th. Thursday.—Today the 22d Regiment quartered in the North Church opposite to us went on board the transports.

September 15th. Saturday.—The troops which have been embarking this fortnight for Virginia, have fallen down the river. This week Gen. Arnold with his troops returned from New London, which had been burned.

September 17th. Monday.—In an extraordinary Gazette an account of Gen. Arnold's expedition was published, giving his letter to Sir Henry Clinton; by which it appears that

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, July 16.

² *Ibid.*, September 3.

the burning of New London happened through intention(!); that a great quantity of goods and stores were destroyed, twelve vessels burned, and a large quantity of ordnance and ammunition captured. That a powder-magazine in the fort was ordered destroyed, but failed through mismanagement, it is said, of the commanding artillery officer. One of the forts [Griswold] was found to be stronger than was expected, through the information given by our friends, and that in storming it we lost about fifty killed and 140 wounded. Among the former was Major Montgomery of the 40th Regiment.

September 19th. Wednesday.—Admiral Graves with his fleet arrived at the Hook from the Chesapeake, off which they had had an engagement with the French fleet. Nothing has been published, but it is reported that thirteen ships of the line were engaged, and that the French were again in the Chesapeake. The Terrible, 74, has been lost, and ten of our ships will have to be refitted. How the French fared no one knows, but it appears they had the best of the engagement. In consequence of this affair the troops on the transports were disembarked.

September 26th. Wednesday.—The July mail arrived with the squadron of Admiral Digby which reached the Hook yesterday; and this afternoon his Royal Highness, Prince William Henry, the third son of our dear King came on shore with the Admiral. He was received by Sir Henry Clinton and the principal officers in the city, and escorted by a guard of honor to his quarters, the guns at the batteries thundering forth a royal salute. He is an amiable young Prince and gave satisfaction to all who saw him.¹

September 27th. Thursday.—At noon Prince William Henry with Sir Henry Clinton and his officers, walked from Headquarters to the Fort called Bunker's Hill, by the new road and returned by the Bowery, passed the Fresh-water pump,

¹ Prince William Henry arrived on Monday, September 23. Lossing states that the Prince (afterwards William IV.) and the Admiral occupied the city mansion of Gerardus Beekman, on the northwest corner of Sloat Lane and Hanover Square, during their visit.

and then turned in at the head of Queen Street. The course of people, both old and young, was great.

October 13th. Saturday.—Last Sunday Prince William attended service at St. Paul's, in company with the Admirals and Sir Henry Clinton. It is said, this was the *first time* that the latter has been in a church. The fleet which was to return to the Chesapeake, is not ready yet, which has made people anxious. A heavy thunder gust today, and two men of war were damaged by collision in the North River.

October 17th. Wednesday.—In the forenoon the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, (in North Church) embarked.

October 18th. Thursday.—This afternoon the last of the fleet for Virginia drop'd down the Bay.

October 24th. Wednesday.—Yesterday and today, considerable firing was heard in the Jerseys, which was supposed to be rejoicing, and made our people very apprehensive of Cornwallis having been captured in Virginia. Our fears were confirmed later by a hand bill printed in Trenton. General consternation and lamentation prevailed.¹

October 27th. Saturday.—The report of Lord Cornwallis' surrender was confirmed. This unfortunate event was caused through wilful neglect.

November 17th. Saturday.—This week the troops which had embarked for Virginia returned, likewise the fleet. Admiral Digby remains on this station, and consequently Prince William. The Hessian Grenadiers are quartered in North Church. A Proclamation of the Governor was issued to-day respecting fire-wood, which will afford much relief, for the distress and extortion has been great already. A brig was captured near the Hook by rebel whale-boats, though many men of war were near by.

November 24th. Saturday.—To-day Lord Cornwallis' letter to Sir Henry Clinton of October 20th, was published, doubtless at the demand of his Lordship. The letter reflects on

¹ On November 5 the *New York Gazette* reprinted the Postscript of the *Pennsylvania Journal* of October 24, containing the correspondence and articles of capitulation of Cornwallis and his army. The news of the surrender was received in Philadelphia on the morning of October 22.

the character of the Commander and Admiral-in-chief, and increases the indignation of the people. It shows that York and Gloucester were ordered to be taken, that relief had been promised in strong terms, and the date fixed, which induced his Lordship to remain and not endeavor to escape. The despatch giving his account of the surrender was withheld from the public, until just before his Lordship arrived here, which was on Tuesday last.¹

December 11th. Tuesday.—Weather very cold; great distress for want of wood, the proclamations of no avail. According to the letters received in the last mail, the affair of Cornwallis is discussed everywhere, and that the campaign in these parts would end again in having done nothing. Warm work was expected in the House of Commons about the supplies, for the nation has grown tired of spending millions every year to no purpose; that it was apprehended the cause lay higher than in Admirals and Generals.

1782.

January 30th. Wednesday.—The cold last night and this morning was intense, and we could hardly keep warm near a large fire.

February 1st.—The rents of houses are again raised to extravagant figures.

April 20th. Saturday.—Many prizes have been brought into port recently, among them the Franklin, which had taken the Grenville Packet bound for Charleston, and carried her into Philadelphia.

May 5th. Sunday.—To-day Gen. Carleton arrived in the Ceres, frigate, with Mr. Watson Comr. Gen.; Capt Moss, Chief Engineer; Morgan, Secretary and Wroughton, Aide-Camp. A total change of the Ministry at home has taken place, and the opposition is in power. Rivington published a hand bill this evening.

May 12th. Sunday.—Last night news reached here of a severe engagement on April 12th, between the English

¹ For Cornwallis's letter to Clinton, see *N. Y. Gazette*, November 26.

under Admiral Rodney and the French fleet in the West Indies. Our vain chief printer had an account of it printed in hand-bills and cried about in the forenoon, while people were going to church—another catch-penny!

May 13th. Monday.—A rumor prevails that Washington has refused a pass to Sir Guy Carleton's secretary to go to Congress with the government's proposals for peace. About noon Sir Henry Clinton and Gen. Knyphausen went on board ship for England. A body of English and Hessian soldiers were drawn up in two lines from headquarters to the water side, near the lower barracks, through which the generals passed, escorted by a large number of officers. Numerous spectators were present. Gen. Knyphausen has the good wishes of all people, but Sir Henry leaves a poor character behind him.

May 18th. Saturday.—The new commander-in-chief makes many wholesome changes to the great saving of public expenses. It is said that a couple of hundred of Deputy Commissioners in different departments have been or will be dismissed, hundreds of carpenters and other workmen have been turned off; the office of Barrack and Quarter Master General will be vested in one person; no Commandant but the Governor, (it is said Gen. Patison); no officer will be allowed to have vessels, wagons, &c. to carry on any trade. We rejoice that the chain of enormous, iniquitous practices will be at last broken! They must have ended in misery to the nation, had they continued much longer. The inhabitants have also been relieved from working on the fortifications every fifth day.

May 20th. Whit-Monday.—A grand review of the troops was held this forenoon.

May 23rd. Thursday.—This morning the Refugee clergymen waited on the Commander-in-Chief. One of these gentlemen, chaplain of the 40th Regiment, was notified by the Major that he was to keep service for the regiment every Sunday at 8 o'clock—which has not been done for years past.

May 31st. Friday.—Prince William Henry, who it was

reported had sailed for England sometime since, returned to this city, having been on a cruise on the Warwick.

June 4th. Tuesday.—Our King's birthday. The Commander-in-Chief, with the General and field officers, both English and foreign, went from the parade to the Admiral's house and congratulated the Prince. The guns on the batteries and ships were fired as usual and the Admiral's ship gaily dressed with the colors of all nations. In the evening a *Feu de Joie* was fired, and some public buildings illuminated.

June 16th. Sunday.—Today the troops left the city to encamp, and the militia commenced to do duty.

August 4th. Sunday.—We learned that large numbers of gentlemen had called on the Commander-in-Chief and the Admiral relative to the news from England; that at the request of the inhabitants a copy of a letter from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to Gen. Washington, written in consequence of orders from England, had been published. It cannot be described what an alarming effect this so unexpected news had upon the minds of the people; they were enraged against the Ministry. Some were for defending themselves to the last extremity and make their own conditions.

August 5th. Monday.—The militia refused to do duty any longer.

August 10th. Saturday.—About noon the Loyalists within the lines held a meeting in the Assembly Hall. The chairman Mr. Alexander offered an address and petition to the King, and another to the Commissioners, Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, for the approbation or dissent of those present. They were read and unanimously approved. Gov. Franklin was deputed to carry them to the King.

September 4th. Wednesday.—The July packet arrived. It is reported that the Marquis of Rockingham, late prime minister and a prominent member of the former opposition, and who had urged the independency of America, died on July 1st. Lord Shelburne has been appointed in his place, and he being opposed to independence, has caused

Mr. Fox, Secretary of State (an unhappy Tool), Mr. Burke, and others of the Rockingham party to resign. Parliament was prorogued for the 10th. However, all the news settles nothing with certainty about the fate of this country.

November 27th. Wednesday.—Today a fleet of Victuallers and Transports from England arrived. An account of Gov. Franklin's arrival and his gracious reception by the King; and the conference with him by the King and ministry on American affairs, was made public.

December 16th. Monday.—Greatest snow storm in thirty years.

1783.

January 4th. Saturday.—On the 2d. and the following days, a fleet arrived from Charleston, in which came Lieut. Gens. Leslie and de Bose, with a part of the troops, mostly Hessians, and some of the new corps. Some of the inhabitants came here, others with troops sailed for St. Augustine, Jamaica, Halifax and England.

January 18th. Saturday.—The Queen's Birthday—all was quiet—only Sir Guy Carleton gave a Ball.

January 27th. Monday.—It is said that all the prisoners on board the Prison Ships have been discharged and sent to their respective homes on parole. Among these was William Dunton of Philadelphia,¹ who was taken as mate in the Black Prince, merchantman, bound for Cadiz. While on board the Jersey Prison ship, he wrote to us to procure his liberty.

February 9th. Sunday.—Today a vessel arrived from Tortola, which brought the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, on Dec. 5th. It was re-printed by Rivington and published this evening.

February 11th. Tuesday.—A French vessel from Nantes, which left France 23d December, being brought in as a prize, renewed the alarm. She brought a note Mr. Townsend, Secretary of State, had sent to the Lord Mayor of

¹ He was a well-known sea-captain, and also a member of the Moravian congregation on Race Street, corner of Bread.

London d.d. Dec 3d., notifying him that an express from Paris had brought the preliminaries of a peace signed by the Ambassadors of France and of the United States of America. This note was printed in a hand bill this evening.

February 14th. Friday.—Several articles sold by auction have fallen surprisingly—Flour, Rum, Molasses, & Coffee (which once sold at 3s. per lb.), a sufficient proof the dear-ness in many things has been artificial. Some men will now meet with great losses, but deservedly, for their avarice and extortion.

March 1st. Saturday.—The soldiers have been lately employed in filling up and raising the grade in Trinity Church yard, it having grown too shallow for the graves, whence injurious effects were apprehended. Various reports of peace, and now a separate peace between England and America prevailed.

March 3d. Monday.—Yesterday a Ship with Spirits arrived from Jamaica, and by mismanagement or on purpose, she ran on the rocks near the Battery. She was unloaded to lighten her. Some of the rigging and 115 puncheons of Spirits were put on a sloop, which was carried off during the night. It is said to have been done by some of the Jersey people, but the general opinion is, that it was a designed matter done by people here.

March 17th. Monday.—Three mails have arrived. The whole city was now in agitation. The news afforded but little comfort to the Loyalists, and will if true, be a stain of the deepest dye upon the English nation, so long as history exists!

March 22d. Saturday.—The public affairs look gloomy. The Articles of Peace have been published more fully it is said, against the will of Congress. It is surprising what England gives up; it is shameful how the Loyalists are abandoned! To the hundreds who proposed to go to Nova Scotia, there is also a stoppage, for they hear that they can get no more than six months provisions, (those who went in the Fall received twelve months). Proceedings at home

give but little encouragement to put any trust in such a government!

March 24th. Monday.—This week a report came from Philadelphia, which they had received there from the French Admiral Count D'Estaing, that the preliminaries of a peace had been signed on the 21st of January, which caused new alarm and grief, and more so as the articles as they appear are very bad, especially for the Loyalists, and for England too; giving away even a part of Canada, Penobscot &c.¹

April 5th. Saturday.—A vessel arrived from London, which brought the account of peace being made. This increased the alarm.

April 8th. Tuesday.—At noon the King's Proclamation of the cessation of hostilities, was read at the City Hall, which had previously been done on board of the men-of-war and to the troops.²

May 3d. Saturday.—Many of those persons who left the city when the troubles began are returning.

June 4th. Wednesday.—The King's birthday was celebrated as usual.

August 25th. Monday.—Today the Light Horse went to Long Island, and other soldiers were sent elsewhere to protect the Loyal inhabitants against robberies and other abuses.

November 25th. Tuesday.—The soldiers in the Barracks just opposite our house marched off. Last night a strong watch was kept for fear of accidents or mischief. Today all the British left New York, and Gen. Washington with his troops marched in and took possession of the city.

November 29th. Saturday.—In the evening about 8 o'clock, we felt a slight shock of an earthquake; and about eleven, there was a more violent one, which shook all the city in a surprising manner. We felt it in bed—enough to arouse us from our first sleep.

¹ *N. Y. Gazette*, March 31.

² *Ibid.*, April 7.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

SKETCHES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

ALLISON, JOHN, of Franklin County, was born in Antrim township, that county, December 23, 1738. His father, William Allison, was a native of the north of Ireland, where he was born on the 12th of November, 1693; came to America about 1730, and located in the Cumberland Valley, where he died on the 14th of December, 1778. He married Catharine Craig, and their children were *William, John, Patrick, Agnes*, m. Robert McCrea, *Robert*, and *Catharine*, m. James Hendricks. John, the second son, received a thorough English and classical education, chiefly under the care of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian ministers of the locality. As early as October, 1764, he was appointed one of the Provincial magistrates for Cumberland County, and reappointed in 1769. At a meeting of the citizens of that county, held at Carlisle on July 12, 1774, he was appointed on the Committee of Observation for Cumberland, and became quite active in the struggle for independence. He was a member of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall, 18th of June, 1776, and appointed by that body one of the judges of the election of members to the first Constitutional Convention for the second division of the county, at Chambersburg. He was in command of one of the Associated battalions of Cumberland County during the Jersey campaigns of 1776 and 1777, and a member of the General Assembly in 1778, 1780, and 1781. In the latter year he laid out the town of Greencastle, which has grown to be one of the most flourishing towns in the Cumberland Valley.

In 1787 he was chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, and in that body seconded the motion of Thomas McKean to assent to and ratify it. At the first Federal Conference, held at Lancaster in 1788, he was nominated for Congress, but defeated at the election that year. Colonel Allison died June 14, 1795, and his remains rest in Moss Spring Presbyterian Church graveyard, one-half a mile east of the town of Greencastle. He married, November 3, 1768, Elizabeth Wilkins, born November 11, 1748; died November 19, 1815. They had a family of thirteen children, five sons and eight daughters. Of the latter, *Mary* m. Colonel Andrew Henderson, of Huntingdon County; *Margaret* m. Samuel McLanahan, of Greencastle; *Nancy* m. Elias Davidson, of near Greencastle; and *Elizabeth* m. Dr. John Henderson, of Huntingdon. Of their sons, *Robert*, b. March 10, 1777; d. December 2, 1840; removed to Huntingdon in 1796; studied law; was captain of a volunteer company in the war of 1812-14; in 1830 elected to Congress, where he served one term; married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Elliott (see PENNA. MAG., III. p. 326), leaving eight children. The remaining children of Colonel Allison died in infancy, or were unmarried. He was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and of great prominence during the Revolutionary era. The bold stand he took in the Convention, when not only his colleague but almost his entire constituency were opposed to the ratification, shows him to have been a man of great force of character and of determined views.

ARNDT, JOHN, of Northampton County, son of Jacob Arndt (see PENNA. MAG., III. p. 99), was born 3d of June, 1748, in Bucks County, Province of Pennsylvania. His father removed to Northampton County in 1760, where he erected what was long known as Arndt's mill, on the Bushkill, and here most of his life was spent. At the outset of the war of the Revolution he became one of the leading spirits in that struggle. He was captain of a company in Colonel Baxter's battalion of Northampton County of the "Flying Camp," and in the battle of Long Island wounded

and taken prisoner. He was soon after exchanged, and on the 25th of March, 1777, was commissioned register of wills; and justice of the peace, June, 1777. He was appointed one of the commissioners to take subscriptions for the Continental loan, December 16, 1777; and commissary of purchases in Pennsylvania, February 9, 1778. While filling this latter position he advanced large sums of money to the government, most of which was refunded to him. He served on the Committee of Safety for the county, was one of its most efficient members, and earnestly devoted to the patriot cause. Was appointed by the General Assembly one of the commissioners to settle the accounts of the County Lieutenants, December 4, 1778; and one of the Commissioners of Exchange, April 5, 1779. He was elected a member of the Council of Censors, 1783-84; delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, 1787; and chosen an elector at the first Presidential election following. In 1783, when Dickinson College was incorporated, he was named one of the original trustees. He served several years as county treasurer, was appointed recorder of deeds and clerk of the Orphans' Court, May 22, 1788, and continued in office under the Constitution of 1790 until the election of Governor McKean, when he was removed. Under the act of 1796 the county records were required to be kept at the county seat, when Mr. Arndt took up his residence at Easton, where, after going out of office, he devoted the balance of his life to mercantile pursuits. In 1796 he was nominated for Congress, but defeated by ninety votes. During the so-called Fries Insurrection of 1798 his utmost exertions were given to the preservation of law and order, and his wise and judicious counsels were heeded by many of the rebellious. Henry says that Mr. Arndt "as mineralogist and botanist held no mean rank; and his correspondence with Rev. Mr. Gross and other clergymen show that he was a pious man." Captain Arndt died on the 6th of May, 1814, and his remains rest in the burial-ground of the Arndt and Messinger Church, in Forks township, Northampton County. In the language of the simple inscription

on his tombstone, thus "closed an active life of public and private usefulness."

ASHMEAD, SAMUEL, of the county of Philadelphia, the son of John Ashmead, was born in 1731. Little is known of his early history, save that he received a good education and was brought up to mercantile pursuits. Early in life he was commissioned one of the Provincial magistrates; on January 16, 1767, appointed an associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and recommissioned April 27, 1772; and in 1773-74 became presiding justice of the courts. He was a delegate to the Provincial Convention held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, and served in the General Assembly in 1782, 1783, and 1789. In 1787 he represented his county in the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. Mr. Ashmead died at his residence in the Northern Liberties on the 19th of March, 1794, and was interred on the 21st in the Baptist Church burial-place. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the 26th of March alludes to him,—“long respectable as a magistrate; a steady friend to the independence of his country, of just republican principles and practice, qualified with virtues that escorted him to a peaceful close of life, and exhibiting to those who best knew him a more desirable path to walk in, than superior wealth and talents misapplied would possibly afford.”

— BAIRD, JOHN, of Westmoreland County, was born about 1740, in Lancaster, now Dauphin, County. He removed to Westmoreland County about 1770, in company with some Scotch-Irish neighbors, and took up land in what was afterwards Huntingdon township. He appears to have been a man of mark west of the Alleghanies, but in all the histories recently published no mention is made of him. He served as one of the overseers of the poor in 1773; was appointed by the Constitutional Convention of 1776 one of the board of commissioners for Westmoreland County, and commissioned a justice of the peace June 11, 1777. During the war of the Revolution, and in the border wars of his section, he was very efficient in recruiting the military forces. He was a member of the Supreme Executive Council from

November 18, 1786, to November 25, 1789; and a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but his name was not signed to the ratification. He was one of the members of the Anti-Constitution party who were mobbed in the city of Philadelphia on the 6th of November, 1787. He was a member of the General Assembly in 1789-90, and of the House of Representatives in 1790 and 1791. Under the Constitution of 1790 he was commissioned one of the associate judges of the county, August 17, 1791. Mr. Baird, we are inclined to believe, died about the beginning of the present century.

BAKER, HILARY, of the city of Philadelphia, was born in Germantown about 1750. He was the son of Hilarius Becker, or Baker, who in 1761 was elected teacher of the Germantown Academy, he having "for some time past kept a German school in Germantown." It is naturally to be supposed that the son received a good classical education, which he did; entered mercantile life; became an iron merchant, which business he carried on for some years. He was commissioned clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions for the county of Philadelphia, August 19, 1777, which position he filled several years; was appointed interpreter of English and German resident at Philadelphia, February 4, 1779, and the same day notary public for the State. On the 11th of March, 1789, by act of the General Assembly, he was appointed an alderman of the city, and reappointed under the act of April 4, 1796. He was chosen a delegate to the State Convention of 1787 on the Republican ticket, and served as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789-90. He was elected mayor of Philadelphia in April, 1796, re-elected in October that year, and again in October, 1797. He died while filling that position on the 25th of September, 1798, of yellow fever. In the war for independence he was a firm patriot, and in every official position he proved a faithful citizen.

BALLIET, STEPHEN, of Northampton County, was born in 1753, in Whitehall township, that county. His father, Paul Balliet, was of Huguenot ancestry, and a native of Alsace,

who came to Pennsylvania in 1738. His mother was Maria Magdalena Watring, a native of Lorraine. Stephen acquired a very limited education, and was brought up to mercantile life under his father. During the war of the Revolution he commanded one of the battalions of Northampton Associators in 1777 and 1778, and was in active service at the battle of Brandywine. He was appointed agent for forfeited estates in Northampton County, May 6, 1778; was a member of the Supreme Executive Council from October 20, 1783, to October 23, 1786, and member of the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He was appointed one of the commissioners to superintend the drawing of the Donation Land Lottery, October 2, 1786, and also in relation to the Wyoming controversy, June 1, 1787. He served as a member of the General Assembly from 1788 to 1790, and of the House of Representatives from 1794 to 1797. For several years, under a commission dated October 25, 1797, he filled the office of revenue collector of the second district of Pennsylvania for the United States direct tax. Scattered through the Provincial and State records are various references to him, going to show that he was an active and efficient officer. During the so-called Fries Rebellion, Mr. Burkhalter, a collector, was beaten, and the blame thrown upon the insurrectionists; but a circular, signed by Jonas Hartzel, Nicholas Kern, and A. Thorn, stated "that the beating Mr. Burkhalter received was from his own brother-in-law, Stephen Balliet, and that it was a *family* difference which gave rise to the flagellation." Colonel Balliet died August 4, 1821, at his residence in North Whitehall township, Northampton County, and the *Friedens-Bote*, of Allentown, thus refers to the old patriot: "Der verstorbene trat fruehe in die Dienste seines Vaterlands, und kommandirte ein Regiment militz in der schlacht on der Brandywine. Spaeterhin bekleitete er mehrere wichtige Civil Aemter, sowohl unter dem Staat als General Government. Er war ein mitgleid des Supreme Executive Councils von Pennsylvanien, by welchem Dr. Franklin an der spitze stand, wie auch von der Gesetzgebung dieses

Staats." He married Magdalena Burkhalter, daughter of Peter Burkhalter (see PENNA. MAG., III. 196). She was born in 1765, died in 1805, and, with her husband, buried in the old walled Union Church graveyard in Whitehall township, Lehigh County. Their children were *Stephen*, m. Susan Ihrie; *Joseph*, m. Margaretta Burger; and *Margaretta*, m. Solomon Levan. They all left large families.

BARCLAY, JOHN, of Bucks County, was born in 1749 in that county. He was the son of Alexander Barclay, an officer of the Crown under the Proprietary government, and received a classical education. At the outset of the Revolution he entered the service, and was commissioned, January 8, 1776, an ensign in the Fourth Battalion, Colonel Anthony Wayne; promoted second lieutenant October 1, 1776; commissioned first lieutenant in the Fifth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line January 1, 1777; promoted captain-lieutenant June 13, 1777; and retired the service January 1, 1781, with the brevet rank of captain. He was appointed justice of the peace December 23, 1782; one of the justices of the Court of Quarter Sessions August 14, 1788; and presiding justice of the Court of Common Pleas February 27, 1790. In 1787 he was chosen one of the delegates to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, and served as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789-90, under which he was appointed an associate judge of the courts of Bucks County, serving from August 17, 1791, to January 2, 1803. He also represented the district comprising his own and a portion of Philadelphia County in the State Senate. Captain Barclay afterwards removed to the Northern Liberties, Philadelphia, where he continued to reside until his death, filling for some time the presidency of the Bank of the Northern Liberties of that district. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, and was succeeded by his son, John Louis Barclay, in 1832. He died September 15, 1824, at the age of seventy-five years, and was buried in Neshaminy Church graveyard, Warwick township, Bucks County.

BARD, RICHARD, of Franklin County, was born in 1735.

His father, Bernard Bard, was an early settler on "Carroll's tract," York, now Adams, County, where he established what was for years known as "Bard's mill," and subsequently "Marshall's." Here, on the morning of 13th April, 1758, the house was invested by a party of nineteen Indians, and Richard Bard and his wife were made prisoners by the Indians. An account of their captivity was prepared by their son, Archibald Bard, and published in Pritt's "Border Life." Subsequently they removed near Thomas Poe's, in now Franklin County, Mrs. Bard being his daughter. He erected a stone house near Mercersburg, which is still standing. During the war of the Revolution Mr. Bard greatly assisted in organizing the troops, and commanded a company of rangers on the frontiers of Cumberland County to protect the settlers in gathering their crops. He was appointed a justice of the peace March 14, 1786, and was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, but did not sign the ratification. He was one of the delegates to the Harrisburg Conference of September, 1788, in opposition to that instrument. He was a gentleman of considerable ability, but his hostility to the Federal Constitution placed him in the background. Nevertheless, he was a man of influence in the county, and vied with his colleague Allison in great personal popularity,—the latter a Constitutionalist, the former a Republican, as those opposed to it called themselves. Mr. Bard died February 22, 1799. His wife, Catharine Poe, died about 1810. Their children were *Archibald*, m. Elizabeth Beatty; *Isaac*, m. Jane McDowell; *Thomas*, m. Jane McFarland; *Olivia*, m. James Erwin; *Elizabeth*, m. James McKinney; *Martha*, m. William Wilson; *Catharine*, m. Stephen McFarland; *Mary*, m. James Dunlap; and *Margaret*, who died unmarried. Archibald Bard, the eldest son, was a man of prominence; represented his county in the Legislature several terms; was an associate judge, and filled other positions of honor and trust. He was born on the 9th of February, 1765, and died October 18, 1832. His wife died at the age of seventy-eight years, January 4, 1852. Isaac Bard died

July 28, 1806, and Captain Thomas Bard July 9, 1845, aged seventy-seven years.

BISHOP, JOHN, of Berks County, was born March 4, 1740, in Exeter township, that county, his father, John Bishop, coming to Pennsylvania with the Boones and Lincolns. He was brought up as a farmer, an occupation he was engaged in all his life, although other enterprises engrossed much of his attention. He had extensive business connections, and became an ironmaster. He was a large landholder, not only in Berks County but in the Valley of Virginia. As a consequence, he was more or less prominent and influential in public affairs. During the Revolution he greatly aided the county lieutenants in organizing the Associators and militia, by advancing large sums of money in emergencies. He was elected to the General Assembly, serving from 1781 to 1784, and chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He did not sign the ratification, and the year following was a member of the Harrisburg Conference which protested so loudly against that instrument. He filled the office of county auditor in 1797-98, and represented Berks in the State Legislature in 1805-06. He died at his residence in Exeter township the 3d of September, 1812, aged seventy-two years, and was buried in the Reformed Church graveyard there. Mr. Bishop married Susanna Keim, daughter of Nicholas Keim, a merchant of Reading, and whose only son, John Keim, was the ancestor of the Keim family of Berks County. They left six children,—*Catharine, Elizabeth, Susanna, George, Mary, and Daniel John*. Of them we have no knowledge. Mr. Bishop, it may be here stated, resided on the Antietam Creek and on the Philadelphia road, about five miles from Reading. He carried on a mill, and the site is yet called "Bishop's mill."

BLACK, JOHN, of York County, was born in that county about the year 1750. His father, Robert Black, was an early settler in that section, but in the great Scotch-Irish immigration to the southward removed to North Carolina when his son John was an infant. Hence the statement of

his being born there. He entered Nassau Hall in the junior year, 1769, graduating in 1771. He was licensed by Donegal Presbytery, October 14, 1773, and was ordained and installed pastor of Upper Marsh Creek Congregation, York County, August 15, 1775. For almost nineteen years he served that congregation. During that period the old log church was replaced by a stone structure. As a preacher he possessed a high order of talent, and was undoubtedly a strong man. He was quite prominent in public affairs, but lost much of his hold upon the community and the church by his vigorous measures in the cause of temperance. In this he was bold and outspoken. In a Scotch-Irish neighborhood this was not wisdom. As a result, owing to this fact, as also to the exodus of many of his congregation westward at the close of the Revolution, the Presbytery relieved him from his charge at his own request, April 10, 1794. The only secular office he ever held was delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. The Rev. Mr. Black remained several years in the neighborhood of his flock, ministering occasionally to the remnants of a Reformed Dutch church near by. He afterwards received a call from the churches of Unity and Greensburg, in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, accepted it, became a member of the Presbytery of Redstone, and installed October 23, 1800. He died there on the 16th of August, 1802, and is buried in what is known as "Black's graveyard." Mr. Black was married and left issue. His wife, a most amiable woman, died shortly after his removal to Westmoreland County. Of his children we have no record. He published several pamphlets, the titles of only two being preserved to us,—*"The Duty of Christians in Singing the Praise of God Explained, a Sermon preached at Upper Marsh Creek on the 14th and 21st of September, 1788,"* and *"A Discourse on Psalmody, in reply to Rev. Dr. John Anderson, of the Associate Church."* These attracted considerable attention in their day. His life was an earnest and laborious one.

BOYD, JOHN, of Northumberland County, was born the

22d of February, 1750, in Lancaster County, of Scotch-Irish ancestry. Of his early occupation and education we have little knowledge. When the war for independence came he entered into the service, and was commissioned second lieutenant in the Twelfth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, Colonel William Cooke, October 16, 1776. He was promoted first lieutenant and transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment as captain-lieutenant. Under the rearrangement of January 1, 1781, he was retired the service, but afterwards appointed captain of a company of rangers on the frontiers, and was an excellent partisan officer. According to C. Biddle (see *Autobiography*, p. 204), "During the war he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Indians. Having killed a number of them before he was taken, they were determined to burn him. For this purpose he was stripped naked and tied to a stake, and expected every moment to suffer death, when he was released by the intercession of one of the squaws, who had her husband killed in the engagement with Boyd. His life was probably saved in consequence of his being a stout, well-made man." During the war he served one year as collector of the excise for Northumberland County. After the restoration of peace, in partnership with Colonel William Wilson, he entered into merchandising at the town of Northumberland, and in a mill at the mouth of Chillisquaque Creek. They manufactured large quantities of potash, which they shipped to Philadelphia, where it met with a ready sale; but the difficulties of transportation compelled them to relinquish this enterprise. He served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council of the State from November 22, 1783, to November 23, 1786. On the 2d of October, the latter year, he was appointed by the General Assembly one of the commissioners for superintending the drawing of the Donation Land Lottery. He was a member of the House of Representatives from 1790 to 1792, and a Presidential elector at the second election. He served as a justice of the peace many years. Was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. He died at Northum-

berland on the 13th of February, 1832, aged eighty-two years. Captain Boyd married Rebecca Haines, daughter of John L. Haines, and their children were *Sarah Haines*, m. Rev. W. R. Smyth, a prominent Presbyterian clergyman; *Elizabeth Rittenhouse*, m. — Lathey; *Maria Josepha*, John Benjamin, and *William Thomas*.

BREADING, NATHANIEL, of Fayette County, was born in Little Britain township, Lancaster County, March 16, 1751. His grandfather, David Breeding, came to Pennsylvania from near Coleraine, County Londonderry, Ireland, about 1728. His son James married Ann Ewing, and they were the parents of the subject of this sketch. Nathaniel received a classical education, afterwards took charge of the Newark Academy, Delaware, and also taught school in Prince Edward County, Virginia. At the outset of the Revolution he returned to Pennsylvania, and was acting commissary under General James Ewing, who was in command of a portion of the Associated battalions during the years 1777 and 1778. In 1784 he removed to Luzerne township, Fayette County, and shortly after was appointed a justice of the peace, and, November 6, 1785, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. On the 5th of March, 1785, he was appointed by the Assembly one of the commissioners to survey the lands recently purchased from the Indians north and west of the Ohio and Alleghany Rivers to Lake Erie, as also to assist in running the boundary-lines between Pennsylvania and Virginia. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, but in deference to his constituents did not sign the ratification. He served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council from November 19, 1789, until the dissolution of that body by the adoption of the Constitution of 1790. He was commissioned one of the associate judges of Fayette County, August 17, 1791, and served continuously during the several changes of administration until his death, a period of thirty years, perchance the longest term of any who filled that honorable position. During the excitement in Western Pennsylvania consequent upon the enforcement of the ex-

cise laws, Judge Breading, although these were obnoxious to him, took a bold stand in the maintenance of law and order. As the result, much of his property was burned by the insurgents. He was one of the delegates from the county to the conference held at Pittsburg, September 7, 1791, to take measures towards suppressing the threatened insurrection. Apart from the public positions Judge Breading filled so faithfully and honorably, he was engaged in various enterprises looking to the development of the Western country. He died on the 21st of April, 1821, and few men have passed off the stage of life more sincerely lamented. Judge Breading married, in 1784, Mary Ewing, daughter of General James Ewing of the Revolution. She died August 31, 1845, aged seventy-eight years, and their children were *George*; *Mary Ann*, m. James Hogg; *James Ewing*; *Sarah*, m. Dr. James Stevens, of Washington, Pennsylvania; *Harriet*, m. Dr. Joseph Gazzam; *Margaret*, m. Dr. Joseph Trever, of Connellsville; *Elizabeth*, m. Rev. William B. McIlvaine; and *William*, a lawyer, who died early in life unmarried.

BROWN, WILLIAM, of Dauphin County, was born in 1733, on the Swatara, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His grandfather, James Brown, came with his brother John from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1720, and, while he settled on the Swatara, subsequently Hanover township, the latter located in Paxtang township in Lancaster County. John Brown was the father of another William Brown, no less eminent than his distinguished cousin. The former was designated as "William Brown, of Paxtang," while the subject of our sketch as "Captain William Brown." He was educated at the school of Rev. John Blair, became quite prominent on the frontiers, and was an officer in Rev. Colonel Elder's battalion of rangers during the French and Indian war. He was one of the prime movers at the Hanover meeting of June 4, 1774, and probably the author of the celebrated resolutions there passed (see Egle's "History of Dauphin County," p. 78). He recruited a company of Associators, and was in active service during the Jersey campaign of 1776, as well in and around Philadelphia in

1777 and 1778. In 1779 he commanded a company of rangers in the expedition to the West Branch against the Indians and Tories, who were threatening the exposed frontiers. At the close of the Revolutionary war he became quite influential in public affairs, and his utmost efforts were employed to secure the erection of the new county of Dauphin. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, but did not sign the ratification. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789-90, and under that instrument represented his county in the Legislature in 1792 and 1793. He was chosen one of the Presidential electors in 1797, voting for Mr. Jefferson. Captain Brown died July 20, 1808, at the age of seventy-five, and is interred in Old Hanover Church graveyard. He married and left descendants, but they followed the footsteps of their Scotch-Irish neighbors and passed westward. He left an imperishable record, nevertheless, of a pure patriot and faithful officer in the early history of our State.

BULL, THOMAS, of Chester County, was born June 9, 1744, the son of William Bull, an early settler in that county. He received the meagre education afforded in his day, and learned the trade of a stone-mason. Prior to the Revolution he was the manager of Warwick Furnace. When that struggle came he entered heartily into the contest, and assisted in organizing the Chester County battalion of Associators of the "Flying Camp," commanded by Colonel William Montgomery, of which he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel. He was taken prisoner at Fort Washington in November, 1776, and confined on the Jersey prison-ship. After several months he was properly exchanged. He subsequently returned to his position as manager of Warwick Furnace, where he remained several years. In 1780 he was appointed by act of the General Assembly one of the commissioners for the removal of the county seat. He was elected a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and served as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789-90. He

was chosen a Presidential elector in 1792, and from 1795 to 1801 represented Chester County in the Legislature of the State. Prior to this he had purchased a fine tract of land on the head-waters of French Creek, erecting thereon a grist and saw-mill, besides a large mansion, where he passed the evening of his days. Colonel Bull was one of the men of mark in Chester County, and prominent in public affairs for half a century. In business affairs he was enterprising, in social life generous and genial, and in his church a faithful officer. In recognition of his eminent services during the war for independence, Congress, as well as his native State, granted him a handsome annuity. He died on the 13th of July, 1837, aged ninety-three years. Colonel Bull married, first, Ann, daughter of John and Ann Hunter, of Whiteland, Chester County, and their children were *Elizabeth*, m. John Smith; *Mary*, m. Alexander Co-bean, of Gettysburg; *Ann*, m. Waters Dewees; *Martha*, m. first, James McClintock, secondly, Samuel Shaffer; *Sarah*, d. unmarried; *Levi*; *James Hunter*; and *Margaret*, m. James Jacobs, son of Cyrus Jacobs. Levi Bull, his son, became a noted minister in the Episcopal Church, was made a doctor of divinity. He married Ann Jacobs, daughter of Cyrus Jacobs, a prominent iron merchant in Pennsylvania. Colonel Thomas Bull again married, at the age of seventy-five, Mrs. Lydia Crowell, of New Jersey, who survived her distinguished husband several years.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN
AND DAVID HALL, 1763-1777.

(Continued from page 333.)

LONDON Oct^r 23, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you a few Lines, the 6th Instant, by the Packett, in which I told you I had shipt for you on board the Hetty, Osborne, to the Amount of £298:13:8, by whom I had also sent my Account Current and a long Letter giving a Detail of what occurred to me in my Journey to Scotland, and the little Politicks that was then in Agitation. I acknowledged likewise the Receipt of yours of July 30, by Sutton.

I have since received yours of August 27, via Bristol, by Harkies; and the Copy of that and your former of July 30, viâ Liverpool, by McKoy. What you order in these two Letters shall be sent ~~by~~ next Vessel, for they could not be had complete by this. In the mean time, I herewith send you the Magazines, the Annual Register Vol. 9th and 12 Monthly Review Vol. 38th all which I shall include in the next Invoice, when I send M^r Allinson's Books, and the Law Books you order in your last.

I am glad Budden is at last arrived. I was mistaken in writting *Sparks* instead of *him*. I see you acknowlege the Receipt of mine of April 26, and May 14. I hope you also received a long Letter dated April 16, tho' you do not mention it. You have done extremely right to put the Watches into such proper Hands. I know they are cheap, and am therefore hopeful they will be disposed of by M^r Duffield in a moderate Space of Time, without much, (if any) Loss: And that, whatever it may be, I will cheerfully bear. The Maker of them is a worthy young Fellow, very deserving of Support and Encouragement.

The Political Season is now fast approaching; but at present I have nothing to give you, unless what you will find in the Papers.—Lord Chatham, you see, hath resigned by a Letter to the King written by his Lady, but dictated by himself. His doing this, at this precise Juncture, when his Health is far from being bad, shewes he meditates some Stroke or other, if possible to revive his Importance, but I hope he will find his former Popularity is not to be retrieved. Lord Shelbourne is turned out to make room for Lord Rochford, and other Changes will certainly take Place before the Parliament meets.—Wilkes is at present no more talked of; and the King of Denmark hath left us, taking France in his way home. I was at the Masquerade Ball he gave, which was splendid beyond Description. I gave an imperfect Account of it in the Chron. His Behaviour was altogether unexceptionable.

Nothing else occurs to me just now. We all remember you and yours with Affection; and I am ever

Dear Davie

Most faithfully and cordially Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

To MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia

LONDON Nov^r 10, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE

My last to you was dated Ocb^r 23, by the Susannah, Sutton, by whom I sent you the 12 Review Vol. 38, and Magazines, &c. I have since received yours of Sept^r 19th by Budden; inclosing a Bill on John Mayne, Esq; for £200, and Six hundred Dollars, which I sold this Day for 5/5½ @ Ounce, and they produced, after deducting Freight, £140:11:3, for both which Sums I have given you Credit. The Omissions in the Order of the Union Library shall be supplied next Vessel; but what they seem most angry at my having omitted, viz. the Fifth Vol. of Lardner's Jewish and Heathen History, was never printed, there being only four. My Wife saw both Margaret and Jean Ged, who both look re-

markably old.—I shall be sure to send the 12 Doz. of Weak Printing Ink you order in your Note of Sept^r 23, by the very first Vessel, which will sail, I hope, in 2 or 3 Weeks.—I have also yours of Sept^r 24, by the Dragon, Reid, and shall take all the Care I can, that you receive Papers by every Vessel from hence to any part of North America, and, if possible, from all the Ports you mention.

By this Mail you will receive the King's Speech and Addresses. You will see by them in what Light the Behaviour of the People at Boston, in particular, is considered here. I was in the House of Lords on Tuesday, when Lord Pomfret moved for the Address, in a decent enough Speech, wherein he recommended treating the Colonies with Firmness, and with such a kindly Severity, as might prevent the Breach from spreading farther, and the Effusion of Blood, which he thought it was likely to end in, if some means were not soon taken to enforce Obedience to the Legislature. Here the Address past without Opposition, and they were up by three o'Clock.

The House of Commons sat till twelve at Night. I was not there, so cannot give you so complete an Account of their Debates, as I would wish. M^r Grenville, I find, made a long Speech upon the Occasion, laying the whole Blame of our Differences with the Colonies, on Lord Chatham and Lord Camden; which last, he said, as the Head of the Law, ought to have known better, but he left him to the Compunctions of his own Conscience. He had in his Pocket the *Former's Letters*, which he frequently quotted, and called them libelous throughout. M^r Barry spoke in behalf of the Colonies, and against the Parliamentary Right of imposing Taxes upon them. M^r Cornwall found great Fault with Lord Hillsborough's Letter, requiring the American Governors to dissolve the Assemblies till they had retracted what had done respecting the circular Letter to the different Provinces. M^r Burke spoke too. Lord North, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that whatever Prudence or Policy might hereafter induce us to repeal the late Paper and Glass Act, he hoped we should never think of it *till*

we saw America prostrate at our Feet. These were his very Words. Alderman Beckford moved for an immediate Repeal. In conclusion the Address passed as you see it, without a Division; and the general Sense of the House was clearly for enforcing the Act, and the Authority of the Legislature in general.

This is all the Politics I can now give you. By Budden, who says he will sail in a Fortnight, or by the next Packett, I shall be able to write you more fully and more satisfactorily. In the mean time, I will venture to give you my own Opinion of the People at Boston, which is, that they have acted very foolishly, in shewing so much Violence. They had already sent over a Petition to the King and to the Ministry. What more, after all their Efforts, could they do? Their calling a Convention without the Interposition of the Governor, could *legally* do nothing; and nothing they did. The Case is far from being similar to our Situation at the Revolution; and it is quite a different piece of Business to oppose an arbitrary Parliament than an arbitrary Prince; nor are they, by any Means, in a condition to oppose, with Effect, both united. It is a Maxim founded on good Policy, and good Sense, never to shew our Teeth when we are not able to bite. Their proclaiming a Fast too, and recommending the People to exercise themselves in the Use of their Arms, upon the Colour of an approaching War with France, was, in my Mind a Piece of inexcusable Mockery of the Divine Being; nor can I see how they can vindicate such a Procedure. Upon the whole, I am very sorry they went any farther than *spirited Remonstrances*, which might have had the same Effect they had in the Stamp Act; but now I am afraid they have rendered a Repeal of this Glass Act, for the present at least, wholly impracticable.

Some People here, whom you know, think the Difference between us is now past all Healing. I am of a contrary Opinion; because *I know* there is no Disposition, either in the King, the Ministry, or the Parliament, to oppress America in any Shape, or to lay heavier Burthens upon

them than they are able to bear. The Power of the British Legislature here to impose Taxes upon you, will now be (indeed *must* now be) either enforced or given up, and so the Principal Bone of Contention between us will be taken out of the Way. The violent Encroachments of James II brought on the glorious Revolution; and tho' I am far from comparing our Differences between the King and People at that time, yet it is a good Sign, when the Causes of Disgust between any two Parties come to be fully and openly canvassed, that they will soon terminate in an Accommodation.

My Wife and all my Family are pure well at present, and desire to be affectionately remembered to you and M^r Hall. I am extremely busy just now, but always, with the warmest Affection and Attachment

Dear Davie

Your faithful Friend and Servant

WILL: STRAHAN.

TO MR. DAVID HALL

Merchant in Philadelphia

LONDON Dec^r. 30, 1768.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last of Nov^r 10th (in which I acknowleged the Receipt of a Bill on Mayne for £200, and Six hundred Dollars, which produced, clear £140: 11: 3) I have received yours of Oct^r 29 by Captain Sparks, acquainting me, that you had shipt One hundred Barrels of Flour for Lisbon, consigned to Mess^{rs} Parr and Buckley, and desired them to remit the Proceeds to me. I have yet heard nothing from them, but when I do, shall be sure to acquaint you. I am sorry so many Mistakes have lately happened. I think I have now rectified them all. Swinbourn on Wills is to be sure very dear; but it is now dearer. So let the Gentleman, if he pleases, return it, I never send a Book, like that, which is so much raised above the original Price, but such as I know are likely to continue to rise; by this Means your Customer has the Book if he chooses it; if not, it is no inconvenience to me to have it returned. I am surprised

the Law Books, in general are reckoned dear. Every Law Book I send you, except those I am concerned in, I buy with Ready Money, and, upon my Word, upon an Average, I have not 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ C^t by them. You may easily judge therefore that they are not worth sending; nor would I to any Person but yourself, under the full Price marked in Worral's Catalogue. The Profit allowed on Law Books was always trifling. However, I shall, for the future, send none that are much raised in Price, without previously acquainting you.

I hope the Newspapers come to you now from all Quarters. If they do not, it is not my Fault, for I have written to all the Printers you mention in the most pressing Manner, telling them at the same time, that they should be paid by me for their Papers on Demand. There is no compelling them. I hope M^r Nicholl lets no Ship sail from hence to any part of North America, without some Papers for you.

I received yours of Oct^r 21st by M^r Coombe, who seems to be such a Man as you describe him. He shall want no Friendship or Civility I can shew him, you may depend upon it. I find he lodges at present with R^r Franklin, whom I have not seen lately, having been confined to the House for this fortnight past with a Sort of Rheumatick Disorder, occasioned, I believe, by a Cold. But I hope to get abroad in a Day or two, perhaps before I have concluded this Letter.

As the Parliament hath now been convened above Six Weeks you will doubtless expect a great deal of Politicks; but I am afraid I shall disappoint you. You will think this strange; but so it is, Things are in such an unsettled Way, that there is no forming any true judgment in whose Hands the Administration of our Affairs shall be even for the ensuing Week. No Words can convey to you the desultory Proceedings of the House of Commons during the present Session, especially in regard to Wilkes, whose Importance they seem determined to revive, by every Method in their Power. There seems, indeed, to be neither Spirit nor Concert in the Ministry, but every Member of it throws out what occurs to himself, without adopting any Plan of Con-

duct; appearing only concerned each for himself lest his own Popularity should suffer by the Part he should take in this ridiculous Squabble. I will not name any of the Leaders in the Administration that behave in this manner, because they appear to me to be all alike culpable in this respect. Their only Excuse is, the precarious Tenor upon which each holds his Station, founded on the repeated Changes which have taken place during the present Reign, and a strong Suspicion that the same secret Influence which is supposed to have occasioned these, still prevails. Whether this is really the Case or not, I will not pretend to say; tho' I am rather inclined to think there is some Cause to apprehend it is as they suspect. But however this may be, I cannot think that Things will remain long in the present Posture. Fresh Changes begin again to be talked of; and as Lord Chatham, from Motives best known to himself, hath not only resigned his place of Privy Seal, but is now openly reconciled to his Brothers Lord Temple and George Grenville, a Coalition may possibly be formed between them and the Rockingham Party, and they may be joined, perhaps, by the Duke of Bedford and his Friends; and in that Case they must carry all before them, and form a Ministry, which being superior to any Influence whatever, either open or secret, may have some Chance for Permanency. It is, in truth, a Melancholy Consideration, that after having tried almost every Man in the Kingdom who is a Candidate for public Employment, there should not be found one fit to take the Lead, or that can procure the full and absolute Direction of Affairs, as has been usual in former Reigns. The Duke of Grafton, I have some Reason to think has been long tired of his present Station, and no Wonder. He is young, a Lover of Pleasure, and is not vested with those Powers, which are absolutely necessary to ensure Obedience and Attachment from the other Powers of the Crown. If Chatham must come in again, it must be, as before, upon his own Terms; and I must own he appears to be the only Man to whom the rest can be brought to submit, and who can restore that vigor, to administration,

so necessary on all Occasions, but more particularly at present, the want of which hath well nigh ruined our Affairs past all Redemption. Till some Alteration takes place, nothing can be settled, I am afraid, with respect to your American Affairs, which ly over at present in a very disagreeable Situation. I cannot, indeed, conceive why the Matter is not taken up in some Shape or other, unless it be that they wait for the expected Changes, and are desirous that the Odium attending the Enquiry may devolve to their Successors.

You must have seen Wilkes's Petition to the House of Commons in the Votes, which to my great Surprise, they received, and permit him to be heard at their Bar, in defence of the Alegations of it, if he thinks fit. This, however, is postponed till the 27th of next Month. In the mean time his Coadjutor Serjeant Glyn is *deliberately* elected for Middlesex, the County where the King resides, in spite of all the Influence of the Court. What Idea must this convey to all the World? Upon this Occasion too, Wilkes himself hath printed a most impudent Letter to the Electors, a Copy of which I shall inclose to you, which the House of Lords have voted to be an infamous and treasonable Libel, and desired the Concurrence of the Commons, who have postponed the Consideration of it till the Day abovementioned. Their Hesitation in this is likewise most wonderful! But in truth there seems to be so little Disposition in the Commons to deal with this Incendiary as he deserves, that one Day when I happened to be in the House, Sir William Meredith moved for an Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Military in S^t George's Fields on the 10th of May last, and for that End to have all Orders, &c. issued upon that Occasion laid before them. He insisted much on the Danger to the Constitution, in having recourse on such Occasions to a Standing Army, and on the particular Turpitude of the Ministry's suffering the Person who actually killed Allen to escape, and permitting an innocent Man to be tried for that Murder, whom they owned they had supported with the Public Money; calling upon Lord Barington, Secretary at

War, to declare under what Article of Expence this could be charged. To this Lord B. replied, that so far as he was concerned, he was ready to second any Man who should move for an Enquiry into his Conduct, as he knew he had done nothing inconsistent with his Duty; that he knew nothing of the Escape of the Man who fired the Musquet by which Allen was killed; that he was discharged by the Justice of Peace before whom he was carried, for want of Evidence; that the Innocent Man was committed by the same Justice on positive Evidence of his being guilty; that he was afterwards informed that he who fired the Gun, which he did by mere Accident, upon this expressed his Surprise to his Comerads, that the other should be committed for what he owned he had himself done most undesignedly; that on this; that on his he supposed they advised him to make his Escape, as it might not be safe even to trust himself to a Jury, in the present Disposition of the Populace; that the innocent Person was supported by public Money, which was changed under the Articles of Contingencies, and that he hoped the House would join with him in Opinion, that Men who did their Duty in a Service which was equally necessary and disagreeable to them, ought to be cherished and Rewarded according to their Merits. That as to the Messages, Orders or Letters that had passed upon the Occasion, he knew of none; for that without any written Requisition the Troops quartered in the Savoy, Tower, or Horse Guards were always ready to assist the Civil Magistrate on the shortest Notice, and when they acted under his Directions, they actually became part of the Civil Power. Mr Rigby spoke afterwards extremely well, and exposed the Absurdity of seeming to throw the least Slur, by such an Enquiry, on the Conduct of the Soldiers on that Day, as they might so soon stand in need of their Assistance, when Wilkes was brought to their Bar. Mr Fitzherbert observed with great Propriety, (in answer to some Members who insisted much on the Sufficiency of the Civil Power alone, to quell any Mobs or Insurrections whatever, and that this Method was the only constitu-

tional one that could be adopted on such Occasions) that he had himself been a Justice of Peace in the Country for twenty Years past, and was pretty well acquainted with the Law so far as that Office extended, and he would venture to assure the House, that that Part of the English Constitution which confined the Guardianship of the public Peace, and the Execution of the Laws to the Civil Power, or Posse Comitatus, was worn out, and become obsolete; for that he never could procure the necessary Assistance upon any Emergency, but from Men whom he hired for the purpose with Money out of his own Pockett; and he appealed to the House whether such Men were not, in that View, to all Intents and Purposes, a standing Army, with this only Difference, that they did not wear Red Coats. After this the Motion was dropped.

I happen'd also to be in the House of Lords, one Day, when the Message was brought them from the Commons, requesting them to permit Lords Sandwich and Halifax to be examined at their Bar, touching Wilkes's Affair. On this Lord Sandwich observed to the House, that this Message ought to be duly considered, before they returned their Answer to it; that for his own Part, he was ready and even desirous to answer any Questions respecting the Share he had in that Transaction, in doing which he should not reflect any Dishonour upon their Lordships, or any way injure his own Character; but that as he had then the Honour of holding a very high Office under the Crown, and as the Part he acted was under the Official Oath of Secrecy, he left it to them to determine, how far he could with Propriety answer the Questions that might be put to him. Lord Northington observed, that it was a Message of a very extraordinary Nature, that since he had the Honour to sit in that House, he remembered nothing similar to it; and that on searching their Journals he could find but one Instance, for a Century past, where they had permitted one of their Number to be examined as a Witness at the Bar of the Commons; that this Instance was within all their Memories, viz. the Examination of the late Earl of Morton, which

respected the important Affair of the Longitude, and in which he was only required to give his Judgment as an able Mathematician. In conclusion, the Consideration of the Message was then put off to another day; but they have since, after several Conferences with the Commons, agreed to suffer the Lords to be examined, if they think fit, when Wilkes Affair comes before them. The Lords also committed an Attorney to Newgate the same Day, for promoting and carrying on a most litigious and vexatious Prosecution against one M^r Hesse, a Justice of the Peace, in behalf of one of the Rioters that assembled in New Palace Yard one Day last Summer. The case was this: M^r Hesse was ordered by the House of Lords to keep the Peace there that Day, and to deal with any of the Rioters whom he might be able to apprehend, according to Law. One of the most daring and troublesome of them he had the Courage to seize from among the Mob, whom he conveyed to the Court of Requests, intending to bring him to the Bar of the Lords, but they happened to be adjourned before he got to the House. Upon this, he carried his Prisoner to the Bench of Justices then assembled at the Guild hall, Westminster, who refused to make out his Commitment on this Ground, that as M^r Hesse was himself a Justice and had acted in this Matter by the special Order of the House of Lords, he might commit him himself, which he accordingly did. But the House having soon after adjourned for the Summer, without taking any Notice of the Prisoner, M^r Hesse, in about ten Days after his Commitment, set him at Liberty. This Man, therefore, not having been legally discharged, brought his Action against M^r Hesse, and laid his Damages at £500. On his Examination he could give no good Account of himself, having no visible Way of Living, but was discharged from the Bar on his Promise to drop the Persecution. But his Attorney, who seemed to be an artful cunning Fellow, prevaricating most abominably in his Examination, was, as I before observed, committed to Newgate, even tho' the Chancellor, to my great Surprise, made a long Speech in his Behalf, which was seconded by Lord Lyttel-

ton, in which they urged in his Excuse, that he might have been ignorant that M^r Hesse acted under their Authority, but this was over-ruled, as this very Circumstance was expressly mentioned in the Committment of the Prisoner. They were indeed well answered by Lord Sandwich, and the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, who insisted strongly on the Necessity of Supporting the Peace Officers in the Exercise of their Duty, more especially when acting under their immediate Orders.

These are but trivial Incidents, but may all together serve, in some Measure, to convey to you a Picture of the *present Day*, in which, however, the Objects are so fleeting and transitory, that it requires a Degree of Leisure, Penetration, and Acuteness, greatly beyond what I can pretend to, to give you, at such a Distance, even a very moderate Idea of our political Inefficiency. May better Times be at hand, when thinking or writing on this Subject shall become a real Pleasure, instead of the most irksome Task that can possibly be assigned to any one who hath a Grain of public Spirit left, or who hath any interest in the Prosperity and Glory of this infatuated and distracted Country.

Nothing is yet settled with the East India Company. The Administration and the Directors have been haggling together all this while. It is, at present said (but I will not vouch for the Truth of the Assertion) that they are to pay the Government £500,000 a Year, and to be allowed to increase their Dividends by Degrees to $12\frac{1}{2}$ % Cent. I can hardly think they are in Circumstances to do this. Affairs in India are far from being in a settled State. The Expence of their Army there, which, including the Troops composed of the Natives, amount to 78,000 Men, is enormous; and the Difficulties, attending the investment of their Revenues, unsurmountable. If you add to all this the Differences among the Proprietors at home with regard to the General Management and the Choice of Directors, and the universal Rapacity of all their Servants abroad, who now find Means to acquire independent Fortunes after two or three Years Service by means far from justifiable, and which probably

tend to render the English Name odious with the Natives of that Country, you will not think that much Account can be made of our Possession of that distant Territory, to which we have in reality, to say no worse of it, so slender a Claim.

The final Decision of the great Douglas Cause comes on next Month, by Appeal from the Court of Session to the House of Lords. I have herewith sent you a Copy of the Cases on both Sides which will enable you to oblige some of your Friends, who may be curious about the Event.—It is a Cause of immense Consequence; no less than whether the young Gentleman, supposed to be Lady Jane's Son, is heir to the late Duke of Douglas, and the Chief of that illustrious Name, with an Estate of £10,000 a Year, or a Supposititious Child, the Son of a poor French Woman. The Cases are long, but very curious Reading; and I question much whether there are another Set on the Continent. Some general Knowledge of the Matter you have already. These Cases will tell you what is alleged on both Sides. I know not how it will be determined; but it is quite clear to me, that he is *not* the Son of Lady Jane Douglas.

There is no other *printed* Edition of Blare's Chronological Tables, without the *Copper-plate* Part, but what I sent you. But it was, to be sure, charged wrong. So I have deducted the whole Price in this Invoice. The Gen^t is very welcome to it for nothing.

The Lottery is now done drawing; and of all the four Ticketts I bought for you, only one, viz. N^o 32,060 bought in the Name of Alexander Stuart, came up a Prize of £20 on the 12th Day of Drawing. The three Blanks being of no Use, I herewith inclose you. I heartily wish you better Luck upon some future Occasion. For my own part, I have so very little Faith in Lotteries that I never have the least Concern in them. The Prize produced £17: 8: 0 for which I have given your Account Credit.

I think I have omitted nothing, that is mentioned in all your letters which I have hitherto received.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

A LETTER OF BENJAMIN FURLY.—

ROTT. 7 August 1702

MESS^{rs} JUSTUS & DANIEL FALCKNERDEAR S^r

My Last to you was of the 14th of April, by my frd M^r Hendrick Valckenbergh, in answer to yrs of the 26th of Sept by w^{ch} you advis'd me, that, by which I saw what James Claypool had wrote me so many years ago was true. That on the 19 December 1684 The Commissioners had given forth warrants for the Surveying of 3000 Acres of Land for me, viz 1000 in the County of Philadelphia, 1000 in the County of Chester and 1000 in the County of Bucks; as also for a Lot in Philadelphia in the High Street on the Schoolkill side dated 3^d of February (or the 11th month) 1684. As also that the s^d Commiss^{rs} had issued forth another warrant bearing date the 16th of November 1685 for 1000 Acres more in the County of Philadelphia in *Felners town-Ship so called*. But that of the s^d 4000 acres, there is but one return to be found of a 1000 in the Province of Philadelphia *betwixt the Lands of James Claypoole and Griffith Jones*: w^{ch} was Surveyed the 21 of November 1685 & returned the 7 feb. 1686. All w^{ch} extracted out of the Registers were forward, I find in your said Letter.

This Return for the 1000 Acres in Philadelphia, I take to be the same, mentioned to be in Felners Town Ship so called (lying between the lands of J. C. & Gr. Jones) because it was surveyed 5 days after that warrant.

If I mistake, inform me better—

I desired in my s^d Letter to be informed if it may be why the other warrants for the other 3000 Acres, & my Lot in the High Street were not as well surveyed, & returned as the last warrant. And whether that return be reregistered or enrolled?

I also observed that you had, with much labour, attendance, & cost at last obtained from the Governour a little before his departure an order to one James, to prepare 3 warrants for 4000 acres to be set out for me. 2 for each 500 acres for y^r selves & one for 500 Acres for Dorothy & her Brother & sisters & that this James was ordered by the Governour to recommend this to the Commissioners of Propriety, after his departure if not done before. I also took notice that you went to the Governour & expostulated with him, why he gave order for no more than 4000 Acres seeing I had so long since pd for 5000.

And that he answered you that 1000 were already taken up for me: whence I told you that I concluded these following things:

1. That tho^t, from the first warrants had onely been issued forth to Set out, but 4000 Acres for me, yet the Governour owns & knows that I have right to 5000. And consequently needs not my Originall deeds to convince him of it.

2. That my Letter of Attorney sent you, is owned, at last, as sufficient,

tho not signed by 2 there willing, tho the things were too generally therein mentioned, nor my Letter of Attorney to Renier Jansen were not therein revoked.

And 3^dly that the 1000 Acres in the County of Philadelphia are still looke upon as belonging to me, and are so, I hope enrolled, w^{ch} are the 1000 Acres I would keep with my Liberty land & Lot in the Town. The rest I shall be glad you dispose of.

I shewd you, that by a Printed Paper painted with a map of the Town, wherein the Lots are divided by numbers my name is found painted over agt No. 38 in the High Street from the Schoolkill side which is No. 81 in the map; betwixt Richard Thomas & John Simcocke.

I desired you therefore to procure a new warrant for it, to take it up & cause it to be enrolled, or Registered.

I shewd you that the concessions, & constitutions mentioned in the deeds do bear, that every purchaser of 5000 Acres was to have 100 Acres, & every purchaser of 1000 acres 10 acres within the Libertyes of Philadelphia IF THE PLACE WILL ALLOW IT without any other exception in the world, so that Will, Pleasure, Convenience or inconvenience, comes in no Consideration in this matter, but only, an absolute impossibility, that the Place where they should resolve to erect that Town, can bear it. As for example if they should, have pitcht upon some Island to build their City in, or upon some morass, or other. It is a contract to w^{ch} the purchasers have as much right to demand performance as the Govern^r has to demand his quit Rents.

On these terms I and others purchas'd—And long after I had purchas'd & pd for mine. The Governour sent me a Letter of Attorney, (as my Last informed you) to Sell any quantity of Land, not exceeding 30000 acres, in wh is inserted 2 Deed of Lease & Release, referring to these concessions & constitutions—

It is true when he saw what he had done, & that I had sold to the Frankforters and others severall Thousand acres, (but far short of 30 Thousand). He wrote me, that I ought to have remembered that that priveledge of having one Acre in 50. in Liberty lands was only for the first hundred purchases.

But I writ him again, That he ought to have told, or writ me so. If he would have me remember it & withall to how many I might allow that priveledge onely I writ as I did, by his Authority, sell all on these conditions—And so they have all right to demand it. Or damages for want of.

What he does with respect to these Franckfor^{ts} I know not, nor what he will doe for me. But this I know 'tis our Right.

I told you finally that I would have sent you a Letter of Attorney, in the manner of the Governours to me, but that I had no skill, nor time to do it. But should take care to have done in England authentikely—

And now having received from England a Copy of a Letter of Attorney so ample to all intents and purposes as is possible.

In which all care is taken to obviate all objections, & to give you all power; as 1, all former letters of Attorneys are revoked, in so far, as they have not been executed, & confirmed in so far as anything by virtue thereof has been legally done, (as the taking up the 1000 Acres in the County of Philadelphia &c)

2. You are empowered (if need be) to take up the whole 5000 Acres, & cause them to be enrolled. To sell & make deeds according to the Laws & customs there; the one of you to the other—or to any other; forever; for the absolute term of 30 years, or for 2 or 3 lives not exceeding Ninety nine years—reserving to me and mine onely 1000 Acres

contiguous, as near Philadelphia as may be—& such quit Rent as is exprest—

So that you have full power to dispose of 4000 Acres to y^{er} selves or any other, upon any of these terms—

And lest the authentike copies of the Deeds sent you by Jacob Claesen Arentson the 5 march 170^r should either not come to y^r hand or not be recd as Sufficient I send to my friend in London, the Deeds of Lease & Release, & purchase of the quit Rent to 5 Shillings a year, copied by a Notary, & the Seals of the City added to it, w^{ch} my frd, will present to the Governour & he has promis'd to give such Testimoniall of his satisfaction therewith as will cause these copies to be Registered, w^{ch} wishing safe [torn] hands, with a thousand thanks for the great [torn] & pains you have taken in this my affair [torn] any that ever I before authoriz'd since James Claypooles death, I remayn

Dear S^r

Y^r most obliged frd

BENJAMIN FURLY.

Letter directed:

To M^r JUSTUS & DANIEL FALCKNER These at Philadelphia In Pennsylvania

THE COURT DINNER BILLS printed in Vol. IX. pp. 239 and 358, are curious, and the latter historically valuable as exhibiting the cost and variety of a formal dinner of the time. I send a copy of another dinner bill, which gives the prices of food more in detail than the one mentioned.

C. R. H.

Philad^a

June 30 JOHN LAWRENCE to MARY BIDDLE

1758	To 1 Piece of Beef 13/.	1 Gamon 6/4 . . .	.19.4
	To 1 Leg of Lamb 2/.	Two D ^o Veal 4/10 . . .	.6.10
	To Bacon for Larding, &c 4/.	Rock 3/6 . . .	.7.6
	To 1 quarter of Lamb 2/10	Perch 1/3 . . .	.4.1
	To 6 Ducks 7/	Chickens 1 Doz 8/ . . .	.15.
	To Calves head 1/8	Meat Pies 4/6 . . .	.6.2
	To 12 Pound Butter 8/	Cheese 4/ . . .	.12.
	To Almonds 3/	Spice 6/ . . .	.9.
	To Currants & Reasons . . .	. . .	.2.8
	To Gooseberries & Strawberis . . .	. . .	.3.6
	To Wine 6/	Eggs 3/4 Cream 5/6 . . .	.14.10
	To Lemons 6/	Peas 11/3 Turnips, Greens &c . . .	.19.9
	To Bread 3/	Flour 1/6 . . .	.4.6
	To Pine apples 7/6	Cherries 2/8 . . .	.10.2

£6.15.7

Wine 1 Doz ⁿ & 8 bottles @ 3/9 . . .	3.15.
Punch 1 Bowl 5/ 7 D ^o @ 3/ . . .	1. 6.
Bristol Beer 6 Bottles . . .	.9.

£12. 5.7

My Trouble £2.10.

£14.15.7

Received the above in full, MARY BIDDLE

PENN ESTATES IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1779.—The bill before the Assembly to which this letter refers was entitled "An Act for vesting the

Estates [unlocated lands] of the late proprietaries of Pennsylvania, in this Commonwealth" (McKean's Laws, pp. 258-63), finally became a law November 27, 1779. The writer, Bernhard Dougherty, was a man of repute in the Commonwealth. He was one of the first Justices of the Peace appointed in Bedford County, March 12, 1771; a member of the Council of Safety, 1775-76; Judge of the Courts, Bedford County, 1778-80, and member of the Assembly, 1781.

SIR :

Will you redeem a few Minutes from you[r] other Business, and read a scrawl from a Person who really esteems you? you will ask, is it worth a-reading? I don't know that, but as it is possible you may not have all the News at York as soon as we have them here, and particularly the Transaction of our House of Assembly, that shall be the subject.

Yesterday being the Day appointed for hearing the *late* Proprietaries (as they are called by our Assembly) by their Counsel, Mess^{rs} Ross, Willson, Tyllghman and Chew appeared in the House as such; and Mess^{rs} Serjeant &c on behalf of the People of Pennsylv^a on the other side; the Audience was numerous, and M^r Ross opened the Debate, beginning at the first settling of this Province, which took up the forenoon intirely, and a good part of the afternoon, wherein he clearly shewed, that the general Idea held out by our House and others, (to wit, That the late Proprietor W^m Penn held his Charter, obtained of the Crown of Great Britain, was in trust for the Adventurers, and that he in effect, was nothing more than the Peoples' Trustee,) is groundless unprecedented and Vain; that such a Thought never intered into the Heart of any of those Adventurers, nor any of their Descendants, and that the happy expedient of striping Individuals of private Property was found out by our present Assembly, M^r Attorney General then got up, and made his Motion, that the Points urged by M^r Ross were so numerous, And so complicated, that he was by no means equal to the Arduous Task, unprepared as he then was, and therefore requested a farther Day to consider the subject, w^{ch} Motion being granted, and Monday being appointed the Business there ended for the present.

We are very sanguine in this affair, and in my humble Opinion of all People, the worst calculated to set as Judges in an Affair so exceedingly interesting, not only to the Family of that *Great and good Man* Will^m Penn but also to every Man of Property in the State, being ourselves immediately a Party interested in the great dispute, how can we be supposed to Judge disinterestedly? there is not a Man that sits in this House, but is by the very Privilege by w^{ch} he sits, to wit a *Free Holder* incompatable to the appointment, of Judging in his own dispute;

And if the present or any future House of Assembly can with any degree of propriety lay their Hands on private Property, where can it be supposed they will end?

I am satisfied every Man in the House has his Mind made up on this subject, and so unalterably, that was the Angel Gabriel to urge an alteration 'twou'd be vain; and I firmly believe the Proprietaries will be greatly sufferers by our result in this great affair.

If I am here during [the] further Debates I will do myself the Pleasure of sending you the most material substance of them.

I am Sir with all due respect your most Obed^t

Hble serv^t

BARNARD DOUGHERTY

COL M^cPERSON

Philad^a March 19th 1779

SPINNING-PARTIES.—Mrs. M. E. Snow, of Wilkesbarre, Pa., a niece of Isaac A. Chapman, author of the first History of Wyoming, contributes the following from his "Note-Book":

"During the winter of 1808-9, which I spent in Lancaster, Pa., it was very customary for the young ladies of that place to form what were called spinning-parties, when several of the young ladies met at the house of a companion, and all spent the afternoon spinning the finest linen thread on small wheels, until tea was announced, after which, the company removed to the drawing-room, and spent the evening in conversation, music, and dancing.

"At such times it was customary for such of the young ladies as were good singers, to amuse the company with original songs, written for the occasion by some of the young gentlemen.

"The following was written for and at the request of Miss Maria Henry, daughter of Hon. Judge Henry of Harrisburg [mother of Aubrey H. Smith, Esq., a Vice-President of Hist. Soc. of Penna.], then on a visit to her friend, and set to music and sung at a spinning-party at Mr. Ellicott's:

"When spring, delightful spring comes on,
And wintry storms are o'er,
We'll not repine that sleighing's gone,
That sliding is no more;
For greater joys than these shall come
To cheer the glad some day,
With friends abroad and friends at home—
We'll spin dull care away.

"Then on the margin of that stream,
Where Conestoga flows;
On Susquehanna's banks so green,
Where blooms the native rose:
Or where the elms o'erspread the glade,
In sportive mirth we'll stray,
Or with our wheels beneath the shade—
We'll spin dull care away.

"And when those blissful hours shall come,
Which crown each earthly joy,
Those hours which give a happier home,
Shall happier thoughts employ,
Content in any sphere of life,
I'll pass each happy day,
And free from tumult, noise and strife—
I'll spin dull care away.

"Then cool beneath the shady grove,
While zephyrs play around;
We'll tune our lutes to notes of love,
Or listen to the sound.
Or if domestic duties claim,
A portion of each day;
At evening hour we'll meet again—
To spin dull care away.

"I. A. C.

"East King Street, Jan. 1809."

IMPORTANT CORRECTION.—In the revised edition of volumes ten and eleven, second series, "Pennsylvania Archives," recently published by the State as "Pennsylvania in the Revolution, 1775-1783," appears a gross error, due to the blundering or stupidity of the printer when making corrections. It is on page 292, volume one, where after the words "Aides to Major-General Gates" the word "Jones" has been added. Persons in whose hands the volume may come will be kind enough to erase the word "Jones."

WILLIAM H. EGLE.

DEUTSCH-AMERICANISCHES MAGAZIN.—Mr. H. A. Rattermann, who so long and ably edited the *Deutsche Pioneer*, has recently commenced the publication of a quarterly with the above title, devoted to the history, literature, science, art schools, and family life of the Germans in America. The first number has now appeared. It opens with a portrait and a biographical sketch of the late Frederick Kapp, who has done so much to elucidate the history of the Germans in America. Among the other papers which are of special interest to Pennsylvanians are: "The Youthful Career of General Peter Muhlenberg," by Dr. Germann, who, in association with Dr. Mann and Dr. Schmucker, is now editing an edition of the "Hallesche Nachrichten" and "Memorial Notices of Jedediah Weiss, Karl F. Beckel, and Jacob C. Till, Musicians at Bethlehem," by Mr. John W. Jordan of our Historical Society. The promise is also given that in the next number will be commenced the publication of Dr. Seidensticker's account of the German newspapers of the last century, the great majority of which were issues of the press in Pennsylvania. This quarterly begins under excellent auspices, and appeals strongly to all interested in the subjects of which it treats.

S. W. P.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COLORS OF THE ASSOCIATORS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1747.—In a copy of "Plain Truth," written by Benjamin Franklin, and printed in 1747, which copy is now in my library, the original owner has written a description of the colors of the regiments organized at that time. As this information is interesting, and perhaps not elsewhere accessible, I send a transcript of his description:

"In consequence of the above Proposal an Association was entered into by ye People of all Ranks, but ye Quakers, and the following is an account of the Devices and Mottos on some of their Colours.

"Devices and Mottos painted on some of the Colours of the Association Regiments in and near Philadelphia, in the year 1747.

"First: A Lyon erect, a naked Scimiter in one Paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania Escutcheon. Motto: Pro Patriæ.

"2d. Three arms wearing different Linnen, ruffled and chequed, the Hands joined by grasping each others wrist, denoting the Union of all Parties. Motto: Unita Virtus Valet.

"3d. An Eagle, the Emblem of Victory descending from the Skies. Motto: A Deo Victoria.

"4th. The Figure of Liberty sitting on a Cube holding a Spear with the Capp of Freedom on its Point. Motto: Inestimabilis.

"5th. An Arm with a naked Faulchion in its Hand. Motto: Deus adjuvat Fortes.

"6th. An Elephant, being the emblem of a Warrior always on his Guard, as that Creature is said never to lay down and hath his arms ever in readiness. Motto: Semper Paratus.

"7th. A City walled round. Motto: Salus Patrie Summa Lex.

"8th. A Soldier wth his Piece recovered ready to present. Motto: Sic Pacem Querimus.

- "9th. A Coronet and Plume of Feathers. Motto: In God we Trust.
 "10th. A Man with a Sword drawn. Motto: Pro Aris aet Focis. &c."
 S. W. PENNYPACKER.

November 25, 1886.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WALK PERFORMED FOR THE PROPRIETARIES OF PENNSYLVANIA IN 1737; TO WHICH IS APPENDED A LIFE OF EDWARD MARSHALL. By William J. Buck. 8vo, 269 pp. Price \$2.

Of all the transactions between the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and the Indians of the Province, there is perhaps no one which has been the subject of so much discussion, and on which writers differ, as that familiarly known as the "Walking Purchase," which occurred in September of 1737. The result of this walk so exasperated the Indians that they eventually resorted to savage vengeance and war. Mr. Buck in his work (which is an amplification of Charles Thomson's "Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest, etc.") treats of the Proprietary Government and the rights of the Indians; the lands sold by the former, which had not been granted to them by the latter; the trial walk; the preparations for the walk; the walk, and the results of the walk; and short biographical sketches of the prominent persons, white and Indian, connected therewith. The sketch of the life of Edward Marshall, the only one of the three who finished the day and a half day's walk, is the result of considerable research, and a valuable addition to the work, and the author is to be commended for the labor he has devoted to his subject. The book is neatly printed and indexed, and the edition limited to two hundred and ten copies. On sale by Edwin S. Stuart, Ninth below Market Streets.

PITTSBURGH LOTS.—No. 3. By Lt-Colonel Ried Commanding his Majestys Forces in the District of Fort Pitt.

Permission is hereby granted to John Gibson to Occupy and Build upon a Lott of ground in the New Town of Pittsburgh; in Consideration of which he is willing to pay Twenty Shillings Yearly, if demanded, and also to be subject to such Regulations as may be ordered by the Commander in Chief, or by the Commanding Officer of the District, for the good of his Majesty's Service.

Given Under My Hand
 at Fort Pitt the 28th day of August 1765
 JOHN REID LT. COL.

UNIFORMS OF THE PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATORS IN 1775.—The following letter from Mrs. Mary Morgan, sister of Francis Hopkinson and wife of Dr. John Morgan, to her sister Anne, wife of Dr. Coale, of Baltimore, gives some idea of the costumes adopted by the Philadelphia Associators. It is without date, but was probably written in May or June, 1775.

"Last Thursday we had a grand review of all the Batallions, all dressed in their regimentals, the first in Brown & buff—the 3^d brown, trimmed up with white—and the 2^d in brown & red—you see I have not mentioned them in their order, but it would not be me if I had, beside these there are four other uniforms, the light Infantry to the 3^d Batallion are dressed in green and with white lappis & white waistcoats, breeches etc. Caps and feathers it is as compleat a company as can be, all gentlemen and most of them young fellows & very handsome, my neigh-

bor Cadwalader Captain & my brother George Morgan first L'. There is another Company all young quakers—their uniform is light blue & turned up with white, made exactly like the green, then there are the rangers Mr. Francis Cap'—Uniform is tanned shirts with a Cape—a belt round their waists with a Tomhawk sticking in it—some of them paint their faces and stick painted feathers in their heads, in short their aim is to resemble Indians as much as possible—Lastly comes the light horse, Mr. Markoe their captain—there is only five & twenty of them as yet, but really they look exceedingly well, you would be surprised to see how well the horses are trained for the little time they have exercised, in short they did extraordinarily well & made a most martial appearance. What did not a *little* inspire them, was the presence of a great number of the genteelst people of the place among whom was collected the most pretty girls I have seen this long time, but the one that drew every one's attention was the famous Jersey beauty Miss Keys, who is now on a visit to Mr. Robedeau she may justly be said to be fairest where thousands are fair I have had an opportunity of seeing her more than once and think her a most beautiful creature, and what makes her still more engaging is her not betraying the least consciousness of her own perfection."

C. H. R.

MARRIOT.—The following is a copy of the "Order to Enquire the Circumstances of Mary Marriot, March 29th 1757":

"Philada. ss

"To the Overseers of the Poor of the said City. Mary Marriot alledging to us That altho she is very thankful that herself and Daughter are so well provided for with all the necessarys of Life, and in so plentiful a manner, Yet, as they were both brought up in a delicate way, begs leave to Assure us, that the Provisions of the Almshouse are generally too gross for their nice Stomachs, and especially at Breakfast, and Supper Times; neither is there care taken to provide anything pretty for them, to sup, in the Afternoons; they therefore beg the favour of us to desire you to take this Important Affair into your most serious Consideration and if you find the Case fairly Represented, you may allow them Tea, Coffee, Chocolate or any thing else that you verily believe will be more agreeable to their palates.

"Dated March ye 29th 1751.

(Signed)

"WM PUMSTED,
"EDWD SHIPPEN."

Queries.

MARY BECKET.—I should like to ascertain the parentage of Mary Becket, who came to Pennsylvania in 1684, under the following circumstances:

Her name appears in the list of passengers by the ship "Vine" from Liverpool, which arrived at Philadelphia the 17th of the 7th mo. (September) of the year mentioned. Her immediate party consisted of Henry Baker, his wife (Margaret), their four daughters, two sons, and ten servants, all of whom are booked as "from Walton in Lancashire." (PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. VIII., No. 3, p. 333.)

This was probably Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, and not Walton-on-the-Hill, now a suburb of Liverpool.

Roger Haydock, then a prominent preacher of the Society of Friends, writing in his own name and in that of his wife Eleanor, from Warring-

ton, in Lancashire, the 7th of 4 mo. 1684, to Phineas Pemberton, at that time already settled in Pennsylvania, says, "Along wth ye bearer hereof cometh daught^r Mary, as by y^e contents of y^e enclosed to thy fath^r which on purpose I leave unsealed thou may understand: To yo^r care wee comit her . . . & place you as in our stead; w^{ch} wee rest in hope you will take upon you, that is a fatherly & motherly care over her, whom we truly love, & who comes in her owne inclinacons for those p^{ty} to w^{ch} inclinacons wee have condescended, . . . And although shee come with H. B. . . . y^t if you see better to settle her either at her Arivall, or within a year's tyme, or more or lesse, wee impower you so to do, & w^t you do is & shall be accounted by us as if wee did it our selves. . . ."

There follows a proposed "provision to Answ^r for a years table &c."

An enclosure dated at Liverpool the 16th of the same month speaks of Henry Baker's detention "by a wicked priest" and the anxiety lest he be not able "to come along wth his wife & family," adding, "However since our daughter Mary cometh along I entreat thy care of her when it shall please god y^t shee arives there; & wee fully . . . leave y^e disposeall of our daught^r to thy fath^r moth^r thy selfe & thy wife, even from the very day of her arrivall; and of yo^r care wee are not doubtfull a word to y^e wise is sufficient, we are here at Liverpool severall of us, to wit besid^s myselfe & wife, Bro^r Joⁿ. Henry & his wife, cossen E. Hodson, cosen E. Shaw, Bro^r B. Bangs: Joⁿ. Johnson, w: Grandson & oth^r friends. . . . I onely add if it seem good to you y^t our daught^r abide a little wth Marg^t. Baker . . . wee are satisfied . . . & hope shee may in tyme be in a capacity of some place of p^rferm^{nt}, or at least of a place wherein shee may be of more service—yet wee leave all to you; and shall account w^t you do, as if wee did it ourselves. . . ."

Same to same, 20th 6 mo. 1686: ". . . I have also Answered thy mind or Desire given about Mary, whom as wee . . . have comitted to yo^r care we leave under yo^r care, hoping shee will comply wth yo^r Advice & Answ^r you in our names, as if wee were p^{nt}ent to requyre, order or dispose of for her good . . . wee received her love by her owne hand expressed, wth love Answering it, & desire she may improve her hand-writing; . . ."

R. H. (alone) to P. P., 10th 7 mo. 1695: ". . . Now as to Accounts on Mary behalf . . . as we concluded before we married to give Mary 100^l. so it was placed for her &c. . . ."

In all letters from Haydock or his wife to Mary Becket she is addressed as "daughter," and in hers to them, she calls them "father" and "mother." One of her daughters she named Eleanor, for she did not remain single, but on the 4th of 8 mo. 1691, was married at "Falls Meeting," Bucks County, to Samuel Bowne, of Long Island, son of the John Bowne so well known to students of our colonial history. By this marriage Mary became the ancestress of several prominent families both in New York and Philadelphia.

In the official certificate of her marriage she is described simply as "of y^e County of Bucks & province of Pensilvania, Spinster," and the names of her parents are not given. There is some circumstantial evidence tending to show that she might have been from ten to fourteen years of age at the date of her arrival, or between seventeen and twenty-one at the time of her marriage. It may seem hardly worth while in the absence of even a shadow of evidence in their support to refer to the several theories invented to account for her origin, were it not that one of them (if indeed this be an invention) has assumed almost the dignity of a tradition, and has several times appeared in print. It is to the effect that Mary was "a ward in Chancery" of the great Percy family,

and that the name of her real, as well as that of her adoptive, mother was Eleanor. It would be interesting to know when this legend is first heard of. Another story, accepted without inquiry by one branch of the family, that Mary came to this country in the capacity of "companion" to a "travelling Friend," without intention of remaining, until she fell in with her future husband, may, in the light of the letters cited, be finally dismissed.

Some particulars of the Haydocks might be useful in attempting this genealogical puzzle. Roger Haydock (I follow his certificate of marriage), "of Coppull in the County of Lancaster" (Coppull lies some seven or eight miles southeast of Walton-le-Dale), was married to "Eleanor Lowe of Crewood Hall in the County of Chester, Spinster," on the "sixth day of the month called May in the year according to the English accompt 1682," or about two years before "daughter Mary" left England forever.

There is nothing to show, as far as I am aware, that Roger had been married before. When arrested, in 1674, for non-payment of tithes,— "the pretended Cause was for 10 Thrave of Oates . . . and something for smoak-Penny, and Tithe of Hen and Geese,"—he was described in the commitment as "an unmarried man." His influence upon Eleanor began long before their marriage. In her "Testimony" concerning him, published after his death (see "A Collection, &c.," London, T. Sowle, 1700), she says he was "at the first Meeting I was at, when I received the Truth," and that the "Concern of Love . . . relating to Marriage . . . continued betwixt us for the space of five Years," during which time she also "laboured . . . in the Work of the Ministry."

With regard to Crewood. William Gerrard (*temp.* Edw. III.) gave the lands of Crewood in Crowton and Kingsley to Thomas Gerrard, by Edward the Black Prince as capital lord (Helsby's ed. of Ormerod's Cheshire, 1882, Vol. II. p. 126), the male line of Gerrard, of Crewood, terminating in Peter Gerrard, Esq., great-grandson of Richard (26 Eliz.), from whom the Crewood estate descended to the Leycesters, and it is now owned by Ralph Leycester, Esq., of Toft Hall. These details may have a bearing upon the "Percy" tradition, in what way there is no room to explain here.

Eleanor, the daughter of Richard Gerrard, of Crewood, married Robert Lowe, of Eaton, and became the mother of Roger Haydock's wife. In the pedigree given in Ormerod, Haydock is described as "of the Brick hall, Penketh" (near Warrington), which is not quite accurate, as it was not until five years after his marriage, that, according to his brother John's account in the "Collection" aforesaid, returning from one of his journeys, he "pass'd for Lancashire to his Wife and Family, which he removed from Warrington, to Brick-hall in Penketh, in the 5th Month, 1687." At the time of his marriage, in May, 1682, he was, as his certificate proves, "of Coppull," and he afterwards, by his brother's account, "stayed in Lancashire and Cheshire, till the latter end of that month, and then travelled for London, afterwards through the South part to Exeter, visiting the Churches, to Bristol, and so into the North, where he settled his Wife at Warrington, in the South of Lancashire, in the 7th Month following."

My query is, who were Mary Becket's parents, and in what relation did she stand to the Haydocks? Why did so young a child desire to leave her home in England, and what motive could have been strong enough to induce her guardians to let her go? Why, throughout the voluminous correspondence, is all reference to her origin so carefully avoided, and parentage concealed with, apparently, studied caution?

I can think of no source from which the answer is so likely to come as the contemporary letters of the early settlers of Bucks, and as the gossip about her—if there were any—would be likely to be revived on the occasion of her marriage, I should feel much obliged to any one who may have letters of that date, if he or she would kindly refer to them. Among the witnesses of Mary's marriage occur the names of Willetts, Hastings, Janney, Yardley, Waln, Baker, Kirkbride, Hoops, Hough, Cooke, Rhoads, Dickson.

THOMAS STEWARDSON.

Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

RHOADES—ROBERTS.—Information is desired of date of death of Samuel Rhoades, Mayor of Philadelphia in 1774, and also of Hugh Roberts, a City Commissioner in 1791.

P. MACF., JR.

December, 1886.

ANCESTRY OF DAVID HOWELL.—Information is wanted of the ancestry of David Howell, son of Aaron and Sarah — Howell, born in Morristown, N. J., January 1, 1747, graduated at Princeton, 1766, died in Providence, R. I., July 21, 1824.

MRS. A. J. BULKLEY.

167 S. Elliott Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.—Information is desired concerning the following-named officers and their descendants. These officers all held commissions in the New Jersey Line, Continental Army, and were original members of The Society of the Cincinnati in that State.

The notes given in connection with the names are taken from Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, Gardner's Army Dictionary, Hamersly's Army Register, and the Records of the Society.

Captain William Appleton. Practitioner of medicine. Died prior to 1808.

Surgeon William Barnet. Died about 1783. Represented in the Society by his son, Isaac Coxe Barnet, admitted 1822, who was United States Consul in France.

Captain William Barton. Died 1802. Represented in the Society by his son, Gilbert Barton, admitted 1806, died 1812, and by his son, Joseph L. Barton, admitted 1812. Joseph L. Barton was appointed Captain United States Army, September, 1812.

Ensign John Bishop. Moved out of New Jersey prior to 1808.

Captain John Blair. Died out of New Jersey prior to 1808.

Major Nathaniel Bowman. Died 1788.

Captain Eden Burroughs. Died in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, February 26, 1825. Represented in the Society by his son, Cassius Burroughs, admitted 1828.

Captain Samuel Conn. Died 1788.

Captain Ephraim Darby. Died prior to 1808.

Lieutenant Chilion Ford. Died out of New Jersey in 1801.

Ensign Peter Faulkner. Died in the District of Columbia, September 27, 1823.

Captain James Heard. Died in Middlesex County, New Jersey, March 26, 1831.

Major William Helms. Member of Congress from New Jersey, 1801 to 1811. Major-General New Jersey Militia. Removed to Tennessee. Died 1813.

Captain John Holmes.

Captain Jonathan Holmes. Moved to State of New York.

Ensign John Hopper. Died in Bergen County, New Jersey, November 14, 1819.

Captain William Kersey. Major United States Army, June 30, 1794. Died March 21, 1800.

Ensign Francis Luce. Ensign United States Army, September 29, 1789. Resigned May 1, 1791.

Captain Absalom Martin.

Captain Giles Mead. Died out of New Jersey prior to 1808.

Captain Alexander Mitchell.

Captain Benajah Osman. Moved to Natchez, Mississippi, prior to 1808.

Captain John Peck. Died out of New Jersey prior to 1808.

Captain Robert Pemberton. Died 1788.

Major Samuel Reading. Moved out of New Jersey prior to 1808.

Captain John Read.

Captain Samuel Seeley. Brigadier-General of Militia, Pennsylvania. Died at Dingman's Ferry, Pike County, Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Jonathan Snowden. Military Storekeeper at West Point, 1810; ordnance ditto, 1821. Died 1824.

Captain Abraham Stout. Moved to Ohio prior to 1808.

Ensign Cornelius R. Suydam. Ensign United States Army, March 17, 1786.

Captain Abel Weyman. Died in Burlington County, New Jersey, 1788.

Information is also desired concerning the two following officers and their descendants. They were both original members of the New York State Society, but by transfer connected themselves with the New Jersey State Society.

Lieutenant James Giles. Born in New York, 1759. Died in Cumberland County, New Jersey, 1825.

Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Hay. Although an original member in New York, his military service had been in the Pennsylvania Line. Died 1803. Represented in the Society by his son, Rev. Philip Cortlandt Hay, D.D., who was born in Newark, New Jersey, July 25, 1793. He was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Newark, where he died, December 27, 1860.

HERMAN BURGIN,

Assistant Treasurer General Society Cincinnati.
Germantown, Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM MASTERS.—Was William Masters, who married Mary Lawrence in 1754, and died in 1760, the young lover whom Letitia Penn jilted for William Aubrey? If so, it must have been quite a youthful affair, yet one would think it a much more serious case from the manner in which James Logan treats it in his letter to Letitia's father in May, 1702.

Letitia Aubrey died in 1746, and it is certain William Masters did not comfort himself in marriage until eight years later. The latter's descendants have no data to set this question at rest, nor do Christ Church records give his age at death.

T. H. M.

IN January of 1752 there was published at Lancaster, Pa., "*The Lancaster Gazette*, a Compendium of the most material Foreign and Home News;" a folio of four pages, printed in English and German, by H. Miller and S. Holland, on King Street. Was the first-named publisher

the Henry Miller, of Philadelphia, from 1760 to 1779, an enterprising printer and also publisher of the *Staatsbote*? E. T. W. B.

LOTING PURCHASE.—What territory comprised the Loting Purchase, alluded to in old deeds of conveyance pertaining to a part of what is now Hunterdon County, West Jersey, and why was it so called?

H. R.

CAN any one supply the authors' names of the following pamphlets?—

"View of the Proposed Constitution of the United States, . . . with Notes and Observations. Philadelphia, 1787."

"Observations on the New Constitution, and the Federal and State Conventions. By a Columbian Patriot. Boston, Printed, New York, re-printed, 1788."

"An Address to the People of the State of New-York: Shewing the Necessity of Making Amendments to the Constitution, proposed by the United States previous to its Adoption. By a Plebian. Printed in the State of New York, 1788."

"Fragments on the Confederation of the American States. Philadelphia, 1787." P. L. F.

SHIPPEN PAPERS.—In a letter from C. J. Shippen to his father, at Lancaster, written in Philadelphia, December 13, 1759 (see Letters and Papers relating chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania, etc., p. 169), he states: "I enclose you a party paper for your amusement; the authors are said to be Wm. Franklin, Jos. Galloway, and George Bryan, but I know not with what justice. The introduction, and the letter from Montreal, are said to be wrote by an older hand. The difference between them and the other parts of the paper is very apparent. If a superlative degree of scurrility is wit, I think the piece has merit. Read and judge." C. R. Hildeburn, in "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press, 1685-1784," does not mention the paper. What is known of it?

X. Y.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
PENNSYLVANIA, 1886.

No quorum being present at the stated meeting of the Society on the evening of January 11, no business was transacted.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of March 8, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

The reading of the minutes, on motion, was dispensed with.

The President introduced Hampton L. Carson, Esq., who delivered an address on "The Causes of the American Revolution, and the Age of Washington."

Upon motion of J. Edward Carpenter, Esq., the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Carson for his able, eloquent, and instructive paper.

The following gentlemen were nominated by Crawford Arnold, Esq., for officers of the Society, to be balloted for at the ensuing stated meeting:

President.

Brinton Coxe.

Vice-Presidents.

Horatio Gates Jones,

George de B. Keim.

Corresponding Secretary.

Gregory B. Keen..

Recording Secretary.

William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer.

J. Edward Carpenter.

Council (to serve for four years).

Edwin T. Eisenbrey,

George Harrison Fisher,

Charles Roberts.

Trustee of Publication Fund (to serve for six years).

John Jordan, Jr.

Trustee Binding Fund (to serve for six years).

John Jordan, Jr.

The meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of May 3, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting read and approved.

The Hon. Horatio Gates Jones in appropriate terms announced the death of Hon. John Welsh, one of the oldest and most distinguished members of the Society, and offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That in the death of the Hon. John Welsh the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been deprived of one of its most useful and beneficent members, and that we sympathize with the people of Philadelphia, who have lost one of their most active and prominent fellow-citizens, ever devoted to their city's best interests; one who in his high and honorable positions both at home and abroad has shed lustre upon the city which gave him birth."

The Report of the Council of the Society was read by its Secretary, Professor Gregory B. Keen, in which a detailed statement of the work of the Society for the year 1886 was given.

Upon motion, the report was accepted.

Mr. Frederick D. Stone, Librarian, announced to the meeting that through the exertions of the Council and the liberality of some of the members of the Society, the lot adjoining the Hall on the west (twenty-five feet front on Locust Street) had been purchased for thirteen thousand dollars on behalf of the Society, which had not been put to any expense in the matter; that the success which had attended the purchase had been mainly due to the liberality of Mr. Joseph E. Temple, who, when it was known that the lot could be purchased, offered to contribute the sum of five thousand dollars, provided the whole amount could be raised without touching the funds of the Society; that the Society was to be congratulated, inasmuch as the growth of its collections since its removal to its present home had been so great as to render it absolutely necessary to make provision for the future erection of more fireproof-rooms; that now the risk from fire, which would be very great in case a dwelling or other building was erected adjoining the auditorium, was much diminished, and that by the purchase of the lot a great cause of anxiety to those having the interests of the Society at heart was set at rest.

Dr. Joseph J. Levick congratulated the Society on the great change which within his recollection had taken place,—from a little room on the third floor of the Athenæum Building to the present handsome accommodations.

Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., also spoke of the benefaction of Mr. Temple to the Society, and calling attention to the clause in the By-laws allowing the election of one or more Honorary Vice-Presidents, he moved that unanimous consent be given to open the nominations for officers made at the last stated meeting, in order that Mr. Temple should be made an Honorary Vice-President of the Society.

The motion was seconded by the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, and by unanimous consent the nominations were opened.

Mr. Pennypacker then nominated Joseph E. Temple as one of the Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society, and moved that the Secretary be requested to deposit, as the unanimous vote of the members present, one ballot for the election of Mr. Temple, which motion was carried unanimously.

On motion of S. Kingston McCay, Esq., it was

“Resolved, That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be and are hereby tendered to Joseph E. Temple, Esq., for his generous donation of five thousand dollars, which has enabled the Society to purchase the lot of ground adjoining its auditorium on the west.”

On motion of Mr. McCay, it was also

“Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be tendered to Miss Caroline E. Cope, Miss Annette Cope, and Miss Clementine Cope for their generous donation of two thousand dollars to the fund raised for the purchase of the lot adjoining the auditorium on the west.”

The Tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated for officers at the last stated meeting, and also Joseph E. Temple for Honorary Vice-President, had all been unanimously elected.

The meeting then adjourned.

A special meeting was held on Friday evening, May 14, President Brinton Cox, Esq., in the chair.

The Chairman introduced the Hon. Erastus Brooks, who read an address on “Henry Clay; his Public Life and Exalted Patriotism, his Large Success and Few Mistakes.”

Upon the conclusion of the address, Colonel Clayton McMichael offered the following minute, which was unanimously adopted:

“The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received with much gratification the contribution to its entertainment and to its instruction presented this evening by the Hon. Erastus Brooks, of New York, in the delivery of his scholarly and eloquent essay. By the unanimous vote of the members present, it is desired to express and record the just appreciation of the value and the merit of this work of Mr. Brooks, and to tender formally the thanks of the Society to him as author and orator.”

The meeting then adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of November 8, Vice-President Samuel W. Pennypacker, Esq., in the chair.

On motion, the reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

The Chairman introduced Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., who read a paper giving his “Impressions of a Visit to Mexico.”

At the conclusion of the address, on motion of Rev. Dr. Tustin, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Stillé for his instructive and interesting paper.

The meeting then adjourned.

OFFICERS
OF
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.
BRINTON COXE.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT.
AUBREY H. SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.
HORATIO GATES JONES, WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON,
GEORGE DE B. KEIM, CRAIG BIDDLE,
JOHN JORDAN, JR., SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.
GREGORY B. KEEN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.
WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

LIBRARIAN.
FREDERICK D. STONE.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.
JOHN W. JORDAN.

COUNCIL.
CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON, JAMES T. MITCHELL,
GEORGE HARRISON FISHER, WILLIAM S. BAKER,
JOHN JORDAN, JR., WILLIAM G. THOMAS,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,
JOHN B. GEST, CHARLES ROBERTS,
JOHN C. BROWNE, EDWIN T. EISENBREY.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION AND BINDING FUNDS.

JOHN JORDAN, JR., AUBREY H. SMITH,
CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON.

TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY FUND.

CHARLES R. HILDEBURN, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
FREDERICK D. STONE.

TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN FUND.

RICHARD A. GILPIN, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
BRINTON COXE.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

GEORGE DE B. KEIM, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
BRINTON COXE.

STATED MEETINGS.

March 14, 1887.	November 14, 1887.
May 9, 1887.	January 9, 1888.

Annual membership	\$5 00
Life membership	50 00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25 00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum	3 00

Payment may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1885.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

Investments in Loans and Stocks . . .	\$55,026 78
Cash and Loans	8,959 76

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

Publication Fund, Invested . . .	\$25,499 28	
" " Uninvested . . .	6,892 97	
" Interest Account . . .	467 90	
		\$32,860 15
Binding Fund, Invested		3,300 00
General " "		11,155 00
Library " "		5,900 00
Endowment Fund, "		9,172 50
" " Uninvested		1,056 18
Loan of John Jordan, Jr., to cover deficiency in General Fund, Interest Account . . .		514 17
Loan of John Jordan, Jr., to cover Deficiency Library Fund, Interest Account		28 54
	<u>\$63,986 54</u>	<u>\$63,986 54</u>

General Fund.

Disbursements: General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1885		\$6,179 21
Receipts: Cash on hand December 31, 1884 . . .	\$6 47	
Annual Dues, 1885	3,890 00	
Contributions	1,231 07	
Interest on Investments	537 50	5,665 04
* Deficit for the year, covered by Loan of John Jordan, Jr.		\$514 17

* This deficit is incident to the removal to the new hall, and is covered by the operations of 1886.

Library Fund.

Disbursements: Due Trustees December 31,		
1884		114 29
Books purchased in 1885 .		271 91
		<hr/>
		\$386 20
Receipts: Interest on Investments .	\$341 66	
Sales Duplicate Books .	16 00	
		<hr/>
Deficit for the year, covered by Loan of John Jordan, Jr.		\$28 54

Binding Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand December 31, 1884 .	\$54 46	
Interest on Investments	222 50	
Contributions	383 54	
		<hr/>
		\$660 50
Disbursements: Expended in Bindings . .		660 50

Endowment Fund.

Receipts: Interest on Investments	445 00
Disbursements: Cash paid T. Ward . . .	445 00

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand December 31, 1884 .	651 69
Interest on Investments, 1885	1,865 83
Contributions	229 51
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc.	730 26
	<hr/>
	\$3,477 29
Disbursements for 1885	3,009 39
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees	\$467 90

INDEX.

(Family surnames of value in genealogical research are printed in SMALL CAPITALS; names of places in *italics*.)

Aaron, Samuel, 104
 Adams, Rev. James, 262; Samuel, 373
 Adam's, New Haven, Conn., 372
 Adamson, Mr. and Mrs., 161
 "Admiral Warren" inn, 212
Adriance, N. Y., 371
 Aitkin, Robert, 23, 79
 "Albemarle," vessel, 88
 Alexander, James, 115; Mr., 442
 Algerines, the, 186
 ALLEN, 124, 361
 Allen, 468, 469; Andrew, 364; Ann, 364;
 Elizabeth, 364; James, 361; Margaret,
 361, 364; Maria, 365; John Penn, 365;
 Thomas Dawson, 365; John W., 251;
 Mr., 116, 351; Miss, 115; Nathaniel,
 67; William, 361
 Allen, Andrew, by Charles P. Keith, 361
Allentown, 209
 Allinson, E. P., contribution by, 61; Mr.,
 461
 ALLISON, 446
 Allison, Dr., 350, 351; John, 446; Robert,
 447; William, 446
 Almanacs, first printed, 19, 78, 79, 83-85
 Alrichs, Peter, 214, 215
 Ames, Nathaniel, 373
 "Amity," vessel, 193
Amwell, N. J., 256, 259, 260
 André, Major, 433
 ANGELL, Mary, 354
 "Ann," vessel, 88
Annrille, 157
 Antes, Henry, The Life and Times of, by
 Rev. Edwin McMinn, notice of, 122
 Arbuthnot, Admiral, 427, 430, 431, 436
 Arentson, Jacob Claesen, 476
 Arnall, Thos., 199
 ARNDT, 447; John, 447
 Arnold, Benedict, 60, 433, 434, 435, 437;
 Capt., 269, 274
 Ashmead, Samuel, 449
 Assheton, Thos., 265
 Associators, 320; of Pennsylvania, a de-
 scription of the colors of, 479; in 1775,
 uniforms of the Philadelphia, 480
 Atkins, Samuel, 19, 83, 85
 Aubrey, Wm., 485

Auchmuty, Dr., 421
 Austin, John, 63; Capt. Wm., 36
 Automaton, 185

 Backhaus, Richard, 209
 Bacon, Col., 394, 396; Nathaniel, 392,
 393, 397
 Bacon's Rebellion, 392
 Badcock, Henry, 67
 BAILY, 414
 Baird, John, 449
 BAKER, 450; Hilary, 450
 Baker, Henry, 481; Margaret, 482
 Baldwin's, Brantford, Conn., 372
 Balfour, Mr., 226
 Balitke, Capt., 88
 BALL, 123
 BALLIET, 450; Stephen, 450
 BANGS, 482
Barbadoes, trade of, 193
 BARCLAY, 452; John, 452
 Barclay, Mrs., 115; Messrs., 352
 BARD, 453, 454; Richard, 452
 Barkley, Mr. and Mrs., 162
 Barr, Miss, 413
 Barrington, Lord, 463, 469
 Barry, Mr., 463
 Barton, Rev. Mr., 350; Wm., 413, 414
 BARTON, Rev. Thos., 414
 BARTOW Genealogy, supplement to, by
 Rev. E. P. Bartow, 358
 Bawden, John, 268, 401, 404, 411
 Baxter, Col., 447
 Bayard, Col., 118
 BAYNTON, 124
 Beach, Rev. John, 371
 Beardsley, Alexander, 67
 BEATTY, 453
 Beaty, Mr., 351
 Beaufremont, Count de, 44, 45, 46, 47,
 49
 Beck, 127
 Beckel, Karl F., 479
 BECKER, 450
 Becket, Mary, 481
 Beckford, Alderman, 464
 Bedford, Duke of, 90, 467, 472
 Beekman, Gerardus, 483

- Beer, John, 201
"Belmont," 115
 Berdt, Du, 351
 Berkley, Gov. Sir Wm., 392, 393, 396, 397
 Bethel, Miss, 414
Bethlehem, Pa., 209, 367, 368
Bethlehem township, N. J., 256
 Bible first printed, 22, 23, 79
"Bibliographia Genealogica Americana,"
 by Daniel S. Durrie, notice of, 359
 Bickham, G., 204
 BIDDLE, 163, 166
 Biddle, Clement, 206, 207; Mary, 476;
 Nancy, 206, 207; Owen, 363
 Billing, Edward, 408
 Billop, Col., 370
 Birkhead, George, 258; Jr., 258
 BISHOP, 454; John, 454
 BLACK, 454, 455; John, 454
 Blaie, Herr, 171, 172
 Blair, Rev. John, 458
 Blanchard, Mr., 185
 Bland, Col., 52; Giles, 393
 Blue Anchor Tavern Landing, The Early
 Government of Philadelphia and, by E.
 P. Allinson, and B. Penrose, 61; petition
 concerning, to mayor of Philada.,
 62; to the Governor, 65
 Boardman, Rev. George Dana, 80; Early
 Printing in the Middle Colonies, by, 15
 Boggs, Rev. Dr., 262
 Bolingbroke, Lord, Voltaire's opinion of,
 45
 Bond, Dr. P., 353
 Bonnet, Mons., 131
 Bonnet's Tavern, 156
 Books, prices of, 1768, 466
 Booskirk, Mrs., 161
 Bose, de, Lieut.-Gen., 443
 Bostonians in 1774, An Englishman's
 Opinion of the, 265
 Boudinot, Elias, 233, 235
 BOWNE, 482
 BOYD, 457; John, 455
 Brackett's, Boston, 374
 Bradford, Andrew, 20, 21, 22; Capt., 355;
 Mr., 374; Thomas, 356; William, 17,
 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 67, 78, 79, 83, 85,
 356
 BRADWAY, 163
"Branch Hotel," 128
 BRANDT, 207
 Brandt, Albertus, 67
 BREADING, 457; Nathaniel, 457
 Breintnale, David, 67
 Brewster family, 370
 Brewster, Samuel, 370; William, 129
 Brice, Mr., 158
 BRINTON, 121
 Bristow, John, 67
"Britannia," vessel, 232, 224
 British conduct of the war in America,
 434; evacuate Philadelphia, 59; occu-
 pation of New York City by the, 418;
 politics, 462, 466, 467, 468 *et seq.*;
 privateers, 186; views on relations with
 the Colonies, 95, 322, 323, 324, 325,
 330, 463, 464, 468
 Brockden, Charles, 75, 76
 Broidrich, Sir St. John, 403, 410
 Brooks, Phillip, 202
 BROWN, 33, 458
 Brown, Mr., 232; William, 458
 Bryson, Capt., 91
 Buck, Wm. J., notice of book by, 480
 BUCKLEY, 33
 Buckley, Mr., 465
 BUDD, 124
 Budd, Thomas, 67, 71, 357, 409
 Budden, 350, 461, 462, 464
Buffalo, 135, 136
 BULL, 459, 460
 Bull, Capt., 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 146;
 Thomas, 459
Bull's Ferry, attack on blockhouse at, 432
Bunker's Hill, 353, 354
 Burbage, Capt. Thomas, 181
 BURCHAM, 33
 Burd, Capt. Benjamin, 129, 130
 BURGER, 452
 Burgett, Sebastian, 135
Burgettstown, 135
 Burgoyne, Gen., 423, 425
 Burke, Mr., 443, 463
 BURKHALTER, 451, 452
Burlington, school maintained by island,
 216
 Busby, Mr., 159
 Bute, Lord, 89, 223
 BUTLER, 240
 Butler, Charles, 67
 Byron, Commodore, 228

 CADWALADER, John, 1, 2, 3, 4; Thomas,
 2, 13, 14
 Cadwalader, Captain, 481; Gen., 204,
 263, 264
 Cadwalader, Col. Lambert, by W. H.
 Rawle, 1
 Call, Capt., 55
Cambridge, Mass., 353, 354
 Camden, British victory at, 433
 Camden, Lord, 463
 Campbell, Rev. Colin, 258
 Carey & Stewart, 23
 Carey's inn, N. J., 370
 Carleton, Gen., 440; Sir Guy, 441, 442,
 443
Carlisle, 123
 Carll, Judge, 164, 165
Carothers, 127
 Carpenter, Samuel, 195, 268, 276
Carpenter's Island, 116
 Carr, John, 137, 138; Thomas, 149, 150
 Carson, James, 34
 Cary's, 368, 369
"Castle of Andalusia, The," opera, 183
 Cathcart, Lord, 424
 Cavanaugh, Wm., 233, 234

- Carlton, William, 25
 CHAMBERS, 124, 152
 Chambers, Charlotte, 152; Gen. James, 152
Chamber's Ferry, 127
 Chamier, D., 233, 234
 "Champlain, Samuel de," by H. H. Hurlbut, notice of, 122
 Champlin, 373
 Chandler, Dr., 351
Chandler's, Conn., 371
 Chapman, Isaac A., 478
 Chare, Wm., 269
Charleston, surrender of, 429
Charlestown, 135, 136
 Chatham, Lord, 332, 462, 463, 467
 Chester's "Oxford Matriculations, Registers, and Marriage Licenses," mentioned, 237
 "Chestnut Grove," 206
 Chew, Benjamin, 361, 362; Mr., 351; Mrs., 115
 Chicago Historical Society, 122
Chickes, 126
 Chickly, Mr., 373
Christian's Spring, 207
Chygoes Island, 215
 Cincinnati, information desired concerning certain officers and descendants of the Society of, in New Jersey, 484
 Clair, Sr., John, 115
 Claridge, Samuel, 188, 189, 190, 197, 404
 Claypoles of Pennsylvania, 124
 Claypool Family, the, 354
 CLAYPOOL, 354, 355
 Claypool, Benjamin, letter of, to George Claypool, 354
 Claypoole, Edward, 188, 193, 198, 199, 200, 267, 269, 274, 277, 404; John, 194, 271, 272, 279, 282, 409; Norton, 190, 194, 196, 277; Wingfield, 194, 197
 Claypoole, James, extracts from the letter-book of, 188, 267, 401; mentioned, 188, 195, 409, 474, 476; treasurer of the Penna. Co., 195; house of, 198, 275, 406, 407; on deputies, 405; arrival of, in Penna., 275, 406; relations with Wm. Penn, 407
 Clewell, Christian, 126; Notes of Travel of William Harry, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and, to Gnadenhuetten in 1797, 125
 Clifford, Thomas, 65
 Clinton, Sir Henry, 425, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438, 439, 441
Clinton, N. J., 261, 262
 Clive, Lord, 227, 226, 229
 Clough, Major, 52, 54
 Clymer, George, 363
 COALE, Dr., 480
 Coates, Dr., 162
 Cobbs, Mr., 180
 COBEAN, 460
 Cobourn, John, 158
 Codd, 356
 "Coke on Littleton," scarce, 93
 Cole, Edward, 197, 198, 199, 202, 271
 COLES, 33
 Collins, Mr., 366; Stephen, 366
 Collum, William, 104
 "Comfort," vessel, 276; invoice of goods in, 277
 Compton, John, 107
Concord, N. J., 369
 "Concord," ship, charges on, to Penna., 268, 273; arrives in Penna., 275
 "Confederacy, The," frigate, 426
 Connell, Major, 141, 147, 148, 153
 CONNER, 414 -
 Constitution, The Federal, of 1787, by W. H. Egle, M.D., 446
 Conway, Mr., 222; Secretary, 323
 Cook, Thos., 193
 Cooke, Francis, 67; Thos., 200, 269, 401, 403
 Cookens, 367
 COOKSON, 350
 Coombe, Mr., 466
 COOPER, 33
 Cooper, Jacob, 64; Joseph, 39, 40; Samuel, 33, 34, 35, 41; extracts from the letters of, 33; Thos., 412
 Copley, 180; Thos., 180
 Corke, John, 412
 Corneille, niece of, 49
 Cornwall, Mr., 463
 Cornwallis, Lord, 426, 428, 433, 435, 436, 437, 439, 440
 Coronation-day, 1779, 427; 1780, 433
 Coster, Lorenz, 26
 Cotten, Arthur, 189
 Council, Provincial, minute of meeting, 1691, 67
 Court-dinner bills, 476
 Cox, Mr., 116, 353; Wm., letter of, 34
 COXE, 364
 Coxe, Brinton, 78, 80; Col. Daniel, 364; William, 364
 CRAIG, 446
 Crane, Rev. Wm. C., 261
 Crawford, Andrew, 258; Col., 358; John, 258
 Cresap, Capt. Michael, 420
 Croes, Bishop, 261
 CROWELL, 124; Oliver, 354
 Crooks, Richard, 258
 CROWELL, 460
 "Crown," inn, 209
 Cullen, Dr., 43
 Cunningham, John, 36
Curtis's, Conn., 371
 Cushing, J., 355; Thomas, 374; letter of, 355
 CUTHBERT, 414
 Cutler, Dr. Manasseh, 371, 374
 Cuyler, Henry, 259
 Dagworthy, John, 2
Danbury, Conn., 371

- DANDRIDGE, 53
 Dandridge, Capt., 51, 52, 54, 57, 58
 Danoas, John, 403
 DAVIDSON, 447
 Davis, Captain, 160; Mr., 350; Robert, 108
 Davis's "Spanish Conquest of New Mexico," notice of, 119
 Day, George, 135; Stephen, 19
 Debrett's "Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage for 1886," notice of, 238
 De Forest, Anthony, 371
 De Huyne, Major-General, 432
 De Lancey, Gen., 425
 Delavall, John, 67, 69
Delaware River, fish in, 269
 Dement, 11
 Denman, Matthias, 152
 Denmark, King of, 462
 Denny, Gov., 289
 De Seitz, Major, 434, 436
 D'Estaing, Count, 445
 "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin," by H. A. Rattermann, notice of, 479
 DEWEES, 460
 Dexter, F. B., "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, with Annals of the College History, 1701-45," by, notice of, 239
 Diamond, Richard, 193
Dibbles, Conn., 371
 DICKINSON, John, 35; marriage of, 356
 Dickson, Capt., 426
 Digby, Admiral, 437, 438, 442
 Dock, Christopher, 357
 DODDERER, 239; George Philip, and his Descendants, 239
 "Dolphin, The," vessel, voyage of, around the world, 228
 Donadence, Compton, 181
 DORSEY, 240
 Dougherty, Bernhard, letter of, 477
 DOUGHTEN, 40
 Douglas, Duke of, 473; Lady Jane, 473; Rev. Mr., 261
 Douglass's inn, 212
 Dowdeswell, Mr., 329
 Dreer, Ferdinand J., 87
 Drummond, Gov. William, 393, 396
 Duché, Mr., 350, 352; Rev. Jacob, 115, 116
 Duchee, Jacob, 65
 Duckett, John, 67
 Duffield, Mr., 461
 Dunham, James R., 262
 DUNKERS, 211
 DUNLAP, 453
 Dunlap, 133; John, 79
 Dunn, Rev. Clarkson, 261
 Dunton, William, 443
 Durrie, Daniel S., "Bibliographia Genealogica Americana," by, notice of, 359
 Dyer, Col. Eliphalet, 369
 Dysart, Earl, 424
 Earthquake in New York City, 445
 East, Capt., 411
 East India Company, affairs of, 324, 325, 329
East Jersey, writings for, 197
Eastown, Pa., 368, 369
 Ebert, 155
 ECKLEY, 364
 Edmonton, Dr., 422
 "Education in Pennsylvania, a History of," by James P. Wickersham, notice of, 357
 Edwards, Rev. Morgan, 17; Mr., 208; William, 237
 Egdon, 91, 225
 Eggleston, Edward, cited, 375, 387
 Egle, W. H., M.D., contribution by, 446
 Egmont, Earl of, 222
 Ehrhardt, Jacob, 149, 150
 Elder, Rev. Col., 458
 Elforth, Jeremiah, 68, 69
 Ellery, Benjamin, 320; William, 366; letter of William, 320
 Ellicott, Mr., 478
 Elliot, Mr., 116
 ELLIOTT, 447
 Elliott, Mr., 434
 ELLIS, 109
 Ellis, Thomas, 72
 ELPHINSTON, 86
 Ely, Nathaniel, Records of the Descendants of, notice of, 121
 Embargo on shipping, 187
 Emigrants to Penna., 276
 Emley, John, 259
 Emly, Mr. and Miss, 206, 207
Emmaus, 126
 End, Wm., 278, 280, 401, 404
 Ensly, Mr., 156
 Epitaph, an, 238
 ERWIN, 453
 EVANS, 360
 Evans, N., 99; Samuel, 350
 Ewer, Robert, 66
 EWING, 414, 457, 458
 Ewing, Gen., 204, 457, 458; Mrs., 413
Fairfield, 134
Fair Hill, 35
 Falkner, Justus and Daniel, letter to, 474
 Farmer, Thomas, 71
 Farmer, Jasper, 402, 403
 Farrell, Hubert, 394
 Federal Convention, 13
 Ferguson, Mrs., 104
Ferney, chateau de, 43 et seq.
 Ferree, Mr., 131
 FIELD, 111
 FINDLEY, 136; Hon. Wm., 136
 FISH, 356
 FISHBOURN, 56
 FISHER, 240
 Fitzherbert, Mr., 469
Flemington, N. J., 262

- Fletcher, Gov., 290
 Floating Batteries on the Schuylkill, 34
 Ford, Bridget, 271; P., 271; Philip, 403, 404; Philys, 192
 Foreman, George, 403
 Forgus, Rev. Mr., 262
 Forman, Ezekiel, 182; Jonathan, 259
 Fornance, Hon. Jos., 104
 Forrest, William, 67
 Forster, Rt. Hon. W. E., 238
Fort Constitution, 6
Fort Laurens, 152
Fort Lee, 6, 8, 10
Fort Ligonier, 132
Fort Littleton, 129
Fort MacIntosh, 145
Fort Mercer, 34
Fort Montgomery, 424
Fort Washington, 6, 8, 9, 10
 Forth, John, 397
 Fortin, Capt., 88
 Foster, Miles, 401; Mr., 237
 FOULKE, 54, 59; Owen, 59; Caleb, 59
 Fox, Mr., 89, 442; George, 18, 237, 257, 269; James, 67; John, 157; Joseph, 71
 Framton, Wm., 276
 Francis, Capt., 481; Mrs., 115; Tench, 364
 FRANCIS, 364; Mrs. Tench, 353
 "Franklin," vessel, 440
 Franklin, B., 86, 87, 99, 217, 221, 228, 391; letter to W. Strahan, 1775, 86; on Goddard's newspaper, 230; the Stamp Act, 92, 96, 217, 220, 221, 225, 231; relations with David Hall, 231, 232.
 Franklin, Gov., 228, 231, 442, 443
 Franklin, Miss, 87, 331
 Franks, Mrs., 115; Miss, 115
 Franzin, Herr, 171
 Frazer, Rev. Wm., 258, 260, 261
 Frederick, John, 127
 Freedley, John, 105
 Freeman, 132; James, 270
 Free Port, 222, 227
 Freindly, Mr., 207
 Freth, Capt., 151
 Friends, one thousand, go to Pennsylvania from London, 193; persecuted in England, 270
 Fritz, 157
 Frontenac, Count, 290
 Frontier, Thoughts on the Situation of the Inhabitants on the, by Hon. James Tilghman, 316
 Furley, Benjamin, 269, 272, 273, 274
 Furlly, Benjamin, a letter of, 474
 Gallantin Family, 145
 Gallantin, Abraham, 149, 150; Henry, 149, 150
 GALLOWAY, Joseph, 350, 363
 Galloway, Mr., 229
 Gamble, 401, 404; George, 278, 279, 281
Gardenville, 367
 Gardner, John, 268, 401
 GARRARD, 152
 GARRET, 109
 GARRETS, 110
 GARRETT, 121
 GARRISON, 207; Nicholas, 207, 208; Mrs., 206, 208
 Gawthorn, R., 404, 412
 Gay, Richard, 279
 GAZZAM, 458
 Ged, Jean, 462; Margaret, 462
Gegelemukpechunk Creek, 138, 139
 Gelelemend, 117
 George III., of England, 97, 223, 332
 GEORGE, 110
 Georgia and Great Britain, 325
 German emigrants in England, in 1709, 379 *et seq.*, settle in Munster, Ireland, 381
 German Emigration to the American Colonies, its Cause, and the Distribution of the Emigrants, by A. D. Mellick, Jr., 241, 375
 German Emigration to Pennsylvania, 1700-1725, 376; to the United States, 375
 Germans in Massachusetts Bay, in New Netherlands, in New Sweden, 375-76
 Germans settle in Germantown, Columbia Co., N. Y., 386; in Herkimer County, N. Y., 388; in Louisiana, in 1722, 389; in Musconnetcong Valley, N. J., 377; at Newburgh, 378; in North Carolina, 384; in Pennsylvania, 387 *et seq.*, in preference to New York, 388; at Saugerties, Ulster Co., N. Y., 386; in Schoharie Co., N. Y., 387; in Shenandoah Valley, 383; in Virginia and North Carolina, 385
 Germany, condition of, in the 17th century, 244 *et seq.*; causes of emigration from, 248 *et seq.*
 GERRARD, 483
 GIBSON, 123
 Gibson, Col., 117, 118; John, 480
 Glades, 153, 156
 "Glenery," 115
 Gloninger, Lieut. John, 252
 Glover, 7; Thos., 404, 411
 Glynn, Sergeant, 468
Gnadenhütten, 123, 140, 144, 147, 148, 149
 Goddard, Mr., new newspaper set up by, 229, 230, 231, 232
 Goodson, John, 69, 72, 197, 271; at Up-land, surgeon to the society of traders, 200
 Gordon, Lewis, 208
 Gore, Mrs., 115
Goschachgung, 144
 Gould, Dr., 59
 Gove, Richard, 67
 Gowen, Franklin B., 82
Graceham, 134
 Graeme, Dr., 104; Miss, 115
 GRAFF, 413, 414

- Graff, Mr., 116
 Graffenried, Christopher de, 384
 Grafton, Duke of, 222, 226, 328, 467, 472
 Grandin, John, 259; Philip, 258, 259
 Graves, Admiral, 431, 436, 437, 438
 Gray, George, 71
 Graydon, Alex., 232; Capt., 5, 6, 11
 GREATHOUSE, 105
 Green, Samuel, 369; Judge, 373
 Greene, Gen., 9, 10, 203, 372, 436
Greenland, N. J., 369
 "Greens, The," 4
 "Greenwood," 14
 Greer, Thos., 155
 Grenville, George, 91, 220, 222, 223, 227, 322, 323, 330, 332, 463, 467
 "Grenville Packet," vessel, 440
 Grescom, Andrew, 67
 Griffith, Thomas, 67
Grimsby, parish registers of, 239
 Grogan, Lawry, 208, 210, 211
 Gross, Rev. Mr., 448
 Grove, Joseph, 193, 276
 Gusman, Don Juan, 116
 Guss, Prof. A. L., 239
 Gutenberg, John, 26
 GWRNN, 105

Haddonfield, guard-houses in, 39
 Hage, Wm., 406
 HAINES, 119, 457
 Haistwell, Edward, 278, 281, 403, 409
 Halifax, Lord, 470
 HALL, David, 87; J., 404; Mrs., 228, 232, 327; Miss, 228
 Hall, David, Correspondence between William Straban and, 86, 217, 322, 461
 "Hallesche Nachrichten," 479
 HAMILTON, 361
 Hamilton, Andrew, 2, 79, 283, 361; Charles, 413; Gov., 115, 116, 289, 291
 HAMMOND, 364; George, 364
 Hamon, John, 193
 HANCOCK, 100 *et seq.*
 Hancock, Benj. Franklin, 103; John, letter to, 335; Richard, 100, 102
 Hancock, Gen. W. S., Genealogical Sketch of, by H. M. Jenkins, 100; mentioned, 81, 100
 HAND, 414
 Hand, Gen. Edward, 413, 414
 Hansford, 395
 "Happy Return," vessel, 87
 Hardie, Capt., 88
 Harding, Capt. Seth, 436
 Hardyman, Abraham, 66
 Hargrave, Capt., 87
 Harkies, 461
 Harris, Collection of American Poetry, Annotated Catalogue of the, 240
 Harris, Benjamin, 20, 31; Thomas, 258
Harrisburg, Pa., The First Newspaper published in, 251
 "Harrisburg Advertiser, The Oracle of Dauphin and," first number issued, 251
 "Harrisburg Explained," poem, 253
 "Harrisburg Journal and the Weekly Advertiser, The," 3d number published, 251
 HARRISON, 166
 Hart, Chas. Henry, 87; Miss, 414; Thomas, 403, 404, 411
Hartley's Inn, 130
 Hartzel, Jonas, 451
 HARTZELL, 122
 Hathorn, Col., 370
 "Hawke," vessel, 88
 HAWKSWORTH, 100 *et seq.*
 Hawksworth, John, 101; Peter, 100, 101, 104
 Hay, Mrs. Cornelia L., 258
 HARDOCK, 482, 483
 Haydock, Eleanor, 48; Roger, 481
 Haywood, John, 403, 409, 411
 Hearne, William, 67
 Heath, General, 5, 6, 265
Hebron, 157
 Heckewelder, John, 118, 123, 126, 135, 137, 140, 237
 Heckewelder, John, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, Notes of Travel of William Henry, to Gnadenhuetten in 1797, 125
Heidelberg, Germany, 382
 Helmont, van, 269
 Helmuth, Rev. Henry, 415, 417
 Helphenstone, Rev. Albert, 415, 417
 HENDERSON, 447-
 HENDRICKS, 446
 HENRY, 365
 Henry, Judge, 478; Maria, 478; Robert W., 126; Judge Wm., 117, 123; William, 126, 135
 Henry, William, Killbuck, 151
 Henry, William, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, Notes of Travel of, to Gnadenhuetten, in 1797, 125
 Herkimer, 378
Herkimer County, N. Y., settled by Germans, 388
 Hesse, Mr., 471, 472
 Heston, Neddy, 40
 Heydriger, Frau, 171
 Hickenson, Miss, 413
 Hicks, Mayor, 429
 Hildeburn, C. R., contribution of, 334
 Hildeburn's "Century of Printing," referred to, 24
 HILL, 104
 Hills, Rev. G. M., contribution of, 205
 Hillsborough, Lord, 463
 Hirst, Wm., 38
 Hirzel, Hans Caspar, 240
 Historical Society of Pa., meetings of the, 487; officers of the, 490; finances of the, 492
 "History of the Indian walk performed for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1737, to which is appended a Life of

- Edward Marshall," by Wm. J. Buck, notice of, 480
Hodginson, John, 161; Samuel, 158, 162
HOBSON, 482
Hoffman's, N. J., 370
Hogg, 438
Holme, John, 17, 66
Holmes, Thos., 271, 282, 401, 404
Holmes, Prof. H. A., cited, 379, 381, 386
Hood, Admiral, 437; Mr., 263
Hooton, Thomas, 67
Hope, N. J., 369
Hopkins, Samuel, 400
Hopkinson, Francis, 350; Thomas, 2
Horsfield, Joseph, 206, 207; Timothy, 206
Hotham, Commodore, 424
Houghton, H. O., 82
Howe, Gen., 9, 10, 11, 320, 321, 421
HOWELL, David, 483
Howell, Joseph, 65; Philip, 66; Samuel, 363
HOXWORTH, *see* Hawksworth
Hubbold, Robt., 279
HUBLEY, 413, 414; John, 413, 414
Hudson, Hendrick, cited, 377
Huet, Wm., 43
"Huguenot Emigration to Virginia, Documents relating to the," edited by R. A. Brock, notice of, 359
HULL, 33
HUMPHREYS, 109
HUNN, John, 360
Hunt, Mansfield, 258; Mr., 350
HUNTER, 460
Hunter, Gov. Robert, 385
Hunterdon County, N. J., population of, in 1723, 253
Hunterdon County, N. J., named for Gov. Hunter, 385
HUSBAND, 119
Hutson, Thos., 197
IHRIE, 452
Inches, Henderson, 374
Independence, declaration of, 320, 321; sentiment of Philadelphia concerning, in 1776, 363
Indians, Juniata and Tuscarora, 239
Inglis, Mr., 115; Rev. Mr., 350, 421
Ingram, Joseph, 396, 397
Intemperance, "advertisement extraordinary" concerning, 255
Irvine, Gen., 117, 118, 432; Lt.-Col., 160
Jäckel, Balthazar, 167
Jackson, Mr., 350
Jacob, Capt. Leonhardt, 171
JACOBS, 460
Jacobs, Henry, 215, 216
James, 474
"James and Mary," vessel, 87
Jameson, Major, 55, 56, 57
Jamison, Mary, 205
Janche, Hans, 237
Jansen, Just, 206, 209; Renier, 475
Jaques, Rev. Mr., 261, 262
Jay, Hon. John, 436
Jefferies, Capt., 232, 324
"Jefferies," ship, 274
Jeffries, Mr., 201; Wm., 268
Jegou, Peter, 214, 215, 216
Jenkin, Jenkin, 101; Mary, 101
JENKINS, 101, 102
Jenkins, Capt., 158, 160; John, 102
Jenkins, Howard M., Genealogical Sketch of Gen. W. S. Hancock by, 100
Jennings, Samuel, 408
"Jeffries," ship, sails for Penna., 199
Johnson, Capt., 87
Johnsonburg, N. J., 369
JOHNSTON, Andrew, 87, 218
Johnston, A., 259; Mr., 227
JONES, 355; David, 108, 109; Dr. Edward, 1; Evan, 109; Jacob, 109; John, 109; Jonathan, 116; Martha, 1
Jones, Charles, 64; Dr. Edward, 237; Edward, 107, 108; Griffith, 69, 71, 124, 474; Isaac, 350, 351; Owen, 2; Robert, 350
Jordan, John W., contribution of, 125
Jung, Michael, 237
Jungmann, 139
"Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense," 1636, fac-simile of part of, 83-85
Kalm, Peter, cited, 388
Kamp, 134, 135, 140
Kean, Squire John, 252
Kearney, Mr., 116
"Kegs, Battle of the," 36
KEIM, 454
Keimer, Samuel, 21
Keith, Charles P., Andrew Allen, by, 361
Keith, George, 17, 256, 257, 269
Keller's inn, 156
KEMPER, 240; Mrs. L. A., 240.
Kennersly, Mr., 350
Kern, Nicholas, 451
Keys, Miss, 481
Killbuck Island, Pittsburgh, 116
Killbuck, John, 118
Killbuck, Rev. John Henry, 117
Killbuck, Wm. Henry, 116, 117, 118
King's birthday, 1782, 442
King's Bridge, 5, 6, 8
"King of Prussia," inn, 209
Kingwood, N. J., 260
Kinnnersley, Rev. Ebenezer, 16
Kite, Nathan, 22
Kleymer, 173
Klinchen, Arents, 376
Knox, General, 34
Knypphausen, Gen., 10, 12, 428, 429, 430, 431, 441
Kockerthal, Joshua, 378, 379
Kookon, Joseph, 205
Krouss, Melchior, 167, 171, 172
Kuhl, Frederick, 363
KUNN, Dr. Adam Simon, 414
Kuhn, Frederick, 413, 414

- Lacey, General John, 58, 59
 LACOCK, 87
 "La Elizabeth," French man-of-war, 174
 LALANNE, 112
 LAMBERT, 2
 Lancaster Assembly of 1780, The, by D. McN. Stauffer, 413; protest against, 415
 Lancaster Gazette, 1752, 485
 Land, mode of taking up, of Penn., 190
 Langston, John, 397
Laurel Hill, 317, 318, 319
 Laurence, E., 205, 206, 208; Kitty, 205, 211; Nancy, 205, 206, 211
 Laurie, Gawen, 406; Governor of East Jersey, 407
 Law, Mr., 369
 LAWRENCE, 109; Mary, 485
 Lawrence, John, 476; Richard, 393, 397
Leasy Point, 214
 LEATH, 163
 Lee, Gen., 9, 13; William, 66
 Leech, Thomas, 71
 LEILD, Wm., 354
 Lenape Indians on the Missouri, 123
 Lenargon, Capt., 225
 Lennox, Capt., 12
 Leslie, Lieut.-Gen., 443
 LEVAN, 452
 Levan, Daniel, 209, 210
 Levi, Mrs., 115; Miss, 115
 Levick, J. J., M.D., The Early Physicians of Philadelphia and its Vicinity, by, notice of, 237
 Lewger, Wm., 276
 LEWIS, 109
 Lewis, Eli, 251, 253; Jacob, 65, 76
 LEYCESTER, 483
 Lightfoot, 73; Thos., 65
 LILLY, 238
Lincolnshire families, 239
 Lindsay, Marquis of, 424
 Lingham, Lieut., 233
Lititz, 126
 Little, John, 33, 34
 Livingston, 387; Gov. Wm., 423
 LLOYD, 108
 Lloyd, David, 66, 69; Thomas, 67, 69, 237
Lloyd's Neck, L. I., 437
 Loddington, Wm., 193
 "Log College," 357
Log Jail, N. J., 369
 Logan, James, 485
 Long, Mr., 350
Long Island, battle of, 6
Long Run Meeting-house, 134
 Lottery, 327, 330, 331
 Lotting Purchase, West Jersey, 486.
 Loveday, Thos., 199
 LOWE, 482, 483
 Lownes, Joseph, 65, 75, 76
 Lowry, William, 258
 Ludlow, Israel, 152; Jacob, 259
Ludlow's Station, 152
 Ludwell, Col., 394
Lyme, 372
 "Lyon," ship, 107
 Lyttleton, Lord, 471
 McCALL, 14; Nancy, 353
 McCall, Mr., 115, 116
 McCauley, Wm., 366, 367
 McCLINTOCK, 460
 McClure, Col. A. K., 82
 McClurg, Gen. A. C., 82
McConkey's ferry, 204
 MCCREA, 446
 McDOWELL, 453
 McEvers, Francis, 259
 McFARLAND, 453
 McILVAINE, 458
 McKean, Thomas, 350, 447, 448
 McKINNEY, 453
 McKoy, 461
 McLANAHAN, 447
 McMasters, Prof., cited, 390
 McMichael, Col. Clayton, 81
 McPherson, Col., letter to, 477
 McRAE, 124
 McVeagh, Hon. Wayne, 82
 McWILLIAMS, 124
 Magaw, Col., 5, 6, 9, 10, 11
 Magazine, first, published in America, 21, 79; second, 22
 Malloy, Daniel, 149, 150
 Man, Edward, 403, 404, 411
 Manly, Capt., 274
 Mans of Wrentham, 373
Marietta, 141
 Markham, Wm., 69, 71, 72
 Markoe, Abraham, 362; Capt., 481
 Marriot, Mary, 481
 Marshall, Christopher, cited, 363; Edward, 480
 Marston, Nathaniel, 259
 Martin, Capt., 149
 "Mary and Elizabeth," vessel, 88
 Masters, William, 485
 Mather, Gen., 430
Matineconck Island, 214
Matoneconck Isles, 216
 Matthew, General, 10, 11
Mattinagconn Eyland, 214
Mattinneck, or Burlington Island, some notes on, by Wm. Nelson, 214
 Maxwell, Gen., 426
 Mayne, John, 462, 465
 Mease, James, 362
 Medary, Samuel, 104
 Meissner, Christian, 168
 MELICK—MELICK—MOELICH Family, 356
 Mellick, Jr., A. D., contribution by, 241, 375
 Melmuth, Mrs., 184
 Menzies, Mr., 83
 Mercer, Gen., 264
 "Mercury," ship, 87
 Meredith, Sir Wm., 463

- Messimer, John, 137, 138, 140, 141
 Michell, Lewis, 384
 MICKLE, 33
Middletown, Pa., 127
 Mifflin, General, 6, 7, 265
 Miles, Col. Samuel, 111
 Miller, Abraham, 157; Mr., 88; Rev. W., 350; William, 88
 Miller's Tavern, 128
Millertown, 157
 MILLS, 400
 Mills, Wm., 366
 Miner, Asher, 104
 Mitchell, Abraham, 65; Hon. Jas. T., 78; Mr., 161, 205, 208, 211, 212, 213; Mrs., 161, 205, 211, 212, 213
 Molesworth, James, 35
 Moncrief, John, 87, 88
 Montgomery, Major, 438; Col. Wm., 459
 Montresor, Capt., 421
 "Moon and Half-Moon," inn, 366
 Moor, Rev. C., 239; Hugh, 38
 Moore, Dr. Chas., 104; Mileah Martha, 104; Dr., 271; Gov., 353; Lieut., 52; Nicholas, 195, 196
 Moorhead, Capt., 358
 Moravian Historical Society, 358; Indian Mission, 125, 236
 Moravians at Bethlehem, Pa., 209; purchase land at Bethlehem, 367; in New Jersey, 369
 Morgan, Evan, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74; George, 3; Dr. John, visit to Voltaire of, 43; mentioned, 43; Secretary, 440
 MORGAN, Mrs. Mary, letter of, 480; Dr. John, 480; George, 481
 Morris, Anthony, Jr., 65; Dr., 422; Gov., 291; Lewis, 216; Major, 160; Robert, 233; Samuel, 362
Morrison's Cove, 130
 MORTIMER, 365
 Mortimer, Rev. Benjamin, 116
 Morton, Capt., 88; Rev. Andrew, 258, 260; Earl of, 470
 Moses, John, 134
 Moss, Capt., 440
 Mott, 425
 MOULSON, 112, 113
Mount Parnassus, 211
Mount Rock, 128
Mount Washington, 10
 Muhlenberg, 373; Gen. Peter, 479
 MURRAY, 124
 Murrey, Humphrey, 66, 69; mayor of Philadelphia in 1691, 67; John, 67
Musconnetcong River, valley of, settled by Germans, 377
 Myers, Isaac, 157
Myerstown, 157
 "Myrtilla," vessel, 88
 Naas, John, 175
 NASH, 103
Nazareth, 157
 Nazareth Hall, 207
 Neale, John, 161
 Neall, Daniel, 81
 Neff, Elizabeth Clifford, A Chronicle, including an Account of the Neffs, by, notice of, 238
 Neill, Rev. E. D., contribution by, 180
 Neill, E. D., "Virginia Carolorum," by, notice of, 359
 Netawatwes, 117
Neuwied, Germany, 376
New Albion, 181
New Berne, N. C., 384
Newburgh, N. Y., 377, 378
 Newcastle, Duke of, 89, 98
 Newcomb, John, 163
New London, burning of, 437, 438
 Newspaper, the first published in Harrisburg, Pa., 251
 Newspapers, first, in the American Colonies, 20, 21, 79
 New Testament, A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the, notice of, 239
Newton, N. J., 370
Newton, Conn., 371
New York and Great Britain, 323, 324, 325
New York City, Occupation of, by the British, 418
 Nicholl, Mr., 466
 "Nisky," 207
 Nixon, Capt., 55
 Norris, Deborah, 51, 56, 57, 58
 NORRIS, Mary, 356
 North, Lord, 329, 463
 "North American, The," 79, 81
North Carolina, settlement of Germans in, 334
 Northington, Lord, 222, 470
 Northumberland, Duke of, 332
 Obituary Notices published in "The Pennsylvania Gazette," 1728-91, an index to, by C. R. Hildeburn, 334
 Office-holders in Pennsylvania, qualifications of, 310-12
 OFFNER, 414
 Okely, John, 207
 "Old American Company," dramatic, 184
 OLDMAN, 110
 O'Neill, Constantine, 258
One Leg Creek, 145
 Osborne, Capt., 461
 Osgood, John, 404, 411
 Otis, Mr., 330
 Ott, Nicholas, 157
 Overseers Poor Philadelphia, 481
 Owen, Griffith, 67, 237
 Paca, William, 361
 Paine, R. T., 374
Palatine Bridge, N. Y., 387
 Palm, John, 157
 Palmer, Mr., 354
 Palms, William, 252.

- Palmstoun*, 157
Palmyra, 157
 Paneles, 360
 Paper-mill, first in America, 18, 79
 Park, Jonah, 258
 Parke, Dr. Thomas, 265
 Parker, Alexander, 404, 411, 413; James, 259
 Parkinson, Joseph, 155
Parkinson's Ferry, 155
 PARR, 413; William, 413, 414
 Parr, Mr., 465
 Parsons, 372; John, 67
 Parvin, Francis, 210
 Pastorius, Francis Daniel, 272, 376, 379
 Paterson, Brigadier-General, 426
Path Valley, 129
 Patison, Gen., 441
 PATTERSON, 136
 Patterson, Major-General, 424; Robert, 152; Hon. Samuel F., 136; Gen. Thomas, 136; Wm., 371; Wm. J., 136
 Paul, John, 205
Paxton Creek, 157
 Peace between Great Britain and America, 444, 445
 Pearson, Isaac, 405
 Pemberton, Israel, Jr., 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74; Phineas, 481
 Penmaholen, 142, 151
 PENN, 362; Gulielma, 268, 269
 Penn, John, 363; Letitia, 485; Wm., 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 267, 268; letter to, 270
 Penn estates in Pennsylvania, 1779, 476
 Pennington, Capt., 424; Sir Ralph, 424
 "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," error in, 479
Pennsylvania in 1739, 283; in 1755, 284; in 1740, 284; Assembly of, 286; petition of inhabitants of, to the king, against the Assembly of, 294; argument on, before the Lords of Trade, 297; bounds of province of, 316, 317; government of, 318, 319; Company of Traders, charter of, 271; articles of, 192, 193; officers of, 195, 196; patent for, 196
 "Pennsylvania Evening Post, The," extract from, 203
 "Pennsylvania Gazette, The," 86, 87; an Index to the Obituary Notices published in 1728-91, by C. R. Hildeburn, 334
 "Pennsylvania Merchant," brigantine, 173
 "Pennsylvania Packet, The," 79
 Pennypacker, S. W., mentioned, 78, 82
 Penrose, Boies, contribution by, 61
 Percy, Lord, 9, 10, 11, 12, 232
 PÉRIGUÉ, 112
 Peters, Rev. Richard, letter from, 350; William, 316
 Pettit, Jonathan, 369
Philadelphia, amusements and politics in, 1794, 182; Early Government of, and Blue Anchor Tavern Landing, by E. P. Allinson and B. Penrose, 61; king's arms taken from state- and court-house of, 321; social life in, in 1762, 115; terms of original purchase of lots in, 474 *et seq.*
 Phillips, Gen., 429, 435
 "Physicians of Philadelphia and its Vicinity, The Early," by J. J. Levick, M.D., notice of, 237
 Pitt, Mr., 3, 97, 98, 221, 222, 223, 226
Pittsburgh in 1777, news from, 358; lots, 480
 Plowden, Sir Edmund, additional facts concerning, by Rev. E. D. Neill, 180
 PLUMLEY, 124
 Plumsted, Mrs., 115; Mr., 116
 Plundering in the Revolution, 36
 Plunkett, Miss, 414
 POE, 453
 Poetry, Annotated Catalogue of the Harris Collection of American, 240
Point Levy, 159, 160
 Politics, English, 89, 90, 91, 94, 97, 98, 221, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 228, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 332, 333
 Pomfret, Lord, 463
 Pool, 434
 Popple, Wm., 191, 267
 Population of Pennsylvania in 1766, 391
 Pott, Gov. John, 116
 Potter, J., 373; Judge, 373.
 Potts, Frederic A., 262; Wm. J., contribution of, 182
 Powel, M., 45, 46, 161; Samuel, 361.
 Powell, Samuel, 71, 73, 76, 77
 POWELL, 166
Powles Hook, 427
 Prather, Charles, 136; Mr., 153, 154
 Prescott, General, 13, 423
 PRESTON, 109
 PRICE, 119
 Prices of goods in Pennsylvania, 276
 PRIDEAUX, 180
 Pringle, Sir John, 228
 Printing, Bicentennial Anniversary of the Introduction of, into the Middle Colonies, 73; Early, in the Middle Colonies, by G. D. Boardman, 15; introduced into America, 17
 Printing-press, vertical, 81
 Provisions in Pennsylvania, in 1683, 402
 PUDRY, 414
 Purrier, Wm., 404
 Purvis, Capt., 409
 Putnam, Rufus, 6, 9, 126; Gen., 148, 149, 150, 151, 152; Wm., 148, 152
 Patten, Cornelius van, 172
 Quakers in the Provincial Wars, The Attitude of the, by C. J. Stillé, 283
 Quakers, proportions of, in Pennsylvania in 1756, 301

Quasack Creek, 378
Quebec, Before, 1776, 158
 Queen's birthday, 1780, 428; 1783, 443
Quemahoning, 132
 Quincy, Mr., 292

 Race, Henry, M.D., St. Thomas' Church of Alexandria, Hunterdon Co., N. J., by, 256
 RAE, 114
 "Rainbow," vessel, 94
 RALSTON, 124
 Ralston, Mr., 156
 Ram, Abell, 267
 Rawle, Wm. Henry, Col. Lambert Cadwalader, by, 1
Ray's Hill, 130
 Read, Gen. John Meredith, 82; Mr., 211
Reading, 210
 "Red Lion," inn, 205
 Redman, Dr., 43
 Rees, Edward, 107, 108
 Reid, Capt., 463
 Reidesel, Baron, 429
 Reinagle, Mr., 187
Renelough, hospital at, 418
 REYNOLDS, 103
 Rhoades, Samuel, 483
 Rhoads, Samuel, 71
 Richards, Philip, 67
 Richardson, A., 149, 150; Joseph, 64; Samuel, 66; Mr., 146
 Rickets, Isaac, 67
 Ried, Lt.-Col. John, 480
 Riet, 133
 Rigby, Mr., 469
 RIGGS, 33
 Rinker, John, 208
 Rippey, William, 128
 RITCHIE, 121
 RITTENHOUSE, 414
 Rittenhouse, William, 79
 Rivington, J., 327, 424, 440, 441, 443
 Roat, John, 258
 Roberdeau, Daniel, 363; Mr., 481
 Roberts, Eldad, 103; Hugh, 64, 483; John, 103, 105; Nancy, 206, 207; T. & Co., printers, 251, 252
 Robertson, Gen., 424, 429, 430, 431, 434
 "Robin Hood or Sherwood Forest," comic opera, 184
 Robins, R. P., M.D., article by, 392
 Robinson, Elizabeth, 71, 73
 ROBINSON, William, Jr., 360
 Rockhill, John C., 182; Dr. John, 182
 Rockingham, Marquis of, 220, 223, 442, 443, 467
 Rodney, Admiral, 433, 441
 Rogers, Francis, 190, 191, 192, 197, 270, 278, 280, 281, 282, 401, 404, 411; George, 190, 191, 192, 197, 270, 278, 280, 281, 401, 404, 411; Rev. Jo., 350; Major, 321; Robert, 193, 403; Rev. Dr. Wm., 17
 Rohl, Col., 203, 204

Romaine, Mr., 91, 94
 "Romish Chappel," 116
 Ross, 414; George, 413, 414; James, 413, 414; Mr., 477
 Rothrock, John, 126; and Christian Clewell, Notes of Travel of William Henry. John Heckewelder, to Gnadenhuetten in 1797, 125.
 Rouse, John, 404
 Rudyard, Thos., 190, 193
 Runnels, Mrs., 35
 RUSSELL, 105
 Ruttenber, E. M., cited, 378
 "Rural Socrates," author of, 240
 Ryan's Tavern, 131
 Ryk, Heinrich, wife of, 178

 St. Clair, Gen., 34, 132
 St. Thomas's Church of Alexandria, Hunterdon Co., N. J., by Henry Race, M.D., 256
Salem, 125, 145, 147, 149
 Salloway, William, 69
 Salt Works at Egg Harbour, N. J., 33, 37, 38, 41.
 Saltonstall, Capt. Gilbert, 372
 Samuels, Christian, 215
 Sandwich, Lord, 470, 472.
 Sansom's "Black Horse," 155
 Sauer, Christopher, 22
Saugerties, N. Y., settled by Germans, 386
 Savory, Daniel, 401, 404
 Say, Thomas, 65; William, 66
 Schaukirk, Ewald Gustav, 418
 Schmick, Rev. John Jacob, 144
 Schmissen, Heinrich van, 170
Schoenbrunn, 125
Schoharie County, N. Y., settled by Germans, 387
 Scholtze, David, 167; George, 179
 Schultz, Melchior, 172
 Schwenkfelders, narrative of the journey of, to Pennsylvania, 1733, 167
 Seull, G. D., 359
 Sears, Capt., 421
 Sellers, William, 87
 Senseman, Gottlob, 134, 135, 237; Joachim, 135
 Shadaker, Solomon, 159; Wm., 159
 SHAFFER, 460
 Shannon, Theophilus, 368
 Sharlow, Wm., 404, 411
 SHARPLESS, 121
 SHAW, 482
 Shaw, Nathaniel, Jr., 373
 Shee, Colonel, 4, 5, 6, 8
 Shelbourne, Lord, 442, 462
 Sheldon, Col., 55
Shenandoah Valley, settled by Germans, 383
 Sherman, Roger, 372
 "Ship," inn, 212
 SHIPPEN, 124

- Shippen, Capt., 264; Edward, 71, 73, 76, 77; Dr. Wm., Jr., 43
 Shippen Papers, 486
 Ships arrive in Pennsylvania, 269
 Ships, 21 sail arrive in Delaware, 201
 Ships sail for Pennsylvania, 193, 197
 SHIVERS, 124
 Shober's inn, 210
 Shoemaker, Jacob, Jr., 65
 Shourds, Thomas, 165
 Shultz, David, 210
 Sibthorpe, Christopher, 66
Sideling Hill, 130
 "Sign of the Harrow," 205
 Simcock, John, 67, 195, 196, 475
 Simmons, Betty, 161
 Simpson, Andrew, 358; Davy, 161; James, 158
 Singleton, Thos., 202
 Sinnickson, Dr. John J., 87
 Skimmey, 425
 Skinner, Miss, 115; Mrs., 116
 Slavery, first protest against, printed in America, 24
 Slough, Matthias, 211, 212, 413, 414
 Smallwood, Gen., 59
 SMITH, Aubrey H., 478; John, 460
 Smith, C. E., 82; Rev. Edwin K., 262; Roswell, 82; William, 434
 Snow, Mrs. M. E., 478
 Snyder, Mr., 156
 Song of the Printer, The, 32
 Sower, *see* Sauer, 79; Christopher, 357
 Sparks, 461; Capt., 87
 SPENCER, 400
 Spinning-parties, 478
 SPOTTSWOODE, 87
 Spread, John, 194
 Sprogall, Mr. and Mrs., 161
 Stacy, Robert, 215
 Stamp Act, in Parliament, 91, 95, 96, 219, 220, 221
 STAPLE, 354
 Stattler, 131
 Stauffer, D. McN., article by, 413
 Stedman, Mr., 352; Mrs. C., 115; Capt. John, 173
 Stepmy, Robt., 280
 Sterling, Col., 10, 11, 12; Lord, 259
 STEVENS, 458
 Stevens, Mr., 115, 116; Mrs., 115, 116; John, 259, 260; Lewis, 260, 262
 Stevenson, G. S., M. B., 239
 Stewart, Galbraith, 154, 155; Major, 233; Robert, 191, 267
 Stidden, Timon, 237
 Stiegel, "Baron" Henry W., 127
 Stillé, C. J., contribution of, 283
 Stirling, Gen., 423, 430, 431
 Stockdale, William, 67
 Stocker, L., 154
 Stockton, 155
 Stodard, Capt., 54
 Stone, F. D., mentioned, 78; John, 372
Stony Creek, 132
Stony Point, 426, 428
 Storey, Capt., 328, 331
Stoytown, 131
 Stradelberger's inn, 213
 STRAHAN, 86, 87, 331
 Strahan, William, correspondence between, and David Hall, 86, 217, 322, 461
 Strahan, William, 86; on representation of colonies in Parliament, 93; on relations of colonies to Great Britain, 95; on George III., 97, 223, 332; on disputes between Proprietary and people, 229, 230, 231; agrees with the King's Printer, 326
 Stretch, Joseph, 64, 71
 Strettell, John, 265; Robert, 76, 77
 Stuart, Alexander, 473; Lieut.-Col. Charles, 426
 STUBER, 413
 Sturgeon, Rev. Wm., 353, 356
 Sullivan, Daniel, 358; General, 203
 Summer Jaunt in 1773, 205
 Sumner, President of Bengal, 326
 "Sun" Inn at Bethlehem, Pa., 206, 209, 368
Sussex Court-House, N. J., 370
 Sutton, 461
 Swan, Capt., 52
 Swayze, Barnabas, 369
 Swedes' Church, Philadelphia, etching of, 360
 SWEET, 399
 Sweetapple, John, 404, 412
 Swift, Mrs., 116
 Symcock, *see* Simcock
 Syng, Philip, 64, 73, 74
 Talbot, Rev. John, 256, 257
 Tashiwycans, 214
 Tavern licenses, 252
 Taylor, Capt., 36, 94; Christopher, 193, 405; John, 258; Jr., 253
 Temple, Lord, 222, 467
 "Terrible, The," man-of-war, 438
 Thatcher, Jeremiah, 258; William, 258
 Thayer, Hon. M. Russell, 82
 Theatre in Philadelphia, new, on Chestnut Street, 182, 183
 Thiel, 130
 THOMAS, 110
 Thomas, Gov., 288, 290; Richard, 475
 Thompson, 373
 Thorn, A., 451
 Thorp, George, 276, 277, 413
Three Legs Creek, *see* *One Leg Creek*.
 Tilghman, Hon. James, Thoughts on the Situation of the Inhabitants on the Frontier, by, 316.
 Tilghman, James, 316, 362
 Till, Jacob C., 479
Tinnakonk's Eylandh, 214
 Tollemache, Hon. J., 424
 Tomlinson, Mr., 87
 Tottenham, John, 401

- Towne, Mr., 226
 Townsend, Chancellor, 322; Mr., 443
Trenton, contemporaneous account of the battle of, 203; and *Princeton*, engagements at, 1777, 263
 TREVER, 458
 Trotter, Joseph, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73
 "Trumbull," sloop-of-war, 372
 Tryon, Gov., 370, 371, 419, 420, 421, 429, 430, 433
 Turner, John, 412; Robert, 69, 200, 263
Tuscarawi, 145
Tuscarora Valley, 129
 "Two Brief Papers: Being the Abandoned Boston; and the Extent of the Continental Line of the Revolutionary Army Misconceived," by Justin Winsor, notice of, 237
 Tzack, John, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77

Upland, 200

 Valckenbergh, Hendrick, 474
 Valentine, Carl, 154
 Vandeput, Capt. George, 419, 420
 VANEMAN, 120
 Vansittart, Mr., 326
 Vaux, Mr., 208
 Veltscheerder, Peter, 215
 Verelst, Mr., 326
 "Virginia Carolorum," by E. D. Neill, notice of, 116, 359; correction in, 116
Virginia, Germans settle in, 385
 Voltaire, a Visit to, from Journal of Dr. John Morgan, 43
 Voltaire's opinion of Bolingbroke, 45, 46; of the English, 46; of Robertson, 48; of Hume, 48
 VOORHEES, VAN, 239
 VOORHIS, E. W., van, 239

 Wagner, Friedrich, 167; Mr. and Mrs., 161
 "Wagon," inn, 205
 Wale, George, 393; Thomas, 393
 Wali, Edward, 393
 Walker, William, 67
 Walklett, Gregory, 397
 Wallace, John Wm., 18, 22
 Wallis, John, 404
 Ward, Capt., 432
 Warder, Jeremiah, 65, 76
 Warner, Edward, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73
 Washington, George, letter to Greene, 9; letter to his brother, 12; reported slain, 423; mentioned, 419, 431, 432, 441, 442; enters New York, 445; letter of, 353; Capt., 204; Warner, 354
 Watkins, Joseph, 65, 76
 WATRING, 451
 Watson, Comr. Gen., 440
 Watterson, Hon. Henry, 82
 Watts, Mr., 53, 54, 55, 58
 Wayne, Gen., 432
 WEAVER, 121

 Webb, Capt. Thomas, 233; Mrs. Grace, 233, 235; Wm., 180
 Week's inn, 370
 Weeks, Capt., 233; Ralph, 276, 404, 411
 Weiss, Jedediah, 479
 "Welcome," ship, 199; smallpox on, 201
 Wells, Alexander, 136; Squire, 132
Wellsburg, 136
 Welsh Indians, 143
 Weygandt, Col., 154
 Whainwright, Mr., 374
 WHALE, 400
 Whale, Theophilus, of Narragansett, Thomas Whaley, of Virginia, and, by R. P. Robins, M.D., 392
 Whales in Delaware Bay, 404, 410
 Whaley, Thomas, of Virginia, and Theophilus Whale, of Narragansett, by R. P. Robins, M.D., 392
 WHALLEY, 399; Edward, 392, 399
 WHARTON, 56
 Wharton, Joseph, 74; Joseph, Jr., 225; Mr., 158
 Wheddon, 401, 404; Thos., 278, 281
 Whipple's, William, Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Hampshire, in the summer of 1777, 366
 Whipple, Mr., 149; William, 366, 369
 WHITE, 163, 166.
 White, Andrew, 180
 White, Barclay, Christopher White, by, 163
 White, Christopher, house of, 164; John, 67; S., 355; Thomas, 163
 White-Eyes, Capt., 123, 141, 142, 143, 144; Joseph, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140
 "White Swan," inn, 212
 White's Tavern, 134
 Whitefield, Mr., 91, 94
 Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim," 24
 "Who's the Dupe," comedy, 183
 Wickersham, Jas. P., A History of Education in Pennsylvania, by, notice of, 357
 Wied, Count Frederic of, 377
 Wignell, Mr., 187
 Wilcocks, Alexander, 363
 Wilderness Road, The, by Thomas Speed, notice of, 121
 Wiles, Mr., 130
 Wilkes, 322, 462, 466, 468, 469, 471
 WILKINS, 447
 WILL, 33
 WILCOX, 124
 Willet. Col., 398, 399
 WILLIAM, 109, 110
 William Henry, Prince, 438, 439, 441
 WILLIAMS, 107 *et seq.*
 Williams Family, 107
 Williams, Capt., 160, 265; Daniel, 74; Francis H., 81; William, 369
 WILLING, Nancy, 353; Thomas, 353, 363
 "Willing-Mind," ship, arrival of, 163
 Willis, Jonathan, 369

- Willow Grove*, 366
 WILLS, 33
 Wills, Dr. Daniel, 237
 WILSON, 453
 Wilson, John, 34, 205; Col. Wm., 456;
 Major-General, 424
 Winsor, Justin, "Two Brief Papers:
 Being the Abandoned Boston; and the
 Extent of the Continental Line of the
 Revolutionary Army Misconceived,"
 by, notice of, 237
 WIRTS, 413
 Wister, Miss Sally, *Journal of*, 51
 Withers, R., 200, 271, 272
 Withington, Peter, 210, 211
 WITMER, 413
Womelsdorf, 157
 Wood, Col., 358
 Woodruff, Rev. George, 261
 Woods, Joseph, 266
 Wright, Miss, 414; Rev. Wm., 262
 Wright's Tavern, 156
 Wroughton, Aide-de-Camp, 440
 Würtz, Mr., 131
 WYATT, 163
 Wyeth, John, 251
 WYNNE, Dr. Thomas, 1, 237
 Wywannattamo, 215
 Yale College, *Biographical Sketches of*
 the Graduates of, with Annals of the
 College History, 1701-45. by F. B.
 Dexter, notice of, 239
 Yeakle, *see* Jäckel
 Yeates, Jasper, 413, 414
 York, Mr., 222
 Youngmann, John G., 237
 Zantzing, Paul, 413, 414
 Zeigler, Jacob, 413
 Zeisberger, 139; David, 236, 237
 Zenger, Johanna, 387; John Peter, 79,
 387
 Zinzendorf, Count, 207

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>



Thank you for your order !

This media compilation, our respective advertisements and marketing materials are protected under U.S. Copyright law. The Federal Digital Millennium Copyright Act and various International Copyright laws prohibit the unauthorized duplication and reselling of this media. Infringement of any of these written or electronic intellectual property rights can result in legal action in a U.S. court.

If you believe your disc is an unauthorized copy and not sold to you by **Rockyguana** or **Ancestry Found** please let us know by emailing at

<mailto:dclark4811@gmail.com>

It takes everyone's help to make the market a fair and safe place to buy and sell.