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Magazine

OF

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Vol. II.

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army.
M. de la Rouerie.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
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VOL. II.

1878.

No. 1.

CHARLES ARMAND TUFIN, MARQUIS DE LA
ROUERIE,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY OF THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION.

A Memoir read before The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 7, 1877,

BY TOWNSEND WARD.

About four years ago, at my request, an acquaintance of mine, a gentleman of Brittany, who had been with the unfortunate Maximilian in his expedition to Mexico, visited the Hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In examining the interesting portraits that adorn the walls, his attention was suddenly arrested, and he exclaimed, "Ah! there you have the unfortunate Armand, the Marquis de la Rouerie. I was born at no great distance from his ruined castle; I have now lived for several years in Germantown, and have often made inquiries concerning him, but no one could tell me of him; his very name appeared to be unknown to the descendants of the people with whom he served during the long years of your Revolutionary War. Perhaps you can tell me of him?"

It seemed almost like a reproach to hear these remarks, for as long ago as the year 1859 I had intended to prepare some

notice, however brief, of Armand's romantic career. The subject had then acquired a new interest here, from the acquisition by the Society of his undoubted original portrait, which you now see before you.¹

Among the families, with whom the foreign officers were most intimate in this country, was that of Mr. John Craig, of Philadelphia. His wife, whom he had married in Tobago, one of the West Indies, was a highly educated and accomplished woman, who spoke several of the modern languages with great facility. His house, where he kept up a generous hospitality, was much frequented by the Chevalier la Luzerne, the Duke de Lauzun, Count Fersen, the Marquis de Chastellux, and, among others, by the Marquis de la Rouerie. Du Ponceau, the Aid-de-Camp of Baron Steuben, in his manuscript memoirs, now in the possession of our Society, thus writes of the mistress of the house.

"While speaking of the stars of that day (1782), I must not forget Mrs. Craig, the mother of the present Mrs. Nicholas Biddle. She was the wife of a respectable merchant, who, at that time, had not made the fortune which he came to afterwards. She was a little woman, but perfectly beautiful. She had her education in Europe, and spoke French and Italian with perfect purity. She had read a great deal, and her manners were most attractive. She would not have been out of her place in the most brilliant circle of Europe. She had two sisters-in-law, Jenny and Nancy, both still living (1839), who contributed to the agreeableness of her society. Her house was the resort of all that was elegant and accomplished. I shall never forget the happy moments that I enjoyed in that delightful society."

On Armand's return to France in 1784, he manifested his appreciation of the kindness he had received here, by sending to Mrs. Craig his portrait. This descended to Mr. Edward Biddle, her grandson, and a few years since passed into possession of this Society.

After gathering from Mr. Binet the little that he could tell, though it was little indeed but of the ruin left by the

¹ An engraving from this portrait accompanies this Memoir.

deluge of blood of the French Revolution, I gleaned from our various volumes what faint allusions they contained concerning the gallant volunteer, who had earned the esteem and love of Washington, and whose memory had so nearly faded from the earth. With this rather scant material, and with a few of Armand's letters, courteously lent me from among the collections of the curious, and the traditionary reminiscences kindly furnished me by the Reverend Mr. Wildes, together with the remarks by Chastellux and Chateaubriand and Alison, I have endeavored to write the story of one of the men of our Revolution.

The Castle of de la Rouerie, near Basonge, in Brittany, is in ruins, and the Tufin family, which once possessed it, is now extinct. The structure was of stone, with several towers, and was surrounded by an ample moat, faced with stone, and fed by a small lake or pond, of the extent of about one hundred acres. There was a drawbridge over this moat, and a portcullis to guard the entrance to the castle. An extensive forest in the rear belonged to its lord. In front, beyond the lake, was a lande, as it is there called, or heath. The domain was of considerable extent, about five thousand acres, on which there were perhaps thirty-five families on the cultivated parts, with some fifteen families attached to the forest. Besides owning this ample estate, the Tufins were the feudal lords of all the country around, for the distance of about ten miles. The courts of justice for the people were held by them, and they received the tithes of that region. They ranked among the distinguished and illustrious families of Brittany.

Here, in 1756, was born Charles Armand Tufin, Marquis de la Rouerie. In his early youth, this nobleman entered a regiment of the French Guards, commanded by the Duke de Biron;¹ and in no long time was inspired with a passion for a beautiful actress, Mademoiselle Beauménil, which soon led to a duel. The fear of a *mésalliance* excited opposition on the part of his family, from whom, however, he escaped, to seek a refuge in the Monastery of La Trappe. It has been said, but with what amount of truth cannot now be known, that the

¹ Sparks' Washington, Letter to the Duke, vii. 394. February 3, 1781.

Marquis, on a visit to his beloved, found her lying on the floor beheaded; and that it was the shock which he experienced from this scene that drove him to the retreat of perpetual silence.¹ Whether this was the case, and whether his family secured his release, as is asserted, or he himself effected it, the fact is known that early in the rebellion of the American Colonies against the Crown of England, the Marquis left Nantes in the American ship *Morris*, commanded by the gallant Captain Anderson, who bore despatches from Dr. Franklin to the Congress. A recent statement is, that "Armand fled, and concealed himself in a Trappist monastery, where he finally discovered himself, and was taken to the ancestral castle. Afterwards, on his return to the Garde-du-Corps, he discovered the betrayer of his love affair, and shot him in a duel. Thereupon he fled to Nantes."²

Christopher Marshall, in his *Remembrancer*, writes, "April 13, 1777, *Acet. came of ship* — from France, being chased by three men-of-war for a whole day. (The captain) finding he could not get clear, ran her aground and blew her up, after securing all her papers and crew; but Captain Anderson himself, who, staying too long, was lost with the ship." On the same day, John Adams, then in Philadelphia, writes to his wife, that this vessel, "with cannon, arms, gunlocks, powder, etc., was chased into Delaware Bay by two or three men-of-war; that she defended herself manfully against their boats

¹ No doubt this belief arose from a striking incident in the life of the founder of the order of the Trappists. The pleasures and dissipation of a French nobleman, Bouthillier de Rance, were suddenly converted into devotion and melancholy by the following circumstance. His affairs had obliged him to absent himself for some time from a lady with whom he had lived in the most intimate and tender connections. On his return to Paris, in order to surprise her agreeably, and to satisfy his impatient desire of seeing her, he went without ceremony or previous notice to her apartment. She lay stretched out an inanimate corpse, disfigured beyond conception by the small-pox; and the surgeon was about to separate the head from the body, because the coffin had been made too short. De Rance for a few moments was motionless with horror, and then retired abruptly from the world to a monastery, in which he passed the remainder of his days in the greatest mortification and devotion.

² Rattermann, *Deutsche Pioneer*, viii. 437.

and barges, but finding no possibility of getting clear she ran aground. The crew, and two French gentlemen passengers, got on shore, but the captain, determined to disappoint his enemy in part, laid a train and blew up the ship, and lost his own life, unfortunately, in the explosion. I regret the loss of so brave a man much more than that of the ship and cargo. The people are fishing in order to save what they can, and I hope they will save the cannon. The French gentlemen, it is said, have brought despatches from France to the Congress."¹

An account, rather more circumstantial, which appeared in Hazard's Register of August 21st, 1830, states that Captain Anderson, when he formed his determination to blow up the vessel, communicated it to the Marquis de la Rouerie, and requested him to deliver the despatches. Armand jumped into a boat with them, and endeavored to pass through the British vessels. The boat was struck by a shot and went down, but Armand saved himself by swimming, and reached the land as the Morris blew up. He travelled one hundred miles on foot to Philadelphia, and delivered the despatches to Congress.

On the 10th of May, 1777, Armand received a commission in the Continental Army as Colonel. On the same day Robert Morris wrote to General Washington a letter, to be carried by Armand, and introducing him; saying he had received letters concerning Armand which "he was obliged to attend to and put great faith in, from persons worthy of the utmost credit. I find he is a little disgusted at an appointment made for him by Congress this day; and I believe it was through the inattention of a committee, which I shall get set right again in a short time."²

At his own instance Armand was directed to raise a partisan corps of Frenchmen, not exceeding the number of two hundred; and on the 10th of July, Congress ordered that two thousand dollars be advanced to him. On the 26th of November, also in 1777, Lafayette writes to Washington, from Haddonfield, New Jersey, that the previous evening he had

¹ Letters of John Adams, i. 213.

² Corr. of the Revolution; Letters to Washington, i. 375.

had a successful engagement with the enemy near Gloucester, in which the Frenchmen who were with him were Colonel Armand, Colonel Laumoy, and the Chevaliers Du Plessis and Gimat.¹ Armand fought at Red Bank, in Fleury's detachment,² was at Brandywine, and no doubt also at Germantown, Valley Forge, and Monmouth, but I have failed to find any evidence as to the latter places. At Valley Forge, Washington writes to him not to enlist deserters.³

In a letter to Robert Morris, January 29th, 1778, Armand states that he had been recommended by Washington to Lafayette for the contemplated expedition against Canada, and that he was to command a corps of light infantry.⁴ This fell through, and Armand's Corps was taken into Continental pay on the 25th of June, 1778, by order of Congress. On the 11th of October, a letter from him is written from somewhere near Kingsbridge, New York.⁵ "The Legion again went into Winter Quarters on the upper Delaware, where, with Pulaski's Corps, it served as a protection to Pennsylvania."⁶

The early organization of Armand's Legion, as to the names, rank, dates of commission, and time of enlistment of the officers and privates, may be found in Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War.⁷ The companies of Count von Ottendorff, Anthony Seelin, John Paul Schott, Jost Driesbach, and Jacob Bauer, composed of volunteers who could not speak English, were in the legion. The Baron de Wehtritz was a Lieutenant in Company No. 4, and George Schaffner was a Lieutenant in Company No. 3.

On the 4th of February, 1779, a letter from Armand, dated the preceding day, was read in Congress, who thereupon ordered that the Commander-in-Chief be directed to give orders for recruiting Armand's Corps to its full complement, and to settle the relative rank of officers under the degree of

¹ Sparks' Washington, v. 171.

² Saffell's Records of the Revolutionary War, 530.

³ Sparks' Washington, v. 298.

⁴ MS. letter in possession of Mr. Simon Gratz.

⁵ MS. letter in possession of the late Wm. B. Sprague, D.D.

⁶ Rattermann, *Deutsche Pioneer*, viii. 438. ⁷ Saffell, 219.

Brigadier. The following day a letter from Armand was read, begging leave to return to France, whereupon it was "*Resolved*, That Congress have a high sense of the disinterested zeal and services of Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, but are restrained from manifesting their good opinion of him by further promotion, as the same would be incompatible with the arrangements of the American Army; and that on his own request he have leave to return to France; that upon his departure the President grant him such certificate as the recommendations or certificates he may have received from the Commander-in-Chief or other General Officers under whom he hath served, may entitle him to."¹ Of this permission he did not immediately take advantage. On the 13th of February, 1779, Congress appropriated ninety-four thousand dollars to Armand for the purpose of recruiting his corps, which, however, was not to exceed the complement of a regiment.

Armand had now for some time been actively engaged, particularly in Westchester County, New York, and thereabouts, opposing the corps of Simcoe and Emerick, and of Baremore the loyalist. His corps was assigned in the summer of 1779 to the command of Gen. Robert Howe. On the 14th of June, 1779, General Heath "reached Springfield; was met some distance out of town by Colonel Armand's dragoons, and was by them escorted into the town, and again out of it."² On the 21st of June, it appearing to Congress that Lt.-Col. Klein's plan of raising a corps of German deserters had failed, the Sergeant and four privates were transferred to Armand's. July the 2d, Gen. Heath writes that "Moylan's Horse crossed the river to reinforce the left; they were to be followed by Armand's Legion."³ On the 20th, if the date be correct, "Sunday 20, 7 month," Armand was in Boston, and was lodging in the house of Mrs. Cass in Quaker Lane, whence he sent a brief note to Col. Armstrong, aid-de-camp to Gen. Gates. In it he speaks of his intention to pay his respects to Gen. Heath

¹ Journal of Congress. Sparks' Washington, vi. 172.

² Heath's Memoirs, 205.

³ Ibid. 206.

on the following day.¹ General Robert Howe writes from Ridgefield, Connecticut, to Henry Laurens, August 3d, "I am directed by the General, with a part of my division, viz., Glover's Brigade, Moylan's and Sheldon's Horse, and Armand's Independent Corps, to take command in this neighbourhood, to cover this country and protect the inhabitants as much as possible from the insults and ravages of the enemy."²

"In the summer of 1779, the campaign around New York was very active, and especially so on the part of Simcoe's newly organized troop, the 'Queen's Rangers,' who made it lively for the Americans. Simcoe's Corps was constantly in the vanguard of the army, and executed a number of bold, clever, and successful undertakings. Armand, who was now assigned to Colonel Lee's command, was sent against them with his light cavalry, and succeeded in taking the bold partisan prisoner³ on the Raritan River, in the neighbourhood of South Amboy, N. J., just as Simcoe was setting out on an expedition for the destruction of several boats, October the 1st, 1779."⁴

The capture of Baremore is thus related by General Heath. "Novr. 7, 1779, at night, Colonel Armand proceeded with his corps from near Tarrytown to the vicinity of Morrisania, to the house of Alderman Leggett, where he surprised and took Major Baremore and five other prisoners. The secrecy, precaution, gallantry, and discipline exhibited by the Colonel and his corps on this occasion did them much honour. In the capture of Major Baremore, the inhabitants of the adjacent country were relieved from the frequent excursions of a troublesome officer."⁵ Washington, writing of Armand in 1780, says of this enterprise, "In the last campaign particularly he rendered very valuable services, and towards the close of it made a brilliant partisan stroke, by which, with much enterprise and address, he surprised a Major and some

¹ MS. letter in possession of Col. F. M. Etting.

² Materials for History, Zenger Club, 1861, 145; and Sparks' Washington, vi. 305.

³ Simcoe says that he was seized by Mariner, a refugee from New York. — *Simcoe's Journal*, p. 117.

⁴ Rattermann, *Deutsche Pioneer*, viii. 437.

⁵ Heath, 223.

men of the enemy in quarters, and brought them off without loss to his party."¹ On the 2d of December, 1779, Armand, with some of his corps, went down to Morrisania, and took a Captain Cruser, of Baremore's Corps, and two men prisoners.²

These traces in the career of Armand are somewhat like the fossil foot-prints the geologist finds—they possess a certain value as evidence, but the being who made them is yet to be found, and to be described. Legend lends its aid, and has preserved, though dimly, through the lapse of a century, some of the impressions made on the minds of the people of the time by the adventurous young Frenchman. The Rev. George D. Wildes, D.D., Rector of Riverdale, New York, writes to me the following as the account he has been able to gather of the story in the famous region known to New Yorkers as the "Neutral Ground," and it is doubtless all that can now be obtained. He says that "Armand was an officer of light horse, stationed in 1779 at Croton, some twenty miles above this, near the Hudson, and was distinguished for a dashing courage and admirable address, in successive forays and expeditions down the valley from Yonkers to Kingsbridge, the crossing point from southeastern Westchester into what was then the northern limit of New York City.

"Directly back of my church and rectory, at the distance of half a mile, runs the old Albany Post Road, during the Revolution the main and only avenue to the then 'West' from New York. In this valley and at about the same distance is Vault Hill; a noted point of observation for Washington while encamped in that neighbourhood at various dates during the war; the Van Courtlandt Manor, the house a fine specimen of the old English country mansion, built in 1748, but still occupied by the Van Courtlandt descendants, and the whole camping ground of the American, French, and British armies during the same period more or less in occupation. The valley was the scene of many a fierce encounter between the Hessian Yagers and De Lancey's Loyalists on the one side, and

¹ Washington and his Generals, Phila., 1848, ii. 260.

² Heath, 225.

on the other, Col. Greene's, Col. Sheldon's, and Col. Armand's Horse. Armand especially seems to have distinguished himself repeatedly in bold night attacks upon the quarters of the Hessians at or near Kingsbridge. Bolton, the historian of Westchester County, and tradition, alike identify Armand as the hero of one remarkable encounter, which, with some others of that summer, doubtless afforded the main material for some of the most graphic features of Cooper's novel of *The Spy*.

"A small stream, still called Tippet's Brook, or the Mosholu, runs southward through this valley. Colonel Armand having ridden rapidly under cover of the night from his quarters on the Croton, certainly twenty or more miles, charged at full speed upon a body of the German Yagers, whose outposts were at Warner's Store, as it is still called, the grandsons of whose then proprietor are residents at this time of the same neighbourhood. Armand came cautiously upon a vidette of the Hessians, posted at a little spring, some rods above Warner's, and killing the sentinel, dashed down upon the outpost detachment, and after a quick but hard fight taking the survivors prisoners, dashed up the avenue of the Van Courtlandt mansion, the reputed headquarters of the detachment. The alarm having extended to Kingsbridge, and Armand being pursued by De Lancey with his Loyalist Cavalry, he was only able to signify his presence in the valley, to the surprised officers of the Hessian detachment, by the shouts of his squadron as it hurried by in retreat, pursued by De Lancey. For miles up the valley the fight between De Lancey and Armand continued, the latter frequently turning upon the foe and inflicting severe loss. With the greater number of his prisoners Armand regained his quarters at Croton, on this, as on other marked occasions, receiving the special thanks of Washington.

"I have no record of the full military service of Colonel Armand, but it is safe to say, that in a region, with the exception of that in and about the cities and vicinity of Charleston and Savannah, more marked, during the Revolution, than any other by the ravages of distinctively partisan strife, and stirring passages of what is technically termed 'combat,'

rather than 'battle,' no name stands more prominent in the records and traditions of the day than that of Col. Armand. The gallant Frenchman made his mark with his sword in many a heavy fight, as he before and afterwards made it by his grace and courtliness in the social circles of his French home.

"In visiting your Historical Rooms, my attention was arrested by the portrait of a cavalry officer, which I at once saw must be that of a foreigner. The uniform, like that of the French Troopers of De Lausun of Rochambeau's Army, led me at first to think that the portrait was one of some officer of the force of that general. It probably was not the dress¹ of Armand's Cavalry as a body, but most likely that of the time of his military service in France after his return from America. Mr. Stone stated to me that the portrait was Armand's, and a new interest at once attached in my own mind to the name and fame of one, of whom I am glad you are about writing a memoir. I have frequent occasion to pass along the scenes of his exploits, by night on some parochial duty, and never, without thinking of the gallant trooper, and fancying that I hear the clatter of squadron hoofs, as I pass through the secluded glen in which is situated the fountain still bearing the name of Risley's Spring."

A part of Armand's Corps accompanied General Sullivan's Expedition in August and September, 1779, against the Six Nations, but it is not clear that Armand himself was with it.² This expedition, by utterly destroying the habitations, fields, and crops of the Indians in New York, completely broke their military power, and secured repose for the interior of Pennsylvania. This was most important, for by reason of favorable natural passes through the mountains, the territory of Pennsylvania was more easily invaded by Indians than that of the adjoining States. It was of supreme importance that the

¹ It may have been the uniform brought by Armand from France in 1781. One of the figures in the large engraving of the Surrender of Cornwallis appears in it.

² Sparks' Washington, vi. 276.

bounteous supplies of her rich valleys, which stretched far westward of the settlements in New York, and the innumerable wagons which carried these supplies to the Continental armies, should be undisturbed. The views of Washington and Reed, expressed, as the dates of their letters show, some months prior to Sullivan's march, sufficiently prove Washington's ability to meet a military necessity, for it was by him that the expedition was planned. Its success had no doubt the effect of entirely removing all cause of certain complaints against Armand's Corps. Whether these complaints were well founded or not, it is now impossible to judge, for the matter, as Reed says, was in a manner suppressed. In a case, therefore, where everything has been left vague and indefinite, we are to bear in mind that a soldier is sometimes apt to be rough, and that the citizens whom he is required to protect are often unreasonable.

On the 27th of April, 1779, Washington writes to Reed, President of Pennsylvania, "I am not conscious of the least partiality to one State, or neglect of another. If any one have cause to complain of the latter it is Virginia, whose wide extended frontier has had no cover but from troops more immediately beneficial to the southwestern parts of Pennsylvania; which besides this has had its northern frontier covered by Spencer's, Pulaski's, and Armand's Corps; its middle by Hartley's and some independent companies."¹

Reed replies to Washington on the 8th of May, 1779. He claims, and justly, that Pennsylvania had raised a greater proportion of men for the war than any other State, and asserts with equal justice her pre-eminence in furnishing artificers, manufacturers, and transportation. He adds, "That we have been by far the greatest sufferers on the frontier, have had more people killed and more country desolated, we presume cannot be doubted. If Virginia and the other States have suffered by the ravages of the Indians in any proportion to this State, the particulars have never reached us; and as the idea of our receiving any protection from Armand's and Pu-

¹ Sparks' Washington, vi. 236.

laski's Corps must have arisen from some misapprehension or mistake, we beg leave to assure your Excellency that we never derived the slightest benefit from them, but on the other hand are still smarting under their abuse and desolation, the complaints of which we suppressed, and the complainants persuaded to bear with patience their losses and sufferings."¹

While the duties of Armand's command were of extreme delicacy, it seems clear that among those who composed it there were some unfit for such a service. There was attached to the corps a company of cavalry called *Maréchaussée*, whose duties appertained chiefly to the *police* of the army. In an encampment it was the business of this useful corps to patrol the camp and its vicinity, for the purpose of apprehending deserters, thieves, rioters, etc., and the soldiers who should be found violating the rules of the army. Strangers without passes were to be apprehended by them, and the sutlers in the army were under the control of the commander of the corps. In time of action they were to patrol the roads on both flanks of the army, to arrest fugitives, and apprehend skulkers.² The nature of these duties was calculated to excite discontent, exercised as they were sometimes, perhaps, with unnecessary severity.

A paper among a collection of autographs shows that Armand was at Sing Sing, on the 24th of November, 1779, and thence made a requisition on Maj.-Gen. Greene for saddles, bridles, etc., for the Light Dragoons of his Independent Corps.³

About the beginning of the year, 1780, Armand appears to have left the scene where he had been so long and so actively engaged, for it is at this time that his name appears in the annals of the war in the Southern States. He hoped to enlist three hundred men, discharged from the Pennsylvania line, in his legion, and applied to President Reed for aid.⁴ Traces of his command, however, remained, for in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, under the date of December 31, 1779, it is stated that "Captain Schott, who now commands the corps

¹ Penna. Archives, vii. 378.

² Sparks' Washington, vi. 462.

³ Manuscript in possession of Mr. R. Coulton Davis.

⁴ Penna. Archives, 2d Series, vol. iii. 383.

formerly called Armand's, returns the strength of his command at thirty-five men." The translation of their commander left them as shorn sheep, for it is recorded in these same volumes on the 13th of December, 1780, that "Henry Redskin, captain of a company of light dragoons in Colonel Armand's Legion, prays to be furnished with clothing by the State." On the 10th of February Congress resolved to comply with Armand's application for a leave of absence of six months, after the end of the next campaign. He also applied for promotion to the rank of Brigadier, but Congress "(though conscious of his merit, and that he has upon all occasions exhibited undoubted and distinguished proofs of his great zeal, activity and vigilance, intelligence and bravery; and in the last campaign, particularly, rendered very valuable services), not thinking it expedient under the present circumstances of the army to comply with his request, as it would too much interfere with the arrangement lately established, and be injurious to the rights of other colonels who have been longer in service than Colonel Armand; and being desirous, as well to promote the public interest, as to testify their good opinion of Colonel Armand by offering him an opportunity of continuing in the service of the United States:

"Resolved, That the remains of the legion of the late Count Pulaski be incorporated with the corps of Colonel Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, in such manner as the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Army shall think proper; the united corps to be formed into a legion to be commanded by Colonel Armand; *Provided*, however, that General Lincoln has not already entered into measures for complying with the resolution of Congress of Dec. 29, 1779."

On the 22d of June, 1780, Armand, in a letter to the Governor of North Carolina, says, "General Caswell told him yesterday that should the men he might enlist from the militia be counted as a part of the quota of this State, he would not have the least objection to their enlisting with him." He sends the Governor a journal, and states that "in it he will find the resolve from Congress concerning that subject;" and adds, "should your Excellency be of opinion that my enlisting

men for the Continental service would be of benefit to the State I would be happy for this precise order.”¹ With the little preparation the Americans in the South were able to make, they were ill-prepared for the shock of war that was soon to come.

Count Pulaski had fallen before Savannah; and on the fatal field of Camden, the remnant of his corps, incorporated with that of the Marquis de la Rouerie, were soon to see Baron de Kalb fall mortally wounded into the arms of his friend the Chevalier du Buisson. The overwhelming disaster of the Southern army under Gates involved the usual consequence—a loss of discipline, which has naturally led to great obscurity in accounts of the affair.

A careful examination fails to convince me that Colonel Armand deserves all that has been charged upon him with regard to a defeat that left no future for General Gates, but which seems to have only inspired Armand to a renewed and to a still more generous effort in the cause he had espoused. It is necessary, however, to pause a moment, and to review the statements of those who were actors in the scene, and of others who surely were well qualified to speak on the subject with something like authority.

When Gen. Gates took command of the Southern Department, the force under him did not exceed fifteen hundred men, including Armand's Dragoons, in horse and foot. Armand's Legion did not exceed one hundred men. General Henry Lee says: “White and Washington, after the fall of Charleston, had retired to North Carolina, with a view of recruiting their regiments of cavalry (Moylan's and Baylor's originally), which had so severely suffered at Monk's Corner and at Linier's Ferry; and they solicited Gen. Gates to invigorate their efforts by the aid of his authority, so as to enable them to advance with him to the theatre of action. Gates paid no attention to this proper request, and thus deprived himself of the most operative corps belonging to the Southern Army. Although unfortunate, these regiments had displayed undaunted courage, and

¹ MS. letter in the possession of Mr. E. H. Leffingwell, New Haven, Conn.

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

and good. The following are the first two items I found in the genealogy section of the website. The following are the first two items I found in the genealogy section of the website.

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had been taught in the school of adversity that knowledge which actual service can only bestow. It is probable that this injurious indifference on the part of the American commander, resulted from his recurrence to the campaign of 1777, when a British army surrendered to him unaided by cavalry;¹ leading him to conclude that Armand's Corps, already with him, gave an adequate portion of this species of force. Fatal mistake! It is not improbable that the closeness and ruggedness of the country in which he had been so triumphant, did render the aid of horse less material; but the moment he threw his eyes upon the plains of the Carolinas, the moment he saw their dispersed settlements, adding difficulty to difficulty in the procurement of intelligence and provisions; knowing too, as he did, the enemy had not only a respectable body of dragoons, but that it had been used without intermission, and with much effect, it would seem that a discriminating mind must have been led to acquiesce in the wish suggested by the two officers of horse.

"To the neglect of this salutary proposition, may with reason be attributed the heavy disaster soon after experienced. In no country in the world are the services of cavalry more to be desired than in that which was then committed to the care of Major-General Gates; and how it was possible for an officer of his experience to have been regardless of this powerful auxiliary remains inexplicable. Calculating proudly on the weight of his name, he appears to have slighted the prerequisites to victory, and to have hurried on to the field of battle with the impetuosity of youth; a memorable instance of the certain destruction which awaits the soldier who does not know how to estimate prosperity. If good fortune begets presumption instead of increasing circumspection and diligence, it is the due precursor of deep and bitter adversity."²

The want of cavalry was not the only defect in the organi-

¹ "Gates was yet on his way to supersede Schuyler, when Schuyler's military prevision and provision had whipped Burgoyne."—*Schuyler and Practical Strategy*, by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, 2.

² Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, i. 160.

zation of the army of Gates. "The corps of Armand shamefully turned its back, carrying confusion and dismay into our ranks."¹ Lee accounts for this by saying the officers were "generally foreign, soldiers chiefly deserters. It was the last corps in the army which ought to have been entrusted with the van-post, because, however unexceptionable the officers may have been, the materials of which the corps was composed did not warrant such distinction."²

Dawson, a good authority, says, "The British Legion Cavalry, which formed the enemy's advance, charged the American Legion Cavalry, which, under Colonel Armand, formed the advance of the American column. In conformity with the order of General Gates, the latter received the charge, and the flanking parties, under Colonel Porterfield and Major Armstrong, pouring in a destructive fire, the enemy fell back. The light companies in their rear coming up to support them, the cavalry renewed the attack, and succeeded in driving Colonel Armand back, in some confusion, upon the Maryland line, Colonel Porterfield being severely wounded." Dawson in continuation, speaks of the fortune of the field as "alternating between the two legions."³

The best authority on the subject of the disaster at Camden is Colonel Otho Holland Williams, Adjutant-General, and an actor in the drama. In his account published in the Appendix to Johnson's *Life of Greene*, he gives the orders of Gates of the 15th of August, 1780. The part referring to Armand is as follows:—

"AFTER GENERAL ORDERS.—The troops will be ready to march precisely at ten o'clock (at night), in the following order, viz.: Colonel Armand's advance; cavalry, commanded by Colonel Armand; Colonel Porterfield's light infantry upon the right flank of Colonel Armand, in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road; Major Armstrong's light infantry in the

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, i. 177. See also Gen. Thomas Pinckney in *Hist. Mag.* for 1866, p. 246.

² Lee's *Memoirs*, i. 177.

³ Dawson's *Battles of the United States*, i. 615.

same order as Colonel Porterfield's, upon the left flank of the legion.

"In case of an attack by the enemy's cavalry in front, the light infantry upon each flank will instantly move up and give, and continue, the most galling fire upon the enemy's horse. This will enable Colonel Armand, not only to support the shock of the enemy's charge, but finally to rout them; the Colonel will therefore consider the order to stand the attack of the enemy's cavalry, be their number what they may, as positive."¹

A sort of council of war would seem to have been held, for Col. Williams continues, "Although there had been no dissenting voice in the council, the orders were no sooner promulgated, than they became the subject of animadversion. Even those who had been dumb in council, said that there had been no consultation; that the orders were read to them, and all opinion seemed suppressed by the very positive and decisive terms in which they were expressed. Others could not imagine how it could be conceived, that an army, consisting of more than two-thirds militia, and which had never been once exercised in arms together, could form columns, and perform other manœuvres in the night, and in the face of an enemy. But, of all the officers, Colonel Armand took the greatest exception. He seemed to think the *positive* orders respecting himself implied a doubt of his courage—declared that cavalry had never before been put in the front of a line of battle in the dark—and that the disposition, as it respected his corps, proceeded from resentment in the General, on account of a previous altercation between them about horses, which the General had ordered to be taken from the officers of the army, to expedite the movement of the artillery through the wilderness."² Kapp, in his account in the life of De Kalb, fails to be as emphatic as Williams.³

Armand's cavalry was very little reduced.⁴ No doubt they were thoroughly disorganized, for Seymour, a Sergeant in the

¹ Johnson's Life of Greene, i. 492.

² Ibid., i. 493.

³ Kapp's De Kalb, 206, 7.

⁴ Johnson's Greene, i. 499.

Delaware Regiment, in his manuscript account of the Southern Campaign, writes, 16th of August, 1780, "As for Armong's Horse they thought upon nothing else but plundering our waggons, as they retreated."¹ This they did with celerity, as they threatened, for "when it was resolved to evacuate Charlotte: 'If,' said one of the officers, 'you will make de retreat, we will retreat faster dan you.'"²

Colonel Williams in his relation says, "If General Gates *intended* to risk a general action, conscious of all circumstances, he certainly made that risk under every possible disadvantage; and a contemplation of those circumstances would seem to justify Colonel Armand's assertion, made in the afternoon of the day in which the battle was fought: 'I will not,' said he, 'say that we have been betrayed; but if it had been the purpose of the General to sacrifice his army, what could he have done more effectually to have answered that purpose?'"³ If it is upon the relation of Colonel Williams that Bancroft bases his charge, his language is much too decided, when he says, "Their cavalry was in front, but Armand, its commander, who disliked his orders, was insubordinate."⁴ The language of brave and impetuous men who dominate in camps and battle-fields, is not that of a refined and artificial life. So different is it that we must depend for its correct interpretation upon the actors in such scenes. It may, therefore, be considered certain that, if Armand had been insubordinate, Colonel Williams would himself have said so. The expressions of Armand seem to be justified by the arrogant presumption of Gates; a presumption that led to consequences so disastrous, that an author has been led to say, "From the battle-field to which he hastened without a general's preparation, he was swept away amidst the first rout. Well might censure fall very heavily on General Gates for the precipitation and distance of his retreat. His first stop was at Charlotte, ninety miles from the scene of action, and he scarcely halted or drew rein, until he reached Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from

¹ MS. of Hist. Soc. Penna.

² Johnson's Greene, i. 501.

³ Ibid. 498.

⁴ Bancroft's U. S., x. 320.

Camden. It is said that his hair grew white as he flew wildly away from the scene of his disastrous defeat which he had counted upon as the stage of assured triumph."¹

On the 8th of September the legion was sent to forage, and make cantonments in Warren County, from whence Armand went to Philadelphia,² and Colonel Ternant temporarily filled his place.³ There were but forty horses left, but these were serviceable, and in the autumn of 1780 they were the only cavalry which Baron Steuben could use in Virginia.⁴

Washington, on the 11th of October, 1780, recommended to Congress that Armand's Corps should be kept up. He says, "The two officers I have mentioned, Lee and Armand, have the best claims to public attention. Colonel Armand is an officer of great merit, which, added to his being a foreigner, to his rank in life, and to the sacrifices of property he has made, render it a point of delicacy as well as justice, to continue to him the means of serving honourably."⁵

From his camp at the Cheraw, on the east side of the Pedee, General Greene wrote to Washington, on the 28th of Dec. 1780, "I have been obliged to send Major Nelson's Corps of horse, and Colonel Armand's Legion to Virginia, both being unfit for duty, for want of clothing and other equipments; and the difficulty of subsisting them is much greater here than there. Before my arrival, General Gates made an attempt to employ part of Colonel Armand's Legion, and fifteen of them deserted on the march from Hillsborough to Charlotte, which obliged him to recall them. I wish your Excellency's directions respecting this corps, as they are totally deranged, and cannot be fit for service for some time."⁶

Among the letters of Armand which have been preserved, is one dated North Carolina, 19th Sept. 1780. He certifies that the "Chevalier de Vandoré, who served as a volunteer during the campaign 1779, and part of this campaign 1780,

¹ Major-Gen. Schuyler and the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777, by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, pp. 3, 4. ² Johnson's Greene, i. 506.

³ Kapp's Steuben, 621.

⁴ Rattermann, *Deutsche Pioneer*, viii. 444.

⁵ Sparks' Washington, vii. 252.

⁶ Corr. of Rev., Letters to Washington, iii. 191.

in the independent legion under my command in America, has lost at the battle of Campden in North [South] Carolina, two French commissions in the Regiment of Bourgogne, one of Lieutenant and the other of Second Lieutenant. He lost also that day several papers, among which was a certificate from me in which I had explained my good sense of the services and bravery of the Chevalier le Vandoré during the campaign 1779, which certificate his Excellency General Washington had been pleased to approve of and rendered more othantical [authentic] by his private opinion of the merit of the Chevalier. The Board of War had also wrote on the same paper their sense of the Chevalier's deserving conduct. I certify also that he was at the battle of Campden where he behaved as a brave officer.

ARMAND M'QUIS DE LA ROUERIE."¹

Attached to this letter of certificate are autograph endorsements by Richard Peters of the War Office and by General Washington.

In a letter to Washington, of February 28, 1781, from Headquarters, High Rock Ford, on Haw River, General Greene writes, "I am convinced that Colonel Armand's Legion can render no service on its present footing. The officers refuse to go on duty with the men; thirty-eight, out of a detachment of forty men, deserted to the enemy, and the Baron Steuben was obliged to order a number of them to join their regiments, who are prisoners at Charlottesville."²

The disaster at Camden, as may be judged by its consequences, was great enough to have crushed an ordinary mind. Many, no doubt, supposed the end of Armand's usefulness had come, but Washington, as we have seen, believed it not. Rising superior to fortune Armand now took advantage of his six months' leave of absence, and in February, 1781, sailed for France. A letter which he wrote in Paris on May the 2d, of that year, addressed to Colonel Lawrence,³ is on the subject

¹ Manuscript in possession of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer

² Corr. of Rev., iii. 247.

³ Manuscript in possession of Col. T. Bailey Myers.

of his intended shipments to America, for in France he purchased everything necessary for arming and equipping a new legion, and on his return to America he advanced the cost of them to Congress.¹ It would seem as he came back that Armand landed at some Northern port, for it is stated in the Journals of Congress, September 28th, 1781, that "£90. had been advanced to him by the Governor of Massachusetts, and \$660., specie, for pay for six horses purchased by Armand to go to Philadelphia, to be paid by the Superintendent of Finance. The Board of War and Superintendent of Finance were to take order for the recruiting and mounting of Colonel Armand's Legion to its establishment."

Early in June, 1781, Simcoe relates that on the Upper Rivana, "within two miles of Baron Steuben's encampment, a patrol of dragoons appeared; they were chased and taken: it consisted of a French officer and four of Armand's Corps."² This was no doubt while Colonel Ternant was in command, for at Yorktown, "the fragments of Armand's Legion were again united, by the junction of the main army under Washington with that under the Marquis de la Fayette and Baron Steuben, and formed the first Battalion of the Legion Cavalry under the Duke de Lauzun. This was next attached to the command of Choisy, together with a brigade of American militia. Choisy with some four thousand French troops held the investment of Gloucester Point opposite Yorktown. They served also to prevent the retreat of Cornwallis from Yorktown, as also more effectually to perfect the siege. The cavalry had also to prevent the English from foraging. Ewald once attempting to forage from Gloucester was gallantly driven back by Armand's Legion."³ When the Marquis de la Fayette moved from Greenspring, "the cavalry of Colonel Armand and Lieut.-Col. Mercer's command, led by Major McPherson, followed next; and they were supported by the Pennsylvania line, led by the fearless General Wayne."

Thomas McKean, President of Congress, writes to Wash-

¹ Chastellux, i. 183.

² Simcoe's *Queen's Rangers*, 216.

³ Rattermann, *Deutsche Pioneer*, viii. 446.

ington from Philadelphia, Oct. 12, 1781, "We shall be obliged to complete Colonel Armand's Legion, and I despair of doing it with Americans, if all the Field Officers are French Gentlemen. There is now a vacancy, by the resignation of the Major; and if the Colonel would approve of Captain Allan McLane, who is now on half-pay, to be his Major, it would save the half-pay, oblige a very deserving officer, be a means of speedily filling his corps, and greatly tend to the public benefit. I should be happy if you and the Colonel were of this opinion."¹

After the surrender of Cornwallis, Armand's Corps went to New York with Washington's army; and in February, 1782, the Colonel was directed to report himself to General Greene in the Southern Department.² On the 26th of March, 1783, he was made a Brigadier-General, being then, as Washington wrote, one of the oldest colonels in the service.

The honorable career of this gallant Frenchman was now drawing to a close in the country to which he had expatriated himself, for the Revolutionary War was practically at an end. Early in 1783, his legion was stationed at York, in Pennsylvania, and it was subjected to the attempts of artful men to engage in that mutiny which occasioned the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Princeton. John Dickinson, President of Pennsylvania, wrote to the President of the Confederate Congress, July 27th, that he had been informed that letters had been sent by the principal authors of the late disturbance, to excite General Armand's Legion to join in the mutiny,³ but nothing further appears on the subject.

In October, a petition to Dickinson from a number of the inhabitants, complained that many of the troops were mischievous and troublesome. The petitioners, however, say, "they contrive it so crafty that it is a hard matter to discover the facts;" that they, the petitioners, had "been very subtilly deceived, at first, being only required to keep them for a few days;" that the troops, being quartered on the inhabitants, deprived them of the benefit of letting apartments; that this

¹ Corr. of Rev., iii. 422.

² Washington and his Generals, ii. 260.

³ Penn. Archives, x. 62.

burthen was not general throughout the Commonwealth, and that the troops might be more conveniently quartered in barracks.¹ All history shows us how almost incessantly military power has been used without regard to the feelings of those subjected to it; and we are, therefore, not surprised that on this, as on every other occasion, such use became irksome to the citizens of a free Commonwealth, and that it called forth their remonstrances.

The object of the petitioners was soon accomplished. On the 18th of November, a number of the inhabitants of York presented an address to the Marquis, representing that they heard his legion was about to be disbanded, and that he was soon to return to his native land, and expressing "their high sense of the strict discipline, good conduct, and deportment of the officers and soldiers of the corps, whilst stationed amongst them for ten months past." Armand replied to this address in a well-written letter on the following day. The signatures to the petition are by persons mostly of German origin, while those on the address to Armand are generally of English names. It may, therefore, be possible that some feeling of nationality entered into the question. No charge is made against the commander himself, who, no doubt, invariably exhibited the chivalric courtesy so characteristic of the days of the old French Monarchy, the remembrance of which is by some still fondly cherished. Although a century has passed, we are yet near enough to that distant era for the writer of this to have been told by the venerable Du Ponceau, and the recollection of French courtesy filled him with pride, that the army of Rochambeau, in its march from Newport to Yorktown, was so thoroughly well-conducted, that there was not even a single instance of one of the soldiers taking an apple or a peach from an orchard without leave having been previously obtained.²

¹ Penn. Archives, x. 133.

² "It was given out in general orders, that if a Frenchman should have a dispute with an American, the Frenchman should be punished, whether he was in the right or in the wrong, and this rule was strictly adhered to. I believe there is no example of anything similar in history."—Du Ponceau MSS.

Among the manuscripts of Mr. Leffingwell is a "Return of the men belonging to the State of Massachusetts who served in the First Partisan Legion commanded by Brigadier-General Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie, discharged November 15, 1783."¹

On the 25th of November, Armand wrote to the Governor of Virginia, inclosing a return of his men who had been enlisted in Virginia, and stating that they had been discharged from the service on the 15th of that month. And on the 9th of March, 1784, he wrote to Mr. Read, of South Carolina, thanking him for introducing the very flattering resolution passed by Congress on his motion.² On the 10th of May a letter from him and other French officers was read at the General Meeting of the Cincinnati, requesting that they might be represented therein.³

In social life, Armand endeared himself to many friends, and their descendants have been taught to cherish his memory. In the army he enjoyed a well-earned reputation, and was high in the esteem of its illustrious chief, who, in a letter of the 16th of May, 1784, to Count Rochambeau,⁴ expressed a wish that the Marquis should be promoted by the King of France. This request was doubtless the result of the following letter addressed to Washington, by the mother of the Marquis.

AT "LA ROUERIE," January 30, 1784.

Will the hero of our Age—the man of all time—the object of admiration to all nations and enthusiasm to France—the great Washington; permit a woman of France and Brittany, with boldness indeed, but with still greater admiration, after these imposing attributes, to mingle her feeble voice with the tribute of praise which every one pays to the great man.

Some compare him with other men; with Trajan, with Alexander, with Fabius, and other heroes of antiquity; or from those of modern times, they select the talents and virtues

¹ Manuscripts of Mr. E. H. Leffingwell, New Haven, Conn.

² Journal of Cong., and Manuscript Collection of Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.

³ Contributions to American History, 1858, 98.

⁴ Sparks' Washington, ix. 44.

of each to form a perfect whole, but they find at last, as I could have told them, only a resemblance to Washington.

Permit this familiar style, it is the language we address to the gods.

Washington, I have a son. He is about to leave you. He has served under your orders—he has fought under your eye. You know him—you do more, you honour him with your esteem.

Communicate this flattering opinion to our Ministers. The judgement of a man like you has an all-powerful influence. Whoever merits and has been honoured by your good opinion acquires a right to that of every one else.

That the Fates may spare your days, full of glory for yourself, and precious to posterity, for the sake of both, is the ardent prayer of the most humble of your servants,

THE MOTHER OF COLONEL ARMAND.¹

It was about this time that Armand finally returned to France, where, however, he did not forget his friends in America. As an evidence of his great regard he sent, as has already been said, to a member of the Craig family of this city, his portrait, a fine work of art which was long at "Andalusia," but which some years ago passed from the Biddles and found its appropriate place in the gallery of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Washington wrote to the Marquis in 1785,² and again in 1786;³ this latter time in reply to a letter of the 20th of January, 1786, from Armand giving information of his marriage. His wife was like himself, a Breton.

It can readily be understood that his years of military life had developed Armand into the being that Chateaubriand met; graceful in person, elegant in manner, martial in appearance, handsome in features, and resembling the portraits of the young Seigneurs of the League. "The rival of La Fayette and de Lauzun, the predecessor of La Rochejaquelin, the Marquis de la Rouerie had more intellect than they; he had been more frequently beaten than the first; he had carried off an actress from the opera like the second; he would have

¹ Manuscripts of the late Rev. Wm. B. Sprague, D.D.

² Sparks' Washington, ix. 138.

³ Ibid. 190.

become a companion in arms of the third. He scoured through the forest of Brittany along with an American Major (Schaffner), and accompanied by an ape seated on the croup of his horse. The law students at Rennes loved him on account of his hardihood in action, and the liberal turn of his ideas."¹

Armand was now at home, and in 1788 the French Minister of War gave him the appointment of a Colonel of Chasseurs. The ancient monarchy of France was, however, approaching its dissolution. A century before that time, Richelieu had lured the nobles to abandon their duties of local administration, and to engage in a life of plutocratic ease at Versailles, and then by appointing officers for the conduct of all affairs, he had, by this system of centralization, destroyed the principle, that of confederation, on which only have free institutions ever been based. It was as if firm but rude dams, constructed by practical though illiterate men, had been removed, and now beautifully executed plans on paper of something not existing, more sightly in their merely ideal appearance, but of no substance, were attempted to be substituted therefor. Such paper productions, miscalled constitutions, however pleasing to the eye, have therefore never proved to be barriers against the absolutism of accumulated power. The harmony of the old French system of feudal confederation, ill-constructed as it was, being destroyed, the national faith on which it reposed ceased to exist, and consequently anarchy of thought began to prevail. This disturbed mental condition had been thrown into a state of fermentation by the return of Count Rochambeau's Army, after its success at Yorktown. Deluded with the mistaken belief that a declaration of a love of liberty would secure that inestimable prize, each succeeding measure, as in its turn it was proposed, no matter how wild or preposterous, was for the moment hailed by the many, as the one thing necessary, the infallable specific to cure all ills—to make man perfect. Even the Abbé Raynal became alarmed. "Terrified at the frightful results of his writings, in May, 1791, being then in his eightieth year, he presented himself at the

¹ Chateaubriand, i. 179.

bar of the National Assembly, and sternly and fearlessly remonstrated with that dreaded tribunal, on the rash and iniquitous course which they were pursuing. The line of argument which he adopted was sufficiently curious. One of his principal charges against the Assembly was, that they had *literally* followed *his* principles; that they had reduced to practice the reveries and abstracted ideas of a philosopher, without having previously adapted and accommodated them to men, times, and circumstances.”¹

Soon it was held that to be well-dressed was a crime, and the term first applied to the ill-clad soldiers at Valley Forge, *Sans Culotte*, was adopted and gloried in by the wretches who dominated the nation. To their distempered minds, destroying seemed to be creating; and “France got drunk with blood, to vomit crime.” The bands that passed along the streets of Philadelphia during that era, added their senseless plaudits as they sang—

Vive la! the French Convention,
Vive la! the rights of man,
Vive la! America,
For 'twas with you it first began.

For a time the mind of Armand was swept along with that of others, but when the scheme of suppressing Parliaments began to be carried into effect, the Marquis remembered he had been a gentleman before he became a soldier, and that he was a Frenchman, because he was a Breton; he, therefore, threw up his commission, and assumed a leading position in his native province. He attended the Assembly at Vannes, where twelve Deputies were chosen; he was one of the twelve; he was afterwards confined in the Bastille, with his colleagues, but was allowed to see his mother. The good lady found her son, as at a hunting party, quite gay. He was released, and on his triumphant return to Brittany, he proposed an oath which bound the nobility to permit no innovation of the rights and privileges of the Province. He was the chief means of confirming the nobility in their resistance to the

¹ George Selwyn and his Contemporaries, iii. 370.

revolutionists. The Province remained a passive spectator of the convulsions which agitated Paris, and the Marquis remained on his estate until 1791.

There existed in Brittany an association called Fendeurs, composed of woodmen or wood-cutters, and there were sportsmen and many noblemen who did not think it a disgrace to be a brother Fendeur. If a gentleman was attacked by banditti, if he had lost his way, if he was benighted, all he had to do was to strike a tree with a certain number of blows, which would designate him as a Fendeur, and bring to the wanderer a guide. On hearing the blows, men, women, and children would issue from the cabins, bearing lighted branches of fir to illuminate the path. He who could give the best supper, was to receive him as a guest. In the morning the Fendeurs, with their guns on their shoulders, would see their visitor home. This seems to have been well appreciated by Taine, who says, "In like manner, in France, if, during the Revolution, La Vendée alone followed the lead of its gentlemen, it is because alone in France the gentlemen of La Vendée, country folks, and sportsmen lived and remained in intimate intercourse with the peasants."¹

Possessing a native genius of command, having experience and a thorough knowledge of the world, urbane and polished in manner, and persuasive in speech, with an affability the most pleasing, and an address the most insinuating, La Rouerie had all the requisites for the leadership of a party; he arranged a plan to serve the cause of his King, becoming a gentleman devoted to him. Through the Fendeurs he effected among the honest, frank, and courageous people an organization which numbered forty thousand confederates. Many of the inhabitants of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou joined themselves to Brittany. Indeed, he "established the counter-revolution in near fifteen of our Departments."² The Marquis

¹ Taine's Notes on England, 173.

² Report on the Conspiracy of Brittany, 13th of 1st Month, Second year of the Republic, by Claude Basire, p. 2. This work and also the *Liste des Emigrés*, next to be quoted, belong to the valuable collection of books on

gave what means he possessed, and ladies of distinction contributed to the enterprise. No secret was ever better kept than by this confederacy, yet some of its movements became known to Danton through his spy, Lalignant-Morillon.¹

The Marquis de la Rouerie, with all his care, was thus exposed to danger; he had to sustain a siege in his castle against the Orleans Dragoons, and he ably defended the mansion. Among the company there was his cousin, the beautiful Molien le Tronjoli, who, in addition to personal charms, possessed a superior mind, a solid education, and the courage of a heroine. She took her station in the defence, and fired with destructive effect at the dragoons. In the course of the action the wood-work of the castle unfortunately took fire, so that further defence soon became impracticable. The Marquis and his friends retreated through the garden, and escaped into the forest.

In the rapid succession of events the States-General of France had degenerated into a National Assembly; the character of La Rouerie could not but be known to them, and a price was therefore set on his head. In the First Supplement to the Alphabetical List of the Condemned, he is recorded under the name of Tuffin. This book of blood gives his prename as Armand, and his surname as La Royerie, and his last profession or quality, as ex-Marquis. His last known domicile is described as in the Municipality of Saint Sauveur-des-Landes, of the District of Fougères in the Department of Ille et Valaine, and here, too, it is stated, was the situation of the goods he possessed. The date of the List is given as the 17 Pluviose, An 2.²

This seems to be the most proper place to quote Basire, who, writing at the time, and an enemy of La Rouerie, yet does not attempt to belittle his victim. He says, "Armand Tuffin la Rouerie, a nobly born Breton, a personage truly ex-

the first French Revolution, numbering about fifteen hundred volumes, which were presented to the Society by the late Dr. Thomas B. Wilson and his brother William S. Wilson.

¹ Basire, 11, 12.

² Liste des Emigrés in Library of Hist. Soc., Penna.

traordinary, who joined to strong passions, a supple mind; to the Machiavelism of the aristocracy, a talent for negotiations; and to the intrepidity of the soldier, the views of a great general, was the principal author of that astonishing conspiracy. After having conceived the entire plan, his vast genius embraced even its minutest details. He prepared its execution with an ability really incomparable. Calonne testified his satisfaction in energetic terms, and in a letter dated Schonborlust, October 4, 1791, he charged Armand, to himself indicate the places of disembarcation for the *emigres* and foreign troops. The conduct of la Rouerie gave him the confidence of the Bourbon *emigres*, from whom he received, in the month of March, 1792, the commission of Chief of the Counter-revolution of the West, with thirty-nine blank brevets for officers whom he should think proper to employ under him at the great rising that they prepared in that unhappy country.”¹

Continuing, Basire relates that the confederacy was in “consternation at the news of the retreat of the King of Prussia. The inhabitants of Guernsey and Jersey, much discontented with the gatherings of the *emigres*, had cried out so loudly, that the English Government put an embargo on both islands. These reverses had dispirited the whole party. La Rouerie alone had lost nothing of his pride. That indefatigable conspirator, rarely reposing, ran from chateau to chateau, from committee to committee, to raise their hopes. Always wandering in the forest or on the mountains, fully armed, he never kept the beaten roads, and often passed the night in grottoes, inaccessible to others, at the foot of an oak, or in a ravine. All retreats were good for him; and he never remained twice in the same place. The difficulty of seizing a man as prudent as he was intrepid, that the brave Cadenne, Lieutenant of the Gendarmerie, for so long a time had followed everywhere without success, and the want of material proofs, which the aristocracy knew so well how to exact when it was surprised, and which the magistrates, deceived or perfidious, were obsti

¹ Basire, 5, 6.

nate in regarding as necessary, above all in the Departments influenced by the association, rendered the position of our emissaries very embarrassing."¹

The Marquis was a Fendeur; to fly from Robespierre and Carnot and Danton, he dwelt in the forest. Seized with illness, he was removed, at the request of a physician, to the chateau de la Fausse-Inguan, near Cancale, where Monsieur de la Guyomerais lived retired with his wife and two daughters. They were strangers to La Rouerie. The brave and unfortunate Marquis fell a victim to the malignancy of the fever which had seized him; or, as is said by some, expired from the effects of poison given him at the instance of members of the revolutionary party at Paris. Basire says, he expired in an excess of rage.² He died suddenly on the 30th of January, 1793, shortly after the execution of Louis XVI., and was buried privately by moonlight. About a month afterwards his remains were disinterred by the revolutionists, and, unfortunately, the papers, placed in a bottle, and buried with him, revealed the names of associates, some of whom were subsequently arrested and guillotined. De la Guyomerais, his wife and daughters were seized at the same time. Among the papers of the Marquis was found a brief note from Mademoiselle Molién; it was thought sufficient evidence of guilt that she had dared to write to him. She was thrown into prison at Rennes, and was sent thence to Paris with the family of Guyomerais, where all five perished by the guillotine. The lovely and interesting Mademoiselle Molién le Tronjeli, of Brittany, displayed a courage far beyond her sex. From a friendly priest she received the last consolation that religion can give; and as she submitted her beautiful neck to the fatal axe, the heroic young creature cried out from the scaffold, "Vive la Rouerie."

It has been an agreeable task to gather the material for

¹ Basire, 13.

² Basire, 16. It is, however, believed in Brittany, by the descendants of the friends of La Rouerie, that the spy, Laligant-Morillon, arranged with Cheftel, Surgeon-in-Chief of Armand's forces, to poison the Marquis, and that he was paid for the foul deed the sum of two hundred thousand francs.

the sketch here presented of one who served us in America, and who undoubtedly bore a part of no little prominence in the history of France. Difficulty as to dates, and vagueness as to events, will be readily appreciated when it is understood that under the name of "Rouarie Armand Taffin," in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, of Paris, 1862-6, among other mistakes of minor importance, he is spoken of as serving in the "Army of Rochambeau." In the absence of exact information it has therefore been thought best to make no attempt, by the omission of statements slightly varying, at a flowing narrative. Alison, surely a good authority, refers in the twelfth chapter of his *History of Europe* to the Marquis and his great effort, and with his graphic account, which seems to be based upon Basire's Report, or else upon Beauchamp's History, which I have not been able to consult, this memoir may fitly be concluded. "During the summer of 1792, the gentlemen of Brittany entered into an extensive association, for the purpose of rescuing the country from the oppressive yoke which they had received from the Paris demagogues. At the head of the whole was the Marquis de la Rouerie, one of those remarkable men who rise into eminence during the stormy days of a revolution, from conscious ability to direct its waves. Ardent, impetuous, and enthusiastic, he was first distinguished in the American war, when the intrepidity of his conduct attracted the admiration of the Republican troops, and the same qualities rendered him at first an ardent supporter of the Revolution in France; but when the atrocities of the people began, he espoused, with equal warmth, the opposite side, and used the utmost efforts to rouse the noblesse of Brittany against the plebeian yoke which had been imposed upon them by the National Assembly. He submitted his plan to the Count d'Artois, and had organized one so extensive as would have proved extremely formidable to the Convention, if the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick in September, 1792, had not damped the whole of the West of France, then ready to break out into insurrection. Still the organization continued, and he had contrived to engage not only all Brittany, but the greater part of the gentlemen of La Vendée, in the cause, when his death, occasioned

by a paroxysm of grief for the execution of Louis, cut him off in the midst of his ripening schemes, and proved an irreparable loss to the Royalist party, by depriving it of the advantages which otherwise would have arisen from simultaneous and concerted operations on both banks of the Loire. The conspiracy was discovered after his death, and twelve of the noblest gentlemen in Brittany perished on the same day, in thirteen minutes, under the same guillotine. They all behaved with the utmost constancy, refused the assistance of the Constitutional clergy, and after tenderly embracing at the foot of the scaffold, died exclaiming *Vive le Roi*. One young lady of rank and beauty, Angelique Desilles, was condemned by mistake for her sister-in-law, for whom she was taken. She refused to let the error be divulged, and died with serenity, the victim of heroic affection."

**A PENNSYLVANIA LOYALIST'S INTERVIEW WITH
GEORGE III.**

EXTRACT FROM THE MS. DIARY OF SAMUEL SHOEMAKER.

[Samuel Shoemaker was a resident of Philadelphia, belonging to the well-known family of that name which emigrated from Cresheim in Germany in 1686, and settled at Germantown. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and prominent as a merchant in Philadelphia. From 1755 to 1766 he was a member of the Common Council, and in the latter year was elected a Member of the Board of Aldermen, which office he held until the fall of the Charter Government in 1776. In 1761, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and held the office for many years. He was one of the signers of the "Non-Importation Agreement" of 1765. In 1769, he was chosen Mayor of the City, and for two terms, in 1767 and 1774, was its Treasurer. He sat as a member from the City in the Provincial Assembly from 1771 to 1773.

Mr. Shoemaker remained in Philadelphia upon the entry of the British Army, in September, 1777. It is said that during its occupation he again fulfilled the duties of mayor, but this is not fully substantiated by the records. The Colonial Charter Government in the city came to an end in 1776, and it remained without one until 1789, during which period there was no such corporate office.

Upon the evacuation of the city, in June, 1778, Mr. Shoemaker accompanied the army, and went to New York, where he remained until November, 1783, when he sailed for England, accompanied by his son Edward, a few days before the evacuation of that city.

Mr. Shoemaker was a pronounced Loyalist, and was distinguished for his zeal on the side of the Crown, in consequence of which he was attainted of treason and his estate confiscated. While in New York he exerted himself for the relief of the Whig prisoners, and by his intercessions with the British

authorities numbers of them were liberated and allowed to return to their homes. While in London he was, as his Diary shows, frequently consulted by the Commissioners appointed by the English Government to pass upon the claims of the Loyalists for losses. He returned to Philadelphia in 1789, and died in 1800.

This diary was kept for the entertainment of Mrs. Shoemaker,¹ who did not accompany her husband abroad. At the time to which the following extract refers, he was spending a few days at Windsor with his friend Benjamin West, the artist. The interview here described is probably the one referred to by Mr. Sabine in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution."]

FIRST DAY, OCTO'R 10, 1784.

This morning at 8 'Clock thy son accompanied B. West's wife to the King's Chappel where he had the opportunity of seeing the King and several of the Princesses. They returned before 9 when we were entertained with breakfast, at which we had the Company of Mr. Pogy the Italian Gent'n, Mr. Trumble,² Mr. Farrington,³ and West's two sons. About 10 thy son accompanied Farrington, Trumble, and West's eldest son in a Ride through Windsor Forrest, having first been with West and I to his Room in the Castle to see a picture of the Lord's Supper which he had just finish'd for the King's Chappel. After part of our Company were gone to take their Ride, West informed me that the King had order'd him to

¹ Samuel Shoemaker m. first, 8th 12 mo. 1746, Hannah, dau. of Samuel Carpenter, by his wife Hannah Preston, a granddaughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd, and secondly, 10th 11 mo. 1767, Rebecca, widow of Francis Rawle, and dau. of Edward Warner (see PENNA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 459), by his wife, Anna, dau. of William Coleman.

² Colonel John Trumbull, a well-known officer of the Revolutionary Army, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut. He was at this time studying painting under West, and afterwards became a distinguished artist.

³ George Farrington, a noted English landscape and historical painter. He studied under West, removed to India, and died there at the early age of 34 years.

attend at his Painting Room in the Castle at one 'Clock, when the King and Queen and some of the Princesses, on their return from Chappel, intended to call to see the Painting of the Lord's Supper which he had just finished, and West told me it would be a very proper time and Opportunity for me to see the King, Queen, and the rest of the family, as they came from the Chappel, and therefore requested me to accompany him and his Wife and the Italian Gent'n, and walk at the Castle near the Chappel, till service was over, when he must repair to his room to attend the King, and would leave me with his Wife in a proper Station to have a full view of the King and family.

Accordingly, a little before one O'Clock, West and his Wife, the Italian Gent'n and I, walk'd up to the Castle and there contin'd walking about till the Clock struck One, when we observ'd one of the Pages coming from the Chappel. West then said he must leave us; presently after this two Coaches pass'd and went round towards the Door of the Castle leading to West's Room. In these two coaches were the Queen and Princesses; presently after the King appear'd, attended by his Equery only, and walk'd in great haste, *almost ran* to meet the Coaches at the door of the Castle above mentioned, which he reach'd just as the Coaches got there, as did West's Wife, the Italian Gent'n and I, when we saw the King go to the Door of the Coach in which the Queen was, and heard him say, "*I have got here in time,*" and then handed the Queen out, and up the Steps, into the Castle—the Princess Royal, Princess Elizabeth, Princess Mary, and Princess Sophia, with Col. Goldsworthy the Kings Equery, the Hanoverian Resident, and Miss Goldsworthy, sub Governess to the two young Princesses, followed. They all went into the Castle, when I hear'd the King say, "tell him to come in," *but little did I think I was the Person meant*, and West's Wife, the Italian Gent'n, and I were about going off, when West came out of the Castle and told me the King had order'd him to come out and bring me and Mrs. West in. I was quite unprepar'd for this; however, it was now too late to avoid it. The Italian Gent'n now left us and went to walk the Terras, and West and his wife and I

went into the Castle and were ushered up to the Room where the King and Royal family were, and there introduc'd. *Flattered and embarrassed thou may suppose*, on my entering the Room, the King came up close to me, and very graciously said, "Mr. S. you are well known here, every body knows you," &c. (complimentary w'ch I can't mention). He then turned to the Queen, the Princesses, &c., who stood close by, and repeated, "Mr. S." I then made my bow to the Queen, then to the Princess Royal, to the Princess Eliza., Princesses Mary and Sophia. The Queen and each of the Princesses were pleased to drop a Curtesy, and then the Queen was pleased to ask me one or two Questions; the King and Queen and the four Princesses, the Hanoverian Resident, Col. Goldsworthy, Miss Goldsworthy, West and his Wife and I were all that were in the Room. The King condescended to ask me many questions, and repeated my answers to them to the Queen and to the Hanoverian Resident, and when to the latter, I observ'd he spoke it in German, which I understood. Among other Questions, the King was pleased to ask me the reason why the Province of Pennsylvania was so much further advanc'd in improvement than the neighbouring ones, some of which had been settled so many years earlier. I told his Majesty (thinking it w'd be a kind of Compliment to the Queen's Countrymen) that I thought it might be attributed to the Germans, great numbers of whom had gone over in the early part of the settlement of that Province, as well as since. The King smiled and said, "it may be so, Mr. S., it may in some measure be owing to that, *but I will tell you the true cause*,—the great improvement and flourishing State of Pennsylvania is principally owing to the QUAKERS" (this was a full return for my compliment to the Queen's Countrymen) for whom I observe the King has a great regard. Finding the king so repeatedly mention'd what I said to the Hanov'n Resident and to the Queen, *in german*, on the King's asking me a particular question, I took the liberty to answer in German, at which the King seemed pleased, and *with a smile*, turned to the Queen and said, "Mr. S. speaks German," and also mentioned it to the Hanoverian Resident, after which the King was pleased

to speak to me several times in German. Then the Queen condescended to ask me several Questions, one of the last, *whether I had a family*. On my telling her that I was once bless'd with a numerous family, but that it had pleased Providence to remove them all from me, *except a Wife and two Sons*, this *visibly* touched the Queen's delicate feelings, so much that she shed some Tears, at which I was *greatly* affected. She is a charming woman, and if not a Beauty, her manners and disposition are so pleasing that no Person who has the Opportunity that I have had can avoid being charm'd with the sweetness of her disposition. The Princess Royal is pretty, has a charming Countenance indeed; the Princess Elizabeth very agreeable, but rather too fat or bulky for her height. Mary and Sophia are pretty, but being so young their looks will alter.

After being graciously indulged with the opportunity of conversing with the King and Queen, and being in the Room with them three-quarters of an hour, they all departed and went to the Queen's House.

I cannot say, but I wished some of my violent Countrymen could have such an opportunity as I have had. I think they would be convinced that George the third has not one grain of Tyranny in his Composition, and that he *is* not, he *cannot* be that bloody minded man they have so repeatedly and so illiberally called him. It is impossible; a man of his fine feelings, so good a husband, so kind a Father *cannot be a Tyrant*.

After the Royal family were gone, West and his wife and I return'd to West's house where we were soon join'd by the Italian Gent'n, and those who had been out Riding, and at three O'clock were entertain'd at a genteel Dinner and spent the afternoon and evening together very pleasantly till 11 'Clock when we retir'd to Bed. This happens to be B. West's birthday; he has now enter'd his forty-seventh year.

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JOURNAL OF WILLIAM BLACK,

1744.

SECRETARY OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR GOOCH, OF VIRGINIA, TO UNITE WITH THOSE FROM THE COLONIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND, TO TREAT WITH THE IROQUOIS OR SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS, IN REFERENCE TO THE LANDS WEST OF THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

Edited by R. Alonzo Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.

(Concluded from page 419, Vol. I.)

PHILADELPHIA, *Friday*, June the 8th.

The Beautiful young Lady (the Morning) being Risen from her Bed, and with a Countenance blooming with fresh Youth and Sprightliness like Miss M——y S——r with soft Dews hanging on her pouting lips, began to take her early walk over the Eastern Woods, when I Rose from my Bed and pass'd two Hours in writting, the rest of the time till Breakfast I spent with my Fiddle and Flute: After which I went to Mr. Strettells, from thence with Commission'rs and their Levee, to Mr. Abraham Taylors, where in Company with the Governor and some more gentlemen of the City, we Din'd, after Dinner I return'd to my Room and made out a fair copy of the Speech the Comm'rs designed to make at the opening the Treaty; In the Evening I made haste to the Rendezvous of the Fair, much Elated with the Thoughts of Spending a few hours so agreeably as I propos'd in the Company I was going to make one in: On coming to the Place I found the Lady had been punctual to the Appointment: I was lucky enough not to be Engaged with any more but the young Lady of the House, and her Acquaintance my Favourite; In a very little time I found my self alone with the latter. On which to Improve my Acquaintance and the Opportunity, I broached a Serious Discourse with her, which was not carried on long before I found her a person to whom Nature had been as bountifull in Regard to her Mind, as I before observ'd she had been Care-

full of her Body; to be short, what with her Wit and Quickness of Expression, Join'd to the Influence of her Beauty and manner of Behaviour, I was Possess'd with a Pleasure much easier felt than Describ'd, and can only be Imagin'd by those, who know what it is to Enjoy the Company of a Woman Every way Agreeable. As for my Self I have more of what Shakespeare calls the Milk of Human Kind than not to have a particular Pleasure in the Company of the Fair Sex, and I now begin to think it Inseperable from my Constitution, as I have few leisure hours but what I would Devote to the Charms of their Conversation did Oppty's offer:

. but, to Return to my Company, which I left for the sake of this little Digression, I found them so Agreeable that I staid till the Young Lady was oblig'd to go Home, where I Conveyed her, and took my leave for the Night. I return'd to my Room, where I Read till 11 O'clock, and then to Bed, the Commissioners and some of the Levee spent some of the Evening hours at the Governors Clubb.

PHILADELPHIA, *Saturday* the 9th.

This Morning, Rose by 6 and Carried the Public Journal to the Commissioners for their perusal, and Breakfasted at their Lodgings: This day the Commissioners Agreed to give an Entertainment to his Honour the Governor and other Gentlemen of the City, accordingly I went to Engage a Tavern for the Purpose, and Agreed with the Keeper of the Tavern in Water Street, who was to have a handsome Dinner ready by 2 O'clock in the Afternoon, in the Forenoon an Invitation went to the Intended Guests. At 1 the Commissioners and their Levee Repair'd to the Tavern and a little past 2 we sat down to a very Grand Table having upwards of Fifteen Dishes on it at once, which was Succeeded by a very fine Collation, among the many Dishes that made our Dinner was a large Turtle, sent as a present to Governor Thomas from a Gentleman of his Acquaintance living in Providence; after taking away the Cloath, we had the Table Replenished with all the sorts of Wine the Tavern cou'd afford, and that in great Abundance: Betwixt the hours of 3 and 4 I went with the

Young Gentlemen of our Company in order to see what sort of Horses those persons had, with whom I had Engag'd Horses to carry us to Lancaster: I forgot to tell that at 12 O'Clock was sold Public Vandue several Goods belonging to the prize taken by the Wilmington Privateer of this Town, Amongst which was a Cannaster containing about 25 lbs of fine Snuff, which the Company Purchas'd for £13. 10 Shs., that Currency, it was a present from the Vice Roy of New Spain to the Prince of Palermo, and sells for Ten Dollars a pound in the Havanna. Spent the Evening in the Company of the Comm'r's and their Train, and at 10 O'clock went to my Lodgings, at 11 Arriv'd at the Secritarys Office. An Express from New York with his Majesties Declaration of Warr against France, which came to that place in his Majesty's Sloop the Swallow in days from London.

PHILADELPHIA, *Sunday, June the 10th.*

This morning at 7 O'Clock I Rose, when I found a very great Alteration in the Air, by the fall of a good deal of Rain in the Night, which was very much wanted both to Cool the Excessive heat of the Air, and to Refresh the Fruits of the Earth, having had none near where we was, for 20 days past, and what with the Closeness of the Buildings, the Reflection of the Sun from the Stone Pavements, Brick Walls, and Glass windows, together with the dryness of the Season made living in the City very uneasy; at 9 O'Clock an Express was Dispatch'd for Annapolis with the Declaration of Warr. I kept my Room till after 12, the forenoon being heavy and Drisling Rain, after which I went with Bob. Brooke¹ to the Comm'r's Lodgings, and in their Company and the rest of their Train went to Dine with Messrs. Dayy and Carson, thence in afternoon to the Presbyterian Meeting, where I heard a very Good Sermon in the words in the 20 Cha. of the Hebrews 21 and 22 Vers: After the Dismissing of this Congregation, I went a

¹ In several cases we have inadvertently allowed this name to be spelt Brooks.—ED.

Second time to Join the New Lights¹ where I found one Treat² holding forth, but never in my life did I hear or see any like him pretend to mount a Pulpit. I thought with my Self, Surely he was very Dark and wanted some New Light very much. I cou'd not for my Life find the least Connexion between any of the Sentences of his Discourse, at last being tir'd with this Harangue I came of, and with a Gentleman of my acquaintance went to Capt. Macky's, where in Company of these agreeable young Ladies I drunk Tea, and spent the Evening untill 8 O'clock, at which time we went to the Moravian Meeting,³ where I had the pleasure to hear an Excellent Comment on that Passage in Scripture Relating to the Prodigal Son, and after some very Agreeable Church Musick, half an hour after 9, they broke up, the Women at one door and the Men at another; from this I parted my Acquaintance, and went to Mr. Strettells where I Sup'd, and then went Home to my Room.

PHILADELPHIA, *Monday*, June the 11th.

This Morning before 5 O'Clock I got up and made some Journal Entries, and amus'd my self with my Fiddle and Flute till Breakfast, then I went on Board of Capt. Win bound for Jamaica, where I pass'd away the Forenoon, and from the Ship went to Mr. Strettell's and Din'd with the Commissioners: at 4 in the Afternoon, they with their Levee waited on his Honour the Governor, in order to attend to the Declaration of Warr, a few Minutes after we got to the Governor's came the Mayor Council, and the Corporation, and then began the Procession, First the Constables with their Staffs, and the Sheriffs and the Coroner with their White Wands ushered the way, then his Honour the Governor, with the Mayor on his Right, and the Recorder of the City on his left hand, following them were Colonels Lee and Beverly,⁴ and

¹ *Vide* vol. i. 412.

² The Rev. Richard Treat, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, at Abington, Pa.—See *Sprague's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 100.

³ It stood at the S. E. corner of the present Bread and Race Streets.

⁴ Wm. Beverly was born about 1673. He was the second son of Major Robert and Catherine (Hone) Beverly. His father emigrated to the Colony

the Gentlemen of their Levee, next was the Council, and after them the City Corporation, and then the Rear Composed of Towns Gentlemen, &c., in this Order two and two, we went with Solemn Pace to the Market Place, where Secretary Peters¹ Proclaim'd War against the French King and all his Subjects, under a Discharge of the Privateers Guns, who had haul'd out in the Stream for the Purpose, then two Drums belonging to Dalziel's Regiment in Antigua (then in Philadelphia with a Captain Recruiting) Beat the Point of Warr, and then the Ceremony Concluded with God Save the King, and three loud Huzza's!² the Comm'r's return'd with the Governor in this Coach to his House, where we follow'd and Drunk Tea, from thence to the Coffee House, and then the Commissioners went with his Honour to the Clubb: I took my Land Tacks aboard, and Crowded away for Mr. Levy's, where I found Miss Levy alone, but I was not long there before I was Bless'd with the Agreeable Company Miss Molly, which Seem'd to enter the Room like a Goddess, Smiling and all Cheerful, as I always found her; I am No Painter, Neither do I pretend to any thing that way, yet I cannot pass by this Lady, without giving you a Rough Draught of her. I cannot say that she was a Regular Beauty, but she was Such that few cou'd find any Fault with what Dame Nature had done for her. She was of the Middle Size (which I think is the Stature that best becomes the sex), very well Shap'd: her Eyes were Black, full of Fire, and well Slit, they had something in them Remarkably Languishing, and seem'd to Speak the Softness of a Soul

of Virginia from Beverly, Yorkshire, England, about 1660, with a considerable fortune. Wm. Beverly was prominent in the affairs of the Colony. and was said to have been a man of culture, and to have possessed (for the time) a respectable library; several volumes from which, bearing his autograph, are in the possession of the Editor. The date of his death is not known.

¹ The Rev. Richard Peters, who was Rector of Christ Church from 1762 to 1775.—See Dorr's *Christ Church*, p. 283.

² The declaration of war, which was witnessed by Black in Philadelphia, is that known in the history of America as the Old French War, which terminated in 1748 with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The documents relating to the event described by the Journalist will be found in *Col. Records*, vol. iv. 689-697.

Replete with Goodness, her Eye-brows black and finely Arch'd, her Nose was well turn'd, and of a Just Bigness, and her Mouth was Neither wide nor very little, with Lips of a fine Red, and when they moved discovered two Rows of Teeth white as Ivory and Regularly well Set; her Forehead round and Smooth, as for her Hair, it was a Shining black, but noways harsh. Her Neck, her Arms, and Hands seem to have been made and fitted for her Face, which was of a Complexion made up of the Lilly and the Rose. Such was her Person, and I assure you the Charms of her Mind and Conversation was not less Amiable; but I must Confess my Self unable to say Anything Adequate to this Lovely Young Creature; the Bloom of Roses and Lillies might a little Illustrate her Countenance, or their Smell her Sweetness. But to Comprehend her entirely, Conceive—Youth, Health, Beauty, Neatness, and Innocence, Imagine all those in their utmost Perfection, any way Place the Charming Molly's Picture before your Eyes. To Return I had the Pleasure of her Company till after 9, in which time I had no small satisfaction; My Eyes was my Greatest Sense; when I view'd her I thought all the Statues I ever beheld, was so much Inferior to her in Beauty that she was more capable of Converting a man into a Statue, than of being Imitated by the Greatest Master of that Art, and I Surely had as much delight in Surveying her, as the Organs of Sight are Capable of Conveying to the Soul: as usual I seed her Safe home, and Return'd to Mine, and about 11, went to Bed full of pleasing Reflections.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE the 12th.

At 6 O'Clock this Morning I got up, and took a Walk out to the Fields till Breakfast, wrote till 12, and then went to the Commissioners' Lodgings, and with them to the Tunn Tavern, where in Company with the Governor, and four or five more we Din'd: after Dinner & a few Glasses of what was very Good, I went with some of our Company to the Billiards Table, where we spent the Afternoon, and return'd to the Coffee House, from which I went to the Clubb: and passed the Evening, And at 11 went to my Lodgings. This

day Messrs. Littlepage¹ and Brooke, being tired of the Town set out for Lancaster, where they were to wait the coming of the Indians.

PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday*, June the 13th.

This Morning was up at half a hour after 6, went to Mr. Strettells, where I did some Business with the Commissioners, and Eat Breakfast. Returned to my Room and Dress'd, and Join'd the Commissioners and the Levees in order to go to Dinner at Mr. William Allans.² After Dinner I went according to a former Appointment to a Tavern where I was to meet a Townsman & some more of my Acquaintance in order to take a Cheerfull Glass and pass a few hours in Conversation, We sat till near Night: and one of our Company would have me go with him to a House where he had an Invitation to Make One in a Party of Pleasure, away we went together turning several corners and Windings, at last we entered a pretty large House, and he Introduced me to a Company of five young ladies and two Gentlemen, they Receiv'd me kindly and ask'd my acquaintance why he did not Come soon enough to Drink a Dish of Tea, he made his Excuses and then follow'd a General Silence, which did not Reign long before one of the Ladies began a Discourse on Love, wherein she pull'd all the other Sex to Pieces. Setting forth the Constancy of their Sex, and the Unstability of ours, every One of the Young Ladies put in an Oar and helpt her Out, at last being quite tir'd of the Subject, or rather being run out, and at a Loss what More to say, the Lady that began it turn'd from it, artfull enough to criticising on Plays, and their Authors, for sometime that continued. Addison, Prior, Otway, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Shakespeare, &c. &c. &c. were names often in question; the words Genius—and no Genius—Invention, Poetry, Fine things, bad Language, no Style, Charming Writing, Imaginary and

¹ Colonel James Littlepage appears in the list of subscribers to the edition of the "Acts of the Virginia Assembly," Williamsburg. Wm. Hunter, 1752. Folio. He is believed to have been the father of the celebrated Lewis Littlepage, diplomat and soldier.

² For Sketch of Wm. Allen, see article by E. F. deLancey, PENNA. MAG. vol. i. p. 202.

Diction (as the Author of *Da: Simple* says), with many more Expressions, which Swim on the Surface of Criticism, seem'd to have been caught by those Female Fishers for the Reputation of Wit, at last they Exhausted this Subject, and gave Truce to their Tongues a little, and after a little chit chat & a few Glasses of Madeira, My Acquaintance and I took leave, on our returning to his Lodgings where I staid this Night, I ask'd him what Lady that was was so very Talkative, and run out so much against the Inconstancy of our Sex; he answered me that Lady had some Reason for what she said on that head for that she had been Courted and Engag'd to a Young Man for sometime, but that he had lately broke off from her, for some Reasons not yet known: I told him, I believed she was one of those Generally call'd Fine Ladies, that have so little of what is called Character, that it was difficult for him to describe her to me. That they were a Composition of caprice—and whim—they Love—and Hate—are Angry—are Pleas'd without knowing any Reason for either. Always Affecting a Great deal of Good Nature, are Frightened out of their Wits at the Sight of any Object in Bodily pain, and yet Value not how much they rank People's Minds. But I must Justify them as far as they have no Minds of their own, they have no Idea of Others Sensations; they cannot I think be well liable to the Curse attending Eve's Transgression, as they do not Enjoy the Benefit propos'd by it of knowing Good from Evil. Such was the light in which I viewed Mrs. Talkative; and such she Deservedly might be called, for after I got to his Room, I was for sometime in the Condition of Men Escaped from Shipwreck, who, tho' they Rejoice in their Safety, yet is there such an Impression left on them, by the Bellowing of the Waves, the Cursing and Swearing of Some of the Sailors, the Crying and Praying of Others, with the Roaring of the Winds, that it is sometime before they are themselves again: After some Reflections on what we had seen and heard we went to Bed after 11.

PHILADELPHIA, *Thursday*, June 14th.

We Rose about 7 O'Clock and pass'd the time away till Breakfast in Reading, after Breakfast I took my leave after

promising him to come in the Afternoon, to go to pay a Visit to a Gentleman of his Acquaintance Just come from the West Indies; from this I came to Mr. Strettell's, and at 1 O'Clock with the Commissioners I went to his Honour the Governor's to Dinner, where there was a Sumptuous Entertainment, and a fine Company, at 3 O'Clock I came off in order to make Good my Engagement with My Acquaintance, and Accordingly found him in his Room waiting My Coming: we took a turn towards the Centre House, and Return'd to the Gentleman lately come from the West Indies, who had a Room & Lodg'd in a Private House; he Made us very welcome and made a Bowl of fine Lemon Punch with Jamaica Spirits, in about an hour after us, came two more Young Men, which appear'd to be of his acquaintance; we all got soon very well acquainted, and as one thing begets another of its species, so one Bowl finished, another supply was Directly got till we was very Jovial: I cou'd observe thro' the whole of our Discourse that one of the Company had everything he said so Tinctured with a Self Sufficiency, and Detracting of Others, that I cou'd not help having a Mean Opinion of him: His whole Discourse turn'd on the Indiscretion of some one or other of his acquaintance, which he would Express great sorrow for, but in my opinion, only affected to Pity them, for an Excuse to fix People's minds on their faults, and to make the Company see his own Imagined Superiority; It was near 12 at Night before we thought of parting, I mov'd to my Acquaintance that it was time for me to withdraw, Accordingly he got up, and we took leave of the Company, in our way I told him the Notion I had of one of the Gentlemen that Compos'd our Company: He Answer'd My Opinion was not certainly Groundless. . . . I wou'd tell you a very touching Story of that Gentleman, but it is late, if you will go with Me Home, I will give it you in the Morning, as it was past Mid-Night and his Lodgings nearer than mine, I consented and went home with him, after we got to the Room we were not long before we were in Bed, where I must leave you and go to Sleep.

PHILADELPHIA, *Friday*, June the 15th.

This Morning was pretty far Advanced before we knew where our heads lay, and it was 9 O'Clock before we got up, we went Directly to Breakfast; and three or four Dishes of warm Tea had a very good Effect on me, after Breakfast, I mov'd to be gone.

[The Journal of William Black ends abruptly with the last entry given. It has been printed entire with but one or two exceptions, wherein the writer of it allowed himself to digress so far from his own observations, and to speculate at such length on the vagaries of the human disposition, that he grew exceedingly tedious, and the Editor felt that it would be unkind to allow the good reputation which the Virginia Secretary has a second time gained in Philadelphia—for he was no doubt considered a jolly fellow in 1744—to suffer by printing what is written in a very different vein from the conversation with which he probably entertained Miss Molly Stamper.

In endeavoring to literally follow the copy of the Journal furnished to the Editor, a few errors have been made that would not have occurred had the proofs been submitted to the careful revision of the gentleman to whose kindness the readers of the Magazine are indebted for the most interesting picture of society in our city during Colonial days that has been printed for many years. The Editor of the Magazine has added to the Journal a few notes of local interest, and as it would be unfair to make Mr. Brock responsible for the sins of others, the following corrections are noted in Vol. I.

The fact regarding Robert Strettell to which our correspondent calls attention in the Notes and Queries of the present number is new to us. On page 409, it is stated that in 1744 Clement Plumstead was a common councillor, and William an alderman; it should have been *vice versâ*. The date of Tennant's preaching in the Old Academy should be 1744, and not 1774 as stated on page 412. John Sober does not appear to have been an alderman, as mentioned on page 413. The second note on page 418 refers to the MS.; it should read p. 247.

The Virginia Commissioners left Philadelphia for Lancaster shortly after Black closed his Journal. By a strange piece of good fortune, the Diary of the Secretary of the Maryland Commissioners has been preserved, and the first entry in it is dated the day following the last one in Black's. At Lancaster the Commissioners from the provinces met and the two secretaries lodged together. As the Journal of the Marylander is of great interest in the history of this State, its publication will shortly follow that of Black.—Ed.]

THE WHARTON FAMILY.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

(Continued from page 459, Vol. I.)

28. ROBERT WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹) was born, Jan. 12, 1757, at his father's country seat in Southwark. Although his future career proved him to be possessed of abilities of a superior order, Robert Wharton early evinced a decided distaste for learning; consequently, at the age of fourteen, his studies were relinquished, and he was apprenticed to a hatter. During his mayoralty, he frequently alluded to this portion of his life, remarking that he greatly respected those who were masters of a trade, which sentiment being generally known, it became convenient for those, who desired to avoid the penalties of the law, to declare themselves hatters. Pleasant as this may have been, as a matter of conversation in later years, Mr. Wharton, after serving his time, left his trade to enter the counting-house of his half-brother, Charles.* While in this position, he gratified his taste for field sports, and became a member of the "Gloucester Fox Hunting Club," instituted in 1766, of which he was President when it disbanded in 1818. In 1790, Mr. Wharton became a member of the "Schuylkill Fishing Company, of the State in Schuylkill." In 1812, on the death of Samuel Morris, the venerable Governor of the Company, he was elected to fill the unexpired term, to which honorable position he was re-chosen for sixteen successive years, when, in consequence of the increasing infirmities of age, he tendered his resignation of office and membership.†

Mr. Wharton was a member of City Councils from 1792 to 1795. His more prominent career began in 1796, when he

* Robert Wharton's name appears in the Philada. Directory of 1785 as flour merchant, Water, between Walnut and Spruce Streets.

† Memoir of the Schuylkill Fishing Company.

was appointed alderman for the city, under the mayoralty of Hilary Baker, Esq. During this year a formidable riot occurred, which threatened to interfere seriously with the commercial interests of Philadelphia, as sailors, in large numbers, took part in the *melée*, and held possession of the wharves on the Delaware. Robert Wharton was empowered by Mr. Baker to act in his stead, and in meeting and quelling this insurrection, he signally displayed the executive ability and great personal courage, which were his distinguishing characteristics.

Another incident, which took place during Mr. Wharton's term of office as alderman, speaks most eloquently of his disregard of danger in the discharge of his duty. In 1798, the yellow fever broke out in the Walnut Street Prison, where several hundred persons were confined. Mr. Smith, the jailer, resigned his position, as did several deputy jailers, upon which Mr. Wharton volunteered his services as jailer, taking up his residence in the prison and fulfilling all the duties of the office. While the fever raged within the prison walls, some of the more desperate of its inmates planned an insurrection, in order to escape from confinement and the much dreaded pestilence.* Being warned of the danger, Mr. Wharton, armed with a fowling-piece, and accompanied by several keepers provided with muskets, prepared to meet the insurgents. His company consisted of not more than seven or eight men, one of them being a colored prisoner, detailed for outside prison work, who entreated Mr. Wharton to permit him to bear arms in his service; after kneeling and taking the most solemn oath to defend the supporters of the law, this man was provided with a musket, and acquitted himself so bravely that he was subsequently pardoned. Passing through the first gate of the prison, Mr. Wharton turned the key of the gate which communicated with the cells in the west wing of the building, by which forethought he secured himself from trouble from that quarter; and entering the second gate, with

* "The mutiny occurred in the yard, some of the prisoners, taking advantage of the visit of the physician, escaped from their cells and called upon the convicts in the yard to assist them."—*History of the Yellow Fever*, 1798.

his handful of men stood ready to meet the convicts, who advanced armed with crow-bars, pickaxes, etc. The order was given to halt and surrender, and, being disregarded, Mr. Wharton gave the order to his own men to fire, which was immediately obeyed. Fire-arms, as usual when opposed to an undisciplined rabble, proved an all-sufficient argument, and the rioters finally yielded, two of their number having fallen mortally wounded. One of these men sent for Mr. Wharton, when dying, and said, "It is well for you that you conquered us, for if successful, we intended to plunder and burn the city." This prisoner had been wounded in two places, one ball being from Mr. Wharton's fowling-piece, the other from a musket; an autopsy proved that the ball which entered the vital part was a musket ball; this is Mr. Wharton's own account of the affair,* although he was wont to add that he should not have hesitated to kill the man, as he was discharging his duty, and had taken aim with that purpose in view. Upon the assembling of the grand jury of the "Court of Oyer and Terminer" in the next year, Robert Wharton, who was then Mayor of the city, addressed the foreman, by letter, and requested an investigation of the circumstances connected with the rebellion in the prison, in these words: "Permit me, Sir, through you to request that the grand jury will be pleased to investigate the transaction; for although the verdict of the Coroner's inquest was clear and satisfactory, as far as laid with them, yet it certainly is a matter of too much importance (as the lives of two fellow creatures were taken) to last without a minute enquiry being made by your highly respectable body." The grand jury made a special presentment to the Court in Feb. 1799. . . . After relating the circumstances they presented "Robert Wharton and all his associates, as doing an act which was of imperious necessity and their duty as officers, men, and citizens, were not only fully justified, but which we further present as highly meritorious and deserving the thanks of their fellow citizens."

* Communicated by his nephew, Mr. G. W. Wharton.

The Court received this document and ordered it to be put upon record.*

The City Councils met Oct. 16, 1798, when Robert Wharton was unanimously elected Mayor of Philadelphia, succeeding Hilary Baker, who died of yellow fever Sept. 25, 1798. Mr. Wharton held this honorable position during the following years: 1798-99; 1806-07; 1809-10; 1814-19; 1820-24. Of the success and popularity of Mayor Wharton's several terms of administration, it is needless to dwell, his frequent re-elections to office proving the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens. Many incidents are related of him, of his suppressing insurrections, preventing escapes from prison, and of ferreting out plots and counter-plots against the established authorities, all indicative of constant vigilance, keen insight into character, great presence of mind, and a singular intrepidity of spirit; qualities, which gained for him the confidence and affection of the people, and which, added to a good share of common sense and a jealous care of all that nearly concerned the interests of the city which he governed, have caused Mr. Wharton to be acknowledged, by thinking men, then and since, as one of Philadelphia's best mayors.

The following, which appeared in one of our journals, Jan. 13, 1829, proves that the earnestness in vindicating the law, which distinguished Mr. Wharton as a young man, was not wanting in later years.

On the evening of the 9th inst., about 4 o'clock, whilst the fire was raging at the warehouse of Mr. Albrecht, directly opposite the dwelling of the subscriber, in Third Street below Spruce, the front door of his house was repeatedly and violently assaulted by a mob of from ten to fifteen persons, who insisted on entering to obtain, as they said, victuals and drink. At that time a number of citizens, firemen, and others, whose presence on the occasion was known to be for useful purposes, had been admitted into the subscriber's house to partake of refreshment. Though frequently cautioned to desist, the mob persisted, and so far succeeded in the first instance as to prevent the door being shut, notwithstanding the efforts of several gentlemen to close it. The undersigned was then compelled to resort to

* *Philada. Gazette*, March, 1799.

more efficient means of defence. He threw open his door, and armed with an instrument of defence, he advanced to meet these lawless intruders: he again admonished them to desist, and assured them he would, at all hazards, defend his house from their intrusion. They were for a moment checked, but one of them, more resolute than the rest, swore he would enter, and at the head of his associates advanced for the purpose; a severe blow received by him at the threshold of the door, stopped, however, their progress. The door was then closed and fastened. Shortly after they renewed the attack, and by violence, split and started one of the panels of the door. A gentleman in the entry heard them propose to set fire to my house, and they immediately introduced fire under the door, which was extinguished by the same individual. The undersigned deems it a duty he owes to his fellow-citizens, as well as to himself, publicly to state these circumstances, and to offer a reward of Twenty Dollars for the discovery and conviction of all or any of the individuals concerned in the outrage.

ROBERT WHARTON.

In politics he was an ardent federalist. The following is an extract from a letter written to his brother, Colonel Franklin Wharton, in 1808.

“Our city as to traffic is almost a desert, wharves Crowded with empty Vessels, the noise and buz of Commerce not heard, whilst hundreds of labourers are ranging the streets without employ, or the means of getting bread for their distressed Families, this is the blessed fruit of Creeping within our Own Shell—not so in the days of Washington, when difficulties approached, our Country assumed a bold attitude, gave employ to our brave seamen, mechanics, and others, and convinced our opponents we were not to be Dragooned into their Views.”

Mr. Wharton was elected a member of the City Troop, June 19, 1798, and became its Captain Aug. 15, 1803, “without having served in any of the intermediate grades.” Subsequently, on the formation of a regiment of cavalry by the city and county of Philadelphia, he was elected its Colonel, and was then, June 14, 1810, placed upon the Honorary Roll of the Troop. In 1811, Colonel Wharton was elected Brigadier-General of the 1st Brigade Pennsylvania Militia. In 1814, when the troop went into active service, although fifty-seven years of age, he volunteered, and served in the field as a private

soldier, under his former lieutenant, Captain Ross. In October, of the same year, when a Committee of Councils of Philadelphia waited on him to inform him of his recent re-election as mayor of the city, they found him in camp, busily engaged, taking his turn as company cook. It was only upon their earnest solicitation that he was induced to accept his discharge and return to Philadelphia.*

Mr. Wharton was vice-president of the Washington Benevolent Society, his name being first on the list of original subscribers. He was m. Philada. Dec. 17, 1789, by Bishop White, to Salome dau. of William Chancellor, by his wife, Salome Wistar. He d. in Philada., March 7, 1834. He had two children, who d. before him.

98. JOSEPH, b. May 31, 1791; d. June 4, 1791.

99. ROBERT OWEN, m. Charlotte Musgrave, and d. s. p. She afterwards m. Tyler.

31. RACHEL WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Aug. 27, 1762; m. Dec. 13, 1781, William son of Robert Lewis, by his wife, Mary Pyle, and d. 1836. He d. Nov. 6, 1801, aged 53. They had seven children.

100. JOSEPH WHARTON, b. Jan. 27, 1783; d. Oct. 20, 1805.

101. ROBERT MORTON, b. Aug. 20, 1786; m. Martha R. Stocker.

102. WILLIAM, b. Sept. 15, 1788.

103. WHARTON, b. July 23, 1791; m. Frances Cuthbert, and d. s. p. Nov. 8, 1857.

104. FRANKLIN, b. June 12, 1794; d. June 26, 1794.

105. HANNAH OWEN, b. June 6, 1795; m. Richard Wistar.

106. ANNA MARIA.

33. FRANKLIN WHARTON⁴ (Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. July 23, 1767; m. at Christ Church, Philada. Oct. 1, 1800, Mary dau. of William Clifton. She d. in Washington, Aug. 31, 1813. He was appointed Colonel Commandant of the U. S. Marine Corps, under the administration of James Madison.

Colonel Wharton died in New York, Sept. 1, 1818, and was buried in the churchyard of old Trinity. The following is

* "His 'First Troop City Cavalry.'"

the announcement of his death in the Washington "National Intelligencer."

"At New York, on the 1st instant; Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Wharton, Commandant of the Marine Corps, and for many years a resident of the headquarters of the corps in this city. His conduct through life was marked with every virtue that could dignify the man; and the sincere affection of his numerous relatives and friends bears ample testimony to the amiable and honorable qualities of his heart. He has left six sons to lament the loss of a father whose paternal care and kindness were most exemplary. Respected and beloved by those who knew him well, the society of Washington will long lament, in the decease of Colonel Wharton, the loss of one of its most benevolent and hospitable members."

He had eight children.

107. CLIFTON, b. Oct. 22, 1801; m. Oliveretta Ormsby.

108. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. May 12, 1803; m. Emmeline D. Stout.

109. FRANKLIN, b. June 3, 1804; m. 1st, — Baylor; 2dly, — Walker; 3dly, Octavie Coycault.

110. WILLIAM LEWIS, b. Dec. 17, 1805; m. Ellen J. Brearley.

111. ELLEN CLIFTON, b. May 18, 1807; d. Jan. 7, 1808.

112. ANNA MARIA, b. 1808; d. Aug. 22, 1809.

113. ALFRED, b. June 1, 1810; m. Adelaide C. Passage.

114. HENRY WILLIAMS, b. Sept. 27, 1811; m. Ellen G. Nugent.

34. REYNOLD WHARTON⁵ (James,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹). His name appears in Philada. Directory, 1785, as shipbuilder, Front St., Kensington. He had two sons, who are named in their grandfather's will.

115. JAMES.

116. JOSEPH.

37. PEREGRINE HOGG WHARTON⁵ (James,⁴ John³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Feb. 14, 1765; m. Jane, dau. of Benjamin Brown, b. May 17, 1776. He d. May 27, 1811. They had ten children.

117. ANTHONY MORRIS, b. June 19, 1794; d.

118. PEREGRINE, b. Dec. 2, 1795; d. Dec. 7, 1795.

119. WILLIAM, b. Nov. 13, 1796.

120. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, b. August 13, 1798.

121. HENRY, b. Sept. 4, 1800; d. March 5, 1804.

122. LEWIS, b. Oct. 24, 1802.

123. MARY ANN, b. Aug. 17, 1804; m. Samuel P. Griffiths.

124. CLEMENTINE, b. Oct. 26, 1806; d. May 1, 1810.

125. CHAMLESS, b. Dec. 16, 1808; d. Dec. 18, 1808.

126. JANE, b. Nov. 12, 1809; d. infant.

38. GEORGE WHARTON⁵ (James,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), m. Mary, dau. of James Doughty. She d. Oct. 31, 1832, aged 55 years, 9 mo. They had nine children.

127. JANE, m. 1st Daniel Morris; 2dly, Thomas Pickering.

128. CHARLES DOUGHTY, b. Feb. 27, 1798; m. Maria Donnel.

129. JOSEPH, m.

130. GEORGE, d. infant.

131. MARGARET DOUGHTY, m. David Stuart.

132. REBECCA LOUISA, d. unm.

133. GEORGE, m.

134. WILLIAM.

135. EDWIN, d. infant.

42. KEARNEY WHARTON⁵ (Thomas, Junr.,⁴ John³ Thomas,² Richard¹), m. Nov. 11, 1795, at Magnolia Grove, her father's house on the Delaware, Maria dau. of John Saltar, by his wife Elizabeth Gorden. She d. June 16, 1867, aged 92. Mr. Wharton was elected President of the Common Council of Philada. Oct. 16, 1798. In 1799, his name is affixed to an address from the Select and Common Councils, on the subject of supplying the city with wholesome water, and subsequently to "An Ordinance Providing for the raising of a Sum of Money on Loan," for the same purpose.* He d. Jan. 4, 1848, aged 82, and was bu. at Oxford Church. He had six children.

136. THOMAS LLOYD, b. 1799; m. Sarah A. Smith.

137. LLOYD, b. Feb. 25, 1801; m. Margaret A. Howell.

138. JOHN SALTAR, d. unm. Aug. 10, 1835, aged 36.

139. ELIZABETH SALTAR, b. 1803; m. Thomas Morris.

140. GEORGE SALTAR, d. unm. Aug. 7, 1844, aged 33.

141. JAMES SALTAR, b. 1817.

* "True American," Feb. 1799.

(To be continued.)

REV. JACOB DUCHÉ,
THE FIRST CHAPLAIN OF CONGRESS.

BY THE REV. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL,
PRESIDENT OF MACALESTER COLLEGE, MINN.

On the outside of the eastern wall of Saint Peter's Church in Philadelphia, there is a marble tablet in memory of Rev. Jacob Duché, a timid, amiable, and accomplished man, whose life was clouded by an error of judgment. As posterity loves details, a biographical sketch of this person, fuller of incidents than those which have been printed, has been prepared for the Magazine of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Jacob Duché, the younger, was the grandson, not the son as Drake states in his Dictionary of Biography, of Anthony Duché, a French Protestant, who came with his wife to Philadelphia in the same ship as William Penn.¹

His father was Colonel Jacob Duché, a prosperous citizen and vestryman of Christ Church,² his mother was Mary Spence; his parents were married Jan. 13th, 1733-4. His mother died when he was quite young, and on June 5th, 1747, his father married a widow Bradley, whose maiden name was Esther Duffield. He was born A. D. 1737, and was a student of the Academy, which, in A. D. 1755, became the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsyl-

¹ The following anecdote has often been printed. William Penn on the voyage borrowed from Duché about thirty pounds. After landing, Penn offered a valuable square of ground in the centre of the City, in lieu of the money. "You are very good, Mr. Penn, and the offer might prove advantageous, but the money would suit me better." "Well! well!" said Penn, "thou shalt have thy money; but canst not thou see that this will be a great city in a very short time?" [The name of Duché does not appear in any of the lists of persons who came over in the *Welcome*.—Ed.]

² On the 2d of April, 1756, Jacob Duché was chosen Colonel of the Regiment of Philadelphia County. He was Treasurer of the Lottery drawn in 1753 to erect the steeple of Christ Church, and purchase its chime of bells.

vania. In November, 1754, the students of the Philosophy class gave a public exhibition, the first of the kind in Philadelphia, in the presence of the trustees and a large audience of ladies and gentlemen. Among the distinguished persons present were the Lieut. Governor Robert Hunter Morris, his predecessor in office James Hamilton, and His Excellency John Tinker, Esq., Governor of New Providence. The exercises were opened with a prologue by Jacob Duché, and concluded by a pert and humorous epilogue, spoken by a Master Billy Hamilton, a child under nine years of age. Both of these pieces were published in a London Magazine. During his student life, with a young man's enthusiasm he became interested in the political questions of the day and was an adherent of the Anti-Quaker party, the feeling against the Friends being very bitter after Braddock's defeat.

On the 17th of May, 1757, he graduated in the first class of the College,¹ and in July, went as a clerk with Governor Denny to make a treaty with the Indians at Easton. He and William Peters afterwards showed their prejudices by testifying: That, when we used to meet Indians anywhere in the streets of Easton, or in our evening walks after business, they would generally accost us with this question in their broken English, "Are you a Quaker, a Quaker?" If we answered "No;" they moved from us, looked very stern, and said "We were bad man, bad man, Governor's man." But, if we answered in the affirmative, as we did sometimes to try them, that we were Quakers, they would smile and call us

¹ His six classmates were: *Francis Hopkinson*, whose sister he married, *Hugh Williamson*, *Paul Jackson*, *John Morgan*, *James Latta*, and *Samuel Magaw*. The first two are well known in American History; of the others we learn the following:—

Paul Jackson was of Scotch-Irish parentage, and became Professor of Languages. His Latin compositions which were published secured for him a reputation for correct taste and accurate scholarship.¹

John Morgan, born A. D. 1735, became one of the founders of the Medical Department of the College, and he was appointed by Congress, in 1775, Medical Director General.

James Latta became a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman.

Samuel Magaw became Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.

"Brothers," and say, "We were good man, Quaker good man; Governor's man, bad man, good for nothing."

This year he decided to go to England to complete his studies. The Rev. William Smith, the President of the College, expressed his estimate of the youth in these words: "Jacob Duché is a young gentleman of good fortune, bred up in our College, under me. He has distinguished himself as a scholar and orator, on many public occasions, and from the most disinterested motives has devoted himself to the church. He proposes to spend some time at the University in England."

Crossing the Atlantic, he became a student at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but in 1759, he had returned to Philadelphia, and was licensed as Assistant Minister of Christ Church, and its offshoot, Saint Peters, at the corner of Third and Pine Streets, which was begun in 1758, and finished in 1761, at a cost of £3310, to accommodate the congregation in that part of the city.

His labors were commenced under some discouraging circumstances. The Rector of the Church was old and incapacitated; Sturgeon, the first Assistant Minister, a graduate of Yale, was a faithful man but a poor preacher. In the choice for a second assistant the congregation was divided. A large portion was in favor of the Rev. W. McClenaghan, an Irishman, who had been a non-conformist minister in Portland, Maine, and then at Chelsea, Massachusetts, where, in A. D. 1748, he became an Episcopalian; he favored a strict interpretation of the doctrines of the Thirty-Nine Articles, insisted that the surplice should not be worn at the communion table, and Dr. Johnson, President of King's College, wrote; "He affects to act a part like Whitefield."¹

¹ In May, 1761, a convention of the Episcopal Clergy sent a remonstrance to the Presbyterian Synod, in session in Philadelphia, at the same time complaining that certain Presbyterian clergymen had interfered in the settlement of Mr. McClenaghan, and had sent a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject.

The complaint was respectfully considered, and on the 26th of May the Synod expressed their sorrow that there should be an occasion of difference, "and were of opinion that the brethren complained of had acted without due

While Duché was appointed and licensed by the Bishop of London, the disaffected compelled the old Rector to allow McClenaghan also to act as a third Assistant, and he was paid by private subscription.

After Duché began his ministerial labors, he married, July, 1760, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hopkinson, and his father erected for his use an elegant and large brick mansion nearly opposite St. Peters' Church, on the east side of Third Street, between Union and Pine, which was demolished forty or fifty years ago, to give place to modern improvements.

His earnest preaching without notes, and distinct and fervent reading of the liturgy attracted good congregations. A letter written on the 8th of August, 1760, states that Mr. Duché, "that shining youth is so much more popular than Maccleaghan."

Soon after he entered upon his duties as Assistant Minister he was chosen as Teacher of Oratory in the College of Philadelphia, probably as an assistant to his former instructor, Ebenezer Kinnersley, whose wife Sarah Duffield was sister of Duché's Church-warden Edward Duffield, and the niece of Col. Jacob Duché's second wife.¹

consideration, and improperly in that affair." As the result of the McClenaghan controversy, St. Paul's Church, on Third below Walnut Street, was erected by subscription.

¹ Benjamin, the grandfather of Edward Duffield, settled on a large tract of land purchased in 1682, in England, of William Penn, by his brother-in-law Allan Foster, in the upper part of Philadelphia County. He was the first settler in the neighborhood, and was much troubled by the pilfering of the Indians. He built a house in Moreland Township, on an estate called Benfield, but about A. D. 1713 became a citizen of Philadelphia City. He died in May, 1741, in his eightieth year, and in the graveyard of Christ Church, corner of Fifth and Arch Streets, his tombstone still stands. Esther, his twelfth child, born A. D. 1701, became the second wife of Colonel Jacob Duché.

Joseph, his eighth child, born A. D. 1692, was on the 7th of February, 1747, buried in the same graveyard. Three children survived him; *Elizabeth*, who married Dr. Samuel Swift; *Sarah*, who became the wife of Ebenezer Kinnersley. *Edward*, born A. D. 1720, married Mary Parry, a grand-child of Owen Humphreys. He was one of the original members of

His first published sermon, printed by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, appeared in 1763 with this title, "The Life and Death of the Righteous: preached at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Sunday, February 13, 1763, at the funeral of Mr. Evan Morgan, by Jacob Duché, M.A. One of the Assistant Ministers of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable, the Earl of Stirling."

In 1764, the Rev. Hugh Neill, once a Presbyterian minister the American Philosophical Society, and a delegate to the first General Convention of Prot. Episcopal Church, held in 1785, in Philadelphia.

Before the Declaration of Independence, he lived most of the year at the ancestral homestead, Benfield, in Moreland Township, Philadelphia County. While the British Army was in possession of Philadelphia, the family of Benjamin Franklin passed much time there. Sarah Franklin (Mrs. Bache), in *Private Correspondence of Franklin*, published in 1859, writes, in 1779, to her father, then in Paris: "Mr. Duffield's family desired, when I wrote, to remember them to you. The youngest daughter I have introduced this winter to the Assembly. She is like her mother. The Ambassador [French] told me he thought her a great acquisition to the Assembly." On the 14th of September, she again writes: "I can assure you, my dear Papa, that industry in this house is, by no means, laid aside. Mr. Duffield has hired a weaver that lives on his farm, to weave eighteen yards, by making him three or four shuttles for nothing, and keeping it a secret from the country people, who will not suffer them to weave for those in town. My little girl has just returned from Mrs. Duffield's. I think myself lucky to have had such a friend."

Franklin in his will appointed as Executors, Henry Hill, John Jay, Francis Hopkinson, and Edward Duffield, of Benfield, in Philadelphia County. In the Codicil, he says, "I request my friend Mr. Duffield, to accept moreover my French wayweiser, a piece of clock-work in brass, to be fixed to the wheel of any carriage."

The Registers of Christ Church furnish the following memorandum of the children of Edward Duffield.

Name.	Birth.	Baptism.	Burial.
Mary,	May 11, 1752,	July 19, 1752,	June 4, 1754.
Catharine,	_____	_____	Aug. 23, 1774.
Sarah,	Jan. 1, 1756,	Feb. 3, 1756,	_____
Elizabeth,	Sept. 10, 1761,	Sept. 23, 1761,	July 28, 1784.
A son [Joseph],	_____	_____	April 25, 1785.
Benjamin,	_____	_____	Dec. 15, 1799.
Edward,	Jan. 13, 1764,	April 13, 1764,	_____

Edward Duffield and wife, and his children, Sarah, the wife of Stacy Hepburn, and his son Edward were buried in front of All Saints' Church

in New Jersey, then Rector of the Episcopal Church at Oxford, in Philadelphia County, wrote that Mr. Duché was enthusiastic and mystical, a follower of Behmen and William Law.

In easy and graceful style he wrote several essays on the letters of Junius, which were published in 1774, under the signature of Tamoc Caspipina, an acrostic upon the title of his office, The Assistant Minister of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia in North America.¹

On Sunday, the 21st of April, 1771, he preached a sermon occasioned by the death of Richard Penn, one of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, which was published under the title of "Human Life a Pilgrimage: or the Christian a Traveller and Sojourner upon Earth."

On November the 7th, 1773, Duché preached a sermon at the dedication of the Episcopal Church, still standing above Holmesburg and known as All Saints. It had been built at the expense of persons residing in the neighborhood, one of whom was Edward Duffield, Duché's friend and connection. To the congregation assembled on that occasion, Duché spoke of the edifice as "this plain, decent, and commodious building, erected at your own private cost."

The Rev. Richard Peters, who succeeded Dr. Jenney, having resigned in 1775 the Rectorship of Christ Church and Saint Peter's, Duché was promoted to the position.

When it was seen that a rupture between the Colonies and parent government might take place, Dr. Cooper, President of King's College, New York, the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and Henry Addison, of Maryland, visited Philadelphia, and after conferring with the Rev. Dr. Smith, and the Episcopal clergy of the City, it was agreed that they would not lend their influence to weaken the power of the home government.

This agreement could not, however, be kept, for Smith and Duché were carried away by the more patriotic feelings of their parishioners.

On Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, the first General

¹ The letters of Caspipina were reprinted in Bath, England, in 1787, in 2 vols. 16mo., in London in 1791, in 1 vol. 8vo., and at Dublin in 1792, 2 vols. They were also translated into German and printed at Leipzig in 1778.

Congress of the Colonies assembled in the Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia. It was composed of fifty-one delegates, trained under different religious and commercial interests, yet roused to resist what they considered the oppression of Great Britain. On the next day it was moved that, before considering the important business which had brought them together, the session of the day following should be opened with prayer, to which Jay, of New York, and Rutledge, of South Carolina, did not, at first, assent, owing to the members having different denominational preferences. On motion of Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, a Congregationalist, it was at length decided, that the Rev. Jacob Duché should be invited to officiate.

In compliance with this request, on the morning of the 7th, Mr. Duché appeared in Carpenter's Hall in his robes, attended by his clerk, and read a part of the Morning Service of the Church of England, the clerk making the responses. The Psalter for the day included the 35th Psalm, which was peculiarly appropriate. Samuel Adams wrote, two days after, to Dr. Joseph Warren, soon to die in battle at Bunker Hill: "After settling the mode of voting, which is by giving each Colony an equal voice, it was agreed to open the business with prayer. As many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of England, I thought it prudent, as well as on some other accounts, to move that the service should be performed by a clergyman of that denomination. Accordingly the lessons of the day, and prayer were read by the Reverend Doctor Duché, who afterwards made a most excellent extemporary prayer, by which he discovered himself to be a gentleman of sense and piety, and a warm advocate for the religious and civil rights of America."

John Adams in his diary entered the following: "Mr. Reed returned with Mr. Adams and me, to our lodgings, and a very social and agreeable evening we had. He says we were never guilty of a more masterly stroke of policy than moving that Mr. Duché might read prayers. It has had a very good effect."

John Adams also wrote to his wife the enthusiastic description of the first prayer in Congress, which has been embalmed in American literature:—

"You must remember this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. After this Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. . . . Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially the town of Boston."¹

On the 10th of May, 1775, the Second Congress of the Colonies met in Philadelphia, at the State House, and as soon as the necessary officers were elected, it was ordered: "That the Rev. Mr. Duché be requested to open the Congress with prayers to-morrow morning; and that Mr. Willing, Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Bland be a Committee to wait on Mr. Duché, and acquaint him with the request of the Congress." The next morning he appeared and officiated, and upon motion, it was "*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Congress be given to the Reverend Mr. Duché, for performing Divine Service, agreeable to the desire of Congress, and for his excellent prayer, so well adapted to the present occasion."

On the 7th of July, 1775, Duché preached in Christ Church, before the First Battalion of Militia of the City and Liberties, from the 1st verse of the 5th Chap. of the Epistle to the Galatians on the Duty of Standing Fast.

This sermon was published and dedicated to Washington; to whom he wrote, "If the manner in which I have treated the subject should have the least good influence upon the hearts and actions of the military freemen of America, or should add one more virtuous motive to those, by which I

¹ In the Journals of Congress under date of Sept. 7, 1774, we find the following, "Agreeable to the resolves of yesterday, the meeting was opened with prayers by the reverent Mr. Duché. *Voted*, That the thanks of the Congress be given to Mr. Duché, by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward, for performing Divine service, and for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on the occasion."

trust they are already actuated, it will be the best return I can receive from my fellow-citizens for this labor of love. I have long been an admirer of your amiable character, and was glad of this opportunity of paying to you my little tribute of respect."

The 20th of July had been designated by Congress as a general fast-day, and on the 19th it was agreed, "That the Congress meet here to-morrow morning at half past nine o'clock, in order to attend Divine service at Mr. Duché's Church; and that in the afternoon they meet here, to go from this place to attend Divine service at Doctor Allison's Church."¹ Duché's Sermon, called the "American Vine," upon the 14th verse of the 80th Psalm, was printed.

On Monday morning, October 23d, 1775, Richard Henry Lee wrote to General Washington, "'Tis with infinite concern I inform you, that our good old Speaker, Peyton Randolph, Esq., went yesterday, to dine with Mr. Harry Hill, was taken during the course of dinner with the dead palsy, and at nine o'clock at night died without a groan. Thus has American Liberty lost a powerful advocate, and human nature a sincere friend."

Mr. Randolph at the time of his death was the President of Congress, and that body requested the Rev. Mr. Duché to prepare a proper discourse to be delivered at his funeral. The Pennsylvania Gazette of the 25th, after alluding to Randolph's death on the Sunday previous, remarks: "His remains were removed to Christ Church, where an excellent sermon on the mournful occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Duché, afterwards the corpse was carried to the burial ground, and deposited in a vault, till it can be conveyed to Virginia."

¹ Dr. Alison's Church was the First Presbyterian, situated near Christ Church, the south side of Market Street, above second. Francis Alison was born in Ireland in 1705, and educated at the University of Glasgow. He at one time kept a school at Thunder Hill, Chester Co., Pa. He was the Rector of the Academy and Master of the Latin School that in 1755 became the College of Philadelphia, and was then elected Vice-Provost of the College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy, which position he held until 1779, the year of his death. Duché was one of his pupils.

In the minutes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, there is the following entry:—

“At a meeting of the vestry at the Rector's, July 4, 1776. Present, Rev. Jacob Duché, Rector; Thomas Cuthbert, Church Warden; Jacob Duché, Robert Whyte, Charles Stedman, Edmund Physick, James Biddle, Peter Dehaven, James Reynolds, Gerardus Clarkson, Vestrymen.

“Whereas, the Honourable Continental Congress have resolved to declare the American Colonies to be free and independent States; in consequence of which it will be proper to omit those petitions in the Liturgy wherein the King of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with said declaration, Therefore, Resolved, that it appears to this vestry to be necessary for the peace and well-being of the churches to omit the said petitions; and the Rector and Assistant Ministers of the united churches are requested, in the name of the vestry and their constituents, to omit such petitions as are above mentioned.”

Four days after the adoption of this, Duché received the following note from John Hancock, the President of the memorable Congress, that had just declared the independence of the Colonies:—

PHILADELPHIA, July 8, 1776.

SIR: It is with the greatest pleasure I inform you that the Congress have been induced, from a consideration of your piety, as well as your uniform and zealous attachment to the rights of America, to appoint you their Chaplain. It is their request, which I am commanded to signify to you, that you will attend on them, every morning at nine o'clock.

I have the honour to be sir, with respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK,
President.

Sabine, in his History of the Loyalists, gives the following, as Duché's first prayer, after the Declaration of Independence:

“O Lord our Heavenly Father, High and Mighty, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers on Earth, and reignest with power supreme and uncontrolled over all kingdoms, empires, and govern-

ments, look down in mercy, we beseech thee, on these our American States, who have fled to thee, from the rod of the oppressor, and turn themselves on thy gracious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on thee: to thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which thou alone canst give: take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council, and valour in the field; defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries; convince them of the unrighteousness of the cause, and if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O! let the voice of thine own unerring justice sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle. Be thou present, God of wisdom, and direct the counsels of this Honourable Assembly; enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundations, that the scenes of blood may be speedily closed, that order, honour, and peace may be effectually restored, and pure religion and piety prevail and flourish among thy people! preserve the health of their bodies, and the vigour of their minds: shower down on them, and the millions they represent, such temporal blessings as thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this, we ask, in the name of Jesus Christ thy Son, and our Saviour, Amen."

On the 17th of October, Duché informed Hancock by letter that the state of his health and parochial duties obliged him to decline the honor of continuing Chaplain to Congress, but some asserted that it was Lord Howe's influence more than his poor health which induced the resignation.

Congress requested the President to thank him for "the devout and acceptable manner in which he discharged his duty," and presented him with one hundred and fifty dollars. On the 30th of October, the following was read by the Secretary of Congress, "Mr. Duché presents his respectful compliments to Mr. Hancock, and begs him to acquaint the honourable Congress that he is much obliged to them for the kind manner in which they have expressed their approbation of his services. As he accepted their appointment from

motives perfectly disinterested, he requests Mr. Hancock to put the one hundred and fifty dollars into the hands of the Board of War, or of any other Board he may think proper, to be applied by them to the relief of the widows and children of such of the Pennsylvania officers, as have fallen in battle in the service of their Country."

When the British troops approached Philadelphia, in 1777, Duché's timid nature made him despondent, and he decided to remain in the city should they enter it and accept of such clemency as should be extended to him. On the Sunday following the occupation of the city he officiated in Christ Church, using the established form of worship and praying for the king. This prompt act of apostasy did not shelter him entirely from the feeling created by his former course, and as he left the church he was arrested at the door "by an officer and conducted to jail under the immediate command of Sir William Howe. He remained there one night only; his friends having in the mean time made known his change of sentiments."

Ten days after his release from prison he addressed a letter to Washington of such a pusillanimous character, that the sentiments it expresses and the confession which it makes are evidences of the severe trials to which his shrinking disposition had been subjected; to consider them otherwise is to believe, that when he uttered his earnest appeals to Heaven, in behalf of Congress and the cause which it upheld, he polluted his holy calling and was guilty of an act so profane that the mind naturally seeks a more charitable interpretation. In his letter to Washington, he spoke of Congress as not fit to be his associates, and urged him with his army, to resume his allegiance to the Crown. He protested that he had always abhorred the idea of separation from the mother country; that a few days after the fatal Declaration of Independence he had received Mr. Hancock's letter acquainting him that he was appointed Chaplain to the Congress; that he was surprised and distressed at an event which he was not prepared to expect, and that being obliged to give an immediate attendance, without the opportunity of consulting his friends, he easily

accepted the appointment. This letter was conveyed to Washington, by Mrs. Ferguson, an accomplished loyalist, the daughter of Dr. Thomas Graeme, of Graeme Park, Montgomery County. The General in a letter to Congress alluded to the communication, in these words: "To Mr. Duché's ridiculous, illiberal performance I made a very short reply, by desiring the bearer, Mrs. Ferguson, of Graham Park, if she did, hereafter, by any accident meet with Mr. Duché, to tell him I should have returned it unopened, if I had had any idea of its contents." To Francis Hopkinson, Washington wrote, "I am still willing to suppose that it was rather dictated by his fears than by his real sentiments. . . . I never intended to make the letter more public than by laying it before Congress. I thought this a duty which I owed to myself."

When Francis Hopkinson, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a member of Congress, read this letter from his sister's husband, he was overwhelmed with mortification, and felt that it must have been written while a bayonet was pointed at the breast of his brother-in-law. His letter to Duché at the time is a noble record of patriotism and fraternal affection; after pointing out the weakness he had been guilty of, and the censure to which he had exposed himself, Hopkinson said: "I tremble for you, for my good sister, and her little family, I tremble for your personal safety. Be assured I write this from true brotherly love. Our intimacy has been of a long duration, even from our early youth; long and uninterrupted without even a rub in the way; and so long have the sweetness of your manners and the integrity of your heart fixed my affections."

A letter published in the *New Jersey Gazette*, written Dec. 24, 1777, has the following, "We hear that on Friday last Lord Cornwallis, General Cliveland, Sir George Osborne, and the Rev. Jacob Duché sailed from Philadelphia." The object of his visit to England was to appease whatever feeling existed in the minds of his superiors in the Church on account of his having acted as Chaplain to Congress.

Mrs. Duché subsequently proceeded, with her children, to New York, but owing to ill health did not then proceed to England, and on the 9th of June, 1779, her brother Francis Hopkinson asked permission of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania for her return. In the spring of 1780 she again went to New York, and from thence to England, and in December, the Pennsylvania Assembly resolved: "That the Honourable Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of this Commonwealth, be permitted to occupy and possess the house and lot, with the appurtenances thereof, which was the property of Rev. Jacob Duché, the younger."

Mr. Duché, in 1779, published two volumes of Sermons, dedicated to Lady Juliana Penn, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret, and widow of Thomas Penn, who had honored his early youth with her kind countenance and protection. The design of the frontispiece to each volume was furnished by his friend and fellow Pennsylvanian, the distinguished historical painter to the King, Benjamin West. The engraving of Angels appearing to the Shepherds was copied from the painting in Rochester Cathedral. In time he received an appointment of Secretary and Chaplain of an Asylum of Female Orphans. Every year he became more interested in the visions of Swedenborg.

After peace was declared he wished to return to Philadelphia, and wrote to Washington disclaiming having *intentionally* sought to give him a moment's pain, or to have advised an act of base treachery from the thought of which his soul would have recoiled. He asked him to forgive what a weak judgment but a very affectionate heart once presumed to advise. The purport of this letter was no doubt to ask the influence of Washington, in furthering his wish to return to his native country; and so it was understood by the General, who in reply said that if that event depended upon his private voice it would be given in favor thereof with cheerfulness, but that the question must rest with the authorities of Pennsylvania. His friends did not think it was wise to encourage him in his wish, until the acerbities caused by the Revolution and his defection were mollified, and his aged

father then went to him, and in 1788 died at Lambeth, near London.¹

His son Thomas was a student of West, and was an artist of some ability.

John Pemberton, a distinguished minister of the Society of Friends, and a fellow Philadelphian, who was at London in 1789, found Duché's mind much confused by the constant reading of the writings of Behmen and Swedenborg. He relinquished all church preferments, not thinking it right to receive money for preaching. His wife and two daughters were devoted Christian women. While in London, one of Pemberton's friends assisted in nursing the young artist Thomas Duché in his last sickness, caused by the bursting of a bloodvessel. On March 31, 1789, calling at his father's house for the purpose of watching by the bedside, the Rev. Mr. Duché met him with a smile and said, "He is well, he is happy, and I am happy. He died about half an hour ago, and departed most gloriously."

Pemberton writes from Philadelphia, in August, 1790, to a fellow religionist, "I am glad to find my countryman, Jacob Duché, was so sustained under the great trial experienced. My love to him and wife. I wish to see him through all mixtures, and to become truly simple, and open to the instruction of the 'still small voice.' This will settle his mind, and give him more true wisdom and instruction than many volumes of books, and dipping into mysterious writings, that may and does tend more to perplex than to edify."²

During the latter part of his residence in England, he was quite different in his ways from other clergymen. One Sunday he was invited to preach in St. Paul's Cathedral. Another minister read the Communion Service, and while they were singing, Duché entered the pulpit, laid his written sermon on

¹ In the Gentleman's Magazine, of London, for 1788, is the following: "Aged 80. Sept. 28, Jacob Duché, Esq., late of Philadelphia, and father of the Rev. Mr. Duché, Chaplain to the Asylum.

² Thomas Spence Duché, only son of Rev. Jacob Duché, was born at Philadelphia. His portrait of Bishop Seabury, engraved by Sharpe, is dedicated to Benjamin West, by his friend and pupil. He was, at the time of his death, 26 years and 6 mos. of age; he was buried in Lambeth Churchyard.

the cushion, and knelt in silent prayer. While thus engaged, he felt that he ought not to preach that sermon. Arising, he laid it aside, took a text from the epistle of the day, and preached as the Spirit prompted.

In 1787 he was present at Lambeth, when his old associate William White was consecrated as one of the first Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. He returned to Philadelphia in May, 1792, and for a few weeks was, with his family, the guest of his friend Bishop White, who wrote: "During their being with me, there took place the interesting incident of his visit to President Washington; who had been apprized of and consented to it; and manifested generous sensibility, on observing on the limbs of Mr. Duché, the effects of a slight stroke of paralysis sustained by him in England." His wife died in 1797,¹ and the next year he was interred by her side in St. Peter's Churchyard. Says the inscription upon the marble tablet:—

"On Wednesday morning, January 3d, 1798, the Rev. Jacob Duché passed from his temporal to his eternal and angelic life, aged 59 years, 11 mos., 3 days."

His friends could not mourn his departure. In the lines attributed to Isaac Watts—

"Softly his fainting head he lay
Upon his Maker's breast;
His Maker kissed his soul away,
And laid his flesh to rest."

¹ The following obituary is in the June number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1797:—

"In the city of Philadelphia, North America, Mrs. Duché, wife of Rev. Jacob Duché, formerly Chaplain of the Asylum in St. George's Fields.

"This lady met with her death, in the following uncommon manner: while opening a sash window, the sand-bag upon the window fell on, and struck the back part of her head with such violence that she survived but few hours.

"In the circle of her acquaintance, both here and in America, she will be as sincerely lamented, as she was deservedly esteemed and affectionately admired. She was a most sincere and practical Christian, of a meek temper, the product of an improved mind, a communicative disposition, and an affectionate heart. Unknown to the world, she shone in the narrower but important sphere of domestic life, in an eminent degree, finding her happiness at home."

SAMUEL JOHN ATLEE.

BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

(Centennial Collection.)

The family of Atlee reached distinction very early in the history of England. Contemporaneous with Richard Cœur de Lion was Sir Richard Atte Lee, who appears conspicuously in the ballads of Robin Hood, and who is represented in the "Lytell Geste" as saying—

"An hondreth wynter here before
Myne Aunsetters Knyghtes have be."

Antiquarians mention others of the name who lived later, and were of almost equal note. As to what was the connection between these ancient knights and the Pennsylvania hero, whose career I have undertaken to sketch, genealogists give us no certain information. His father, William Atlee, of Fordhook House, England, married against the wishes of his family Jane Alcock, a cousin of William Pitt, and being, perhaps for that reason, thrown upon his own resources, obtained, through the assistance of Pitt, a position as secretary to Lord Howe. He came with Howe to America, landing in Philadelphia, in July, 1734.¹

Samuel John, the second child of the runaway couple, was born in the year 1739, at Trenton, New Jersey, during the temporary residence of his parents at that place. His father died in Philadelphia in 1744, and his mother, persuaded by the friendship and acting under the advice of Edward Shippen, removed with her five children to Lancaster, Pa., where the earlier years of his life were spent. From the Reverend McGraw, a man of note, who united the two congenial occu-

¹ For materials for this sketch I am much indebted to Samuel Yorke Atlee, of Washington, D. C., and to the article of John B. Linn, in the *American Historical Record*, vol. iii. p. 448.

pations of a Presbyterian divine and a pedagogue, he received as thorough an education as could well be obtained in those days, and afterwards commenced the study of law.

This pursuit, adopted in extreme youth, was abandoned at the breaking out of the French and Indian War, when an ardent temperament and a sense of duty induced him to enter another field, more brilliant and more active, in which he was destined to perform services of great benefit to the cause of his country, and well worthy the remembrance of posterity.

He was commissioned an ensign in Col. Wm. Clapham's Augusta regiment on the 23d of April, 1756, having then only completed his sixteenth year, and was promoted to a lieutenancy, Dec. 7, 1757.¹ The testimony of Major James Burd, at about that date, is that he was sprightly, spirited, possessed of culture, and attentive to his duties.

In the summer of 1757, he narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Indians. He and Sergeant Samuel Miles, long companions in arms, went together about half a mile from Fort Augusta to gather plums. The tree stood in a cleared space near a spring which has since borne the name of "The Bloody Spring." While they, heedless of danger, were busily engaged in plucking and eating the fruit, a party of the wily foe, under cover of the wood and brush, had succeeded in getting almost between them and the fort. As it chanced, however, just at that time a soldier of the Bullock Guard came to the spring to get some water, and the Indians, unable to resist the temptation or fearing discovery, fired at and killed him. His misfortune saved Miles and Atlee, who forsook their banquet of plums and hastened with all speed to the fort.²

Atlee participated in the Forbes' Campaign against the French and Indians, and was engaged in a battle near Fort Du Quesne, Sept. 15, 1758, and in another at Loyal Hanna, Oct. 12, 1758. He was commissioned a captain, May 13, 1759, and was in the service altogether eleven years, during which

¹ Penna. Archives, vol. iii. p. 89, 336.

² Amer. Hist. Rec., vol. ii. p. 51.

time he was taken prisoner, once by the French and another time by the Indians. From a letter written to Major Burd, June 6, 1757, it would appear that he was then in command at Fort Halifax.

On the 19th of April, 1762, he married Sarah Richardson, the daughter of a reputable farmer in the neighborhood of Lancaster, and, at the close of his protracted term of military service, retired to a farm near that city in the expectation of passing the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of domestic happiness and tranquillity. He was not, however, long to remain undisturbed. But a few years had elapsed before the constantly increasing difficulties between Great Britain and her colonies had culminated in a resort to arms, and Atlee was one of a very small number in Lancaster County who possessed military experience. During the year 1775 he was constantly engaged in organizing and drilling troops. In the spring of 1776 the Assembly of Pennsylvania determined to raise a force of fifteen hundred men for the defence of the State, to consist of two battalions of riflemen and one of musketry.

The musketry battalion comprised eight companies, each having a captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, a fifer, drummer, and fifty-two privates. The uniform of the men seems to have been blue coats faced with red, white jackets, and buckskin breeches. The two battalions of riflemen were consolidated into one regiment under the command of Samuel Miles, the old friend of Atlee, and John Cadwalader was chosen as the colonel of the musketry. Cadwalader, however, declined, because his request for the command of the other battalion had not been complied with, and on the 21st of March, Atlee was selected to fill the vacancy in preference to Col. Daniel Brodhead and Major Coates, who had made application for the position. Caleb Parry, a descendant of one of the Welsh families of the Chester Valley, was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel, and James Potts, Major. The ranks of the other officers were fixed in the following order:—

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
Patrick Anderson,	Walter Finney,	James Lang,
Peter Z. Lloyd,	Matthias Weidman,	Wm. Henderson,
Francis Murray,	Morton Garret,	Alex. Huston, Jr.,
Abraham Marshall,	John Davis,	John Kirk,
Thomas Herbert,	Joseph McClellan,	James Sutor,
Abraham Dehuff,	Robert Caldwell,	Henry Valentine,
John Nice,	Barnard Ward,	Michael App,
Joseph Howell, Jr.	Peter Shaffner.	Joseph Davis. ¹

Atlee left his wife and her family of young children without any other attendant or assistant than John Hamilton, a man hired to do the work on his farm, who was in consequence excused from the performance of military duties, and hastened to his command.

Some empty houses at Chester and Marcus Hook were rented for barracks, and the work of recruiting and drilling commenced. Money, however, was scarce, equipments were scanty, and the services of the troops were in demand to assist the Continental Army almost immediately. Parry took four companies to Philadelphia on the 13th of June, and the remainder of the battalion soon followed.

Its strength was as follows:—

	July 1st.	Aug. 1st.
Anderson's Company,	56	49
Lloyd's "	61	38
Murray's "	52	49
Marshall's "	44 (Now Jos. McClellan's)	50
Dehuff's "	64	59
Herbert's "	57	55
Nice's "	55	50
Howell's "	55	47
	<hr/> 444	<hr/> 397 ²

On the 3d of July, Congress made a requisition upon the Council of Safety for as many of these battalions as could be spared, to be placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and receive Continental pay and rations.

About half of Atlee's battalion were then without firelocks,

¹ Votes of Assembly, vol. vi. p. 702.

² Penna. Archives, vol. iv. p. 780; vol. v. p. 4.

but the necessity for their presence was so great that they were ordered to march on the 5th, and arrived at Amboy on the 21st. Though inadequately equipped, they, according to the testimony of an observer, "alarmed the enemy not a little." On the 2d of August, Atlee wrote, from Perth Amboy, that many of the men were without either shirts, breeches, or stockings, in their present state they could not be kept clean, and, if it had not been that they were in the face of the enemy, he would consider the maintenance of strict discipline a cruelty.

On the 11th of August, he marched to New York, bearing a letter of introduction to Washington from Gen. Hugh Mercer, but with his troops "in a disgraceful situation with respect to clothing." They encamped with the rest of the army on Long Island.

Before light, on the fatal morning of the 27th of August, word came that a picket on the lower road leading to the Narrows had been attacked, and with the first dawn, Stirling's brigade, consisting of the battalions of Smallwood, Haslett, Lutz, Kichline, and Atlee, in all about twenty-three hundred men, were sent to repel the enemy. About half after seven o'clock they met the left wing of the British Army, consisting of nine regiments of infantry with artillery advancing under command of Gen. Grant. Atlee was sent forward to check the enemy at a morass, and he sustained a severe artillery fire until the brigade formed upon a height. He then filed off to the left, and seeing a hill about three hundred yards ahead, advantageously situated to prevent any flank movement, he marched toward it to take possession. When within fifty yards of the summit he was, however, received by a heavy fire from the enemy, who had anticipated him.

At first, his detachment, consisting of his own battalion and two companies of Delaware troops, wavered, but they soon recovered, and charged with so much resolution that the British were compelled to retire from the hill, with a loss of fourteen killed and seven wounded. The men, flushed with their advantage, were eager to pursue; but Atlee, perceiving a stone fence lined with wood about sixty yards to the front, and thinking it might prove to be an ambuscade, ordered a

halt. His conjecture proved to be correct. A hot fire was poured into them from behind this fence, but was returned with so much vigor that the enemy retreated. In this engagement, lasting for fifteen minutes, the brave Parry, long lamented as the first Pennsylvanian of distinction to lose his life in the Revolutionary War, was struck on the forehead by a ball and instantly killed.

The British afterwards made two successive efforts in force to gain this eminence, but were both times repulsed with severe loss, including among their killed Lieut.-Col. Grant. After the failure of their last attempt, however, Atlee discovered that the American left and centre had been driven back, and that the enemy had swept around to his rear. He sent word of his successes to Stirling and asked for orders, but getting no reply he concluded to retire and join the brigade. Much to his astonishment, he found that it had withdrawn without his having been informed. He still had time to make good his retreat, but perceiving the rear of the Americans in the act of crossing a body of water and a force of British grenadiers advancing against them, with the instinct of a true soldier, he led his fatigued troops to the attack, and by a determined effort succeeded in holding the enemy at bay long enough to enable his friends to escape, and to prevent all chance of his following their example.

After several other struggles, wearied and worn out with hopeless and continued fighting, and not having eaten or drunk for twenty-four hours, he with the remnant of his force, about forty men, was compelled to surrender.¹ He might well claim, as he afterwards did, that to the exertions of his battalion the preservation of the American Army on that disastrous day was largely due. On the 5th of September, Col. Daniel Brodhead wrote: "poor Atly I can hear nothing of. Col. Parry died like a hero." And the next day, Jos. Reed in a letter to his wife said: "I am glad Atlee is safe, because everybody allows he behaved well."² The battalion

¹ Atlee's Journal, Penna. Archives, sec. series, vol. i. p. 511.

² Reed's Reed, vol. i. p. 231.

lost in commissioned officers: killed, Lieut.-Col. Parry and Lieut. Moore; prisoners, Col. Atlee, Captains Murray, Herbert, Nice, and Howell, Lieut. Finney and Ensigns Henderson, Huston, and Septimus Davis; and missing Ensign App. There were prisoners and missing among the non-commissioned officers and privates:—

	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.
Anderson's Company,	1	0	9
Murray's "	0	0	10
Herbert's "	0	0	8
Dehuff's "	0	0	6
Nice's "	0	0	9
Howell's "	0	0	7
McClellan's "	0	0	12
Late Lloyd's "	0	1	14
	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 75 ¹

The shattered condition of the battalion is attested by a letter from Capt. Patrick Anderson, who took command, to Franklin on the 22d of September; in which, after referring to the losses in the battle and subsequent discouragements, he says: that the number remaining for duty was only eighty-three, and that "want of necessarys Sowered the men's minds. Deficiencies in their Stipulated Rations hath Increased it." Atlee was held as a prisoner until October 1st, 1778, about twenty-six months, and was for a part of the time confined on a prison ship. He was one of a very few who possessed sufficient courage to continue wearing the rebel uniform after finding that it led to insult and abuse. He and Miles, still companions, made strenuous efforts to relieve the wants of those prisoners who, as winter approached, suffered from the lack of clothing and provisions. Houssacker, a Major of Wayne's battalion, who had deserted to the enemy, came among them to endeavor to persuade them to pursue the same course, saying that Washington was compelled to pay enormous bounties to keep any force in the field, and that the war was virtually ended, but his efforts received no encouragement.² Shortly

¹ Penna. Gazette, Sept. 11, 1776.

² Graydon's Memoirs, p. 205, 218.

after Atlee's exchange, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, through their President Joseph Reed, recommended him to Washington for promotion to the grade of a Brigadier-General; saying, that "his merit and sufferings rendered him worthy their Regard & Attention," but without success, there being no vacancy. At this juncture, however, his old friends of Lancaster County, proud of his career, transferred him from the field to the council, electing him a member of Congress, November 20, 1778.

He took his seat December 24th, and served in this capacity until October 28, 1782, omitting one year. In Congress he was at once awarded a prominent position, and his name is associated with the principal measures coming before that body, especially with reference to the conduct of the war. He was one of two members appointed to attend the board of war, and one of five to visit the New Hampshire grants. He was a member of the committees to which at various times were referred Washington's plan for a western expedition in 1779, the attack upon the fort at Paulus Hook, Brodhead's Expedition against the Mingo and Muncy Indians, the revolt in the Pennsylvania line in 1781, the court of inquiry as to Gen. Gates' conduct of the war in the South, "the late murderous and wanton execution of Col. Haynes" in 1781, the victory at Eutaw Springs, the advancement of Knox and Moultrie to be Major-Generals, and the raising of troops. Just before the close of his last term he participated in a scene which, though the actors were our revolutionary forefathers and the subject the dry details of a mathematical calculation, nevertheless provokes a grave smile. \$1,200,000 had to be raised to pay the interest on the public debt, and the committee, having the subject in charge, made a report, apportioning the amount among the different States. Delegates from no less than eight of the thirteen were on their feet immediately trying to get their respective allotments reduced. Maryland wanted to transfer part of her burden to Connecticut, and Connecticut thought she was overloaded already. Rhode Island tried to give a part of her quota to New Jersey; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania a part of theirs to Virginia.

New York, New Hampshire, and Georgia, more modest, only asked to have their respective proportions diminished, the last "because of the ravages of the war." As, however, each motion was supported by the delegates from the interested State alone and opposed by all the others, the report of the committee was finally adopted.¹

Atlee served as Lieutenant of Lancaster County, a position of much labor and responsibility in 1780; and in 1783 was elected a member for that county of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. On the 23d of February, 1784, he, William Maclay, and Francis Johnston were appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians for the unpurchased lands within the limits of the State.

They met the chiefs of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. (Rome), on the 24th of October, and these transactions, which secured to Pennsylvania the title to land now forming fourteen entire counties and portions of others, are worthy of a brief reproduction. Atlee, on behalf of the commissioners, said to the Indians, that the young men who were now numerous required more territory, and that they, according to the customs of their forefathers, had come to purchase, so that the settlements might be made in peace; that for this purpose they had brought a valuable and suitable cargo as a compensation, but that since the lands were remote a great consideration ought not to be expected. The Indians took a day to deliberate, and replied through a chief of the Senecas that it was not their wish to part with so much of their hunting-grounds, and they pointed out a line which they hoped would prove satisfactory.

This proposition the commissioners rejected, adding that the privilege of hunting might be retained, and that they had an assortment of goods of the first quality valued at \$4000, which certainly ought to convince the Indians of the many advantages flowing from trade with their brothers of Pennsylvania. The chief then replied, that, since they wanted to keep the way smooth and even and to brighten the chains of friendship,

¹ Journals of Congress.

they would agree, but as lands afforded a lasting and rising profit, and as Pennsylvanians were always generous, they hoped to receive something further the following year. An additional \$1000 was promised, and the deeds were signed. The commissioners went from there to Sunbury, and thence to Fort McIntosh, Pa. (Beaver), where they met the Wyandots and Delawares, who had a claim on the lands. These tribes confirmed the sale after vainly endeavoring to retain a small reservation.¹ By lying on the damp ground during this journey, Atlee contracted a cold from which he never recovered. He was elected a member of the Assembly in the years 1782, 1785, and 1786, and, while attending the session in Philadelphia in 1786, ruptured a bloodvessel during a paroxysm of coughing, and died on the 25th of November.

"So past the strong heroic soul away,
And when they buried him, the little port
Had seldom seen a costlier funeral."

His remains, attended by two celebrated divines, and followed by the Supreme Executive Council, the Assembly which had adjourned for the purpose, the magistrates of the city, army officers, and a numerous concourse of citizens, were borne to Christ Church-yard and there interred. The newspapers of the time, recognizing his worth and services, published warm eulogies upon his character, and his death at the early age of forty-eight years was universally deplored. There is, however, a darker side to the picture. The public service of Atlee, requiring the abandonment of home and family, and attended by exposure and deprivation, was performed not only at the expense of his health and comfort, but of his private fortune. In 1780, 1782, and again in 1783, he suggested to the Assembly the propriety of some remuneration. A few days after his death, a petition from a number of citizens, accompanied with vouchers, was presented to the Assembly, setting forth his labors in the cabinet, and the field, in the cause of the State, and the United States, and asking that his family receive some adequate compensation. So far as we

¹ Minutes of Assembly, 1784, p. 314.

have been able to ascertain, the matter was permitted to slumber without action.

It is now too late to repay in any way these debts to the worthies of the American Revolution, but we can at least see to it that ourselves and our children preserve a lasting sense of gratitude for their services, and that in the hurry and bustle of our present growth and prosperity their courage and sacrifices from which we derive the benefit be not permitted to fall into forgetfulness.

Dr. Wm. P. Dewees, of the University of Pennsylvania, said of Atlee, that he was a very handsome man, of faultless manners. He had a fresh and ruddy complexion, brown hair, and blue eyes, and his military bearing set off to advantage an erect and full figure.

His "personal respectability" impressed President Madison. That he could be moved to anger is proven by the fact that he inflicted personal and public chastisement upon a very celebrated man of the time who said something derogatory to the character of Washington. He left nine children, one of whom married the daughter of Anthony Wayne, and from this union the only living descendants of that great captain derive their origin.

MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE.

(Centennial Collection.)

NATHANIEL GREENE was born on the 6th of June, 1742, at Potowomut, in the town of Warwick, Rhode Island. His father was a farmer, a miller, an anchor-smith, and a Quaker preacher. His first years were passed on the farm, in the mill, and at the forge. His first text-books were the Bible and Barclay's Apology. A chance acquaintance, formed in a ramble over the fields, first awoke his desire for knowledge methodized. A visit to Newport, to buy a book, threw him,

by another chance, into the company of Ezra Stiles, then chief of American scholars, who taught him what books to buy. His first taste of science was in the rigorous demonstrations of Euclid, which he studied by the corn-hopper, as it shook down the golden grain, or by the forge while the iron was heating under the blast of the huge bellows. At the same time he did his daily tasks so well, performed his filial duties so cheerfully, that his father, casting his prejudices behind him, gave him a Latin master. The memory of those who first stimulated the curiosity and shaped the thoughts of youth, should not be forgotten. Greene's teacher was a well-trained Scotchman of the name of Maxwell. Shall I say that it was chance also which brought this good scholar to the little village of East Greenwich, just as a new genius was entering upon the struggles of life?

From Maxwell, Greene learned to love the Latin poets, and took special delight in Horace. Locke, also, whom the progress of intellectual and political science in our days has left somewhat in the background, but who was the chosen guide of our fathers, became the companion of his pillow. His father had a lawsuit, and the future general bought Blackstone's Commentaries and Jacobs' Law Dictionary, and made himself master of their contents, in order to follow up the case more intelligently. Butler's Analogy confirmed his taste for profound reasoning, and Swift's vigorous English awakened his sense of style. To form his own style he engaged in a correspondence with Samuel Ward, his junior by many years, but who was enjoying the advantages of a liberal education in the young Rhode Island college. He got his Greek and Roman history from Plutarch and Rollin; his English from Hume and Rapin. Hume's essays he read with deep interest, and carefully meditated the generalizations of Ferguson's Civil Society. A local reputation was the natural fruit of such a youth, and on his removal to Coventry, where a branch of the iron-works had been established, he was chosen to represent the town in the General Assembly. His first act of citizenship was to set measures on foot for the establishment of a school.

Thus Lexington found him with a mind trained to observation and thought, a body hardened by the sports and labors of country life, and a character formed by an attentive study of books and men. He was early to see that the dispute between England and her colonies must sooner or later be decided by the sword, and set himself to prepare for his part in it by the study of military history, and of works on the art of war. He was among the first to perceive that the strength of the colonies lay in their union, and that to succeed they must rise above local prejudices and learn to look upon the thirteen parts as an undivided and indivisible whole. "For my own part," he wrote to Governor Ward on the 16th of October, 1775, "I would as soon go to Virginia as stay here. I can assure the gentlemen to the southward, that there could not be anything more abhorrent proposed, than a union of those [the northern] colonies for the purpose of conquering the southern colonies." When the moment for action came, he threw off his Quaker garb and took a leading part in the formation of an independent company, still known in Rhode Island as the Kentish Guards.

The severe discipline of the siege of Boston followed, in which he won for life the confidence and affection of Washington. In the movements around New York he took an active part, though for a portion of the time ill with fever. Trenton and Princeton came next—a brilliant surprise and a bold change of base—which foiled the well-directed efforts of the enemy, and won secure winter quarters for our weary men—in all the glories of which he largely shared. It was in the dark hours of that decisive winter that Greene first crossed the threshold of Independence Hall. For communing with him in unrestrained confidence, Washington had laid his heart bare before him, telling him what he foresaw, what he feared, what he needed, and saying: "Go and tell these things to the Congress, for you know them all, and I dare not trust them to paper."

The echoes of the "Declaration" were still lingering around these walls when Greene first entered their hallowed precincts. There sat John Hancock, who first put his name to the con-

secrated roll, as president; graceful, dignified, fully conscious of the weight which high bearing gives to high position. At the table by his side, was Charles Thomson, with long white hair and flashing cavernous eyes; a schoolmaster once, but now hazarding a princely fortune when he signs his name as secretary. And there they all sat in anxious consultation, and bent their inquiring eyes on the ambassador of Washington.

And from time to time, as the war dragged slowly on, revealing new dangers and calling for new sacrifices, Greene returned to that shrine of freedom to take counsel with Congress in the name of his beloved leader.

You remember the Brandywine, where, by a march of four miles in forty-five minutes, he threw himself between the routed right wing of the Americans and the exultant British, checked their advance and saved the artillery. You remember Germantown, where he again covered the retreat, and brought off his troops in safety. You remember Monmouth, and how gallantly he bore himself on that bloody day—the day on which the American soldier first united discipline with valor. You remember Springfield, where he commanded alone, and by his judicious choice of positions and obstinate resistance held the veteran Knyphausen at bay. I will not dwell upon the creative energy which gave, in his hands, such efficiency to the Quartermaster-General's Department, nor pause to remind you that, by his acceptance of the hated burthen at a most critical period of the war, he sacrificed his military ambition to his sense of duty and his love for Washington. But I cannot refrain from reading to you a letter of Washington, which covers the whole ground:—

“As you are retiring from the office of Quartermaster-General, and have requested my sense of your conduct and services while you acted in it, I shall give it to you with the greatest cheerfulness and pleasure. You have conducted the various duties of it with capacity and diligence, entirely to my satisfaction, and, as far as I have had an opportunity of knowing, with the strictest integrity. When *you were prevailed on* to undertake the office, in March, 1778, it was in great disorder and confusion, and by *extraordinary exertions* you so

arranged it as to enable the army to take the field the *moment it was necessary*, and to move with rapidity after the enemy when they left Philadelphia. *From that period to the present time your exertions have been equally great.* They have appeared to me to be the result of system, and to have been well calculated to promote the honour and interest of your country. In fine, I cannot but add that the States have had in you, in my opinion, an able, upright and diligent servant."

I now turn to the South and to that marvellous campaign, in which—and here I but borrow the words of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance: "He found in his own genius ample compensation for the want of men, money, clothes, arms and supplies."

England, unable to subdue her colonies by the North, turned her arms against the South. Savannah fell an easy conquest. Lincoln held out thirty days in Charleston against the combined forces of Clinton and Arburthnot, but was compelled to capitulate. The victorious English spread like a torrent over the Carolinas and Georgia. Gates, with the fresh laurels of Saratoga on his brow, was sent to hold them in check, but was crushed at Camden. "Whom shall we send now?" was the anxious question. The country and the army answered, "Greene."

"I think I am sending you a general," wrote Washington to a Southern friend, "but what can a general do without men, without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions?" And following the same train of thought he wrote to Governor Lee, of Maryland: "The entire confidence I have in the abilities, fortitude, and integrity of General Greene, founded on a long and intimate experience of them, assures me that he will do everything his means will enable him to do, and I doubt not that candid allowances will be made for the peculiar difficulties he has to encounter. I recommend him to your State as worthy of its utmost confidence and support, and to your Excellency in particular, as one whom I rank among the number of my friends."

Greene hastened to put himself at the head of his army, if a body of two thousand three hundred and seven men, only

eight hundred of whom were present and fully fit for duty, could be called an army. Gates had resolved to go into winter quarters; but Greene, who felt that he must first of all awaken the moral sense of his officers and men, ordered a forward movement and pitched his camp at Cheraw, on the banks of the Pedee, just within the borders of South Carolina. Here he could organize his forces, tighten the reins of discipline, and establish relations with the Governors of the States on which he depended for reinforcements and supplies. This he called his camp of repose.

Short, however, was the repose; for Cornwallis, England's best general, was advancing with an army, superior in numbers, perfect in equipments and discipline, and flushed with recent victory. Without moving his main body the American general threw out a detachment under Morgan to alarm his adversary for his left flank. This brought on the brilliant victory of the Cowpens and the masterly retreat of the American army across the Dan, which lured the British general from his base and won for the Americans the chief fruits of victory. Ten days of skilful manœuvring prepared the way for the hard-fought field of Guilford Court House. Cornwallis, though master of the ground, shrank from a new trial of strength with his persistent adversary, and fell back with his shattered forces in swift retreat upon Wilmington. All the plans of the Englishman had been thwarted. All that the American had attempted he had done. Then arose the difficult question: should he pursue Cornwallis into Virginia or, borrowing a lesson from Roman history, strike at his posts in South Carolina?

"Remote from reinforcements," he wrote to Washington on the 29th of March, fifteen days after the battle of Guilford, "inferior to the enemy in numbers, and no prospect of support, . . . I am determined to carry the war immediately into South Carolina. The enemy will be obliged to follow us or give up their posts in that State. If the former takes place it will draw the war out of this State and give it an opportunity to raise its proportion of men. If they leave their posts to fall, they will lose more than they can gain here. If we

continue in this State the enemy will hold their possessions in both. All things considered, I think the movement is warranted by the soundest reasons, both political and military. The manœuvres will be critical and dangerous, and the troops exposed to every hardship. But as I share it with them I hope they will bear up against it with that magnanimity which has already supported them, and for which they deserve everything of their country."

On the 6th of April the adventurous march began. On the 20th he sat down before Camden. A check at Hobkirk's Hill was followed, like the defeat at Guilford, by the retreat of the enemy. For it must be remembered that though he lost battles he won campaigns. Post after post, Fort Watson, Camden, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, Augusta, with its three forts, fell in rapid succession, and on the 22d of May he laid siege to Ninety-Six. Another momentary check was also followed by the fruits of victory, and in the middle of July he paused in his marchings and counter-marchings, to give his weary men a short breathing space on the High Hills of Santee. One more bloody battle and one more bold advance drove the enemy from all their remaining strongholds in the interior, and by the end of November the city of Charleston, a few sea islands, and a narrow strip of coast were all that was left to England of her conquest of the Carolinas.

With the peace of 1783 Greene's public life ended. On the 19th of June, 1786, he died; too soon to take the part that belonged to him in the civil history of his country, and display what Hamilton has designated "the enormous powers of his mind." He died, too, in the darkest hours of the Confederation, leaving the country, to whose service he had consecrated himself, still doubtful whether her hard won independence would prove a blessing or a curse.

"General Greene," wrote Washington to Rochambeau in July, "lately died at Savannah, in Georgia. The public, as well as his family and friends, has met with a severe loss. He was a great and good man indeed."

"General Greene's death," he wrote to Lafayette almost a year later, "is an event which has given such general concern,

and is so much regretted by his numerous friends, that I can scarce persuade myself to touch upon it, even so far as to say that in him you have lost a man, who affectionately regarded and was a sincere admirer of you."

As the political horizon grew darker, and he was looking around him for a strong arm to lean upon, his thoughts went back to the truthfulness and devotion of Greene, and he wrote to Knox: "In regretting, as I have often done, the death of our much lamented friend, General Greene, I have accompanied it of late with a query whether he would not have preferred such an exit to the scene which it is more than probable many of his compatriots may live to bemoan."

The highest honors were paid to Greene's memory everywhere. The Society of the Cincinnati by a special resolution admitted his eldest son to the order at the age of eighteen, and solemnized his obsequies by public observances, in which Hamilton pronounced the funeral oration. Congress voted him a monument at the seat of government. For ninety years this resolve lay forgotten in the constantly accumulating mass of Congressional documents, till a Senator from Rhode Island, Henry Bowen Anthony, allied to Greene by blood, and mindful of what great nations owe to their great men, demanded its fulfilment, and before two more years shall have run their course an equestrian statue from the skilful hand of that eminent American sculptor, Henry Kirk Brown, shall take its place in the goodly company of America's great men, conspicuous amid the adornments of the national capitol, and recall to grateful remembrance the patriotism, the wisdom, the valor, the civil and military genius of Nathaniel Greene.

MEMORIAL NOTICE OF JOHN McALLISTER, JR.

Read by CHARLES M. MORRIS, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
January 14, 1878.

MR. PRESIDENT: Since the last meeting, our Society has lost its oldest member in point of years, and one of its most respected. I refer, as you readily conjecture, to the late Mr. John McAllister, who died on the 17th of December last, at the venerable age of 91 years, 5 months, and 18 days. Except the late Horace Binney, who had reached his 96th year, I do not recall any of our members who has attained so great an age; though one of them, the late Samuel Breck, had reached 91 years and 46 days. Mr. McAllister was admitted into this Society on the 26th of March, 1828; and for nearly half a century contributed, steadily, to its support and usefulness. His father (named also John McAllister) was a native of Scotland, who came to this country just before the Revolution. He soon identified himself with our country, and the newspapers of the time inform us, that in the Grand Federal Procession which, on the 9th of July, 1788, celebrated in this city the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, "Mr. John McAllister and his journeymen" represented the manufacturers in the branch of business to which he belonged. Our late fellow-member was born, as appears by an entry, in his own handwriting, made in our "Birthday Book," on the 29th of June, 1786, in our own city, at the northeast corner of Market and Second Streets; and the whole of his long life was passed among our own citizens, and before their eyes. That at the close of it, those citizens generally should lament his departure is a conclusive proof that it was passed with credit and usefulness. No man, by virtue of his place of birth and scene of life, had a better title to be a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Although from Mr. McAllister's boyhood it was the purpose of his father to devote his son to mercantile pursuits, the

father determined to give him a collegiate education. If his son was to be engaged in commerce or trade, he saw no reason why that son should not be a well-educated, enlightened, and liberally-minded merchant or trader; one whose understanding and conscience, alike, should be instructed and made fit for the work to which his life was to be devoted. He, therefore, sent his son to the University of Pennsylvania, at which seat of science he graduated with credit in the year 1803. He entered, in 1804, into the counting-house of Montgomery & Newbold, merchants of that day, in our city. In 1811, however, a partnership in trade which had existed between his father and a certain Mr. Mathews becoming dissolved, the son took the place of Mr. Mathews, the retiring partner. The firm—which was now known as “John McAllister & Son”—soon became respected through the whole country, and stood at the head of the department—one as much scientific as of trade—which embraces for its subjects, optical and mathematical instruments. Our late member remained in partnership with his father until the death of the latter, A. D. 1830. He himself retired from business five years afterwards; handing it over, A. D. 1835, to his sons, one of whom still continues the business of his father and grandfather, and still maintains their long-established credit of every kind.

At all times of his life, and even as a boy, Mr. McAllister was fond of liberal occupations and studies. Before the seat of Government left this city—while John Adams was President, and even while the august presence of Washington was to be seen in our Senate and Representatives—he had reached an age which made him, in a way, capable of enjoying the great political debates which, in those days, distinguished the Congress of the United States; and he frequently visited both Houses. It was the day when Ellsworth and Cabot and Schuyler and King and Stockton and Morris and Ross and Bingham adorned the Senate, and when Dexter and Sedgwick and Trumbull and Sitgreaves and Boudinot and John Marshall dignified the House. Mr. McAllister often expressed the pleasure with which he listened to the debates, and especially to that with which he listened to the memorable speech

of Mr. Marshall, afterwards Chief Justice, in the case which so much agitated the country, of Jonathan Robins. Of later days—after his retirement from business—as he grew older, and as his mind fed upon recollections, his tastes led him much into the subject of our local antiquities; and his collections of ancient pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts being large and well-arranged, his memory clear, and his judgments both moral and intellectual sound, he was continually appealed to for information about men, things, and events of former days in Philadelphia. He was always obliging in imparting the benefits of his recollection and judgment. Undoubtedly, much knowledge that relates to our men and city since the close of the last century has departed with him.

It was a proof of his scientific mind, and of his capacity to apply it practically, that to him we are indebted for the admirable system of numbering houses according to the number of the streets, which first marked our city, and which since has been found so generally convenient, that it has been adopted in the Capital, and is likely to prevail wherever the plan of streets at all allows it.

Up to the close of his long life, Mr. McAllister took a lively interest in all that concerned Philadelphia. In the recent successful efforts to place our University upon a higher base, and to endow it liberally, he took an especial interest. At the time of his death he was the oldest living graduate of the College, and at the meeting of its Alumni, in the year 1876, as you, Sir, who presided on that occasion will remember, he sent a note, which was read amidst the acclamations of all, in which he expressed his deep interest in the welfare of the College where he had graduated seventy-three years before!

In our own Society he took no less an interest. To our Endowment Fund and to our Publication Fund, especially, he looked with interest, as being means by which the Society's stability was certain to be secured and its usefulness enlarged. Our new Magazine of History and Biography commended itself highly to his judgment.

Though Mr. McAllister was not much communicative of his inner thoughts and feelings on the great topics of Religion,

enough is known to assure us that he was a profound believer in the truths of Revelation. He read the Scriptures constantly; the New Testament often in the original Greek. He attended devoutly on religious worship. He did justly; he loved mercy; he walked humbly with his God. And we may not and do not doubt that he has entered into that rest of another world, which awaits the upright man upon this.

MEMORIAL NOTICE OF STEPHEN TAYLOR.

Read by TOWNSEND WARD before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
January 14, 1878.

MR. PRESIDENT: On the 8th of December, 1877, a late member of our Society, Stephen Taylor, died at his residence in Frankford Avenue, and was buried on the 12th of that month in the Odd Fellows' Cemetery. He was in his seventy-third year, having been born in Mifflinsburg, Union County, of this State, on the third of April, 1805. He was of a good old Pennsylvania stock, being descended from ancestors contemporaneous with Penn, who settled in the vicinity of Tini-cum and Upland.

In the year 1835 Mr. Taylor was delegated by the Grand Sire of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows to organize a Lodge at Mineral Point, Wisconsin. One had already been instituted at Cincinnati, and thus that in Wisconsin was the second in order of time in the vast region of the northwest.

Continuing to remain in a country that greatly interested him, Mr. Taylor soon became Assistant to Major John P. Sheldon, Register of the United States Land Office at Mineral Point, a position which he held until the year 1841. He prepared and published an early map of the Lead Region of Wisconsin, and in 1842 contributed to Silliman's Journal an interesting illustrated paper on the curious animal-shaped mounds of Wisconsin.

In the year 1843 Mr. Taylor returned to his native State,

and established himself here as a conveyancer. In the course of time his sterling qualities became known to his fellow-citizens, and when the city of Philadelphia and the surrounding districts were consolidated, he became the Controller of the enlarged municipality. I need not say that Mr. Taylor's administration of the affairs of an office which had sought him, was in every respect satisfactory.

Mr. Taylor became a member of our Society on the 14th of October, 1861; and on various occasions his appreciation of its importance was manifested. His attendance was infrequent, for his residence was remote from the Hall. By his will he has bequeathed to our Publication Fund the sum of one thousand dollars, the interest thereof to be used for its purposes until the time shall have come to erect a building, when it is to go for that use. With a view to extend the interest in historical studies and to prolong the association of his name with that of our Society, he desires that our publications may be sent for life to his nephew, Charles K. Taylor, of Minersville, Schuylkill County. Besides the legacy mentioned above, Mr. Taylor leaves one thousand dollars to the Wisconsin Historical Society, and ten thousand dollars as a Charity Fund to the Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 464, Vol. I.)

Aug. 12, 1726.	Brightwell,	William, son of John and Elizabeth.
May 26, 1727.	"	Martha, dau. of Jonathan.
Aug. 23, 1717.	Brindley,	Margaret, dau. of James and Mary.
Oct. 9, 1731.	"	Mary, wife of James.
June 14, 1727.	Britt,	Thomas, son of James and Ann.
May 5, 1737.	"	Anne, wife of James.
Nov. 3, 1709.	Brittain,	William.
Mar. 31, 1731.	Broadhurst,	William.
July 10, 1749.	Brocas,	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
June 30, 1745.	Broken,	Priscilla.
May 10, 1748.	Bromage,	Anne, wife of William.
July 6, 1748.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Aug. 6, 1734.	Bromley,	James.
Oct. 25, 1752.	Brook,	Elizabeth, dau. of Jonathan.
Aug. 16, 1758.	"	Jonathan.
Feb. 7, 1735-6.	Brooke,	Henry, Esq. Gen'ell Invita.
Dec. 10, 1718.	Brooks,	Thomas, son of Charles and Jane. [Anne.
Nov. 11, 1722.	"	John.
Sept. 25, 1729.	"	John.
Feb. 5, 1729-30.	"	Charles.
Dec. 14, 1736.	"	Eleanor, dau. of John.—Por-
Dec. 23, 1738.	"	John. [ter.
Aug. 14, 1740.	"	Amos, son of Charles.
July 29, 1752.	"	Catherine, dau. of Jonathan.
Mar. 5, 1739-40.	Broom,	Thomas.
Mar. 5, 1750-1.	Brouse,	John.
Mar. 20, 1709-10.	Brown,	James. [Grisal.
Jan. 19, 1710-11.	"	Thomas, son of Robert and Benjamin.
Feb. 7, 1710-11.	"	James, son of James and Eliza-
Sept. 17, 1711.	"	Mary. [beth.
May 26, 1720.	"	Mary, dau. of Mary. Base
July 26, 1720.	"	Francis. [born.
Aug. 5, 1728.	"	

Mar. 31, 1728-9.	Brown,	Thomas.
Dec. 19, 1732.	"	James. Chas. Williams's ser-
July 9, 1735.	"	Thomas. [vant.
Dec. 13, 1736.	"	John.
Sept. 13, 1737.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Jan. 12, 1738-9.	"	Solomon.
Sept. 2, 1741.	"	John. Mariner.
Aug. 4, 1745.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 7, 1745.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Dec. 10, 1746.	"	Catherine, wife of John.
June 16, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Jeremiah.
April 23, 1751.	"	Michael.
June 3, 1752.	"	Anne, wife of Joseph.
Nov. 12, 1754.	"	John, son of Joseph.
June 18, 1755.	"	—— dau. of Preserve.
July 10, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Joseph.
Sept. 10, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Joseph.
Aug. 24, 1759.	"	Eleanor.
Dec. 16, 1759.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John.
May 16, 1714.	Browne,	Elizabeth, dau. of Sarah and
Feb. 10, 1730-1.	"	Patience, widow. [James.
Aug. 6, 1751.	Brownel,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Oct. 5, 1756.	Brownhill,	William.
Oct. 31, 1756.	"	William.
Sept. 21, 1758.	Bruch,	Sarah, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 18, 1714.	Bruck,	Mary, dau. of Charles and
Sept. 23, 1744.	Brueno,	John, son of John. [Anne.
Aug. 17, 1726.	Bruestar,	Edward, of Barbadoes. Gent.
Nov. 4, 1736.	Brumwell,	Charles, son of Thomas. Beg.
Oct. 24, 1751.	Bruno,	Rebecca, dau. of John.
June 16, 1752.	"	Francis, son of John.
Sept. 20, 1749.	Brunson,	Daniel.
Aug. 7, 1759.	Brusterson,	Hans.
June 19, 1710.	Bruss,	John. <i>Breese</i> .
June 26, 1734.	Bryan,	John.
Aug. 19, 1754.	Bryant,	Jehosheba.
July 21, 1753.	Buckin,	John, son of Charles.
Sept. 6, 1758.	Buckingham,	—— dau. of John.
May 27, 1718.	Buckley,	Edward.
Feb. 20, 1733-4.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
July 23, 1725.	Budd,	Lucy, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 14, 1729.	"	James, son of Thomas.
Aug. 28, 1730.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 5, 1733.	"	Whelley, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 19, 1733.	"	Thomas.

Feb. 3, 1733-4.	Budd,	Charles, son of Thomas.
June 24, 1736.	"	Mary, wife of Thomas.
Nov. 21, 1736.	"	Susannah, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 23, 1744.	Budden,	Richard, son of Richard.
April 26, 1747.	"	Richard, son of Richard.
June 3, 1742.	Buddin,	Hannah, dau. of Richard.
Mar. 15, 1758.	Budding,	—— dau. of William.
Sept. 16, 1736.	Bulah,	Rebecca, wife of John.
Oct. 11, 1725.	Bullard,	Benjamin, of Barbadoes. Gent.
Sept. 2, 1750.	"	Charles.
Oct. 3, 1729.	Bulley,	Esther, dau. of William.
Oct. 26, 1730.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Nov. 2, 1721.	Bullock,	Mary, wife of William.
Nov. 4, 1722.	"	William.
Mar. 17, 1726-7.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 1, 1731-2.	"	Samuel.
Jan. 2, 1738-9.	"	Rebecca, wife of John.
May 13, 1740.	"	Thomas, son of John.
Nov. 23, 1744.	"	Rachel, dau. of George.
July 12, 1755.	"	George.
Oct. 20, 1756.	"	—— son of George.
Dec. 17, 1758.	"	George.
July 16, 1728.	Bully,	John Jennings, son of Mr.
April 19, 1749.	"	William, Esq. [William.
Aug. 2, 1759.	"	Sarah. [Margaret.
Aug. 26, 1718.	Bulock,	Thomas, son of Thomas and
July 28, 1711.	Bunyon,	Ann, dau. of Isaac and Mag-
Sept. 14, 1733.	Burch,	David, son of David. [garet.
Jan. 16, 1736-7.	"	Dehaws, son of John.
Sept. 8, 1740.	"	Susannah, dau. of John.
June 15, 1717.	Burchfield,	Abraham, son of Matthew and
		Sarah.
Sept. 6, 1717.	"	Sarah, wife of Matthew.
Aug. 2, 1741.	Burck,	John.
Jan. 4, 1742-3.	"	John, son of John.
May 3, 1748.	"	Elinor, wife of Patrick.
April 30, 1733.	Burd,	Elizabeth, dau. of Jeremiah.
Sept. 26, 1743.	Burden,	Catherine, dau. of John.
June 21, 1745.	"	Elinor, dau. of John.
July 23, 1747.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Jan. 20, 1709-10.	Burges,	James.
June 14, 1736.	Burk,	Joseph, son of Benjamin.
Jan. 13, 1736-7.	"	Sarah Ann, dau. of John.
Feb. 11, 1736-7.	"	William, son of John.
July 3, 1738.	"	Margaret, wife of John.

Nov. 13, 1751.	Burk,	Susannah, dau. of William.
Aug. 17, 1735.	Burn,	Elizabeth, wife of Thomas.
June 28, 1729.	Burnell,	Elizabeth.
Sept. 19, 1725.	Burrel,	Ann, servant to Dr. Bard.
Nov. 8, 1752.	Burroughs,	Arthur.
Sept. 11, 1745.	Burrows,	Elizabeth. Strangers' Ground.
July 19, 1747.	"	George, son of Arthur.
Aug. 19, 1757.	"	William.
July 30, 1759.	"	William.
May 20, 1714.	Busell,	Joseph, son of Joseph and
Dec. 31, 1717.	Busey,	William. [Sarah.
Dec. 10, 1746.	Bush,	John.
Sept. 1, 1730.	Butcher,	John.
Feb. 1, 1726-7.	Butler,	Mary, dau. of Thomas. Stran-
Aug. 9, 1738.	"	Thomas. [gers' Ground.
Mar. 9, 1739-40.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
June 7, 1741.	"	Thomas.
Mar. 20, 1747-8.	"	Mary.
May 23, 1714.	Buttler,	Mary, dau. of Thomas and
Dec. 4, 1748.	Butwall,	John. [Mary.
Dec. 9, 1748.	"	Bathia.
Feb. 3, 1743-4.	Bywater,	Sarah, dau. of Jervis.
May 9, 1745.	"	William.
May 4, 1749.	"	Jervis.
Dec. 1, 1750.	"	Joseph, son of Jervis.
Aug. 22, 1755.	"	—— dau. of William.
Aug. 11, 1756.	"	—— dau. of William.
Aug. 26, 1757.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Oct. 11, 1759.	"	Jarvis, son of William.
Oct. 5, 1718.	Bywatter,	Joan.
Mar. 21, 1737-8.	"	Ann, wife of William.
Feb. 3, 1741-2.	Cadder,	John.
Sept. 13, 1736.	Cadman,	Elizabeth, dau. of Anthony.
Mar. 21, 1737-8.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Anthony.
April 26, 1750.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Anthony.
Nov. 1, 1736.	Caine,	Enos.
Mar. 24, 1747-8.	Calcut,	Mary.
Feb. 12, 1749-50.	Callahan,	John.
Oct. 27, 1759.	Callahoon,	Mary, dau. of Morris.
Nov. 6, 1759.	Calvert,	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
July 27, 1755.	Cambel,	John.
Jan. 31, 1728-9.	Cambridge,	Giles. Presbyterian Ground.
July 7, 1746.	Campbel,	John, son of John.
July 19, 1746.	"	Catherine, son of John.

Feb. 4, 1753.	Campbel,	John, son of Thomas.
Feb. 9, 1757.	"	—— wife of Thomas.
Mar. 2, 1728-9.	Campbell,	John.
Feb. 11, 1729-30.	"	Archibald.
June 9, 1732.	"	James, son of John.
Oct. 12, 1733.	"	Rachel, dau. of John.
Feb. 12, 1757.	"	Allen.
Dec. 6, 1731.	Campion,	George.
June 15, 1744.	"	Mary.
Sept. 4, 1756.	Canady,	—— son of Patrick.
Oct. 18, 1733.	Cane,	Abel.
Jan. 2, 1738-9.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Jan. 26, 1749-50.	"	Anne.
July 10, 1751.	"	James, son of James.
June 6, 1751.	Canterbury,	Giles.
Oct. 13, 1723.	Capper,	Robert.
Oct. 15, 1738.	Cappock,	John, son of James.
Jan. 8, 1752.	Cappock,	Mary, wife of James.
Nov. 10, 1748.	Car,	Anthony.
Jan. 8, 1726-7.	Carber,	Edward. Strangers' Ground.
May 23, 1754.	Carbut,	Susannah, dau. of Joseph.
April 16, 1756.	Carear,	Abraham.
Mar. 14, 1730-1.	Carleton,	Alice.
June 18, 1732.	Carley,	Walter, son of William.
Oct. 16, 1759.	Carlisle,	Hugh.
Sept. 19, 1742.	Carmack,	James.
Aug. 24, 1736.	Carmalt,	Sarah, dau. of Joseph.
June 28, 1738.	"	Benjamin, son of Joseph.
Jan. 6, 1743-4.	"	Joseph, son of Joseph.
Aug. 29, 1747.	"	Jane, wife of Joseph.
Oct. 9, 1751.	"	Benjamin, son of Joseph.
Feb. 3, 1755.	"	John.
Mar. 17, 1756.	"	Joseph.
Sept. 4, 1756.	Carmick,	—— dau. of Stephen.
July 14, 1740.	Carmm,	Edward, son of Thomas.
Dec. 30, 1750.	Carne,	Simon, son of John.
June 23, 1759.	"	Ann. [becca.
June 21, 1712.	Carney,	John, son of Philip and Re-
July 24, 1722.	Carpenter,	Joshua.
July 12, 1723.	"	Charles, son of Capt.
Oct. 30, 1729.	"	Elizabeth. Strangers' Ground.
April 19, 1731.	"	Mary, dau. of Samuel.

JANUARY MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A quarterly meeting of the Society was held on the evening of January 14, 1878, the President (Mr. Wallace) in the chair.

The order of business being suspended, the President introduced Mr. William Brooke Rawle, who read a short sketch of Samuel Shoemaker, of Philadelphia, a loyalist of the American Revolution, with extracts from his diary.

Mr. William J. Morris was introduced, and read a sketch of Alexander Lawson, the engraver, from material furnished by his daughter to Mr. Jordan, and arranged with some additions by Mr. Ward.

Mr. Samuel W. Pennypacker read a memoir of Colonel Samuel J. Atlee.

Mr. Longstreth exhibited and placed on deposit a map of the Northwestern Territory, engraved by John Fitch, and a prospectus for the sale of lands thereon.

Mr. R. J. C. Walker presented to the Society certain papers, including—

1st. An order for an election, dated on the 29th day of September, 1696, and signed by Governor William Markham.

2d. A commission of Governor John Penn, dated Nov. 3d, 1766.

3d. A broadside, dated September 23, 1766, issued by Gov. John Penn.

Additions to the library since the last meeting were reported to be one hundred and eighty-six; of which one hundred and thirty-one were bound volumes; three, maps; two, manuscripts; and twenty-two, miscellaneous.

Mr. Ward announced the death, on the 8th of December, of Mr. Stephen Taylor, and read a brief sketch of his life; he announced also that by his last will, Mr. Taylor had left \$1000 to the Trustees of the Publication Fund of the Society, the same to be paid on the death of his wife.

Mr. Charles M. Morris announced the death, on the 17th December, 1877, of John McAllister, Jr., at the age of 91. He also read a sketch of his life.

Dr. Ruschenberger moved the thanks of the Society to the several gentlemen who had addressed it, and the same were unanimously voted.

The minutes of the proceedings were read and approved.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION INTO WESTERN NEW YORK IN 1615, AND THE RECENT IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORT BY GEN. JOHN S. CLARK.—There has always gathered around Champlain's expedition into the land of the Five Nations, a romance inseparable from bold and gallant adventure. It was not perhaps prudent, it was not war, but it was brilliant, and it had all the dash of a zealous explorer, eager to see something new.

While Virginia was just struggling into life, and the States of Holland were organizing into a government the few frail structures thrown up at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, while New England was still a desert, its woods not yet tuned to echo the psalmody of the Puritan, Samuel de Champlain, who had fought too long against the Leaguers in France to relish listless idleness, had explored the New England coast and mapped all its harbors, had founded Quebec, ascended the Ottawa, and reached Lake Huron, had discovered the lake that bears his name, and taken a hand in Indian wars.

There was just the stir and the freshness in it all that charmed him. In 1615, he was at a Huron town near Lake Simcoe, and his Huron and Algonquin allies were planning a great expedition against an enemy who lay beyond Ontario (*the beautiful lake*), in the lake-dotted fertile territory to the south. The town of a tribe, whom he styles in his narrative the Entouehonorons, was to be the point of attack. A kindred nation, the Carantouanais (Great tree—Garonta-(go)wané), stout warriors, living in three towns near the Susquehanna, were to co-operate with the Hurons. Would Champlain take a hand in the matter? Of course he would. One of his men, Stephen Brulé, started with twelve Indians to communicate their plans to their allies, the Carantouanais, and reached their town after daringly crossing the enemy's country.

Champlain, with the rest of his Frenchmen, joined the great Huron war party, and after the usual feasts and dances, the Frenchmen and their dusky allies left the town of Cahigue, their starting-point, north of Lake Simcoe.

Of this expedition Champlain is our historian, for he was always ready with his pen, and as a trained navigator mapped a coast or country with no little skill and accuracy. His account appeared first in a volume of his voyages, published at Paris in 1619, with a picture of the Indian fort; and in an abridged form in a general collection of his voyages, published in the French capital in 1632, and accompanied by a map of New France, on which the course of the expedition over New York soil, and the position of the fort which the Hurons and their French allies attacked, are laid down.

The Recollect Sagard wrote, subsequently to the expedition, two works, his "Great Voyage to the Huron Country," and his "History of Canada;" but neither of these volumes throws any further light upon the route pursued, or the citadel which the allies proposed to take. The later work of the Recollect LeClercq, based on manuscripts of Champlain's time, introduces a few new facts, but is too vague to be of any service in the main question.

The documents bearing upon the point are, therefore, Champlain's narrative (1619), the picture of the fort, and the map in the edition of 1632. Unfortunately, these have not been found so clear that scholars have agreed on the route followed, or the position of the fort which Champlain depicts. The discussion has lasted some years, and opinions have differed widely.

Various sites have been assigned to the fort, extending from the neighborhood of Oneida Lake on the East, to Canandaigua on the west, from the land of the Oneidas to the homes of the Senecas; while one history of Canada wildly puts it on Lake St. Clair. The Hon. O. H. Marshall, one of the earliest to treat it in a scholarly manner, maintained that the fort was south of Oneida Lake and near Lake Onondaga. In the newly-established Magazine of American History, he defends his position with skill and learning. Dr. O'Callaghan, a veteran in New York history, followed by Parkman and the Canadian scholars, Ferland and Laverdiere, holds the opinion that the fort was on Canandaigua Lake; while Brodhead, in his History of New York, and Clark, the historian of Onondaga, adopted Mr. Marshall's view.

After long and patient study of the position of the various towns in the Iroquois country, at different epochs, which gives him exceptional familiarity, not only with their town sites, but of the great Indian trails. Gen. John S. Clark, of Auburn, has taken up the Champlain Expedition seriously, and the results attained are remarkable, and seem destined to afford scholars a satisfactory solution of this vexed question.

His theory was embodied in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, at their April meeting in 1877, and has received from his later researches support that appears conclusive. As it was a question in which, as a student of the French period of operations, I was personally interested, I listened to his paper with the deepest interest and; as I have not noticed any discussion of its main features, or appreciation of the research and patient investigation it displayed, I ask a space among your contributors.

Mr. Marshall, in his article on the Expedition, in the January number of the Magazine of American History, inclines to reject the map as not being in the volume published in 1619, nor appearing till long after the date of the Expedition. "There was no map to the edition of 1619, and the one which accompanied that of 1632 was not constructed until seventeen years after the date of the expedition, as appears from a memorandum on its face. It may not have been compiled from authentic data. . . . It is also worthy of note that the map is not once referred to by Champlain in his text." Unable to reconcile the text and map, Mr. Marshall is inclined to reject the latter, and his theory seems to require it.

But the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited. His wonderfully accurate surveys of the New England harbors prove his ability, and we know how he gleaned information from the Indians as to parts he was yet to visit. There we expect no accuracy. He embodied such information as he could acquire. In the present case we must take his map of the route as authentic.

General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map, and be compatible with both. If he has succeeded, this alone will give his system extraordinary weight as a mere probability. If at the same time the position he points out corresponds completely to the picture of the fort and its surroundings, no question being raised as to the authenticity of the picture which is in the edition of 1619, the probable approaches the certain. That no other site is known that will answer all the conditions required seems decisive.

The Editor of the Magazine of American History opens his September number with an article by Hon. George Geddes on "The French Invasions of Onondaga." The writer, without entering upon a direct examination of Champlain's narrative and map, but simply taking the statements of recent writers, questions the probability of the position assigned on Onondaga Lake, on the bluff on the north shore near Liverpool, and argues that it was on the table-lands east of Jamesville.

It thus raises a new theory, but is valuable chiefly as showing that the site to which Mr. Marshall leaned is not free from grave objections.

In the same number of the Magazine, the Editor, in his remarks under the head "Notes," misinterprets the conclusions both of Gen. Clark and of Hon. Mr. Geddes, making the former place the fort at the western extremity of Oneida Lake, where he never placed it at all, and Mr. Geddes adopt the Fort St. Mary's theory, which he disputes.

Let us try to follow Champlain on his war-path more than two hundred and sixty years ago.

The Huron town Cahiague, from which the Huron war party set out, Sept. 1, 1615, was some years later called by the Jesuits St. Jean Baptiste, and though it may have been removed from the original site a few miles, cannot be far from the position given it on Du Creux's map, between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching. They embarked on the latter lake, entered Simcoe, and having, as we have seen, sent Brulé with twelve Hurons to the Susquehanna region to notify their allies, they made the portage to Sturgeon Lake, and thence through Pigeon, Buckhorn, Clear, and Rice Lakes, the Ontonabee and Trent Rivers, plying their paddles where there was a good stretch of water, or making a toilsome portage over land at the frequent rapids. They, finally, after 64 leagues travel, reached Quinte Bay, and sailing up that sheet of water, reached the waters of Lake Ontario. Up to this point there is little difference of opinion.

The first difficulty arises as to the point whence they started in their canoes to cross the end of Lake Ontario, and the point they reached. A dotted line on the map, which has been presumed to mark the course by which the expedition advanced, starts from a little peninsula just beyond the mouth of Quinté Bay. This Clark takes to be the place where Kingston now is, while Mr. Marshall evidently makes Champlain pass out of the bay west of Amherst Island, and discards the peninsula.

Confusion is created at this point in translating Champlain. He says, "*Ou estants nous fismes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'Orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande riviere Saint Laurent, par la hauteur de quarante trois degres de latitude. où il y a de belles isles fort grandes en ce passage. Nous fismes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusqu'à l'autre costé du lac, tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis.*"

All who have discussed this matter treat the expressions "tirant à l'orient—tirant au sud" as giving the course followed by Champlain, but the expression is in the singular, while all the participles in the narrative, referring to the party, are in the plural, *chassants, estants, ayants traversé*; and the expression "tirant à" is constantly used by Champlain in topographical descriptions to give the lay of the land. In this case it answers this view perfectly. "Where being (on the shore of Lake Ontario) we made the crossing at one of the extremities, which trends eastward, and which is the commencement of the great river St. Lawrence, at 43° N. latitude, where there are many fine large islands in this passage. We made about fourteen leagues to pass to the other side of the lake, which trends southward towards the enemies' country."

Mr. Marshall inclines to make him cross from the peninsula below Quinté Bay by the chain of islands, eastward the Inner and Outer Ducks, Great and Little Galop, Calf and Stony Islands, to Stony Point in Jefferson County. The map, however, if the dotted line shows the advance of the expedition, makes the start from a peninsula beyond Quinté Bay, and on the north shore, and the course mainly south. The conjecture, therefore, discards the map and makes a landing at a difficult place, so that he has to suppose they debarked lower down.

Gen. Clark thinks Kingston the starting-point, and makes them run east

a distance not given, then southerly fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the Saint Lawrence. He makes the landing-place to have been at Little Sandy Lake, which is thirty-five miles from the St. Lawrence. That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence of which he gives the latitude seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded. If the dotted line is not that of advance but of return, with which it really agrees, there is nothing to militate against the view that he took the course suggested by Gen. Clark.

From the landing-place the expedition marched along the shore four leagues, over a sandy plain crossed by several small streams and two small rivers, many ponds and prairies, fine woods, containing a great many chestnut trees. The map shows only the final point of this shore march, as though the canoes kept on to that point, the text in fact making them conceal the canoes at the landing, and then at the end of the ten miles. But the map shows three ponds near the shore.

The country, from Little Sandy Lake to Salmon River, according to Gen. Clark, exactly answers the distance given; it is as Champlain describes, an agreeable and beautiful country; it has many small streams and two small rivers flowing into the lake, with ponds and meadows, and woods of oak, hickory, and chestnut. Even the three small lakes noted on Champlain's map are identified by him as North and South Ponds in Jefferson County and Little Sandy Lake, and there are at no other point on the Ontario shore three similar lakes or ponds.

At the end of the four leagues the expedition left the shore of the lake, and as the map indicates, at the mouth of a river flowing from three small lakes. Mr. Marshall holds that they passed Salmon River. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which is, according to Gen. Clark, the terminus of the march along the shore. According to him no other stream in that part has the branches issuing from lakes that are called for by Champlain's map. Mr. Marshall held this river to be the Oswego, but this is evidently too far from the point reached after crossing, and nothing in Champlain's narrative suggests a suspicion that he ascended the Oswego, or became aware of the chain of lakes which it drained, for as he lays down only Oneida Lake, he evidently was ignorant of those on the west.

Champlain says: "All the canoes being thus hid, we left the shore of the lake . . . and continued our way by land twenty-five to thirty leagues. During four days we crossed a quantity of streams, and one river proceeding from a lake which empties into that of the Entouohonorons."

The dotted line on Champlain's map, after twice crossing the river, which they followed from Lake Ontario, strikes off towards a lake, south of which is the town they were going to attack. In the reproduction in the Magazine the dotted line goes to the town: in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake, near which the town is placed.

Both Mr. Marshall and General Clark agree that the river crossed was the outlet of Oneida Lake, and that the lake referred to was Oneida Lake. The latter point is attested by a fact which Champlain notes, that the lake contains beautiful islands: and General Clark calls attention to something which is, we believe, not generally known, that Oneida Lake is the only one in Central New York which contains any islands great or small. If General Clark and Mr. Marshall have differed, here they stand together.

The dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have been continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map.

The next question is, what was his next course? Champlain's observant

eye had seen the islands in Lake Oneida, which he so accurately notes. His route, therefore, must have taken him to a point from which he could see them. If he turned towards Onondaga Lake, whether to the point favored by Mr. Marshall or that suggested by Mr. Geddes, he would not have seen Oneida Lake with its islands. General Clark, therefore, holds that crossing the Oneida outlet at Brewerton he passed the great Canaseraga swamp, and, following the great trail east, reached a commanding position on the line of that trail, from which the country can be seen for miles, and Oneida Lake and all its islands is full in view.

To bring Champlain and his allies to this spot agrees with the narrative and the map. Where next? The distance given by Champlain makes it certain that the town was within a known distance of Brewerton.

General Clark here brought to the solution of the question a series of facts which he had accumulated by patient study and examination. The Iroquois are spoken of as a sedentary people, and compared with the Algonquins were so: but from time to time they moved their towns. The reasons for this were several. Sometimes a town proved too much exposed to hostile attack or unhealthy: but when this was not the case a few years made a town unsuited for occupancy. Women did most of the cultivation, they cut and brought in firewood, they kept the house in order. As their fields were never enriched, a succession of crops for ten years would exhaust them so that the yield would not repay their toil. Wood at first would be accessible, but when the women had to make long journeys to cut the wood and had to toil back with their loads, they were as ready for moving into new quarters as any lady could be. Moreover, smoke and vermin in a few years made a house untenable, and these good ladies had a prime way of house-cleaning, by burning the house up and getting a new one. Studying every accessible old map, studying the sites of Indian towns in various parts of the Onondaga country as still easily determined, General Clark found that the towns moved westward, and tracing town site after town site back to the east, he found that a town occupied from about 1600 to 1630 by the Onondagas was one in the town of Fenner near the north line on lot sixty-four, east of Perryville. It was, as stated to him, between two small streams, and adjoining a pool or pond.

To reach the site of this Indian town, where the relics found are all anterior to European trade, Champlain would, after crossing Oneida outlet, take a trail which crossed the very elevation whence the lake with its beautiful islands would lie full in view.

General Clark had not visited the spot when he read his paper before the New York Historical Society, but fixed upon that spot as giving all the features of the picture of the Iroquois town in Champlain, the two streams and the pond, as answering all the requirements of Champlain's narrative, and reconciling the map and the narrative.

He has since visited the site, and finds it so wonderfully to sustain the picture and description given by Champlain, as to leave not the slightest room for doubt. Many know the picture in the French work of the hexagonal palisaded town, fitting to the curve of the stream on either side, and the pond beyond. The pond is Nichols Pond, a sheet of about eight acres; a stream enters the pond, and another issues from it, inclosing the remains of an ancient palisaded town of the stone era, of hexagonal form. The ground around is in many places swampy, the solid ground being the spots where the picture introduces figures, or the cavalier.

Certainly, nowhere else in the length and breadth of the State can an Indian fort of the last epoch of the stone period be shown so shaped and so situated.

Mr. Marshall had done much in his early effort to solve the question and

direct attention to it, and his refutation of the Canadaigua Lake theory seems complete. But from the crossing of the Oneida outlet, he speaks with the diffidence of a real scholar, conscious of the difficulty of fixing upon a precise locality. His earliest theory that it was south of Oneida seems now fully sustained.

General Clark has not only shown great care and accuracy in tracing a line of travel that reconciles the map and the narrative consistently, and agrees with the distances given by Champlain, but has shown the true clue to the last part of the narrative, by turning to account Champlain's remarks as to the islands in Oneida Lake. But he deserves the higher credit of having brought to the historical study of our earlier period a new element, the accurate and careful identification of the sites of the towns successively occupied by each of the Five Nations. Possessed of this element, he was able, not to say that he thought the town attacked by Champlain may have been here or there, but to follow the Indian trail, and, pointing to a recognized and recognizable Indian town site, say: Here was the identical spot where the Hurons, aided by Champlain and his attendant Frenchmen, were repulsed by the Antouohonorons, and the French commander wounded and compelled to retreat. The Antouohonorons he thinks but a form of the name Ontwehonwe (Men-alone, the only men), which the Five Nations applied to themselves, the tribe attacked by Champlain being really the Onondagas.

The army of five hundred men, which Stephen Brulé was to accompany from the Susquehanna district to co-operate with Champlain in his attack on the Onondaga Fort, did not arrive before that stout palisade till two days after the retreat of the Hurons with the wounded French leader; they too retired, but kept up the war till they were totally conquered by the Iroquois.

Brulé had an eventful life. While trying with a small party of Indians to reach the Huron country, they were attacked and scattered. Brulé at last fell in with a few Iroquois going to the fields, and endeavored to approach them in a friendly way, assuring them that he was not of the nation that had just attacked them. They treated him as a prisoner and proceeded to torture him. As they endeavored to tear a religious object from his neck, he threatened them with the vengeance of Heaven. A sudden clap of thunder with vivid lightning was to their mind a fulfilment of his threat. He was released, his wounds cured, and a party of warriors escorted him for several days. He reached the Huron country, but did not see Champlain for nearly two years. When Canada was taken by Kirk, Brulé went over to the English, but finally returned to the Huron country, and became a thorough Indian. At last he gave offence to his new countrymen, and they not only killed, but ate him.

The result attained by General Clark is one that I think will interest many who are not antiquarians. To the Pennsylvania historical scholars it will be interesting, especially, to know that his next object is to study the territory of the group of tribes, including those known to Champlain at this time as Carantouannais, to the later French writers as Gandastogué or Andastes, to the Dutch as Minquas, to the Virginians as the Susquehannas, and to the Pennsylvanians as Conestogas. They formed a confederacy like the Herson, Neuter, and Iroquois groups, but have been generally overlooked, as the country was settled after their overthrow, when it was occupied by Delawares and Shawnees. Gen. Clark's great experience in the study of the location of Indian towns, a military eye which recognizes at once the strategic value of the positions selected by the Indians, will certainly lead to results as gratifying to Pennsylvania history as his recent discovery has been to that of New York.

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

GOTTLIEB HENRY ERNEST MÜHLENBERG, D.D., was born Nov. 17th. 1753, at New Providence, Montgomery Co., Pa. His parents were Dr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, known as the "patriarch" of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania; and Anna Maria Weiser, a daughter of Conrad Weiser, well known in the early colonial history of Pennsylvania.

His early education he received at New Providence, and, after the removal of his father, in 1761, to Philadelphia, in the public schools of the city. In 1763 he was sent, with his two older brothers, via England, Holland, and Brunswick, to the University of Halle, where he spent seven years, and completed his education.

He returned to Philadelphia in 1770, and the same year was ordained by the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania a minister of the Gospel, and became an assistant of his father in Philadelphia, Barren Hill, and on the Raritan in New Jersey.

In the year 1774 he was elected *third* associate pastor in Philadelphia, and the same year was married to Mary Catharine Hall.

In December, 1776, with his wife and child, he was obliged to flee from Philadelphia in consequence of the expected arrival of the British, and in September, 1777, was again driven away during their occupation of the city, and returned about a year afterward, the British having left in June, 1778.

In 1779 he was elected pastor at New Hanover, Montgomery County, and remained there about a year, whence he was called to Lancaster, Pa., where he served as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church for thirty-five years, until his death, which took place there May 23, 1815.

The most of his life was spent in labors connected with the preaching of the Gospel; but he gave a great deal of attention, during his leisure hours, to the study of natural history, especially botany, in which he was quite eminent, and was often called the American Linnæus. He held a correspondence for many years with the most distinguished botanists of Germany, England, and this country, and was a corresponding member of many of their scientific societies. He left behind several printed books on the subject of botany, and a German and English Dictionary, and much material in manuscript upon theological and scientific subjects.

HARRISBURG, PA., IN 1787.—In July of this year the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, on his way to Ohio, passed through Harrisburg, and left this description of the place in his journal: "This is a beautiful town; it contains about one hundred houses, all built in less than three years; many of them brick, some of them three story, built in the Philadelphia style; all appear very neat. A great number of taverns, with handsome signs. Houses all two story; large windows. About one-half of the people are English. People were going to meeting; they meet in private houses; have no churches yet. People appear very well dressed, some gay." See communication by the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, D.D., to the N. J. Hist. Society, May 16, 1872.

AN OLD ALMANAC.—I have in my possession "A Pocket Almanack for the year 1755. Fitted to the Use of Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring Provinces. With several useful Additions. By R. Saunders, Phil. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by B. Franklin and D. Hall."

The book is interleaved, and a memorandum on one of the leaves has enabled me to ascertain that it belonged to Robert Strettell. I copy a few of these memoranda:—

"Jacob Wolf a lusty Boy & Girl with him (that he said was his Sister) were at my House beging, said he was brot in by Capn Moor consigned to Benjn Shoemaker."

"7th Apl. Nathaniel Dawson schoolmaster near the Crooked Billet says he expects a letter from Dublin to my Care."

"Memd. that on the 17th day of April 1755 John Roberts offered me £600 for my Lands of Reigate and to have Credit for the Money until next Spring, but I refused unless he wd pay Interest from that day."

"Memd. the 21 May took my Wife Son & Daughter Strettell & Daughter Ann in a Chaise to visit James Hoskins & Nich Lord went in the Chaise with me."

[June] "My son Amos set off for Virginia in Co: with Mark Khuil on Tuesd the 3 Inst abt 4 o'clock in the afternoon Jas. Steel was to accompany them as far as Upper Marlborough in Maryland. My said Son & Mark retd to Philada. on Monday ye 16 June a little after one o'clock (thro' Mercy) in Health but Ja Steel not then retd."

"On Friday ye 29 of Augt 1755 Col. Dunbar came to Philada. with the remainder of Sr Peter Halket's and his own Regimts and of the 3 Independent Companys the same day I saw Captn Terrance Mulloy at the Coffee House."

"Captn Terrence Mulloy came to lodge at my house on Tuesday ye 2 Sept'r and continued so to do until the Army march' for New York on Wednesday the first of October."

"Mayor's Court for October began on Friday ye 17th and ended Satr ye 18th."

"Memd. That ye 29 of March 1756 James Miller came before me and acknowledgeed the Deed made by him & Willm Jackson to be true & desires the same may be recorded as his and Wm Jackson's Deed."

"Widow Peters in Blackhorse Alley Petitions for a Recommendation to the Govr to be admitted to sell liquors by Small Measure."

"N. B. James Miller desires that his Father's Bond may be left with me for sd Jas. Miller. N. B. I spoke to Geo. Emlen ye 24 June abt the Bond [was] answerd to speak to Samuel Jones to deliver it to me."

W. D.

LOST GOVERNORS OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Among some colonial papers, I lately found Two Commissions, officially signed and sealed. Both are issued "By the President and Council of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territorys Thereunto belonging."—The one is dated at "Phila. ye 6th of ye 2nd mo. 1685," and is signed by "*Tho. Holme President*;" the other is dated "9th of the 2nd mo. 1686," and is signed by "*Wm. Clark President*."

I have never found these men in any of the published lists of "Governors of Pennsylvania," even in the late and very complete one of Dr. Wm. H. Egle.

Watson, in his "Annals," vol. i. page 142, refers to Holme as follows—in speaking of Penn's Treaty: "But the fact is, as the records I inspected lately at Harrisburg will show—that the actual treaty for the *lands* of the present Phila. was made in the year 1685 by *Thomas Holme*, as President of the Council, in the absence of Wm. Penn—who was then returned back to England."

Can any one fix the dates between which these men presided over the Council? and thus give them that place in our colonial history to which seemingly they have as much right as Thos. Lloyd, Ewd. Shippen, Jas. Logan, and Anthony Palmer—all "Presidents of Council?"

D. McN. S.

ZEISBERGER, IN HIS MS. HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONS, STATES: "In the spring of 1765 two seals were shot in the Susquehanna by the Indians at Wyoming. As they were a *novelty* never before seen, all the Indians of the

neighborhood were summoned to see them. Having examined them and satisfied their curiosity, they counselled together what should be done with them, and whether or no they should eat them. At last an old Indian said: 'God has sent these animals to us, and as they came from him, they would eat them.' Accordingly they prepared a meal of them; all partook and relished the new dish."

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH (GLORIA DEI).—Mr. Park McFarland, jr., 311 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, has made a complete copy of the Marriage Record of this interesting church from 1750 to 1863, and proposes publishing the same in numbers of about 80 pages each, at 50 cents per number.

MR. BENJAMIN D. HICKS, of Old Westbury, Queen's County, N. Y., is preparing for publication a genealogy of his family, and would be glad to correspond with any one on the subject. He particularly wishes to trace out fully the branch of his family which settled in Bucks Co., Penna., about 1740.

Queries.

JOHN BYERS.—Who was *John Byers* whose name frequently occurs in the *Pennsylvania Col. Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives* as a member of the Council of Pennsylvania from Cumberland County, 1781?

Was he a physician, and did he marry an *Edwards*? H. E. N.

PATRICK, AN INDIAN DOCTOR, AND JOHN HICKMAN.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give me any information concerning one *Patrick*, an Indian Doctor, and *John Hickman*, an "intelligent Indian," who formerly lived in Tulpehocken, but in 1745 were residents of Shamokin, Pennsylvania? J. W. J.

COMMODORE JOHN HAZELWOOD.—Among the persons conspicuous in the naval engagements and other military events on the Delaware River, just prior to and during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British in 1777-8, was Commodore Hazelwood, Commander of the naval force of Pennsylvania on that river. Congress, on the 17th of October, 1777, expressed its high approval of his brave and spirited conduct, and on the 4th of November following, in token of its "high sense of his merit," in his defence of his country before Red Bank against the British fleet—"Whereby two of their men of war were destroyed, and four others compelled to retire"—voted him "an elegant sword" to be provided by the Marine Committee. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania also expressed its high sense of his bravery and honorable efforts. But beyond this, and a few letters of his own or of Col. William Bradford, Chairman of the Pennsylvania Navy Board, about him, I am unable to learn much of his history.

Can any of your readers enlighten me on the subject? A biography of him would be of interest. M. R. S.

NIARIAN WISCHEART.—Any information concerning Niarian Wisheart, one of the subscribers to the first Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in 1743, will oblige CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

PAUL ALLEN wrote an ode, which was sung to the tune *Rise, Columbia* at the "late Celebration in Philadelphia of the victories of the Allied Armies

over Bonaparte," which is given in the *Spirit of Seventy-Six* of March 1, 1814, printed at Georgetown, D. C., beginning

"Pledge we the man, who while he fights,
Rejects the bloody wreath of Fame."

Do you know anything of the author?

T. H. M.

JAMES SMITH.—Information is desired concerning the parentage and ancestry of James Smith. His family are supposed to have been members of a church, near the Neshaminy, in Bucks County, Penna. He was a farmer, and sold his place about 1795 or 7, to remove to Virginia, whither his brother had gone to live, but he fell a victim to yellow fever in Philadelphia, on his way thither; when all records of the family were lost.

He was born in Bucks County, Penna., in 1738, and married a Mrs. Anna Monck (widow of Nicolas Monck), who was the daughter of Robert Worrall and his wife Jenny English. Anna Worrall (Monck) was born 1755 in Bucks County, and had by her 1st husband Nicolas Monck two children, Jane and Sarah; and by her second husband James Smith, seven children, two who died young, and Robert, James, Samuel, Eliza W., and Anna.

A sister of the said James Smith married a Mr. Semple.

A sister of Anna Worrall (Monck¹) Smith², wife of James Smith and daughter of Robert Worrall—viz., Elizabeth Worrall—married Charles Fleming, son of Samuel Fleming, of Flemington, N. J., who married Esther Muncy, a French Protestant, from whose family the town of Muncy, Penna., took its name.

Information is also desired concerning the ancestry of the beforementioned Robert Worrall and his wife Jenny English.

G. A. L.

GEORGE HUTCHINSON.—Information is also desired as to the maiden name of the wife of a certain George Hutchinson, who was born in Edinburgh, Scotland; married in Tyrone County, Ireland, previous to 1755; and came to Pennsylvania not later than 1756, and resided for a period at or near Kingsessing, near Philadelphia; had a store in Second Street, Philadelphia; had a daughter Sarah Hutchinson, who married in Philadelphia.

G. A. L.

Replies.

ROBERT MORRIS (Vol. I. pp. 333, 471).—The last number of your very valuable publication contains a communication from the Rev. Horace E. Hayden, of Brownsville, Pa., wherein he distrusts the statement, made by me in my sketch of Robert Morris, *presented* by Mrs. Hart, his great granddaughter, at the meeting in Independence Hall, July 1, 1876, and printed on page 341 of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, controverting the popular fallacy, without the shadow of a foundation to support it, that Robert Morris died in prison. The proof of the facts is so clear and open, that "he who runs may read," for it is spread upon the public records of the United States Court. The very courteous and complimentary manner of Mr. Hayden's inquiry leads me, however, briefly to relate them, but in doing so, I am forced to anticipate a very important chapter in my forthcoming "Life of Robert Morris," upon the subject of his imprisonment and subsequent discharge.

On the 4th of April, 1800, Congress, sitting almost within the shadow of the prison walls wherein was confined Robert Morris, passed the first Bank-

rupt Act for the United States. Under this statute, on the 28th of July of the following year, a commission of bankruptcy was issued out of the United States District Court for the District of Pennsylvania, upon the petition of John H. Huston, a creditor against Robert Morris, directed to John Hallowell, Joseph Hopkinson, and Thomas Cumpston, Commissioners. The next day he writes to his son, Thomas Morris, at Canandaigua, New York: "I have this day been served with official notice, that some of my creditors are trying to make a Bankrupt of me, and the 31st of this month, that is the day after to-morrow, is appointed for the Commissioners to hear them." After various preliminary proceedings, on the 26th of August, the proof of sundry debts, amounting in the whole to about \$3,000,000.00, having been made, Mr. Morris was adjudicated a bankrupt, and released from his confinement in prison. The following day, "Thursday Morning, 27 Aug. 1801," he writes to his son Thomas: "As I know the contents of this letter will be very pleasing to you and your family, I embrace the first opportunity to tell you that I obtained my liberty last evening, and had the inexpressible satisfaction to find myself again restored to my own home and family. I have, however, still to go through some disagreeable scenes before I can fairly cast about for a new pursuit, but after what I have sustained, what is to come seems nothing." The "disagreeable scenes" were of course his examination before the Commissioners, preceding his discharge. No nobler monument exists or can be raised to his integrity and his honor, than his detailed statement of his property, and his answers to the formal interrogatories with his incidental remarks thereon, made in these proceedings, to the Commissioners. The beginning of December found these "disagreeable scenes" at an end, and on the 5th, he writes to Thomas Morris: "My business was finished in the District Court without opposition, and I now find myself a *free citizen* of the United States *without one cent that I can call my own*." REMEMBER!!! THESE WORDS ARE THE LITERAL TRUTH UTTERED BY A MAN IN THE SIXTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, WHO FOR SEVEN YEARS HAD SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT ON HIS OWN CREDIT AND OUT OF HIS OWN POCKET, AND TO WHOM THE COUNTRY OWED AND STILL OWES ITS INDEPENDENCE MORE THAN TO ANY OTHER SINGLE MAN, NOT EXCEPTING GEORGE WASHINGTON. ARE REPUBLICS UNGRATEFUL?

Philadelphia, Feb. 1878.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

P. S.—I should like to know the proof of relationship to Robert Morris of the "Mr. Benjamin Morris," mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Hayden?

DUNSTER (Vol. I. p. 469).—The will of Charles Dunster is recorded in the office of the Surveyor-General of East Jersey, at Perth Amboy, where there are a very few wills interspersed in a perplexing manner with other papers. Having made a few extracts some time since in a hasty manner, I give them with the remark that a large portion of the latter part of the will was omitted by me owing to want of time, but my impression is that some of the bequests were annulled in the codicil. I shortly afterwards entered in my note-book that Daniel Donaldson, nephew¹ of the testator, changed his name according to the will of his uncle Charles Dunster, to Daniel Donaldson Dunster. It is evident that from this line the New Jersey Dunsters descend, as Charles Dunster appears to have left no issue.

The extracts are as follows, "Charles Dunster, the Parish of Perth Amboy in the Co. of Middlesex in America" . . . "gives £100 to John Mackallow, of Chiswick, in the Co. of Middlesex, Gent. To John Wemijs, of the Parish of St. Martins' in the Fields in the s'd Co., Surgeon, £50. William Singular, of the same, Perriwigg maker, £50. John Boughton, of New Inn, in the said Co., Gent., £50.

¹ Query? Great nephew.

"Margaret Wallace, of St. Martins' in the Fields, £50. Nicholas Mandell, of the same, Gent., £50. Mrs. Januet Sutton, wife of Thomas Sutton, £20. Isaac Ashley, of the City of London, merchant, £100. Evander Mackever, of the City of Edinburgh, vintener, £50. To my sister Margaret Dunster, wife of Daniel Roy, £200. To my niece Mary Donelson, wife of Andrew Donelson, £50. To Gilbert Eliot, of the Parish of St. Martin in Fields, in Co. of Middlesex, Gent., £50. To my nephew Duncan Wright, Gent., now residing in the Kingdom of France, 1 shilling in full satisfaction of all claim he or his heirs may have on me. To Thos. Nichols, of the City of London, Merchant, £100.

"My good Friend James Alexander, Attorney-General, $\frac{1}{4}$ of all lands that I have taken up or is to be taken up in the Jerseys, $\frac{1}{4}$ all mines and minerals, $\frac{1}{4}$ My Proprietary right of what land or otherwise shall come to my share of the late Joseph Ormston, of London, Deceased, of his estate in America, reserving that tract of land, formerly belonging to my Lord Neal Campbell, commonly called 1650 acres. To Michael Kearney, 100 acres of land. My Friend George Robinson. Fifty pounds, he lives at the White horse in Lumber Street, London. I do bequeath to Marcella Fagan, writer hereof, £20, to buy mourning. James Alexander, Att'y-Gen. of the Jerseys, and Mr. Michael Kearney, of Perth Amboy, Mr. John Maccalah, of Chesuswick, in Co. of Middlesex, in old England, and Mr. John Boughton, Att'y at Law in London, to be my executors, but the said James Alexander and Michael Kearney shall act as to my American affairs."

The will mentions friends and relations in the Highlands of Scotland, in the county of Perth. Dated Perth Amboy, April 25, 1706. Witnesses Phins. McIntoshe, Alexander Mackdowell, Marcella Fagan. Signed Charles Dunster. The codicil is dated, Feb. 16, 1726-7. I omitted to note the date of the proving of the will. Charles Dunster is not mentioned in the index to *Whitehead's East Jersey*. This work, and the Rev. Edward Hatfield's *History of Elizabeth and Union Counties, New Jersey*, also *Whitehead's Analytical Index to Colonial Documents*, will be found of great service in reference to some of the persons mentioned above, who doubtless had more or less connection with the early settlement of Perth Amboy. The Rev. Samuel Dunster, D.D., apparently of London, was one of the subscribers to Churchhill's *Voyages*, London, 1732. His arms are engraved without the tinctures; they appear to be those mentioned by Burke in his *General Armory ed.*, 1864, as "*Dunster (Scarington, Co. Somerset; granted 17 June, 1664), Gules, a buck's head in base ar. attired or, in the dexter chief a castle of the third.*"

Camden, New Jersey, Feb. 15, 1878.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

ROBERT STRETTCELL (Vol. I. p. 241).—I propose to correct several errors in the note on page 241 of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE relative to Robert Strettell and his family, and also add a few additional facts which may be of interest.

Robert Strettell's father, Amos Strettell, was not an Irishman, though for many years a resident of Dublin, to which city he removed in 1678-9 from Cheshire, England, his native place. Amos was son of Hugh Strettell (died 7 mo. 5, 1671), and Mary, his wife (died 7 mo. 11, 1662), who were among the first Friends in that county. They were both buried in Friends' burying-ground Maberly, Cheshire.

Amos Strettell was twice married. His first wife, Ann, daughter of Roger and Mary Roberts, of Dublin, died 11 mo. 8, 1685-6, only surviving her marriage a few years. It is related that "she was buried in Friends' burial-ground by Stephen Green, the 10th of the same month, being the first day of the week after the evening meeting, when John Burnyeat [an eminent

minister in the Society of Friends] bore a living powerful testimony to the truth and great love of God to the children of men by so clearly manifesting the same by the glorious shining of the light of his son Jesus Christ in the hearts of the children of men."

Amos Strettell's second wife was Experience, daughter of Robert Cuppiage (born in Cumberland, England, 1619), and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Joshua and Sarah Warren, of Colchester. Amos and Experience were married at her father's house at Lambstowne, county of Wexford, Ireland, 1st mo. 23, 1692-3.

Philotesia, the wife of Robert Strettell, was a sister, and not daughter, of John Owen, of London. She was daughter of Nathaniel Owen (died 11 mo. 7, 1724), formerly of Seven Oaks in Kent, afterwards of Coulsdon in Surrey, and subsequently of Reigate in the same county, by Frances Ridge (born 1662, died 2 mo. 6, 1724), his second wife. Philotesia was born at Coulsdon, 5 mo. 17, 1697, and was married to Robert Strettell at Reigate, 5 mo. 18, 1716.

Robert and Philotesia Strettell had the following children, all of whom came to America with them in 1736 or 1737, except the first, viz., John Strettell, an eminent merchant of London, born in Cheapside, the 29th of 8th month, 1721; died in the same city in July or August, 1786. He had an only child, Amos Strettell, whose descendants are probably living in England.

Amos Strettell. Born in England—died in Philadelphia. 1780. He had two daughters, Frances and Ann, who married respectively the brothers Benjamin and Cadwalader Morris, and whose descendants can be found on the published "Morris Tree." Also a son Robert, who died without issue.

Frances Strettell, born in England. Married Isaac Jones. They were parents of Robert Strettell Jones, some of whose descendants are given on page 360 of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

Ann Strettell, born in England. Probably died unmarried in Philadelphia. 12 mo. 20, 1877. G. V.

EDWARD WHALLEY (Vol. I. pp. 55, 230, 359).—My attention has been called to a letter of Rev. Edward D. Neill in No. 3 of Vol. I. (p. 359), with regard to the Maryland theories as to the death of Whalley, the Regicide. Dr. Neill's theory is certainly very plausible, but there lies in its way, to my mind, a great objection which makes the theory at least weak if not untenable. The Whalley of Bacon's Rebellion was named *Thomas*, not *Edward* (see Henning's Statutes at Large, vol. ii. p. 370 *et seq.*). Now it seems to me exceedingly unlikely either that those in authority could make the mistake of miscalling a rebel in an official warrant for his arrest, or that the rebel himself would have changed his Christian name rather than his surname when he settled in Maryland.

Dr. Neill has also made the mistake of jumping too hastily at the conclusion that the Radcliffe of Virginia was the Maryland brother Ratcliffe of Whalley's will. Ratcliffe is by no means an uncommon name in Maryland, and the accidental coincidence offers no basis for an argument.

ROBERT P. ROBINS.

AUGHWICK (Vol. I. p. 471).—See page 15 of Rev. Wm. C. Reichel's edition of Heckewelder's "Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams, and localities in the States of Pennsylvania, Missouri, New Jersey, Virginia, etc." "Aughwick, corrupted from Achweek, signifying *brushy*, i. e. *over-grown with brush*." Note, on same page, "*A-che-we-u-bushy*, Zeisberger." The name is *Indian*. H. E. H.

PARRY (Vol. I. p. 471).—It is stated in the note on Col. Caleb Parry that Esther, daughter of Caleb and Elizabeth (Jacobs) Parry, married in 1789 Guillaum Aertsen; it should have read Guillaem, and the date 1790.

AERTSEN.

MOORE (Vol. I. p. 358).—Information is wanted of the descendants of Thomas and John Moore, probably under the misapprehension that they were brothers of Andrew Moore, as erroneously stated in *Biographical History of Lancaster County*. They were sons of Richard and Mary (Green) Moore, who arrived 11th of 5th month, 1686, in the *Delaware* from Bristol, England. John Moore, Commander. Probably settled in Concord, (now) Delaware County, where Richard died about 1695, leaving issue—Mary and John, born in England, Thomas, George, and Susanna. The widow married Joseph Cloud, of Concord, by whom she had other children. John and Thomas Moore purchased several hundred acres of land at the present site of Downingtown, and the latter established a mill there as early as 1718. John died Jan. 1726–7, without issue. Thomas married in 1713 Mary Pyle, and probably left issue.

COPE.

HAMPTON (Vol. I. p. 359).—Simon Hampton was of Edgmont, 1729, 1730, '37, '40; of Thornbury, 1747, '49, '54, etc., to 1771; died in Concord, March 1st, 1774, doubtless at the house of his son-in-law, John Baldwin. Widow Sarah died in Bethel before April 20, 1782. They were not Friends, but their son Samuel was admitted into membership 12 mo. 25, 1750–1, and daughters Rebecca and Sarah 2 mo. 26, 1753. Other children were Walter and Thomas Hampton. Rebecca married Robert Pyle, of Bethel, 11 mo. 8, 1753. Thomas married Esther Pyle, 1756 or '7. Sarah married John Baldwin, March, 1761. Robert Pyle obtained the family Bible, as appears by the administrator's accounts. There was a John Hampton, of Edgmont, 1722, whose wife was Ann. He removed to Deer Creek, Maryland, before 1767. Benjamin Hampton was a single freeman in Edgmont, 1729, 1732; a taxable, 1734–1749; of Willistown, 1754–1766. Administration of his estate granted to Rachel Hampton, 1767.

COPE.

RUSTON (Vol. I. p. 358).—Dr. Thomas Ruston was the son of Job Ruston, an influential citizen, and active member of the Presbyterian Church, who settled on Elk Creek in Fagg's Manor, Chester County, about 1739; his residence being in what is now Upper Oxford Township, near Forestville. Dr. Ruston married Mary Fisher, the daughter and only heir of William Fisher, by whom he had three children, Thomas, Mary, and Charlotte. The last married Richard M., son of Col. John Hannum, of West Chester, and went to Kentucky. For some notice of Job Ruston and Dr. Thomas Ruston see historical sketches of Fagg's Manor and New London Presbyterian Churches and Colonial Records.

COPE.

JONATHAN WHITAKER.—Information is wanted regarding Jonathan Whitaker, who in 1752 purchased a tract of land on Mine Brook in the present Somerset County, N. J., on which his family resided, and which is now in the possession of his descendants. He came to America in the 17th, or early in the 18th century, was of English birth, and a member of the Presbyterian Church. Was the J. W. mentioned on page 312 of the History of Elizabeth, N. J., by Dr. Hatfield, the one who settled at Mine Brook? A son of J. W., of Somerset County (named Nathaniel), graduated at Princeton in 1752. He is said to have been born on Long Island; he was a Presbyterian minister. Any information of the family previous to 1752 will greatly oblige

E. K. WHITAKER.

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No. 2.

MENNONITE EMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.

FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MENNONITES IN HOLLAND AND THOSE IN
PENNSYLVANIA.¹

BY DR. J. G. DE HOOF SCHEFFER, OF AMSTERDAM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH, WITH NOTES, BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

[Pennsylvania is so deeply indebted to the German settlers who found a home within her borders, for the rapid and substantial advances which she early made towards prosperity, that it is eminently proper we of the present day should consider the causes which led those emigrants to leave their fatherland to seek that domestic happiness which was denied them at home.

In some cases the improvement of their worldly condition may alone have been the motive; but in most instances it was the desire for freedom in the exercise of their religious views, or to escape from the persecution which the profession of those convictions had brought upon them. Such, at least, was the incentive which prompted those followers of Menno

¹ The article entitled "Vriendschapsbetrekkingen tusschen de Doopsgezinden hier te lande en die in Pennsylvanie," appeared in the "Doopsgezinde Bijdragen" for 1869.

Simon, who came to Pennsylvania from Switzerland, from Alsace, and from the Palatinate, whose industry, frugality, and integrity proved so beneficial to the colony.

How valuable the German element was to Pennsylvania in colonial days, is well attested in a speech of Gov. Thomas, one of the most intelligent of the deputies of the Penns, to the Assembly in 1738. "This Province," he said, "has been for some years the asylum of the distressed Protestants from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may with truth be said that the present flourishing condition of it is, in a great measure, owing to the Industry of those people; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither, it may well be apprehended that the value of your lands will fall, and your advances to wealth be much slower; for it is not altogether the goodness of the soil, but the number and industry of the people, that make a flourishing country."

The following article by Dr. Scheffer, of the Mennonite College at Amsterdam, will be found to contain information which will be new to most of our readers, regarding the early movements of the German Mennonites to this country; the indorsement of its translator, whose investigations into the history of that denomination give weight to his opinion, would at any time warrant our printing it; and it seems particularly appropriate that it should be reproduced at a time when our Western States are receiving large additions to their population from the followers of one whose disciples nearly a century and a half ago aided so materially in developing the resources of this Commonwealth.

As we read Dr. Scheffer's paper, we are reminded of the changes that have occurred in the condition of the Mennonites since the period of which it treats, and of the widely different circumstances under which the present emigration to Kansas and other localities in the West has been undertaken. Then the agent of George I. feared that the distance to the Allegheny mountains from the sea-coast was so great, that it would prevent the acceptance of the offers made to induce the settlement of lands beyond them, and with an accommodating

conscience he spoke of them as being about thirty miles (probably German ones) from the Atlantic coast. Now the members of a community equal in numbers to the population of one of King George's colonies, are seeking their homes midway between the Atlantic and Pacific shores. Then the more fortunate of the denomination in Holland were being importuned by their needy brethren from Switzerland and Germany, for the means of reaching what has proved to them a "promised land." Now the professor of a college founded by the Dutch Mennonites sends his greeting to a similar institution, whose existence is, in part, owing to the exertions of those poor men from the mountains of Switzerland, who had lived far from cities and towns, whose speech was rude and uncouth, and difficult to understand; who wore shoes heavily hammered with iron and large nails, and who were very zealous to serve God.—Ed.]

The extensive tract of land, bounded on the east by the Delaware, on the north by the present New York, on the west by the Allegheny mountains, and on the south by Maryland, has such an agreeable climate, such an unusually fertile soil, and its watercourses are so well adapted for trade, that it is not surprising that there, as early as 1638—five and twenty years after our forefathers built the first house in New Amsterdam (New York)—a European colony was established. The first settlers were Swedes, but some Hollanders soon joined them. Surrounded on all sides by savage natives, continually threatened and often harassed, they contented themselves with the cultivation of but a small portion of the land. After, however, King Charles II. had, in settlement of a debt, given the whole province to William Penn, there came a great change. There, before long, at his invitation and through his assistance, his oppressed fellow-believers, followers like himself of George Fox, found a place of refuge. They settled on the Delaware, and, united by the common sufferings endured for their convictions, they founded a city, to which they gave the suggestive name of the city of Brotherly Love (Philadelphia). The province itself received the name

of Pennsylvania from the man who brought its settlers over from a land of persecution to his own estate, and has borne it to the present time, though its boundaries have been extended on the north to Lake Erie, and on the west beyond the Allegheny mountains to the present Ohio.

In accordance with the fundamental law established April 25, 1682, complete freedom of conscience was assured to all religious communities, and William Penn and his associates saw a stream of those who had been persecuted and oppressed for their belief pour into the colony, among whom were many Mennonites from Switzerland and the Palatinate.

In Switzerland for nearly half a century religious intolerance had been most bitter. Many who had remained there were then persuaded to abandon their beloved native country and betake themselves to the distant land of freedom, and others, who had earlier emigrated to Alsace and the Palatinate, and there endured the dreadful horrors of the war in 1690, joined them, hoping in a province described to them as a paradise to find the needed comforts of life. The travelling expenses of these exhausted wanderers on their way through our fatherland were furnished with a liberal hand from the "funds for foreign needs" which our forefathers had collected to aid the Swiss, Palatines, and Litthauers. These emigrants settled for the most part at Philadelphia, and to the northward along the Delaware.

One of the oldest communities, if not the oldest of all, was that at Schiebach or Germantown. The elder of their two preachers, Wilhelm Rittinghausen, died in 1708, and in his place two new preachers were chosen. The same year eleven young people were added to the church through baptism, and two new deacons accepted its obligations. Moreover, the emigration of other brethren from the Palatinate, with Peter Kolb at their head, who were enabled to make the journey by the aid of the Netherlands, gave a favorable prospect of considerable growth. Financially, however, the circumstances of the community left much to be desired. In a letter written to Amsterdam, dated September 3, 1708, from which these particulars are derived, and which was signed by Jacob

Gaetschalck, Harmen Karsdorp, Martin Kolb, Isack Van Sinteren, and Conrardt Jansen, they presented "a loving and friendly request" for "some catechisms for the children and little testaments for the young." Beside, psalm books and Bibles were so scarce that the whole membership had but one copy, and even the meeting-house needed a Bible.¹ They urged their request by saying "that the community is still weak, and it would cost much money to get them printed, while the members who came here from Germany have spent everything and must begin anew, and all work, in order to pay for the conveniences of life of which they stand in need." What the printing would cost can to some extent be seen from the demands of a bookseller in New York, who beside only printed in English, for the publication of the Confession of Faith in that language. He asked so much for it that the community could not by any possibility raise the money, for which reason the whole plan had to be abandoned. The proposition was first considered because of conversations with some people there whose antecedents were entirely unknown, but "who called themselves Mennonites," descendants perhaps of the Dutch or English colonists who in the first years of the settlement established themselves on the territory of Pennsylvania. That the young community was composed of other people besides Palatines has been shown by the letter just mentioned, bearing the Netherlandish signature of Karsdorp, a name much honored among our forefathers, and which

¹ It is certainly worthy of attention that the first request these people sent back to their brethren in Europe was for Bibles and Testaments. Jacob Gaetschalck was a preacher at Skippack. Martin Kolb, a grandson of Peter Schuhmacher who died at Germantown in 1707, was born in the village of Wolfsheim, in the Palatinate, in 1680, and came with his brothers, Johannes and Jacob, to Pennsylvania in the spring of 1707. He married May 19, 1709, Magdalena, daughter of Isaac Van Sintern, who also united in this letter. Isaac Van Sintern was born September 4, 1662, and was a great-grandson of Jan de Voss, a burgomaster at Handschooten, in Flanders, about 1550. He married, in Amsterdam, Cornelia Claassen, of Hamburg, and came to Pennsylvania with four daughters after 1687. He died August 23, 1737, and is buried at Skippack.

has become noted through the existing family in the neighborhood of Dordrecht.

It is no wonder that a half year later the "committee on foreign needs" cherished few hopes concerning the colony. They felt, however, for nine or ten families who had come to Rotterdam—according to information from there, under date of April 8, 1709—from the neighborhood of Worms and Frankenthal, in order to emigrate, and whom they earnestly sought to dissuade from making the journey. They were, said the letter from Rotterdam, "altogether very poor men, who intended to seek a better place of abode in Pennsylvania. Much has been expended upon them hitherto freely, and these people bring with them scarcely anything that is necessary in the way of raiment and shoes, much less the money that must be spent for fare from here to England, and from there on the great journey, before they can settle in that foreign land." Naturally the Rotterdammers asked that money be furnished for the journey and support of the emigrants. But the committee, who considered the matter "useless and entirely unadvisable," refused to dispose in this way of the funds entrusted to them. It was the first refusal of the kind, and little did the committee think that for twenty-four years they must keep repeating it before such requests should entirely cease. It would in fact have been otherwise if they had begun with the rule which they finally adopted in 1732, or if the determination they expressed in letter after letter had been followed by like action, and they had not let themselves be persuaded away from it continually—sometimes from perplexity, but oftener from pity. The Palatines understood the situation well. If they could only reach Holland without troubling themselves about the letters, if they were only urgent and persevering, the committee would end by helping them on their way to Pennsylvania. The emigrants of April, 1709, accomplished their object, though as it appears through the assistance of others. At all events, I think, they are the ones referred to by Jacob Telner, a Netherlander Mennonite dwelling at London, who wrote, August 6, to Amsterdam and Haarlem: "Eight families went to Pennsylvania; the Eng-

lish Friends, who are called Quakers, helped them liberally.”¹ His letter speaks of others who also wanted to follow their example, and urges more forcibly than ever the people at Rotterdam to give assistance. “The truth is,” he writes, “that many thousands of persons, old and young, and men and women, have arrived here in the hope and expectation of going to Pennsylvania, but the poor men are misled in their venture. If they could transport themselves by their own means, they might go where they pleased, but because of inability they cannot do it, and must go where they are ordered. Now, as there are among all this multitude six families of our brethren and fellow-believers, I mean German Mennonites, who ought to go to Pennsylvania, the brethren in Holland should extend to them the hand of love and charity, for they are both poor and needy. I trust and believe, however, that they are honest and God-fearing. It would be a great comfort and consolation to the poor sheep if the rich brothers and sisters from their superfluities would satisfy their wants and let some crumbs fall from their tables to these poor Lazaruses. Dear brethren, I feel a tender compassion for the poor sheep, for they are of our flesh, as says the Prophet Isaiah, lxviii. 7 and 8.”

It was not long before pity for our fellow-believers was excited still more forcibly. Fiercer than ever became the persecution of the Mennonites in Switzerland. The prisons at Bern were filled with the unfortunates, and the inhuman treatment to which they were subjected caused many to pine away and die. The rest feared from day to day that the minority in the council which demanded their trial would soon become a majority. Through the intercession, however,

¹ “But not only did the leaders of the early Society of Friends take great interest in the Mennonites, but the Yearly Meeting of 1709 contributed fifty pounds (a very large sum at that time) for the Mennonites of the Palatinate who had fled from the persecution of the Calvinists in Switzerland. This required the agreement of the representatives of above 400 churches, and shows in a strong light the sympathy which existed among the early Friends for the Mennonites.”—*Barclay's Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 251.

of the States General, whose aid the Netherland Mennonites sought, not without success, some results were effected. The Council of Bern finally determined to send the prisoners, well watched and guarded, in order to transport them from there in an English ship to Pennsylvania. On the 18th of March, 1710, the exiles departed from Bern; on the 28th, with their vessel, they reached Manheim, and on the 6th of April Nimeguen; and when they touched Netherland soil, their sufferings came to an end at last; they were free, and their useless guards could return to Switzerland. Laurens Hendriks, the preacher of our community at Nimeguen, wrote in his letter of April 9th: "It happened that very harsh decrees were issued by the rulers at Bern to search for our friends in all corners of the land, and put them in the prisons at Bern, by which means within the last two years about sixty persons were thrown into dungeons, where some of them underwent much misery in the great cold last winter, while their feet were fast in the iron shackles. The Council at Bern were still very much at variance as to what punishment should be inflicted on them, and so they have the longer lain in prison; for some would have them put to death, but others could not consent to such cruelty, so finally they determined in the Council to send them as prisoners to Pennsylvania. Therefore they put them on a vessel, well watched by a guard of soldiers, to send them on the Rhine to Holland; but on coming to Manheim, a city of the Palatinate, they put out all the old, the sick, and the women, but with twenty-three men floated further down the Rhine, and on the 6th of April came here to Nimeguen. When they heard that their fellow believers lived here, one of them came to me, guarded by two soldiers. The soldiers then went away and left the man with me. After I, with the other preachers, had talked with him, we went together to the ship, and there found our other brethren. We then spoke to the officers of the guard, and arranged with them that these men should receive some refreshment, since they had been on the water for twenty days in great misery, and we brought them into the city. Then we said to our imprisoned brethren: *The soldiers shall not get*

you out of here again easily, for if they use force, we will complain to our magistrates. This, however, did not happen. They went about in freedom, and we remained with them and witnessed all the manifestations of love and friendship with the greatest joy. We spent the time together delightfully, and after they were entirely refreshed, they the next day departed, though they moved with difficulty, because stiffened from their long imprisonment. I went with them for an hour and a half beyond the city, and there we, with weeping eyes and swelling hearts, embraced each other, and with a kiss of peace separated. They returned to the Palatinate to seek their wives and children, who are scattered everywhere in Switzerland, in Alsace, and in the Palatinate, and they know not where they are to be found.¹ They were very patient and cheerful under oppression, though all their worldly goods were taken away. Among them were a preacher and two deacons. They were naturally very rugged people, who could endure hardships; they wore long and unshaven beards, disordered clothing, great shoes, which were heavily hammered with iron and large nails; they were very zealous to serve God with prayer and reading and in other ways, and very innocent in all their doings as lambs and doves. They asked me in what way the community was governed. I explained it to them, and it pleased them very much. But we could hardly talk with them, because, as they lived in the mountains of Switzerland, far from cities and towns, and had little intercourse with other men, their speech is rude and uncouth, and they have difficulty in understanding any one who does not speak just their way. Two of them have gone to Deventer, to see whether they can get a livelihood in this country."

Most of them went to the Palatinate to seek their kinsmen and friends, and before long a deputation from them came back here. On the first of May we find three of their preach-

¹ This simple picture is fully as pathetic as that other, which it forcibly suggests, beginning:—

"Heu! misero conjunx, fatone erepta, Creusa
Substitit, erravit ne via, seu lassa residit,
Incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris."

ers, Hans Burchi or Burghalter¹, Melchoir Zaller, and Benedict Brechtbühl,² with Hans Rub and Peter Donens, in Amsterdam; where they gave a further account of their affairs with the Bern magistracy, and apparently consulted with the committee as to whether they should establish themselves near the Palatinate brethren or on the lands in the neighborhood of Campen and Groningen, which was to be gradually purchased by the committee on behalf of the fugitives. The majority preferred a residence in the Palatinate, but they soon found great difficulty in accomplishing it. The Palatinate community was generally poor, so that the brethren, with the best disposition, could be of little service in insuring the means of gaining a livelihood; there was a scarcity of lands and farm-houses, and there was much to be desired in the way of religious liberty, since they were subject entirely to the humors of the Elector, or, worse still, his officers. For nearly seven years, often supported by the Netherland brethren, they waited and persevered, always hoping for better times. Then, their numbers being continually increased by new fugitives and exiles from Switzerland, they finally determined upon other measures, and, at a meeting of their elders at Manheim, in February, 1717, decided to call upon the Netherlanders for help in carrying out the great plan of removing to Pennsylvania, which they had long contemplated, and which had then come to maturity. Strange as it may appear at first glance, the very land to which the Swiss tyrants had once wanted to banish them had then become the greatest attraction. Still there was reason enough for it; reason, perhaps, in the information which their brethren sent from there to the Palatinate, but before all, in the pressing invitation or instruction of the English King, George I., through his agent, (Muntmeester) Ochse, at the court. "Since it has been observed," so reads the beginning of this remarkable paper, "that the Christians, called Baptists or Mennon-

¹ Hans Burghalter came to America, and was a preacher at Conestoga, Lancaster County, in 1727.

² According to Rupp, Bernhard B. Brechtbühl translated the *Wandelnde Seele* into the German from the Dutch.

ites, have been denied freedom of conscience in various places in Germany and Switzerland, and endure much opposition from their enemies, so that with difficulty they support themselves, scattered here and there, and have been hindered in the exercise of their religion," the king offers to them for a habitation the country west of the Allegheny mountains, then considered a part of Pennsylvania, but not yet belonging to it. Each family should have fifty acres of land in fee simple, and for the first ten years the use, without charge, of as much more as they should want, subject only to the stipulation that after this time the yearly rent for a hundred acres should be two shillings, *i. e.*, about a *guilder*, and less than six *kreutzers*. "There is land enough for a hundred thousand families. They shall have permission to live there, not as foreigners, but on their engagement, under oath, to be true and obedient to the king, be bound as lawful subjects, and possess their land with the same right as if they had been born such, and, without interference, exercise their religion in meetings, just as do the Reformed and Lutherans." After calling attention to the fact that in eastern Pennsylvania the land was too dear (£20 to £100 sterling for a hundred acres), the climate in Carolina was too hot, New York and Virginia were already too full for them to settle there with good chances of success, an attractive description of the country followed in these words: "This land is in a good and temperate climate, not too hot or too cold; it lies between the 39th and 43d parallels of north latitude, and extends westward about two hundred German miles. It is separated from Virginia and Pennsylvania by high mountains, the air is very pure, since it lies high; it is very well watered, having streams, brooks, and springs, and the soil has the reputation of being better than any that can be found in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Walnut, chestnut, oak, and mulberry trees grow naturally in great profusion, as well as many fruit-bearing trees, and the wild white and purple grapes in the woods are larger and better than in any other place in America. The soil is favorable for wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, hemp, flax, and also silk, besides producing many other useful

things much more abundantly than in Germany. A field can be easily planted for from ten to twenty successive years without manure. It is also very suitable for such fruits as apples, pears, cherries, prunes, quinces, and especially peaches, which grow unusually well and bear fruit in three years from the planting of the stone. All garden crops do very well, and vineyards can be made, since the wild grapes are good, and would be still better if they were dressed and pruned. Many horses, cattle, and sheep can be raised and kept, since an excellent grass grows exuberantly. Numbers of hogs can be fattened on the wild fruits in the bushes. This land is also full of cattle (rundvee), called buffaloes and elks, none of which are seen in Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Carolina. Twenty or thirty of these buffaloes are found together. There are also many bears, which hurt nobody. They feed upon leaves and wild fruits, on which they get very fat, and their flesh is excellent. Deer exist in great numbers, beside Indian cocks and hens (turkeys?), which weigh from twenty to thirty pounds each, wild pigeons more than in any other place in the world, partridges, pheasants, wild swans, geese, all kinds of ducks, and many other small fowls and animals; so that if the settlers can only supply themselves for the first year with bread, some cows for milk and butter, and vegetables, such as potatoes, peas, beans, etc., they can find flesh enough to eat from the many wild animals and birds, and can live better than the richest nobleman. The only difficulty is that they will be about thirty miles from the sea; but this, by good management, can be made of little consequence."

Apparently this description sounded like enchantment in the ears of the poor Swiss and Palatines who had never known anything but the thin soil of their native country, and who frequently met with a refusal if they sought to secure a farm of one or two acres. And how was that land of promise to be reached? Easily enough. They had only before the 1st of March to present themselves to one or another well-known merchant at Frankfort, pay £3 sterling or twenty-seven guilders each (children under ten years of age at half rates), that is, £2 for transportation, and £1 for seventy pounds of

biscuit, a measure and a half of peas, a measure of oatmeal, and the necessary beer, and immediately they would be sent in ships to Rotterdam, thence to be carried over to Virginia. First, however, in Holland, one-half of the fare must be paid and additional provisions, etc., secured, viz.: twenty-four pounds of dried beef, fifteen pounds of cheese, and eight and a quarter pounds of butter. Indeed, they were advised to provide themselves still more liberally with edibles, and with garden seeds and agricultural implements, linen, shirts, beds, table goods, powder and lead, furniture, earthenware, stoves, and especially money to buy "seeds, salt, horses, swine, and fowls," to be taken along with them. All of these things would indeed cost a large sum, but what did that signify in comparison with the luxury which was promised them? Should not the Netherland brethren quickly and gladly furnish this last assistance? So thought the Palatine brethren. It is not to be wondered at, however, that the "committee on foreign needs" judged differently. They knew how much exaggeration there was in the picture painted by the English agent. They thought they were not authorized to consent to a request for assistance in the payment of travelling expenses, since the money was intrusted to them to be expended alone for the *persecuted*, and the brethren in the Palatinate were then tolerated; they feared the emigrants would call for more money; and in a word they opposed the plan most positively, and explained that if it was persisted in no help need be expected.¹ Their objection however accomplished nothing. In

¹ The decision of the committee was based on a sound judgment, for we find no evidence that any provision was made to carry out the offer of the agent of George I. On the contrary, on the 17th of September, 1717, Gov. Sir Wm. Keith, of Pennsylvania, informed his council "that a great number of foreigners from Germany" had arrived in the Province, and had dispersed themselves over the country, without producing any certificates showing from whence they came. That it appeared that they had first landed in Britain, and left there without any license from the government. On the recommendation of the Governor, a proclamation was issued, requiring all the emigrants alluded to "to take such Oaths appointed by Law as are necessary to give assurance of their being well affected to his Majesty and his Government; but because some of these foreigners are said to be Menonists, who

reply to their views, the committee received information, March 20th, that more than a hundred persons had started, and three weeks later they heard from Rotterdam that those already coming numbered three hundred, among whom were four very needy families who required 600 f. for their passage, and that thirty others were getting ready to leave Neuwied. Though the committee had declared positively in their letters that they would have nothing to do with the whole affair, they nevertheless immediately passed a secret resolution, that, "as far as concerns our committee, the friends are to be helped as much as possible;" and apparently they took care that there should be furnished from private means what as officials they could not give out of the fund. Among the preachers who were at the head of these colonists, we find principally Hans Burghalter and Benedict Brechtbuhl.

The desire for emigration seemed to be entirely appeased in the Palatinate until 1726, when it broke out again with renewed force. The chief causes were higher burdens imposed upon them by the Elector, the fear of the outburst of war, and perhaps also pressing letters of invitation written by the friends settled in Pennsylvania. Moreover, the committee were guilty of a great imprudence. Though they so repeatedly assured the emigrants that they could not and would not help them, and promised liberal assistance to the needy Palatines, who abandoned the journey, still, through pity for a certain Hubert Brouwer of Neuwied, they gave him and his family 300f. passage-money. Either this became known in the Palatinate, or the stream could no longer be stayed. Though some of their elders, together with the committee, tried to dissuade them, and painted horrible pictures of the possibility that, in the war between England and Spain, they might "by Spanish ships be taken to the West Indies where men are sold as slaves," the Palatines believed not a word of it. On the 12th of April, 1727, there were one hundred and fifty ready to depart, and on the 16th of May, the

cannot for conscience sake take any oaths, that those persons be admitted upon their giving any Equivalent assurances in their own way and manner."

—*Col. Records*, vol. iii. p. 29.—Ed.

committee were compelled to write to the Palatinate that they "ought to be informed of the coming of those already on the way, so that they can best provide for them;" and they further inquired "how many would arrive without means, so that the Society might consider whether it would be possible for them to arrange for the many and great expenses of the passage."

Some did not need help, and could supply from their own means what was required; but on the 20th the committee learned that forty-five more needy ones had started from the Palatinate. These with eight others cost the Society 3271*fl.* 15*st.* Before the end of July twenty-one more came to Rotterdam, and so it continued. No wonder that the committee, concerned about such an outpouring, requested the community in Pennsylvania "to announce emphatically to all the people from the pulpit that they must no more advise their needy friends and acquaintances to come out of the Palatinate, and should encourage them with the promise that, if they only remained across the sea, they would be liberally provided for in everything." If, however, they added, the Pennsylvanians wanted to pay for the passage of the poor Palatines, it would then of course be their own affair. This the Pennsylvanians were not ready nor in a condition to do. The committee also sent forbidding letter after letter to the Palatinate, but every year they had to be repeated, and sometimes, as, for instance, May 6, 1733, they drew frightful pictures: "We learn from New York that a ship from Rotterdam going to Pennsylvania with one hundred and fifty Palatines wandered twenty-four weeks at sea. When they finally arrived at port nearly all the people were dead. The rest, through the want of *vivres*, were forced to subsist upon rats and vermin, and are all sick and weak. The danger of such an occurrence is always so great that the most heedless do not run the risk except through extreme want." Nevertheless the stream of emigrants did not cease. When finally over three thousand of different sects came to Rotterdam, the committee, June 15, 1732, adopted the strong resolution, that under no pretence would they furnish means to needy Palatines, except to pay

their fares back to their fatherland. By rigidly maintaining this rule, and thus ending where they undoubtedly should have commenced, the committee put a complete stop to emigration. On the 17th of March they reported that they had already accomplished their object, and from that time they were not again troubled with requests for passage-money to North America.¹ In the meanwhile their adherence to this resolution caused some coolness between the communities in the Netherlands and in Pennsylvania. Still their intercourse was not entirely terminated. A special circumstance gave an impulse which turned the Pennsylvanians again toward our brotherhood in 1742. Their colony had increased wonderfully; they enjoyed prosperity, rest, and what the remembrance of foreign sufferings made more precious than all, complete religious freedom; but they talked with some solicitude about their ability to maintain one of their points of belief,—absolute non-participation in war, even defensive. They had at first been so few in numbers that they were unnoticed by the government, but now it was otherwise. Could they, when a general arming of the people was ordered to repel a hostile invasion of the neighboring French colonists or an incursion of the Indians, refuse to go, and have their conscientious scruples respected? They were in doubt about it, and little indications seemed to warrant their uncertainty. The local magistracy and the deputed authorities looked favorably upon their request for complete freedom from military service, but explained that they were without the power to grant the privilege which they thought existed in the King of England alone. In consequence of this explanation the Pennsylvania Mennonites resolved to write, as they did

¹ This is of course correct as far as the committee at Amsterdam is concerned, but neither emigration nor Mennonite aid ended at this time. The Schwenckfelders, some of whom came over only the next year, speak in warm and grateful terms of the aid rendered them by the Mennonites. Their MS. journal, now in the possession of Abraham H. Cassel, says "Mr. Henry Van der Smitten gave us on the ship 16 loaves of bread, 2 Dutch cheeses, 2 tubs of butter, 4 casks of beer, 2 roasts of meat, much flour and biscuit, and 2 bottles of French brandy, and otherwise took very good care of us."

under date of May 8th, 1742, to Amsterdam and Haarlem, and ask that the communities there would bring their powerful influence to bear upon the English Court in their behalf, as had been done previously through the intervention of the States-General when alleviation was obtained in the case of the Swiss and Litthauer brethren. This letter seems to have miscarried. It cannot be found in the archives of the Amsterdam community, and their minutes contain no reference to it, so that its contents would have remained entirely unknown if the Pennsylvanians had not written again October 19, 1745, complaining of the silence upon this side, and repeating in a few words what was said in it. Though it is probable that the letter of 1742 was not received, it may be that our forefathers laid it aside unanswered, thinking it unadvisable to make the intervention requested before the North American brethren had substantial difficulty about the military service, and it must be remarked that in the reply written from here to the second letter there is not a word said upon this subject, and allusions only are made to things which, in comparison, the Pennsylvanians surely thought were of much less importance.

In the second part of their letter of October, 1745, which is in German, the Pennsylvanians write, "as the flames of war appear to mount higher, no man can tell whether the cross and persecution of the defenceless Christians will not soon come, and it is therefore of importance to prepare ourselves for such circumstances with patience and resignation, and to use all available means that can encourage steadfastness and strengthen faith. Our whole community have manifested an unanimous desire for a German translation of the Bloody Theatre of Tieleman Jans Van Braght, especially since in this community there is a very great number of newcomers, for whom we consider it to be of the greatest importance that they should become acquainted with the trustworthy witnesses who have walked in the way of truth, and sacrificed their lives for it." They further say that for years they had hoped to undertake the work, and the recent establishment

of a German printing office had revived the wish, but "the bad paper always used here for printing" discouraged them. The greatest difficulty, however, was to find a suitable translator, upon whose skill they could entirely rely, without the fear that occasionally the meaning would be perverted. Up to that time no one had appeared among them to whom they could give the work with perfect confidence, and they therefore requested the brethren in Holland to look around for such a translator, have a dozen copies printed, and send them bound, with or without clasps and locks, or in loose sheets, to Pennsylvania, not, however, until they had sent over a complete account of the cost. The letter is dated at Schiebach, and bears the signatures of Jacob Godschalek, Martin Kolb, Michael Ziegler,¹ Heinrich Funck,² Gillis Kassel,³ and Diel-

¹ Michael Ziegler, as early as 1722, lived near the present Skippackville, in Montgomery County, and was, for at least thirty years, one of the elders of the Skippack Church. He died at an advanced age about 1763, and left £9 to the poor of that congregation.

² Henry Funk, always one of the most able and enterprising of the Mennonite preachers, and long a bishop, settled on the Indian Creek, in Franconia Township, now Montgomery County, in 1719. He was ever faithful and zealous in his work, and did much to advance the interests of his church. He wrote a book upon baptism, entitled "Ein Spiegel der Taufe," published by Saur in 1744, which has passed through at least five editions. A more ambitious effort was the "Erklärung einiger haupt-puncten des Gesetzes," published after his death by Armbruster, in 1763. This book was reprinted at Biel, Switzerland, in 1844, and at Lancaster, Pa., in 1862, and is much esteemed. He and Dielman Kolb supervised the translation of Van Braght's *Martyr's Mirror* from the Dutch to the German, and certified to its correctness. Beside these labors, which were all without pecuniary compensation, he was a miller, and acquired a considerable estate. He died about 1760.

³ Yillis Kassel came to Pennsylvania in the year 1727, and was a preacher at Skippack, and one of the representative men of the church. His father or grandfather, Yillis Kassel, was also a Mennonite preacher at Kriesheim in 1665, and wrote a Confession of Faith and a number of MS. poems, which are now in the possession of his descendant, the noted antiquary, Abraham H. Cassel. They describe very vividly the horrible condition of the Rhine country at that time, and the sufferings of the people of his faith. The composition was frequently interrupted by such entries as these: "And

man Kolb. Not until the 10th of February, 1748, did the "Committee on Foreign Needs," in whose hands the letter was placed, find time to send an answer. Its tenor was entirely unfavorable. They thought the translation "wholly and entirely impracticable, as well because it would be difficult to find a translator as because of the immense expense which would be incurred, and which they could very easily avoid." As "this book could certainly be found in the community, and there were some of the brethren who understood the Dutch language," it was suggested "to get them to translate into the German some of the chief histories wherein mention is made of the confessions of the martyrs, and which would serve for the purpose, and have them copied by the young people." By so doing they would secure "the double advantage that through the copying they would give more thought to it, and receive a stronger impression."

The North American brethren, at least, got the benefit of the information contained in this well-meant counsel sent two and a half years late. In the mean time they had themselves zealously taken hold of the work, and before the reception of the letter from Holland accomplished their purpose. That same year, 1748, the complete translation of the Martyr's Mirror of Tieleman Jans Van Braght saw the light at Ephrata.¹ It was afterwards printed, with the pictures from

now we must flee to Worms," "In Kriesheim, to which we have again come home." From one of them I extract:—

"Denn es ist bekannt und offenbar,
Was Jammer, Elend, und Gefahr
Gewesen ist umher im Land
Mit Rauben, Plündern, Mord, und Brand.
Manch Mensch gebracht in Angst und Noth
Geschändelt auch bis zum Tod.
Zerschlagen verhauden manch schoenes Haus,
Vielen Leuten die Kleider gezogen aus;
Getreid' und Vieh hinweggeführt,
Viel Jammer und Klag hat man gehört."

A copy of the first German edition of Menno Simon's Foundation (1575), which belonged to the younger Yillis, and is, so far as known, the only copy in America, is now in my library.

¹ This publication fills so important a place in American bibliography that it merits a special article; but it is sufficient in this connection to say that it was one of the largest, if not the largest, productions of the press in

the original added, at Pirmasens in the Bavarian Palatinate, in 1780, and this second edition is still frequently found among our fellow members in Germany, Switzerland, and the mountains of the Vosges.

Though the completion of this very costly undertaking gives a favorable idea of the energy and financial strength of the North American community, they had to struggle with adversity, and were compelled, ten years later, to call for the charity of their Netherland brethren. Nineteen families of them had settled in Virginia, "but because of the cruel and barbarous Indians, who had already killed and carried away as prisoners so many of our people," they fled back to Pennsylvania. All of one family were murdered, and the rest had lost all their possessions. Even in Pennsylvania two hundred families, through recent incursions of the savages in May and June, lost everything, and their dead numbered fifty. In this dreadful deprivation they asked for help, and they sent two of their number, Johannes Schneyder and Martin Funck, to Holland, giving them a letter dated September 7, 1758, signed by Michael Kaufman, Jacob Borner, Samuel Böhm, and Daniel Stauffer. The two envoys, who had themselves sorely suffered from the devastations of the war, acquitted themselves well of their mission on the 18th of the following December, when they secured an interview with the committee at Amsterdam. They made the impression of being "plain and honest people," gave all the explanations that were wanted, and received an answer to the letter they brought, in which was inclosed a bill of exchange upon Philadelphia for £50 sterling, equal to £78 11s. 5d. Pennsylvania currency, or 550f. The newly chosen secretary of the committee, J. S. Centen, adds: "We then paid their expenses here, and supplied them with victuals and travelling money,

the colonies. It is a folio of 1511 pages, and is a fine specimen of typographical art. An edition of 1300 copies was printed, but many of them being still unbound were taken by the American army during the revolutionary war for cartridge paper. The original price was 20 shillings per volume.—Ed.

and they departed December 17, 1758, in the Hague packet boat."

After this event all intercourse between the North American Mennonites and those in the Netherlands ceased, except that the publisher of the well-known "Name Lists of the Mennonite Preachers" endeavored, until the end of the last century, to obtain the necessary information from North America for his purpose; but it is apparent, upon looking at the remarkable names of places, that very much is wanting. They wrote to him, however, that he might mention as distinct communities Schiebach,¹ Germantown, Mateschen, Indian Kreek, Blen,² Soltford,³ Rakkill,⁴ Schwanin, Deeproom,⁵ Berkosen,⁶ Anfrieds, Grotenswamp,⁷ Sackheim,⁸ Lower Milford, with two meeting houses, Hosensak, Leahy,⁹ Term, Schuylkill, and forty in the neighborhood of Kanestogis.¹⁰ In 1786 the community in Virginia is also specially mentioned. For some years this statement remained unchanged. The list of 1793 says that the number of the Mennonite communities of North America, distinct from the Baptists, was two hundred, and some estimate them at over three hundred, of which twenty-three were in the Pennsylvania districts of Lancaster and Kanestogis. This communication was kept unchanged in the Name List of 1810, but in the next, that of 1815, it was at last omitted, because, according to the compiler, Dr. A. N. Van Gelder, "for many years, at least since 1801, we have been entirely without knowledge or information."

In 1856, R. Baird, in his well-known work, "Religions in America," says that Pennsylvania is still the principal home of the Mennonites in the United States, and that they have four hundred communities, with two hundred or two hundred and fifty preachers and thirty thousand members, who are, for the most part, in easy circumstances. Perhaps these figures are correct, so far as concerns Pennsylvania; but, according to the "Conference Minutes of the entire Mennonite

¹ Skippack.

² Plain.

³ Salford.

⁴ Rockhill.

⁵ Deep Run.

⁶ Perkasio.

⁷ Great Swamp.

⁸ Saucon.

⁹ Lehigh.

¹⁰ Conestoga.

Community in North America, held at West Point, Lee County, Iowa, the 28th and 29th of May, 1860," the number of the Mennonites in all the States of the Union amounted to 128,000. After having for many years almost entirely neglected mutual relations, and separated into many small societies, they finally came to the conclusion that a firm covenant of brotherhood is one means to collect the scattered, to unite the divided, and to strengthen the weak. The delegates of the communities come together annually, as they did the present year from May 31 to June 3, at Wadsworth, Ohio. On the 20th of May, 1861, they repeated in their own way what our fathers did fifty years earlier; they founded a seminary for the service of the church, with which, since that time, Dr. Van der Smissen, formerly minister at Frederickstadt, has been connected as professor and director. May it be to them as great a blessing as ours has been to us.

October, 1869.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.

LETTERS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE,
DESCRIBING THE ENGAGEMENT.

On the 28th of June, 1778, a battle occurred at the village of Freehold, N. J., which has made the name of the unfortunate son of Charles II. memorable forever in American history. It is not anything connected with the gayety of his father's court, his uncle's sullen revenge, or his own career, which the name of Monmouth recalls on this side of the Atlantic. In their stead it conjures up a scene where, beneath a scorching sun, Washington's army, overtaking the British, displayed the endurance of veterans, the result of the discipline and suffering in that school of adversity—Valley Forge. The meeting of Washington and Lee during this engagement is one of the most dramatic incidents of the American Revolution. Washington, in a moment of indignation so intense as to resemble passion, exercised a generalship so consummate, that from that moment all question was at an end regarding his fitness to hold the commission of commander-in-chief. Lee, "abashed and confused" at the position in which his cynical disposition had involved him, and forgetful of the first duty of a soldier, closed a career which his wilful temper had turned from one of promise to one of disappointment, if not of disgrace.

The one hundredth anniversary of this event is so near at hand, that all relating to it is worthy of attention. The following letter of Alexander Hamilton, written in the freedom of confidence, will be read with interest, as will also that of our own Gen. William Irvine.

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

BRUNSWICK, July 5th, '78.

MY DEAR SIR:—

You will by this time imagine that I have forgotten my promise of writing to you, as I have been so long silent on an occasion which most people will be fond of celebrating to their friends.

The truth is, I have no passion for scribbling, and I know you will be at no loss for the fullest information. But that you may not have a right to accuse me of negligence, I will impose upon myself the drudgery of saying something about the transactions of the 20th, in which the American arms gained very signal advantages; and might have gained much more signal ones.

Indeed, I can hardly persuade myself to be in good humour with success so far inferior to what we, in all probability should have had, had not the finest opportunity America ever possessed been fooled away by a man, in whom she has placed a large share of the most ill-judged confidence. You will have heard enough to know that I mean General Lee. This man is either a driveler in the business of soldiership or something much worse. To let you fully into the silly and pitiful game he has been playing, I will take the tale up from the beginning;—expecting you will consider what I say as in the most perfect confidence.

When we came to Hopewell Township, the General unluckily called a council of war, the result of which would have done honor to the most honourable society of midwives, and to them only. The purport was, that we should keep at a comfortable distance from the enemy, and keep up a vain parade of annoying them by detachment. In pursuance of this idea, a detachment of 1500 men was sent off under General Scot² to join the other troops near the enemy's lines.

¹ A portion of this letter will be found in the Pennsylvania Packet of July 16, 1778, but the name of the writer and the strictures on Lee are not given.

² Gen. Chas. Scott, of Va., born 1733, died 22 Oct. 1820. He was a non-commissioned officer in the Braddock Expedition; raised the first company

General Lee was *primum mobile* of this sage plan; and was even opposed to sending so considerable a force. The General, on mature reconsideration of what had been resolved on, determined to pursue a different line of conduct at all hazards. With this view, he marched the army the next morning towards Kingston, and there made another detachment of 1000 men under General Wayne, and formed all the detached troops into an advanced corps under the command of the Marquis De la Fayette. The project was, that this advanced corps should take the first opportunity to attack the enemy's rear on the march, to be supported or covered as circumstances should require by the whole army.

General Lee's conduct with respect to the command of this corps was truly childish. According to the incorrect notions of our army, his seniority would have entitled him to the command of the advanced corps; but he in the first instance declined it, in favour of the Marquis. Some of his friends having blamed him for doing it, and Lord Stirling having shown a disposition to interpose his claim, General Lee very inconsistently reasserted his pretensions. The matter was a

south of the James River for the Revolutionary Army; was commissioned Colonel of the 3d Va. Battalion, Aug. 1776; Brigadier-General April 2, 1777; was distinguished at Trenton, and was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in 1780. In 1785 he removed to Kentucky, and was Brigadier-General of the Kentucky Troops, in the expedition under St. Clair at his defeat in 1791. In June of that year he commanded a successful expedition against the Indians on the Wabash. In 1794 he was with Wayne in the battle of the Fallen Timbers. From 1803 to 1812 he was Governor of Kentucky. A county of Kentucky is named for him.—*Drake*.

The mention of his name in connection with the battle of Monmouth recalls an anecdote which we would hesitate to give were it not that it has already found a place in print under sanction of George Washington Parke Custis (see *Recollections*, p. 413). Scott, it is said, was very profane; and a friend, after the war, anxious to reform him of his evil habit, asked him if it was possible that "the admired Washington ever swore. Scott reflected for a moment, and then exclaimed, 'Yes, once; it was at Monmouth, and on a day that would have made any man swear. Yes, sir, he swore on that day till the leaves shook on the trees, charming delightfully. Never have I enjoyed such swearing before or since. Sir, on that ever-memorable day he swore like an angel from Heaven.' The reformer abandoned the General in despair."

second time accommodated; General Lee and Lord Stirling agreed to let the Marquis command. General Lee, a little time after, recanted again, and became very importunate. The General, who had all along observed the greatest candor in the matter, grew tired of such fickle behaviour, and ordered the Marquis to proceed.

The enemy in marching from Allen Town had changed their disposition, and thrown all their best troops in the rear; this made it necessary, to strike a stroke with propriety, to reinforce the advanced corps. Two brigades were detached for this purpose, and the General, willing to accommodate General Lee, sent him with them to take the command of the whole advanced corps, which rendezvoused the forenoon of the 27th at English Town, consisting of at least 5000 rank and file, most of them select troops. General Lee's orders were, the moment he received intelligence of the enemy's march to pursue them and to attack their rear.

This intelligence was received about five o'clock the morning of the 28th, and General Lee put his troops in motion accordingly. The main body did the same. The advanced corps came up with the enemy's rear a mile or two beyond the Court House; I saw the enemy drawn up, and am persuaded there were not a thousand men—their front from different accounts was then ten miles off. However favourable this situation may seem for an attack, it was not made; but after changing their position two or three times by retrograde movements, our advanced corps got into a general confused retreat, and even route would hardly be too strong an expression. Not a word of all this was officially communicated to the General; as we approached the supposed place of action, we heard some flying rumours of what had happened, in consequence of which the General rode forward, and found the troops retiring in the greatest disorder, and the enemy pressing upon their rear. I never saw the general to so much advantage. His coolness and firmness were admirable. He instantly took measures for checking the enemy's advance, and giving time for the army, which was very near, to form and make a proper disposition. He then rode back,

and had the troops formed on a very advantageous piece of ground;—in which and in other transactions of the day General Greene and Lord Stirling rendered very essential service, and did themselves great honor. The sequel is, we beat the enemy and killed and wounded at least a thousand of their best troops. America owes a great deal to General Washington for this day's work—a general route, dismay, and disgrace would have attended the whole army in any other hands but his. By his own good sense and fortitude he turned the fate of the day. Other officers have great merit in performing their parts well; but he directed the whole with the skill of a Master workman. He did not hug himself at a distance and leave an Arnold to win laurels for him; but by his own presence, he brought order out of confusion, animated his troops, and led them to success.¹

A great number of our officers distinguished themselves this day. General Wayne was always foremost in danger. Col. Stewart² and Lt.-Col. Ramsay³ were with him among the first to oppose the enemy. Lt.-Col. Olney,⁴ at the Head of

¹ This and the remark on page 146, regarding messenger, aids, etc., are allusions to the course of General Gates.

² Subsequently General Walter Stewart, of Pennsylvania, of whom we hope at a future day to print a biographical notice.

³ Lt.-Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay, of Maryland, a brave officer, whose meritorious services have never received the notice they deserve. At Brandywine he crossed the stream in front of Knyphausen and engaged the Hessian Yagers. His services at Monmouth were of the highest order, and there he received severe wounds. Drake, in his Dictionary, states that Ramsay was taken prisoner at Charleston in 1780; but that misfortune must have befallen him at a previous time, as the papers of Gen. James Irvine in the Pennsylvania Historical Society show that he was one of the prisoners at Flushing, L. I., in August, 1779. He was exchanged December 14, 1780. He was a delegate to the "Old Congress" from Maryland 1785-87. He was no doubt the Colonel Ramsay who was one of the pall-bearers at Washington's funeral, and is said to have been the brother of the historian, David Ramsay. An obituary notice of him will be found in the *Balt. Fed. Rep.*, Oct. 1817. His portrait is in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

⁴ Lt.-Col. Jeremiah Olney, Rhode Island, died Nov. 12, 1812, aged 62. He was conspicuous in many battles of the Revolution. After the war he was President of the Cincinnati Society of Rhode Island. At the Court-martial of Lee he was one of the witnesses called by that officer.

Varnum's Brigade, made the next stand. I was with him, got my horse wounded and myself much hurt by a fall in consequence. Col. Livingston¹ behaved very handsomely. Our friend Barber² was remarkably active; towards the close of the day he received a ball through his side, which the doctors think will not be fatal. Col. Silly³ and Lt.-Col. Parker⁴ were particularly useful on the left; Col. Craig,⁵ with General Wayne on the right. The Artillery acquitted themselves most charmingly. I was spectator to Lt.-Col. Oswald's⁶ beha-

¹ Probably Henry Philip Livingston, whom Drake states was one of Washington's family in 1778. He was a son of Philip Livingston, the signer of the Declaration of Independence.

² Francis Barber, a native of New Jersey, born 1751. He was educated at Princeton, and after having finished his studies took charge of an academy at Elizabethtown, N. J. Alexander Hamilton was one of his pupils. At the beginning of the Revolution he entered the army and served with distinction until 1783; on the very day upon which Washington announced the conclusion of peace to the army he was killed by the falling of a tree. In 1781 he was instrumental in quelling the revolt which occurred in the troops from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. A biographical sketch of him, with portrait, will be found in the *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. ii. edition of 1835.

³ Joseph Cilley, of New Hampshire, b. 1734, d. 1799. He was one of the witnesses at the Court-martial of Lee. He was subsequently Major-General of the New Hampshire Militia. He was Major of Poor's Regiment in 1775.

⁴ We think it likely that this officer was Colonel Richard Parker, of Virginia, as the Colonel Parker who was present at Monmouth, received his orders from General Scott, who commanded Virginia troops. Col. Richard Parker died at the siege of Charleston, S. C., in 1780. He was a Captain of 2d Virginia regiment 24 Jan. 1776, and afterwards Colonel of the 8th Virginia.

⁵ Thomas Craig, Colonel of the 3d Pennsylvania Regiment. He was born in the present Northampton Co. Jan. 10th, 1740. His parents, Thomas and Mary, were natives of Ireland. Thomas entered the army early in the Revolutionary war, and was in the expedition to Canada commanded by Arnold. He was in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and was at Valley Forge. He died at Allentown, Lehigh Co., Jan. 20, 1832, aged 93. He was a Captain Jan. 5, 1776; Major Sept. 7, 1776; Colonel, 1777.

⁶ Eleazer Oswald was born in England about 1755. He came to America a short time previous to the Revolution, and at the beginning of the war served under Arnold and Ethan Allen at the capture of Ticonderoga. He

viour, who kept up a gallant fire from some piece commanded by him, uncovered and unsupported. In short, one can hardly name particulars without doing injustice to the rest. The behaviour of the officers and men in general was such as could not safely be surpassed. Our troops, after the first impulse from mismanagement, behaved with more spirit and moved with greater order than the British troops. You know my way of thinking about our army, and that I am not apt to flatter it. I assure you I never was pleased with them before this day.

What part our family acted let others say. I hope you will not suspect me of vanity when I tell you that one of them, Fitzgerald,¹ had a slight contusion with a Musket ball,

was at Quebec when Montgomery was killed, acting as secretary to Arnold, and after that officer was wounded led the forlorn hope; he was spoken of on this occasion as a volunteer who behaved extremely well. At Monmouth he was Lt.-Col. of Lamb's Regiment of Artillery, and shortly after the battle, Knox spoke of him as "One of the best officers of the Army. He resigned his commission the latter part of 1778. For a number of years he published in Philadelphia the *Independent Gazette*. In 1783 he reopened "On its original plan and regulation" the well-known "London Coffee House" (still standing at the S. W. corner of Market and Front Streets), which so far as its original purposes of "a change for commercial transactions" were concerned, it lost after Col. Bradford retired from it, some time before the close of the war.

Col. John Parke, in the preface to his translations of the *Odes of Horace*, writes that he has addressed several of them to his "Very worthy friend and fellow-soldier, Lt.-Col. Eleazer Oswald, late of the American Artillery, not only on account of his ushering this work into the world (he was its printer), but for his many eminent virtues as a brave soldier and a good citizen. The hardship he has suffered, and the toils he has endured, and the many trying vicissitudes he has experienced in the defence of his country entitle him to the esteem of every patriotic and virtuous American." In 1792, being in England on business, he crossed to France, and, joining the French Army, commanded a regiment of artillery at the battle of Jemappe. He returned to America, and died of yellow fever at New York in October. 1795.

¹ John Fitzgerald, of Virginia. As there were two officers of this name from the same State, it is impossible to give the record of either with certainty from printed documents. The one mentioned was an aid to Washington; the date of his appointment as such is lost; Mr. Sparks thought that it was made during 1778, but Geo. Washington Parke Custis speaks of a Fitzgerald who was on the staff of Washington at the time of the battle of

another, Laurens,¹ had a slight contusion also, and his horse killed; a third, Hamilton, had his horse wounded in the first part of the action with a musket ball. If the rest escaped, it is only to be ascribed to better fortune, not more prudence in keeping out of the way.

That Congress is not troubled with any messenger-aids to give swords and other pretty toys to, let them ascribe to the good sense of the Commander-in-chief, and to a certain turn of thinking in those about him which put them above such shifts.

What think you now of General Lee. You will be ready to join me in condemning him. And yet, I fear, a Court Martial will not do it. A certain preconceived and preposterous opinion of his being a very great man will operate much in his favour. Some people are very industrious in making interest for him. Whatever a Court Martial may decide, I shall continue to believe and say—his conduct was monstrous and unpardonable.

I am, D. Sir,

Yrs Affecty,

ALEX. HAMILTON.

One wing of the army marched this morning towards the North River, another goes to-morrow. The enemy by our late accounts were embarking their baggage. They are three miles below Middletown. French importunity cannot be resisted. I have given two frenchmen letters to you. I am

Princeton, Custis also mentions a Col. Fitzgerald, no doubt the former aid, who was with Washington at Alexandria in November, 1799. In the *Hist. Mag.*, June, 1863, a letter is published from Robert Morris to John Fitzgerald, of Alexandria, Va.; also one from Arthur Lee and one from R. H. Lee to Col. Fitzgerald of the same place. Col. Fitzgerald was one of the witnesses at Lee's trial.

¹ Lt.-Col. John Laurens. Too well known to need special mention. On account of Lee's reflections on Washington, in the defence which he published after his trial, Laurens sent him a challenge; they met near Philadelphia, in a wood situated near the four-mile stone on the Point-no-Point Road. Hamilton acted as the second of Laurens. Lee was slightly wounded.

very serious about Mr. Toussard,¹ and as far as a Majority in some Corps, Armand's Pulaski's or such like, would wish you to interest yourself for him. The Marquis De Vieme,² I am so far in earnest concerning that if his pretensions are moderate, and he can be gratified, I should be glad of it—but I fear they will be pretty high.

LETTER OF GEN. WILLIAM IRVINE OF PENNA. TO CAPT. JOHN DAVIS.

CAMP ENGLISH TOWN, NEW JERSEY, June 30, 1778.

DEAR SIR:—

I suppose ere now you will have heard of the action of the 28th instant, not far from this place and within one mile and a half of Monmouth Court House. Two days before several large detachments of Light Troops were sent in front in pursuit of the Enemy, commanded by General Lee and the Marquis; in the morning they fell in with and engaged the enemy but were soon repulsed; however, the main army got up just as they were retiring and formed on or near the ground they left. The two Armies were formed on two hills about a half mile apart; about Eleven o'clock an exceeding heavy cannonade commenced on both sides and continued with great vigor till half after four in the afternoon, when the Enemy went off precipitately, and left their dead and wounded on the field. Our army took possession and encamped on the field. The enemy drew off about two miles and in the night went off Bag and Baggage; as there was no possibility of coming up with them, as they steer for Sandy Hook, we have given over the chase, and are now marching towards the upper part of Jersey. The enemy left about 300 dead on the field, among

¹ Col. Louis Toussard, born, France, 1749; died, New Orleans, about 1820. He was aid to Lafayette; lost an arm at Rhode Island in the fall of 1778. Author of the *Artillerist's Companion*, 2 vols. 8vo., Phila. 1809.—*Drake*.

² Marquis de la Vienne. "He arrived in camp while the army were at Valley Forge, with recommendatory letters to the Marquis de Lafayette." He had held the rank of Major in the French Army, and upon his own petition was commissioned by Congress as Colonel in the service of the United States, "without any pay annexed to said rank." See J. of C., July 15, 1778.

whom were three field officers and ten other officers. Thus the pride of the British Tyrant is lowering; in all the actions hitherto the Americans never took the field. I hope in future they will always take it. I wrote you about two weeks ago, and would have wrote oftener, but have been exceedingly ill; indeed was obliged to stay at Valley Forge after the army; however, thank God, I got up in time to be at the action, and mend sure fast; indeed the Brigade I commanded was posted in front of our Whole Army, about three hundred yards.¹ Notwithstanding we lost but 5 killed and a few wounded; I would have wrote General Thompson, but expected him at camp before this reaches you; however, should this not be the case, please present my compliments to him, and tell him that the 28th was a most Glorious day for the American Arms; likewise give my compliments to Capt. Byers, and tell (him) I meant to write him but am exceedingly hurried and much fatigued with the necessary duties of my station. I shall be glad to hear from you, and I shall write you when anything of consequence.

I am, Dr. Sir,

Your most obt. servant,

WM. IRVINE.

Col. JOHN DAVIS, near Carlisle.

¹ When Lee's troops were retreating they so impeded the advance of Irvine's Brigade that Irvine had to threaten to charge through them before he could make way to his advanced position.—*Anecdote communicated by Dr. Wm. A. Irvine.*

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1760.

A JOURNAL OF A MARCH FROM FORT PITT TO VENANGO, AND FROM THENCE TO
PRESQU' ISLE. FROM THE PAPERS OF CAPT. THOMAS HUTCHINS,
GEOGRAPHER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

[The following journal is in the Hutchins' Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is possible that it contains the observations of Hutchins himself, who, at the time it was written, was an officer in the 60th regiment. The value of the paper is in the topographical picture it gives of the western portion of our State in its original condition. In the first volume of the papers of Charles Lee, published by the New York Historical Society, is a letter by Lee to his sister, in which he states that on November 19th, 1759, while stationed at Niagara, he "was order'd out on a scout with one other officer and fourteen men, to discover (if possible) what was become of the remains of the French Army which escap'd from the Battle; we had," he writes, "the satisfaction of being the first English who ever cross'd the vast Lake of Erie; we pass'd through the French Forts of Presqu' Isle and Vinango, descended down the Rivers of Buffalo and Ohio, and in 14 days arrived safe (tho' naked almost starv'd) at Fort Duquesne," at which place, he adds, he found his sister's friend "Mallier, who was in good health but a little in liquor, as, indeed, were most of the officers I saw there." If Lee is correct in the assertion that his party was the first English one to journey over the route it did, it is safe to conclude that the description given in the Hutchins Journal is the earliest we have of our western territory after it came under the undisputed control of Great Britain.]

Left Fort Pitt 7th July, 1760, about half an hour past three o'clock, P. M.; marched $4\frac{1}{2}$ Miles, the first half of the way through a Rich Fertile Bottom, and the other through a dry Gully between two Hills, at the end of which we encamped on the side of an Hill, where were several good Springes.

8th. Decamped early in the morning, and Marched 16 Miles. About 7 Miles from Fort Pitt found two or three very small Runs almost dry; three Miles further a sharp descent to a small Creek, then Crossed a Meadow three Hundred Yards over, and went up another Hill, the ascent of which is not Difficult: Here you see many Hundred Acres of clear Land or Barrens, the Soil of which is bad, excepting only the

Meadows. From this Creek we found no Water till within half a Mile of our Encampment. This whole marsh is upon high Ridges with very small Intermissions the Soil, except on the Barrens, is tolerably good, and indifferently Timbered with small Black and White Oaks, very little Water, but a Redundance of Pea-Vine and other Food. The Woods are open and free from underwood—Course to the Eastward of North.

9th. At Six in the Morning Crossed the Hill at the foot of which we Encamped the Preceding Night, and entered some Meadows and low Grounds, which Continued near five Miles; then Crossed two deep and dry Gully's, and ascended an high Extensive and Barren Ridge, a Mile and a half in length. Here we fell into a Small Bottom, and from this place alternately crossed little open Bottoms and small Barren Hills, till we came to a very high and difficult one leading down to a Creek about 12 yards over; called the first Branch of Bever Creek: From our last night's encampment to this place (10 Miles) we found no Water, a bad Soil, very little Timber, and a Good deal of underwood, and Plenty of Food even on the Barrens. Passing this Creek, we went through a very thick Bottom, and ascending a Gentle Hill continued on the Ridge near two Miles, when we gradually descended into a small, Dry, infertile Flatt, which, after a Mile and half's March brought us to the second Branch of Bever Creek, 30 yards over, where we Encamped. Marched this day 10 Miles. Course N. & by E.

10th. This morning ascended a very steep and high Hill, on the Ridge of which we continued for a Mile, then went down a pretty smart descent to the third Branch of Bever Creek, and Crossing it passed through 300 or 400 yards of low thick Bottom, and gained the foot of a Pretty high sideling Hill, which soon lost itself in fine level open woods, and these Continued to the fourth Branch of Bever Creek, which is at least 11 Miles from our last night's Camp. After Crossing this Creek, you go through a thick Swampy Bottom, 400 yards Over, and then fall in with the same kind of Woods you traversed in the morning. Five Miles from the Fourth

is the Fifth Branch of Bever Creek, these three Branches, particularly the last, are only little dirty Runs: A Mile from the Fifth is the Sixth Branch, where we encamped. This Branch is a pretty little Brook, with fine, Rich, open Meadows gently descending to it on each side: These meadows are perfectly clear two Miles in length, and are half a Mile over.—Marched 17 Miles this day. Course to the Eastward of North.

11th. After ascending the rising Ground on the North side of the brook, we entered a very narrow rich Meadow, which soon brought us upon flatt, level, open Woods that Continued two Miles, when we came upon the 7th Branch of Bever Creek, a Shallow, rapid, rocky Stream, 60 yards Over; passing which, and a thick Shrubby Bottom on the other side, we came on the same kind of Open Flatt Woods as before, which Continued, this day's March (14 Miles), interrupted every two or three Miles by a small Run and a thick Bottom. The Soil and Timber Still Continues Bad, and the Food Grows worse. Course N. & by East.

12th. The first 10 Miles of this March are through flatt open woods, at the end of which you ascend a Chestnut Ridge, whose descent to Lecomie¹ or Sandy Creek is extremely steep and difficult; having crossed this Creek, which is 4 Miles from Venango, you ascend another Chestnut Ridge three miles in length, whose descent to Venango is likewise steep and difficult. From our Encampment this morning we had Water every two or three Miles. Lecomie is a Considerable Creek, 50 or 60 yards over. Three or 4 Miles before we came to the first Chestnut Ridge the Roads were so full of fallen trees that it was very difficult to pass. The Soil very Bad and Food scarce. Marched this day 16 Miles. N. & by E. Easterly.

13th. Marched at one o'clock, P. M., and Crossed French Creek due North, 100 yards over, Running East into the

¹ This is the second Indian name discovered and added to the aboriginal nomenclature of our territory since the issue of the Historical Map of Pennsylvania in 1875. The other was communicated by Mr. John G. Freeze, and is to be found in the Magazine, Vol. I., p. 225, 6.

Ohio; had low ground for a Mile, then ascended a Steep Hill, at the N. W. Foot of which is a small Run, from whence we marched $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles through a low Rich Bottom to Sugar Creek, 10 yards over, five Miles from Venango. This Bottom continued a Mile further, and is full of Runs: We now ascended another steep Hill, and alternately traversed little Hills and low Bottoms for 4 Miles, and then Encamped; the Woods are open and very young, the Soil and Timber somewhat better than on the other side of French Creek. Marched 10 Miles this day. Our Course N. W. & by West.

14th. Marched through low Grounds upon or near the banks of French Creek, almost all this day—Runs at the end of One, two and three Miles, and at 4 Miles a Creek 12 yards wide. Seven Miles from Camp we came upon an high Sidling Hill opposite Custologa's Town, which is situated on the South West side of French Creek. Two Miles further are three Mingoe Hutts, a Mile beyond which we met with the Richest Meadows I ever saw, quite clear, more than two Miles in length, and half a Mile Broad. At the end of these Meadows are three more Mingoe Hutts, near which we Encamped, having marched 13 Miles. Course N. W. Excellent Food, fine open Woods, but no Timber.

15th. Marched through very Rich Bottoms, commonly called Swamps, almost all this day. Runs at four, Eight, and Ten Miles distance from last night's Camp. At 11 Miles distance we Recrossed French Creek, (80 yards over, but extremely shallow) found about half a mile of pretty high open Woods, then fell into a swamp, $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles over, full of the largest Cyprus Trees I ever saw. Crossed a Creek 30 yards over, and encamped on the North side. This Creek and the 4 Miles one mentioned above both Run Eastward. Marched 14 Miles this day, over Course N. N. E.

16th. This morning we ascended a pretty high Hill, and Continued upon very high Ground, tho' very swampy, for 6 Miles (in which is neither Water nor encamping Ground); then Crossed a Branch of French Creek into a fine Meadow near a Mile Square; from whence we had a good Waggon Road two Miles through flatt open Woods to Le Beauf, which

stands on a small Branch of French Creek, over which is a very good Bridge; this Creek, half a Mile below, Runs through a Lake a Mile over, but is itself not ten yards wide. We encamped about a Mile beyond Le Beauf, having Marched 10 Miles, there being no more Water till within two Miles of Prisqu' Isle. Our Course this day N. N. E.

17th. This day's March was (two Miles open dry woods near Prisqu' Isle, and one mile at the other end excepted) a Continued Chestnut Bottom Swamp, near Nine Miles of which are laid with Loggs, but much out of repair. Marched this day 14 Miles. Our Course North.

PROPOSITION TO MAKE BETHLEHEM, PENNA., THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT IN 1780.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[The following correspondence between Lewis Weiss, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. John Ettwein, of Bethlehem, is of considerable local interest, and now appears for the first time. The originals are preserved in the archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem.—J. W. J.]

PHILADELPHIA, 14 April, 1780.

DEAR SIR—I was yesterday spoken to by a friend of mine, a member of Congress, intimating that Congress had a mind to change their residence, and that it was proposed by some members Bethlehem would be a very proper place for making a Hague, like in Holland. I immediately exclaimed that Congress was mad! but was stopped when the gentleman declared that Congress would never enter upon the subject, if they should conceive this plan might put the Society at Bethlehem under greater inconvenience, as Congress *was* able to relieve them by the payment of money, and other advantages which would accrue to the trades of Bethlehem. I told him in my opinion it was impracticable, without ruining and eating up the Society; it was a question with me whether, if every soul was removed from Bethlehem, the houses built

there was sufficient to contain Congress and the several departments belonging thereto; and if Congress had a mind to examine Mr. Edmonds,¹ who happened to be in town, I believed he could give them information of the number of houses and inhabitants of Bethlehem and Nazareth, by which Congress would see the impossibility of putting that plan into execution.

I had really stopped Bro. Edmonds, but was told this morning I might let him go home, and advised that I should write for a description of Bethlehem and perhaps Nazareth too, particularly the number of inhabitants of the several houses and cabias; and whenever the matter should come on the carpet, they would move the House to send for me for information. Indeed, I should be very sorry if Congress should come to reside even in your neighborhood, for it would spoil the morals of many of your people, and the markets for all of them.

(Signed)

LEWIS WEISS.²

DEAR SIR—As I have been informed that the honourable Congress intends to shift their residence from Philadelphia to

¹ William Edmonds was born 24th October, 1708, at Colford, Gloucestershire, O. E. His father was a merchant, and the family attached to the established church. In 1736 he immigrated to America, and established himself in business in New York, and in 1739 married Rebecca Beauvoise, a French Huguenot. He joined the Moravian Church in 1741, and after the death of his wife in 1749, removed to Bethlehem. In March of 1755 he married Margaret Anthony, of New York. In October of that year he was elected to the Assembly from Northampton. After serving his church in various secular capacities at Bethlehem and Nazareth, he died at the latter place 15th September, 1786.

² Lewis Weiss was born in Berlin on the 28th of December, 1717. Immigrated to Pennsylvania in December, 1755, and settled in Philadelphia. For many years he was the attorney for the Moravian Church. He was one of the founders of the German Society, and was its President in 1782. He was commissioned Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of Philadelphia on the 26th of May, 1786. He died on the 22d of October, 1796, and was buried in the Moravian cemetery at the corner of Franklin and Vine Streets. One of his daughters m. George Klein, printer, of Carlisle, and another John Wyeth, printer, of Harrisburg, Pa.

some other place in this State; and that some inquiries have been made of you, whether that honourable body could not be accommodated here or at New York, I take this opportunity to inform you of the true state of Bethlehem, in regard to its dwelling houses and present inhabitants. You know our situation well enough, and that it would be impossible to receive them, if they even were willing to submit to many and great inconveniences.

Bethlehem has about *thirty-six private dwelling houses*, which are inhabited by *sixty-one families*, with their different trade and workshops, so that many a family has but one single room for themselves and their all. You know the public buildings, as the meeting-house, schools, the houses of the single brethren, single sisters, and widows,¹ tavern, and mills, are full of people; and I may, with truth, observe that no village or town in this State is so crowded with inhabitants as Bethlehem now is. Nazareth is not much better; and as it lies nine miles nigher to the Blue Mountains, that settlement is the first refuge of the settlers behind the mountains, as soon as they fear the least danger on account of the Indians. Some have already fled to Nazareth (a few days ago), and how many may follow them soon we cannot know.

Yet, if even the honourable Congress and its appendages could find the necessary accommodations here and in the neighborhood, which I know to be impossible, if they will not live in tents, it would, in my humble opinion, be a dangerous residence for them, as we are so nigh the mountains and the Big Swamp, from which an enemy could with ease walk in one night to Bethlehem. And such a treasure as the Congress might be a great temptation for the Indians or their desperate associates to make a sudden attempt upon the place, if they were not cowed by a considerable force.

Dear Sir, I must beg the favor of you to be attentive in this matter, and if you find that there is really such a notion

¹ In 1770 Ettwein founded the "Widow's Society of Bethlehem," an association which since that time has conferred its silent charities upon a large number of women.

or motive, to make, in the name of the Brethren or in their behalf, a representation against it, and cause, at least, an inspection into our situation and circumstances, before Congress resolves to move into these parts. We should be very sorry at the certain disappointment of the Congress in our [*unintelligible*] that they may not distress the inhabitants of this little place, disturb its happy constitution, and have nothing for it but trouble, exposure, and disappointment.

I am, dear Sir, with love and respect,

JOHN ETTWEIN.¹

¹ John Ettwein, a distinguished clergyman of the American Moravian Church, b. Friedenstadt, Germany. In 1754 he was consecrated bishop, and stood at the head of the church in Pennsylvania until his death in 1802.

MARY WHITE—MRS. ROBERT MORRIS.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REQUEST, AT SOPHIA'S DAIRY, HARFORD CO.,
MARYLAND, JUNE 7TH, 1877, ON THE OCCASION OF THE REINTERMENT
OF THE REMAINS OF COLONEL THOMAS WHITE, BEFORE A
REUNION OF HIS DESCENDANTS—HALLS,
WHITES, MORRISES.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

I have been invited here to-day to perform not an easy task. The life of a woman whose chief distinction is the prominence of her husband, is not likely to be possessed of characteristics and events, apart from him, of sufficient moment and interest to be preserved alive for half a century after her decease, and bear repeating at the end of that time. And yet this is a grateful task; for by performing it I hope to gratify that most laudable desire of man's heart, to know something of his progenitors, that, by imitating their virtues and transmitting the same to his successors, he may help to improve and benefit the human race. With this end and aim in view, I will relate all I know of Mrs. Robert Morris—Mary, youngest child of Thomas and Esther [Heulings] White. She was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 13th day of April, 1749, and on the 21st of May was baptized at Christ Church. Of her maidenhood, no incidents, even by tradition, are preserved, save in the opening verse of Colonel Shippen's "*Lines written in an Assembly Room*,"¹ to commemorate the beauty and charms of Philadelphia's belles, where he says:—

"In lovely White's most pleasing form,
What various graces meet!
How blest with every striking charm!
How languishingly sweet!"

She must, however, have been carefully trained and educated in all womanly accomplishments to have enabled her to fill,

¹ Shippen Papers, edited by Thomas Balch. Phila. 1855.

with so much ease, and dignity, and grace, the position in which she was afterwards placed.

On the second of March, 1769, before she was twenty, she was united in marriage by the Reverend Richard Peters, to Robert Morris, the future financier of the American Revolution. Mr. Morris was a native of Great Britain, having been born in Liverpool on the 31st of January, 1734. His father, also Robert Morris, came to this country and settled at Oxford, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where he died July 12th, 1750, when his son was in his seventeenth year. Robert came to Philadelphia, and entered the counting-house of Mr. Charles Willing, the first merchant of his day; and in 1754, at the age of twenty, formed a copartnership with his son, Thomas Willing, which lasted a period of thirty-nine years, and the firm of Willing & Morris became the best known and largest importing house in the colonies. Early taking an active interest in the welfare of the colonies, Mr. Morris was appointed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania one of the delegates to the second Congress, and entered upon a public career so well known as to render a relation of its details on this occasion unnecessary.

Towards the close of the year 1776, when the British approached Philadelphia, and Congress retired to Baltimore, Mr. Morris remained in the city as one of the committee intrusted with plenary power to perform all public acts. Mrs. Morris followed the Congress, and took up her abode at this very house where we are now assembled, and where her mother and father were visiting her step-sister, Mrs. Hall, and here she remained until the early part of the following March. On the 20th of December she writes to Mr. Morris: "I long to give you an account of the many difficulty's and uneasyness we have experienced in this journey. Indeed, my spirits were very unable to the task after that greatest conflict flying from home; the sufferings of our poor little Tom distressed us all, and without the affectionate assistance of Mr. Hall and the skilfulness of Dr. Cole, whose services I shall never forget, I don't know what might have been the consequence, as it was a boil of an uncommon nature, and required

the surgeon's hand. We had reason to apprehend, too, we should lose our goods; the many circumstances of this affair I must leave till I see you, as neither my patience nor paper will hold out. Only that Mr. Hall was obliged, when in a few miles of his house, to return to Christiana and retake his vessel, which he accomplished by the assistance of Mr. Hancock; but after all the dangers, I've the pleasure to inform you we are safely housed in this hospitable mansion." In another part of the letter she writes: "I thought I was prepared for every misfortune; for, as you observe, of late we have little else. Yet when Lee is taken prisoner, who is proof against those feelings his loss must occasion, and add to that the triumph of our enemy's and the mortification his sensibility must suffer. Mr. Hall has heard it contradicted at Bush, and that Mr. Hancock thinks from the circumstance it's a false report. God send it may be so, but I've observed pieces of bad news are seldom contradicted."

On the 30th of the same month, upon receipt of the news of the victory at Trenton, she writes to Mr. Morris: "We had been for many days impatiently wishing for a letter from you, as the news we hear from any other quarter is not to be depended on; but when the welcomed one arrived, which brought those glad tidings, it more than compensated for what our late unfortunate circumstances prepared our minds to expect, which was nothing more than our Army's being on the defensive, and fearing least their numbers were not even equal to that, but retreat as usual; but I hope, indeed, the tide is turned, and that our great Washington will have the success his virtues deserve, and rout that impious army who, from no other principle but that of enslaving this once happy country, have prosecuted this Cruell War. My father was greatly, *tho' agreeably*, affected at such good news, and I was the happy means of making many joyfull hearts, as we had many guests added to our large Family to celebrate Christmas. Mr. Hall is surprised he has not received orders to March with his Battalion, but only to hold himself in readiness." She again writes to him on the 15th of January, after hearing of the Battle at Princeton: "I have received

five of your letters since my last, besides Mr. Hall's, the contents of which allmost petrified us ;—happy had we been had the petrification reached our hearts, and made them proof against our feelings in this day of Triall. I suppressed mine all in my power, as I wish to make myself as agreeable as possible to this family, and as they had invited a party of young folks to a Twelfth Cake, I tryed to be cheerful ; how could I be really so when hourly in expectation of hearing the determination of so important a Battle, and when the express arrived and pronounced Washington victorious, would you believe it, your Molly could not join in the general rejoicing? No! nor never can at a victory so dearly bought." In her last letter to him before her return, written on the journey, she writes: "We are all well in health, and in want only of your Dear Company to be as happy as the state of our country will admit off."

On March 15th, 1777, she writes to her "mamma" from Philadelphia, addressed "To Mrs. White, at Aquila Hall's, Esqr., near Bush Town, Maryland."—"Last Wednesday noon I had the pleasure to arrive safe in dear Philadelphia, after a much pleasanter journey than I expected from our setting off, and it made me very happy to find myself at home after so long an absence, with the terrible apprehensions we fled with of never seeing it again." In the same letter she writes: "I suppose Jemmy Hall has told you how everybody exclaims at my thinness ; several of my acquaintances did not know me till they had time to recollect, and then declared there was very little traces of my former self." She concludes with: "Duty to my father, and love to sister and Mr. Hall and all the Hospitable Family, whose kindness to me and my exiled family I shall never forget." In a postscript she adds: "Billy has been told that the Congress appoint'd him their Chaplain when in Baltimore, but has not yet heard it from them, and begs it may not be mentioned." The "Billy," here referred to was none other than her brother, the future eminent prelate and father of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, Bishop White. In a letter on April 1st, she writes: "Mr. Hancock intends resigning his seat in Con-

gress, and going home; it is imagined he will be appointed Governor of Boston. They meant to have complimented Mr. Morris with the Presidentship, but he told the gentlemen who informed him of it he could not serve, as it would interfere entirely with his private business, and so begged it might be dropped. . . . Don't you feel quite important? I assure you I do, and begin to be reconciled to Independence."

Mrs. Morris had not been at home a month before fears of the approach of Howe necessitated preparations, at least, for seeking safer refuge. She writes to her mother on the 14th of April: "We are preparing for another flight in packing up our furniture and removing them to a new purchase Mr. Morris has made ten miles from Lancaster, no other than the famous House that belonged to Stedman and Steigel at the Iron Works, where, you know, I spent six weeks; so am perfectly well acquainted with the goodness of the House and situation. The reason Mr. Morris made this purchase, he looks upon the other not secure if they come by water. I think myself very lucky in having this Asylum, it being but 8 miles, fine road, from Lancaster, were I expect Mr. Morris will be if he quits this, besides many of my friends and acquaintances. So I now solicit the pleasure of your company at this once famous place, *Instead of Mennet*, where, perhaps, we may yet trace some vestages of the late owner's folly, and may prove a useful lesson to us his successors." A fortnight later she writes: "I am yet on dear Philadelphia ground, but expect soon to inhabit the Hills, where we shall remain, if possible, in the enjoyment of all that's beautiful to the eye and grateful to the taste; for, as if to add to our mortification, are we obliged to leave it; nature never appeared there so lovely, nor promised such a profusion of her gifts. We intend sending off our best furniture to Lancaster, with all the linen we can spare, and stores of all kind, that our flight may be attended with as few incumbrances as possible."

"The Hills" spoken of by Mrs. Morris in this last letter, with so much fervor and admiration, was her summer residence which Mr. Morris had purchased in 1770, and laid out in a style and manner unknown in this country at that day.

After it passed out of his hands, it was called Lemon Hill, and now forms that part of Fairmount Park, situate on the east side of the Schuylkill river south of the Girard Avenue Bridge, and north of the old water-works. Here he erected the large house still standing on the knoll of the hill overlooking the boat houses of the Schuylkill Navy, together with extensive hot-houses where he raised all kinds of tropical fruit, a fish-pond, and an ice-house. The "hot-houses" and the "ice-house" were the first introduced into the colonies. The "*famous house*" near Lancaster, which Mr. Morris bought, was none other than that built by the eccentric and doubtful Baron Henry William Steigel, who came to America about 1757, from Manheim, in Germany, and the following year purchased from Charles and Alexander Stedman, of Philadelphia, a portion of a large tract in Lancaster County, where he laid out a town which he called from his native city, Manheim. Here he built an iron furnace and extensive glass works, and erected the magnificent mansion which Mrs. Morris mentions as her proposed refuge from the enemy should they enter Philadelphia. "The Castle," as it was called, was very large, and contained a chapel, where the "Baron" held daily service. The wainscotings, mantel-pieces, and cornices are described as having been very massive and rich, while the arras-tapestry which covered the walls of the parlor, and the porcelain tiles encircling the fire-place, were of the finest order, specimens of each of which have been preserved to the present time. To this "famous house," then, Mr. and Mrs. Morris repaired, when in September, 1777, the near approach of the British army obliged Congress to remove from Philadelphia, first to Lancaster, and afterward to York as a more convenient place, and here they remained until after the evacuation of the city by Sir Henry Clinton and his troops early in the summer of 1778.

On the second of July, 1778, Congress reassembled in Philadelphia. At this period Benedict Arnold had command in the city. Mrs. Morris, writing to her mother in November, says: "I know of no news, unless to tell you that we are very gay is such. We have a great many balls and enter-

tainments, and soon the Assemblys will begin. Tell Mr. Hall even our military gentlemen here are too liberal to make any distinctions between Whig and Tory ladies—if they make any, it's in favor of the latter, such, strange as it may seem, is the way those things are conducted at present in this city. It originates at Head-quarters, and that I may make some apology for such strange conduct, I must tell you that Cupid has given our little General a more mortal wound than all the host of Britons could, unless his present conduct can expiate for his past—Miss Peggy Shippen is the fair one." This lady, I need hardly say, became Mrs. Benedict Arnold, and suffered with her husband all the ignominy his subsequent actions heaped upon his wretched head.

In the month of September, 1779, Mrs. Morris was called upon to mourn the loss of her father,—Col. Thomas White, who died on the twenty-ninth instant, and to do reverence to whose memory we are assembled here to-day. The event was communicated to her in a letter¹ enclosed in the following from her brother to Mr. Morris:—

MY DEAR SIR—The event wh. I prepared you to expect in my letter of this morning took place at 8 o'clock this evening. My dear Father's stupor returned at 4, and when he expired it was without ye least pain. The enclosed you will deliver whenever you think proper. You know your presence would be a consolation to us; but should you have leisure, there will hardly be time for you to pay your respects to his remains. They talk of Saturday.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,

W. WHITE.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, 10 o'clock.

Three weeks later her mother wrote to her:—

MY DEAR CHILD—Yr. letter was doubly welcome, as it is a long time since I had one from you, and my much altered circumstances makes the filial notice of my children more

¹ For letter to Mrs. Morris, see Vol. I., p. 436, PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG.

acceptable to me than ever, but you don't tell whether yr. little fellows are come from Frederick. I think you said last summer they were to come home in October. I should be very sorry to miss seeing them, as it is not likely I shall go up so soon as was expected, for Tommy Hall will not be ready. It seems repugnant to ye laws of nature for me to seek a home out of Philadelphia, and yet it is natural for me to enquire how I shall be able to live there, the necessities of life here are exorbitant, and with you we are told they are much higher, the two articles of house rent and firing would be saved here, which is a great matter; but there is a providence who governs the world, and to be told we may have a reliance on it, is so great a privilege that nothing but its being a Duty, could cause mankind to revolt from it.

I did not think that the late great event, as it was so long expected, would have affected my spirits so much as it has done. I don't know whether it is most wise or foolish to wish you may never experience the same trial, as it is the general lot to one to be the survivor. I would not have anybody see the above, as it may cause a laugh at what was wrote by one in tears. I was afraid some time ago yr. sister would not long survive Mr. Hall, but she seems now out of danger, tho' in a bad state of health. May you have all the blessings this world can bestow, and when it has an end ten thousand times ten thousand more than it is capable of giving, is the prayer

Of your affectionate,

E. WHITE.

23 October, 1779.

Give my love to Mr. Morris, yr. brother, and Polly White.

Early in the year 1781, Congress became sensible of the necessity of erecting the several departments of the government, similar to those which now exist, in order to give greater strength and efficiency to their executive authority, and Robert Morris was placed at the head of that of finance, with the title of Superintendent; which position he filled until the first of November, 1784, when he resigned. Mrs. Jay, on hearing of the appointment, wrote to Mrs. Morris from Spain: "No

circumstance of a public nature since my absence from America has given me greater satisfaction than Mr. Morris's acceptance of that important office which he at present holds; nor would you, my dear madam, even regret being so frequently obliged to dispense with his company, if you could be witness to the universal satisfaction it has diffused among the friends of our country, but w'd (were you as malicious as myself) even enjoy the confusion of our enemies upon the occasion. Besides the public utility which must arise from the measure, I have a peculiar pleasure, which results from the more frequent mention of the person, from whose abilities and integrity so much is expected, in terms the most grateful to friendship. Your fears for Mr. Morris's health are, I own, too well founded, and I think a little address to draw him into the country, at least of evenings, would be patriotic."

This is not the place to depict the arduous duties which this appointment imposed, but the wisdom of the choice was amply justified by the result; for it is very certain that no other individual in the country combined so comprehensive a knowledge of the subject with which he had to grapple, with that firmness and decision of character and keen sense of honor, which at once attract universal confidence. In consenting to accept the office, Mr. Morris made it a condition that he should have the power to appoint and remove at his pleasure all subordinates connected in any way with his department, and it is a striking evidence of the respect in which his personal qualities were held, that these terms were readily complied with. No one requires to be informed of the effect of his efforts in restoring the public credit,—no person could have accomplished more than he did; the only real cause of wonder is, that with means so limited—in fact without any public means at all—he could have done so much; but he put his shoulder to the wheel, and the much needed end was gained.

The prominence which this appointment gave to Mr. Morris, his wealth, ability, and social position, made his home the centre of all the amenity and civility of the day, and it is as the hostess presiding over this establishment that we have some of the most pleasing pictures of his wife.

After the alliance with France, this country was visited by many Frenchmen of distinction, diplomats, officers, and citizens, and all of them brought letters of introduction to Mr. Morris, who was esteemed the representative man of the city. From many of these foreigners we have published accounts of their travels, and from them gain vivid pictures of society in Philadelphia and other cities. There were Le Marquis de Chastellux, L'Abbé Robin, Citizen Mazzei, Le Prince de Broglie, Le Chevalier de la Luzerne, and many others. The first of these, who was here in 1780, in speaking of Mr. Morris says: "Mr. Morris is a large man, very simple in his manners, but his mind is subtle and acute, his head perfectly well organized, and he is as well versed in public affairs as in his own. . . . His house is handsome, resembling perfectly the houses in London. He lives there without ostentation, but not without expense, for he spares nothing which can contribute to his happiness and that of Mrs. Morris, to whom he is much attached." In another place, in describing an entertainment at the Chevalier de la Luzerne's, he says: "On passing into the dining-room, the Chevalier de la Luzerne presented his hand to Mrs. Morris, and gave her the precedence, an honor pretty generally bestowed on her."

The Prince de Broglie, whose narrative was procured recently in France by the late Mr. Thomas Balch, describes a visit he made to Mrs. Morris in 1782, with considerable minuteness. "M. de la Luzerne conducted me to the house of Mrs. Morris to take tea. She is the wife of the Comptroller General of the United States. The house is simple but well furnished and very neat. The doors and tables are of a superb mahogany, and beautifully polished. The locks and hinges in brass were curiously bright. The porcelain cups were arranged with great precision. The mistress of the house had an agreeable expression, and was dressed altogether in white; in fact, everything appeared charming to me. I partook of most excellent tea, and I should be even now drinking it, I believe, if the Ambassador had not charitably notified me at the twelfth cup that I must put my spoon across it when I wished to finish with this sort of warm

water. He said to me: it is almost as ill bred to refuse a cup of tea when it is offered to you, as it would be for the mistress of the house to propose a fresh one when the ceremony of the spoon has notified her that we no longer wish to partake of it."

The Chevalier de la Luzerne spoken of in each of these narratives, who was the Ambassador from France, was on terms of most familiar intercourse with the family of Mr. Morris. I have before me an evidence of this in an invitation to Mr. and Mrs. Morris and Miss Livingston, "*together with the young family of Mrs. Morris,*" to dine at Shoemaker's Place on the following Saturday afternoon; and it was from this nobleman that Mr. Morris, on his personal credit, obtained the twenty thousand pounds in specie which he sent to Washington, and enabled him to compel the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The Miss Livingston mentioned in the invitation was Catharine, daughter of Governor William Livingston, of New Jersey, and younger sister of the beautiful Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, who became the wife of John Jay. She afterwards married Matthew Ridley, an Englishman residing in Baltimore, a particular friend of Mr. Morris, and under whose roof she most probably met him, as she made one of the Morris family for several years, during the absence of her sister in Europe, when Mr. Jay represented the Confederation, first as Minister to Spain, and subsequently in Paris as one of the Commissioners to arrange the definitive treaty of peace. Mrs. Jay, writing to Mrs. Morris from Madrid, under date of Sept. 1, 1780, says: "When I left Philadelphia I did not also leave the remembrance of the repeated instances of friendship which has endeared you to me; but had I been less sensible of them, surely your recent kindness to my dear Kitty could not fail of awakening my gratitude. Accept, my dear Mr. and Mrs. Morris, of my sincere thanks for your kindness to my sister; believe me, nothing has given me more pleasure than the happiness she has enjoyed under your hospitable roof."

These heartfelt words of Mrs. Jay were doubtless called forth by the letter she had received from her sister written

the previous July, in which she says: "In our last distresses from the invasion of the British troops, Mr. and Mrs. Morris sent for me to come and live with them. It was exceedingly friendly; and it is certainly no small alleviation to our infelicities to have such friends as can feel for us, and by their kind endeavors soothe our troubled bosoms to peace and tranquillity. They have at present a delightful situation—Springsberry. Mr. Morris has enlarged the buildings, and converted the green-house into a dining-room, which far exceeds their expectations in beauty and convenience."

The last day of summer, 1781, was a gala day in Philadelphia. The military were out and the whole city astir. General Washington was coming, and with him the Count de Rochambeau and other foreign and American officers of consideration, who were all on their way to join Lafayette near Yorktown, hoping, with the aid of De Grasse, who was hourly expected with his fleet, to capture Cornwallis and his army. At mid-day the general reached the suburbs, where he was met by a large number of people and escorted to the City Tavern, where he held an impromptu reception. From thence he went to the residence of Mr. Morris, who entertained the eminent officers and their staffs, together with many citizens, at dinner. In the evening the city was illuminated in honor of the distinguished visitors. A recent writer has said: "Justly fell to Robert Morris the honor of entertaining General Washington on this occasion; for it was to him the general owed the possibility of this sudden transfer of the army to Virginia. . . . Next to Washington the country owes the triumph at Yorktown to Robert Morris."

In the fall of this same year Mr. Morris sent his two elder sons, Robert and Thomas, aged respectively twelve and ten years, to Europe, under the care of Mr. Mathew Ridley, before mentioned, for the purpose of being educated. They took with them a letter from their father to Dr. Franklin at Paris, in which Mr. Morris gives his reason for sending them to be that "the interruption given to the progress of learning, the distresses which the several seminaries in this country have undergone the various lucrative employments

to which masters and tutors have been invited in the progress of the present war, are circumstances which operate powerfully to the disadvantage of the present race of American youth, and which have induced me to take the determination of educating my two eldest sons, Robert and Thomas, in Europe." They carried with them also a letter from Mrs. Sarah Bache, Dr. Franklin's only daughter, to her son Benjamin Franklin Bache, who was being educated abroad, at the tender age of twelve, under his grandfather's care. In it she says: "My dear Benny:—This letter will be handed to you by the Master Morris's, who, you may remember, came to take leave of you the morning you left us. I am particularly happy in their going to Geneva, as I am sure it will give you great pleasure to see two old Friends, and have them go to the same school with you. Their Father and yours have the strongest Friendship for each other. I hope it will be the same with their sons, and that you will let them have a share in your heart with [*unintelligible*]. You will, I make no doubt, do everything in your power, to make Geneva agreeable to them; they are very clever boys, and will be strangers there compared with you."

They were placed to school in Geneva, where they remained five years, making during the vacations brief visits in the vicinity. One of these visits was to Paris the next year, which they passed with their mother's friend, Mrs. Jay, who wrote: "Your little sons, by passing their holiday with me, made me very happy. Robert so exceedingly resembles Mr. Morris, that I feel for him a respect mingled with my love; tho' at the same time I regret his distance from his father's example and counsel. Tommy (who is likewise a fine boy) told me that his last letters mentioned Hetty's and Maria's illness. I hope they are now quite recovered, as well as my dear Kitty. Will you embrace them for me?"

In the summer of 1786, under the tutelage of M. de Basseville, they went to Germany, and entered the University of Leipsic, where they remained nearly two years, returning home in the spring of 1788. The letters written during their absence, to them and to their tutor, by their father, are not

only fraught with good parental advice, but indicate and lay down a course and system of study, showing mature consideration, and a knowledge of the subject truly remarkable.

On the 25th of May, 1787, there met in Philadelphia the memorable Convention called together to frame a Constitution for the United States. To this body Mr. Morris, who had eleven years before affixed his bold signature to the Declaration of Independence, was a delegate, and it was upon his motion that George Washington was unanimously chosen to preside over its deliberations. To his sons at Leipsic Mr. Morris wrote June 25: "General Washington is now our guest, having taken up his abode at my house during the time he is to remain in this city. He is President of a convention of Delegates from the Thirteen States of America, who have met here for the purpose of revising, amending, and altering the Federal Government. There are gentlemen of great abilities employed in this Convention, many of whom were in the first Congress, and several that were concerned in forming the Articles of Confederation now about to be altered and amended. You, my children, ought to pray for a successful issue to their labours, as the result is to be a form of Government under which you are to live, and in the administration of which you may hereafter probably have a share, provided you qualify yourselves by application to your studies. The laws of nations, a knowledge of the Germanic System, and the constitutions of the several governments in Europe, and an intimate acquaintance with antient and modern history, are essentially necessary to entitle you to participate in the honor of serving a Free People in the administration of their Government."

Soon after the adjournment of the Convention, Mr. Morris visited Virginia in company with Mr. Gouverneur Morris, on matters of private business, where he was absent more than six months. The letters which passed between Mr. and Mrs. Morris during this period have fortunately been preserved, and show a cultivation and ease in epistolary composition now comparatively unknown. His first letter, written from Baltimore on his journey southward, contains a reference of

considerable interest on this occasion. He writes: "We arrived here last night all well, after a pleasant journey without any accident, and with fine weather and good roads. . . . I saw J. Hall at Havre de Grace. Charlotte Hall was at his house, but being dark and our journey having fatigued, we did not go thither. They were all very well, and next morning we visited the mansion of Mr. Hall; unluckily he had gone off (half an hour before we arrived) to a Plantation of his on the other side of Bush River. We were very graciously, I may say affectionately, received by three charming young ladies, Miss Molly, Patty, and Sophia. They gave us good breakfast and a hearty welcome, inquired particularly after you, and I pressed Molly to go up immediately with one of her sisters, and pass the winter with you, assuring them that was your wish, and that you would be exceedingly glad of their company. I flatter myself you will have them for companions for this winter, and I need not tell you how much I bid them welcome on my part. If Molly Hall does go up, I desire that you will engage Mr. Reinagle to teach her on the Harpsichord, and that you pay the expense; do this in the most delicate manner, such as I am sure your goodness of heart will dictate."

During her husband's absence, Mrs. Morris was made glad by the return from Europe of her sons Robert and Thomas, and it was during this same period that the clouds began to gather around the horizon of Mr. Morris's successful financial career. In October, 1788, he was again called into public life, by being elected by the Assembly to represent Pennsylvania in the first Senate of the United States, which was convened in New York on the 4th of March, 1789. On the very day of the meeting he writes to Mrs. Morris: "I arrived safe here at 7 o'clock this morning, before Mr. Constable was up. . . . We met the members that are now in this city from the other States, opened the two houses by entering on the minutes the names of those who appeared, and adjourned until to-morrow at Eleven O'clock. There were only Eight Senators and thirteen assembly men, and before we can proceed to business there must be twelve Senators and thirty

members of assembly. . . . Last night they fired 13 cannon from the Battery here over the Funeral of the Confederation, and this morning they saluted the new Government with 11 Cannon, being one for each of the States that have adopted the Constitution. The Flag was hoisted on the Fort, and Federal Colours were displayed on the top of the New Edifice and at several other places of the City; this, with ringing of Bells and Crowds of People at the meeting of Congress, gave the air of a grand Festival to the 4th of March, 1789, which, no doubt, will hereafter be celebrated as a new Era in the Annals of the World."

Congress did not organize for business until the eighth of April, and on the thirtieth, Washington was inaugurated the first President of the United States. Mrs. Washington did not accompany the general to New York, but on Tuesday, the nineteenth of May, accompanied by her grandchildren Eleanor and George Washington Parke Custis, set out in her private carriage for the seat of government. She received ovations all along the route, and on Thursday, when she reached Gray's Ferry, just outside of the city, she was met by Mrs. Morris, whose guest she was to be, and accompanied by her, entered the city escorted by a large concourse of military and citizens. On reaching High (Market) Street, near the residence of Mrs. Morris, she was greeted by the ringing of bells, the discharge of thirteen guns from a park of artillery, and the cheering shouts of an immense concourse of joyous people. Mrs. Washington remained with Mrs. Morris until the following Monday, and then departed for New York, taking with her Mrs. Morris and her daughter Maria in her carriage, as her guests. They were met on Wednesday at Elizabethtown by the President and Mr. Morris, and crossed over to New York on the President's barge. On Friday, the 29th of May, Mrs. Washington gave her first levee, at which Mrs. Morris was present, occupying the first place, on her right, and at all of her subsequent levees in New York and afterwards in Philadelphia, when present, Mrs. Morris occupied the honored place, as also did Mr. Morris when a guest at the public or private dinners given by Washington.

Mrs. Morris remained in New York with her husband until the fifth of July, when she returned home, he being detained at the seat of government by his senatorial duties. On the 17th he writes to her: "I have received your very pleasing letter of the 10th inst., and was made very happy in reading the narrative of your journey, of your reception at General Dickinson's, the Delaware Works, and, above all, in Market Street." A few days later he writes: "I paid a visit at the President's on Friday Evening (it is the only one I have paid since we parted). He is mended much in appearance and reality,—the Doctors, however, have had another cut at him, which has been very useful,—both he and Mrs. Washington were very particular in their enquiries after you, about your journey, and were pleased to hear that you had got safe home. Nelly Custis asked after Maria, and Mrs. Washington and the President after both Hetty and Maria."

Mainly through Mr. Morris's exertions the seat of government was removed the next year to Philadelphia. As soon as it was settled definitely that the removal should take place, Mr. Morris, whose residence on High Street east of Sixth Street was the finest private residence in the city, offered it for the presidential mansion. It was built of brick, three stories high, and the main building was forty-five feet six inches wide by fifty-two feet deep, and the kitchen and wash-house twenty feet wide by fifty-five feet deep, while the stables would accommodate twelve horses. The front of the house displayed four windows on the second and third floors, two on either side of the main hall, and on the first floor three windows, and a single door approached by three heavy gray stone steps. On each side of the house were vacant lots used as a garden, and containing trees and shrubbery. This property Mr. Morris bought in August, 1785, and rebuilt the house, which had been destroyed by fire New Year's day, 1780. When completed, he removed from his residence on Front Street below Dock Street, which he had occupied before and during the dark days of the revolutionary struggle. Washington wrote from Philadelphia, on his way to Mt. Vernon, to his Secretary, Tobias Lear, at New York: "The

house of Mr. Robert Morris had, previous to my arrival, been taken by the corporation for my residence. It is the best they could get. It is, I believe, the best single house in the city. Yet without additions it is inadequate to the commodious accommodation of my family." He subsequently wrote to Lear from Mt. Vernon: "Mr. and Mrs. Morris have insisted upon leaving the two large looking-glasses which are in their best rooms, because they have no place, they say, proper to remove them to, and because they are unwilling to hazzard taking them down. You will therefore let them have, instead, the choice of mine. . . . Mrs. Morris has a mangle (I think it is called) for ironing clothes, which, as it is fixed in the place where it is commonly used, she proposes to leave and take mine. To this I have no objection, provided *mine is equally good and convenient*; but if I should obtain any advantages besides that of its being up and ready for use, I am not inclined to receive it. . . . Mrs. Morris, who is a notable lady in family arrangement, can give you much information on all the conveniences about the house and buildings, and I dare say would rather consider it as a compliment to be consulted in those matters, as she is near, than a trouble to give her opinion of them." On yielding up his own residence to the President, Mr. Morris removed into the house at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets, which had been built by the loyalist Joseph Galloway, and confiscated to the State on account of his adhesion to the British crown. Mr. Morris purchased it from the Executive Council of Pennsylvania shortly after he had purchased the *presidential* mansion, to which it adjoined.

The President and Mrs. Washington arrived in Philadelphia from Mt. Vernon towards the end of November, and took possession of their house, where on Christmas night the first levee in Philadelphia was given. The close friendship which existed between Mr. Morris and the chief soon spread to their respective families, and an intimacy was engendered which neither misfortune nor time could diminish. That Robert Morris was Washington's most intimate friend—the man who entered nearest to his heart, and to whom he most

unbended—is proverbially well known, and the following incident of his last levee, held a few days before his retiring from the presidency, has been preserved and handed down by an eye-witness:¹ “Washington received his guests, standing between the windows in his back drawing-room. The company, entering a front room and passing through an unfolding door, made their salutations to the President, and turning off, stood on one side. His manner was courteous, of course, but always on these occasions somewhat reserved. He did not give his hand, but merely bowed, which was the mode for that day. Mr. Morris came in, and when the President saw him entering the room, he advanced to meet him, and shook him heartily by the hand: Mr. Morris, in allusion partly, perhaps, to the day which may have been cloudy, but more to the event, repeating as he came forward the lines:—

‘The day is overcast, the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day—
The great, the important day.’”

On the 4th of March, 1797, Washington's second term expired with the installation of John Adams into the executive chair. The day preceding he had given a farewell dinner, at which both Mr. and Mrs. Morris were present. Bishop White, who was also one of the guests, says: “During the dinner much hilarity prevailed; but on the removal of the cloth it was put an end to by the President, certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company, with a smile on his countenance, saying: ‘Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man; I do it with sincerity, wishing you all possible happiness.’ There was an end to all pleasantry, and there was not a dry eye among the company.” He showed his esteem for Mrs. Morris by presenting her with a small profile portrait of himself, by the Marchioness de Brehan, with this autograph presentation: “The President's compliments accompany the inclosed to Mrs. Morris.”

We now approach near to the period of her husband's great financial misfortunes, brought on by his striving after large possessions and his misplaced confidence in one of his asso-

¹ The late Hon. John B. Wallace.

ciates. He purchased, at merely nominal prices, varying from a few cents to a dollar an acre, many millions of acres of unseated lands in the several States of the Union, some individually and others in conjunction with John Nicholson and James Greenleaf, with whom he subsequently organized the North American Land Company in February, 1795. Early in the following year Morris and Nicholson found that they had joined their fortunes with the wrong man, and endeavored to extricate themselves by purchasing his interest, but alas! too late; the evil seed planted by Greenleaf was too widespread, and had taken too deep root, to be killed out and eradicated, and thus by his dishonest and rascally conduct was Robert Morris dragged under and sacrificed. In the autumn of 1796, Mr. Morris passed some time in Washington, or, as it was then called, "The Federal City,"—where Major L'Enfant, who had been the architect of the enormous pile, partly erected, on the square bounded by Seventh Street, Eighth Street, Chestnut Street, and Walnut Street, and known as "Morris's Folly," was engaged in laying out the city plans,—endeavoring to dispose of lots, a large number of which Mr. Morris had purchased when it was decided that *there* should be the permanent capitol of the country.

Finally the crisis came on the fifteenth of February, 1798. On that day he was arrested at the suit of one Charles Eddy, and from "the Hills" he writes to Nicholson: "I am here in custody of a sheriff's officer. Charles Eddy is the most hardened villain God ever made. I believe if I had bank bills to pay him with he would refuse them on the ground of their not being a legal tender." The next day he was taken to the debtor's apartment of the old Prune Street Prison, where he was confined until liberated by the operation of the General Bankrupt Law on the twenty-sixth of August, 1801, after undergoing an imprisonment of three years, six months, and ten days. The country for whose independence, safety, and salvation he had pledged and given his private fortune in the hour of its deepest depression and most desperate need, forgot him when adversity crowded upon him, and neither by word, act, or deed helped to alleviate the burden of his unfortunate situation. The Congress which, without his aid,

never would have had an existence to hold a session, sat within the shadow of his prison walls, but lifted not a voice or hand to save him. Yet one, noble above all, did not forget him. His great compeer, with Trenton and Yorktown fresh in his mind, remembered who had given him the gold which gave the two decisive conflicts of the war. In a letter written by Washington to Mrs. Eliza Powell, he says: "Poor Mrs. Morris! I feel much for her situation; and earnestly pray that Mr. Morris may, and soon, work through all his difficulties; in which I am persuaded that all who know him heartily join me; as they do, that their ease, quiet, and domestic enjoyments may be perfectly restored." Late in 1798, when Washington visited Philadelphia to collect and organize an army, at the time that the relations with France made such a measure necessary, "he paid his first visit to the prison-house of Robert Morris." Nor was this all. The following year Mrs. Morris, with her daughter Maria, visited her eldest daughter Hetty—Mrs. James Marshall, of Virginia, and while there received the following cordial and gratifying *joint* letter:—

"MOUNT VERNON, September 21, 1799.

"OUR DEAR MADAM—We never learnt with certainty, until we had the pleasure of seeing Mr. White (since his return from Frederick), that you were at Winchester.

We hope it is unnecessary to repeat in this place how happy we should be to see you and Miss Morris under our roof for as long a stay as you shall find convenient before you return to Philadelphia; for be assured we ever have and still do retain the most affectionate regard for you, Mr. Morris, and the family.

With the highest esteem and regard, and best wishes for the health and happiness of the family you are in, we are,

Dear Madam,

Your most obedient and very

Humble servants,

GO. WASHINGTON,
MARTHA WASHINGTON.

To MRS. MORRIS,
in Winchester."

This flattering invitation reached Mrs. Morris just as she was starting for Philadelphia, whither she had been called by the breaking out of the malignant fever of 1799. Mr. Morris wrote to his son Thomas on the seventh of September: "My good health continues, altho' our city is again afflicted with sickness. I have, however, got an order of Court for my removal into the country when I shall deem my present situation dangerous; and in consequence thereof I believe Robert will go next week to Winchester to bring back your mother and Maria." This was the third visit of the fever; during that of the previous year Mrs. Morris lost her third son, William, who died October 9th, 1798, in his twenty-seventh year. Mr. Morris communicates it to Thomas the next day in a letter full of feeling: "In the midst of grief and distress I write these lines, altho' they will make you a participator of it. Could the event be kept from your knowledge I would spare your friendly feelings for the loss of a worthy brother. Poor William, he has fallen the untimely victim of a bilious remitting fever (not the prevailing Malignant Fever) which has been hanging about him for a month past; during that time he lived low and took medicine, but without effect, and last Friday night he was seriously attacked; two able Physicians did all they could for him, but in vain. He died yesterday in the forenoon, and his body was immediately deposited in the Family Vault at Christ Church. I have lost in him not only a dutiful son, but a friend and companion; I have lost those hopes which were hung upon his sense, virtue, and talents. Had he been spared, he would have made a fine figure in this world. The only comfort left upon his subject, that he is translated pure and uncontaminated from this world of trouble to enjoy that bliss which is promised in another to the virtuous." This young man showed considerable promise, if an opinion may be formed from the letters he addressed to his parents from London and Paris in the years '94 and '95. They disclose an observing and discriminating mind, improved by no little taste and cultivation.

During the confinement of Mr. Morris, his faithful and devoted wife and daughter, Maria, were his constant companions.

Day after day Mrs. Morris visited the prison, and dined at the cell-table of her unfortunate but noble husband, and while the malignant fevers which raged terribly in Prune Street infested the city, she never left him, but continued her daily visits until she walked through two rows of coffins, piled from floor to ceiling, in reaching his room. With death around him and beside him, in this, its more direful form, he had no personal fear. To John Nicholson he writes October 15th, 1798: "It is wonderful, but, notwithstanding the danger is now at my chamber door,—for Hofner is in the room I formerly occupied,—I feel no kind of apprehension, and my only anxiety is for my wife and daughter and these poor sick people. I hope my life will be spared, for the sake of my family, until I get my affairs settled." Three days later he says to the same correspondent: "I think of moving out of my room into that formerly occupied by Dr. Ruston, in the back part of the house; if I do this, it is to give some comfort to Mrs. Morris, whose distress pierces my heart. As to myself, I cannot feel afraid or alarmed at the neighborhood of this disease, although I have tried." By the care of a beneficent Providence he was guarded and protected through the ravages of this fell destroyer.

At last Mr. Morris was released from prison. On "Monday morning, August 27th, 1801," he writes to his son Thomas: "As I know the contents of this letter will be very pleasing to you and your family, I embrace the first opportunity to tell you that I obtained my liberty last evening, and had the inexpressible satisfaction to find myself again restored to my home and family." Alas! what a far different home he entered to the one he left. Mrs. Morris at this period was living in a small establishment on the east side of Twelfth Street, midway between Market and Chestnut Streets, which she had been enabled to keep together through the instrumentality of Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who, not a relative, was the best true friend Robert Morris ever had. The title to the four tracts containing three million three hundred thousand acres in the Genesee country, which had been conveyed to the Holland Land Company by Mr. Morris in 1792 and 1793, proved defective and required confirming,

for which Gouverneur Morris compelled the company to pay Mrs. Morris an annuity of fifteen hundred dollars during her life, and this was all she had upon which to live. Compare this picture with those we have presented of a decade and a score of years before. *Here*, a broken-down old man, in his sixty-eighth year, without one cent that he can call his own, only protected from the storms of heaven by a roof preserved through the thoughtful instrumentality of an old friend. *There*, the first man of the city—the first in wealth, in influence, and in position—receiving and entertaining Washington and the officers of the allied armies on their way to the crowning success of the war; and again when the city of his adoption becomes the capital of the Union, yielding up his private residence—the most magnificent in the city—for the presidential mansion. These vast changes he survived not quite five years. On the seventh of May, 1806, he was released from the harassing cares of this mortal life, and found a resting-place in the family vault, Christ Church, Second Street, Philadelphia.

Mr. Morris was a man of remarkable presence—large in stature, and with a countenance peculiarly open and noble; he impressed all who approached him with the force of his character and the strength of his ability. There are portraits of him painted by Peale, Pine, Trumbull, and Stuart. He possessed a mind as vigorous and strong as his body—*mens sana in corpore sano*. He wrote with a clearness, purity, and strength which is only equalled by the volume of his correspondence; the number of letters which he wrote with his own hand, in the midst of the most engrossing public and private duties, being almost miraculous. He was a genial man, fond of good cheer, and delighted in sprightly conversation and sparkling wit. That he was warm-hearted, noble, and generous, his whole life evidences. On this occasion, let me read to you the tender affectionate words he wrote to Gouverneur Morris at Paris, informing him of Mrs. White's death:—

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 2d, 1791.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I have just parted from my family, who are all in mourning. Old Mrs. White, my wife's mother,

now lies a corpse in her own house. She expired on Friday evening, the 31st ult., after a short illness, occasioned by a severe cold taken accidentally, and treated with neglect until too late. She did not suffer much pain, and being in her 71st year, her end was to be looked for; but notwithstanding these circumstances it came unexpectedly, and therefore has given a greater shock to the feelings of her two children than otherwise it would. My wife told me a while ago, when I mentioned that I had been writing to you, that she recollected you having often professed a regard and esteem for her mother, and therefore requested me to mention the decease to you. The old lady was a sensible, good woman, and as such, exclusive of all considerations of connection, I valued and respected her exceedingly.

We have ever been on terms of the most friendly intercourse, and I regret the loss of her as much as if she had been my own mother. Her daughter grieves at the loss, but has too much sense and too much integrity of mind to make parade of grief. To-morrow we shall attend her remains to the grave, at least myself and my children will; but I do not intend that Mrs. Morris shall, for the weather is extremely cold, and I do not choose that she should risque her health. I hope, my dear Gouverneur, that you and I may live long enough to meet again in this world. I declare to you, if I were to indulge a doubt of it, my happiness would be much diminished, and my stock of happiness has already been so much curtailed by adversity that I can spare very little of the little now left.

I hope that you may long be spared an ornament of your species; an honor to humanity, and be permitted the full enjoyments of all the happiness that man is capable of. Farewell. You never had nor ever will have a more sincere Friend than

ROBT. MORRIS.

Mr. Morris possessed considerable taste for the fine arts, and encouraged them liberally. For Robert Edge Pine, the English portrait painter, he built a house on Eighth Street,

below Market, adapted for the exhibition of his pictures and the prosecution of his painting. He aided Jardella, an Italian sculptor of no mean merit, to establish himself in Philadelphia, and during the French Revolution he imported some of the finest Gobelin tapestry and French marquetry work ever brought to this country. His will, written by his own hand two years before his death, closes with these philosophical remarks:—

“Here I have to express my regret at having lost a very large fortune acquired by honest industry, which I had long hoped and expected to enjoy with my family during my own life, and then to distribute it among those of them that should outlive me. Fate has determined otherwise, and we must submit to the decree, which I have endeavored to do with patience and fortitude.”

Such is a portraiture of the man whom Mary White married, and whom she survived twenty-one years.

After the death of her husband, Mrs. Morris removed to Chestnut Street, above Tenth, on the south side, and here she resided when Lafayette made his famous tour through the States in 1824. He arrived in Philadelphia on Tuesday morning, September 29th, and was tendered the grandest ovation he received during his visit as the nation's guest. On the evening of his arrival he called upon Mrs. Morris, making her his first private call in the city, thus showing the deep affection and respect which a separation of thirty-seven years, amid the vicissitudes of momentous times and the fearful events of the French Revolution, could not erase. At his especial personal request, she attended the grand civic ball given in his honor at the new Chestnut Street Theatre, on the night of Monday, October 5th. She was at this time in her seventy-sixth year. On Tuesday, the sixteenth of January, 1827, she joined her beloved husband in the unknown land of departed spirits, and was buried in the family vault.

Without the attractions of beauty, Mrs. Morris possessed the highest qualities of mind and heart. She was tall, graceful, and commanding, with a stately dignity of manner which

ever made a controlling impression upon all with whom she was brought in contact. There are three portraits of her; one, an execrable thing by Charles Wilson Peale, in Independence Hall; the second, a beautiful miniature by Trumbull, painted about 1790, in the possession of her granddaughter, Mrs. Ambler; and the third, an unfinished head, by Gilbert Stuart, in the gallery of the Lenox Library, New York, painted shortly before her death, and said to be the last female head Stuart painted. From an obituary which appeared some time after her decease, I extract the following:—

“On Tuesday, the 16th inst., departed this life, in the 78th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Morris, relict of Robert Morris, Esq., formerly a member of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, a member of Congress long before the Declaration of Independence, of which instrument he was one of the signers, the Minister of Finance during the latter years of the Revolutionary War, a member of the Convention which established the present Constitution of the United States, and a Senator in the first Congress after its adoption.

“His deceased widow, after having enjoyed with him without arrogance the wealth and the honours of the early and the middle years of his life, descended with him, without repining, to the privations incident to the reverses of his fortune towards the close of it. Since his decease, some of the liveliest of her gratifications were the occasions frequently occurring of civilities and services tendered to her by men who dated the beginnings of their successes in their respective occupations to the patronage and the aids furnished to them by her deceased husband in the course of his successful pursuits of commerce, some of whose names had been unknown to her until the occasions which called forth the expressions of their gratitude.

“Having lived in the unostentatious profession of religion, and in the faithful discharge of her relative duties, she met the event of death with entire resignation; and, as is trusted, with a well-grounded hope of the mercy of God, through the merits of the Redeemer.”

Mr. and Mrs. Morris had seven children, the record of whose births I read from the entries made by Mr. Morris in the family Bible:—

“March 2d, 1769. Robert Morris was married to Mary, his wife.

“Decem’r 19th, 1769, was born Robert, their son, at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 11 o’clock at night.

“Feb’y 26, 1771, Thos., their second son, was born at 7 o’clock in the evening.

“Aug’st 9th, 1772, William, their third son, was born at 10 o’clock in the evening.

“July 30, 1774, Hetty, their daughter, was born at $\frac{1}{4}$ past one o’clock at night.

“July 11th, 1777, Charles, their fourth son, was born at 10 o’clock at night.

“April 24, 1779, Maria, their second daughter, was born at 7 o’clock in the morning.

“July 24, 1784, Henry, their fifth son, was born at half after three o’clock in the morning.”

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

BY CATHARINE KEPPELE MEREDITH.

(Centennial Collection.)

Richard, the original member of the Morris family who came to America, bought an estate of more than three thousand acres near the city of New York, which was invested with manorial privileges by the Governor, and called Morrisania. He died in 1673, leaving an only son, Lewis, who took an active part in public affairs, and was Governor of New Jersey during the last eight years of his life. He had twelve children, of whom two, Lewis and Robert Hunter, engaged in public life. Lewis Morris, last mentioned, son of the Governor, had eight children; Gouverneur, the youngest son by a second marriage, being born at Morrisania, January 31st, 1752. This second marriage served to alienate some of the family, especially the elder children, with whom there was little intercourse for many years; although, eventually, the breach was healed.

Lewis Morris died before Gouverneur was twelve years of age, but, in pursuance of the wish expressed in his father's will, "that my son Gouverneur Morris may have the best education that is to be had in England or America," his mother sent him, when still very young, to live with a French family at New Rochelle. Here he learnt, among other things, the rudiments of the French language, which proved so useful to him in after life. After going through the usual school course, he graduated from Columbia College, in the city of New York, in May, 1768, at the age of sixteen. Subsequently he studied law under William Smith, afterwards Chief Justice of the Province of New York, and was admitted to the bar in October, 1771, being not quite twenty years of age.

From the beginning of his career, Gouverneur Morris took

a lively interest in public affairs, and, in common with many of the best men of his time, thought a reconciliation possible between the colonies and the mother country. But this view was somewhat modified by the news of the Battle of Lexington, which filled New York, as well as every other part of the country, with the gravest apprehension. The committee of New York City addressed circular letters to the several committees in the colony, calling upon them to elect delegates to meet in a Provincial Congress. In three short weeks the elections had been held, and the Congress was convened in New York City on May 22d, 1775, with Gouverneur Morris to represent the county of West Chester. He continued, almost without interruption, a member of this body under its different names of Congress, Convention, and Committee of Safety, until he went to the Continental Congress about three years later.

He entered heartily into the work of the Provincial Congress, serving on several committees, the most important of which being one to draft and report a plan of reconciliation with England, this hope having not yet entirely died out.

But the next year, when the resolution of the Continental Congress recommending a new form of government came up for consideration in the New York Congress, Gouverneur Morris, although only twenty-four years of age, spoke with force and ability. "Sir," he said, "these and ten thousand other reasons all serve to convince me that to make a solid and lasting peace, with liberty and security, is utterly impracticable. My argument, therefore, stands thus: As a connection with Great Britain cannot again exist without enslaving America, an independence is absolutely necessary. I cannot balance between the two. We run a hazard in one path, I confess; but then we are infallibly ruined if we pursue the other."

Morris was soon after sent to the Continental Congress on a special mission having reference to the excess of pay given to the New England regiments, which naturally caused discontent among the troops from New York and the other middle

colonies. The removal of the inequality soon set at rest the jealousy which had been stirred up.

New York was the last State to sign the Declaration of Independence, her delegates in Congress not being empowered to act independently of the New York Convention. But no time was lost. The Convention met at White Plains on July 9th. The same day a copy of the Declaration of Independence was received, and a resolution of approval passed. To Gouverneur Morris was entrusted the drafting of the reply which was sent to the New York delegates in the Continental Congress.

He likewise took an active part in the debates relative to forming a State Constitution for New York, the mode of electing delegates to Congress originating with him. It is worthy of note that he earnestly endeavored to introduce an article recommending the future Legislature to take measures for the abolishment of domestic slavery, so soon as it could be done consistently with public safety and the rights of private property. Notwithstanding the hearty co-operation of Mr. Jay and some others, this attempt proved ineffectual.

But while he advocated civil liberty, the same tolerance wore the garb of religious license when applied to things ecclesiastical. For only two days after the recognition of independence by the New York Convention, that body sent a letter, drafted by Gouverneur Morris, to President Hancock, with this not very liberal request: "We take the liberty of suggesting to your consideration the propriety of taking some measures for expunging from the Book of Common Prayer such parts, and discontinuing in the congregations of all other denominations, all such prayers as interfere with the interests of the American cause. It is a subject we are afraid to meddle with." Fortunately Congress was no less "afraid to meddle," and men were left free to pray for Congress or Parliament as their conscience might dictate.

On January 20th, 1778, Gouverneur Morris, being one of the five representatives from New York, took his seat in Congress, then assembled in Philadelphia. Although only twenty-five years of age, he was appointed, the very day he

presented his credentials, on a committee to investigate the state of affairs at Valley Forge. The committee remained there nearly three months, and reported a plan for the increased comfort of the army, which was approved by Congress.

It was probably during this time that the friendship began between General Washington and Gouverneur Morris, which lasted through life. On one occasion the latter seems to have presumed somewhat upon this. Morris disputed with Hamilton, upon whose authority the story rests, the assertion that Washington was reserved, even with his intimate friends, Morris alleging this to be a mere fancy. Hamilton replied: "If you will, at his next evening reception, gently slap him on the shoulder, and say, 'My dear General, how happy I am to see you look so well!' a supper and wine shall be provided for you and your friends." The challenge was accepted. On the evening appointed, when Morris entered, he bowed, shook hands, and, laying his left hand on Washington's shoulder, said: "My dear General, I am very happy to see you look so well!" Washington withdrew his hand, stepped suddenly back, fixing his eye on Morris with an angry frown, while the latter sought refuge in the crowd. Afterwards, at the supper which Hamilton gave, Morris said: "I have won the bet, but paid dearly for it, and nothing could induce me to repeat the act." (See *Parton's Life of Jefferson*, page 369.)

The faithful part which Gouverneur Morris was taking in public affairs, seems the more commendable when it is remembered that his course was not approved of by his mother, his early friend and adviser, William Smith, and by many of his family who adhered to the royal cause. Communication with his relatives within the enemy's lines was necessarily infrequent and brief. But in a letter to his mother, written from York Town, Penna., April 17th 1778, he says: "I received great pain from being informed that you are distressed on my account. Be of good cheer, I pray you. I have all that happiness which flows from conscious rectitude. I would it were in my power to solace and comfort your declining years.

The duty I owe to a tender parent demands this of me, but a higher duty has bound me to the service of my fellow-creatures. Whenever the present storm subsides, I shall rush with eagerness into private life; but while it continues, and while my country calls for the exertion of that little share of abilities which it has pleased God to bestow on me, I hold it my indispensable duty to give myself to her." While a member of Congress, Gouverneur Morris served on many committees of importance, but a detailed account of his work there would make this sketch too long. Nor did he forego the claims of society, being fond of social intercourse and amusement. But he never allowed pleasure to interfere with duty, and, exercising a wise self-restraint, he did well and thoroughly whatever he undertook to do at all.

A reply by Morris, not many years before his death, to a letter asking for written materials respecting the Revolution, will show how full his days were. "I have no notes," he wrote, "of what passed during the war. I led then the most laborious life which can be imagined. But I was still more harassed while a member of Congress; not to mention the attendance from 11 to 4 in the House, and the appointment to Special Committees, of which I had a full share, I was at the same time Chairman of three Standing Committees, viz.: on the Commissary's, Quartermaster's, and Medical Departments. I was moreover obliged to labour occasionally in my profession, as my wages were insufficient for my support. I would not trouble you with this abstract of my situation, if it did not appear necessary to show you why I kept no notes of my services, and why I am perhaps the most ignorant man alive of what concerns them."

Not being returned to Congress by New York, after five years' service, Gouverneur Morris began the practice of law in Philadelphia, and became a citizen of Pennsylvania. The cause of his non-election does not appear from any authentic document, but tradition says he was charged with neglecting the interests of the State, for (what doubtless seemed to him) the greater interests of the nation.

It was in the streets of Philadelphia, in May, 1780, that he

met with a fall from his carriage; his left ankle was dislocated, and some of the bones of the leg broken. Amputation was resorted to, the leg being taken off below the knee. Afterwards, this extreme measure was thought unnecessary, and it is said the case has been often cited by surgical authorities as a proof of unskilful treatment, and to warn against the mischief resulting oftentimes from a too hasty decision. Even during the acute pain which followed, his customary cheerfulness and good temper never failed him. A friend called the day after the amputation, who "had it borne in upon him" to convince Morris of the salutary effects such a trial should have upon his character. "My good sir," was the reply, "you argue the matter so handsomely, and point out so clearly the advantages of being without legs, that I am almost tempted to part with the other."

In preference to later improvements, Morris always wore a plain wooden leg, in which he insisted he often had the gout, and on account of which he asked and obtained the favor of being presented as Minister of the United States to the King of France without a sword, in spite of the breach of Court etiquette which this involved.

The difficult question of finance had long been a subject of interest to Gouverneur Morris, and in 1781 he was appointed by Robert Morris Assistant Superintendent of the Finances of the United States, holding the position for three years and a half.

Parton has fallen into the error of supposing Robert Morris to be the uncle of Gouverneur, but there was no relationship, at least none that could be traced. (See *Parton's Life of Jefferson*, page 269; also *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, by Sparks, vol. i. page 235, note.) General Knox and Gouverneur Morris were appointed by Washington to consult with the English Commissioners about the exchange of prisoners; the first meeting took place at Elizabethtown, N. J., on March 31st, 1782. After the declaration of peace in 1783, Gouverneur Morris went to New York to visit his mother, whom he had not seen for seven years. At his mother's death, in 1786, the estate of Morrisania, according to the terms of his father's

will, passed into the hands of his half-brother, Staats Long Morris. The latter was married to the Duchess of Gordon, and settled in England, being at this time a General in the British Army. Not caring to retain the property in America, he parted with it to Gouverneur, the sale including the New Jersey lands as well as Morrisania. Morris was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Convention called for framing the Constitution of the United States, which met in Philadelphia in May, 1787. It is generally understood that to the pen of Gouverneur Morris is due the clear, simple and forcible language in which the Constitution is expressed.

Although dissenting from the majority of his colleagues on many important points, and never hesitating to express his honest difference of opinion, still, when the Constitution was adopted, he signed it with entire willingness, and felt real concern for its success.

It has been charged that Morris wished to establish a monarchical form of government, but of this there is no proof whatsoever. It is quite true that in French politics he was a royalist, believing a monarchy to be the only form of government suited to that people. From the first he predicted the downfall of the French Republic.

It is also true that, in the Constitutional Convention, he advocated measures tending, as he thought, to strengthen the general government. He tried, in furtherance of this principle, to provide in the Constitution that the senators should be men of property; and, to make them independent of the changes and chances of political fortune, they were to be appointed for life, all vacancies to be filled by the Executive.

But better let him speak his own feelings regarding the Constitution. Writing to a friend, while awaiting its fate, he says: "This paper has been the subject of infinite investigation, disputation, and declamation. While some have boasted it as a work from Heaven, others have given it a less righteous origin. I have many reasons to believe that it is the work of plain, honest men, and such, I think, it will appear. Faulty it must be, for what is perfect? But if adopted, experience will, I believe, show that its faults are

just the reverse of what they are supposed to be. As yet this paper is but a dead letter. Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Georgia have adopted it. We wait impatiently the result of their deliberations in Massachusetts. Should that State also adopt it, which I *hope and believe*, there will then be little doubt of a general acquiescence."

In December, 1788, Gouverneur Morris sailed for Europe. General Washington gave him letters of introduction to persons of influence in England, France, and Holland. Perhaps the strongest proof of Washington's confidence in his friend is his asking Morris to buy for him, in Paris, a gold watch for his own use, "not a small, trifling, nor a finical, ornamental one, but a watch well executed in point of workmanship, large and flat, with a plain, handsome key." Morris went at once to Paris, where he was well received by the American Minister, Mr. Jefferson, by Lafayette, and others.

While in London, whither he had been sent by Washington on important business with the British government relative to the Treaty of Peace, he heard of his appointment as United States Minister at the Court of France.

Although opposed to the French Revolution, and having many personal friends among the Royalists, including the royal family itself, he administered the affairs of his office with impartiality and justice. Perhaps, on one occasion, he allowed his enthusiasm to get the better of his prudence; for, seeing the Queen pass, unsaluted by a single voice, he could not resist calling upon the bystanders to cheer her, and only refrained himself by remembering in time the neutrality which his public position imposed. He alone of the Diplomatic Corps remained in Paris during the Reign of Terror. Nor was he without pretext for deserting his post had he so wished. Once he was obliged to submit to the indignity of having his house searched for arms by an unauthorized mob.

The same lawless fellows established a rule that no one should drive along the streets of Paris. Meeting Morris in his carriage, an onslaught was about to ensue, when the

Minister hastily shoved his wooden leg from the carriage door. This saved him his drive, and his life too, perhaps.

As he wrote to Mr. Jefferson: "The position is not without danger, but I presume when the President did me the honor of naming me to this embassy, it was not for my personal pleasure or safety, but to promote the interest of my country."

His first concern seems ever to have been for Duty, that

"Stern daughter of the voice of God!"

In 1793, the recall of the Minister of France to the United States (M. Genet) being demanded by the latter country, that of Gouverneur Morris was requested by France as an act of reciprocity, and could not be refused. He was therefore superseded in August, 1794, by James Monroe.

After leaving France, Gouverneur Morris travelled for some time in Europe. At the instigation of Madame de Staël, with whom he was on very friendly terms, he interested himself on behalf of Lafayette, then imprisoned at Olmutz, whose release he helped to procure.

It was the intention of the Duke of Orleans, now an exile from France, to return to America with Gouverneur Morris, but the latter's departure being delayed, Morris wrote to his agents in New York, giving the Duke unlimited credit during his stay in the United States, and after Morris's own return to America, in 1798, the Duke and his two brothers were frequent visitors at Morrisania.

Morris's home voyage lasted eighty days, twenty-three of which were spent in beating about the shores of his own country, before the captain could make a safe entrance.

Gouverneur Morris established himself at once at Morrisania, intending never again to enter upon public life. Being chosen, however, by the New York Legislature, to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate, his sense of duty did not allow him to decline.

He was a Federalist, but during the celebrated "Tie Controversy" differed from his party, and approved the choice of Mr. Jefferson. Writing to Hamilton some time before the election, he says, with entire honesty and disinterestedness:

"Not meaning to enter into intrigues, I have merely expressed the opinion that, since it was evidently the intention of our fellow-citizens to make Mr. Jefferson their President, it seems proper to fulfil that intention." His relations with Mr. Jefferson were very friendly, after the election, although they differed widely on all political questions.

Upon the ending of his Senatorial term of three years, Gouverneur Morris retired to private life on his beautiful estate at Morrisania, where he lived in princely style, and from which he only emerged from time to time, on occasions of public importance. He was elected President of the New York Historical Society, before which he made two addresses.

A letter written about this time gives some insight into his mode of life: "My health is excellent, saving a little of the gout, which at this moment annoys me." (Was it in the wooden leg?) "I can walk three leagues, if the weather be pleasant and the road not rough. My employment is to labour for myself a little, for others more; to receive much company and forget half those who come. I think of public affairs a little, read a little, play a little, and sleep a great deal. With good air, a good cook, fine water and wine, a good constitution, and a clear conscience, I descend gradually towards the grave, full of gratitude to the Giver of all good."

On Christmas Day, 1809, he was married to Miss Anne Carey Randolph, of the old Randolph family in Virginia, by whom he had one son, Gouverneur.

There seems no doubt that Gouverneur Morris was the real author of the Erie Canal project, the suggestion being made by him as early as 1777. He was Chairman of the Canal Commissioners from their first appointment in March, 1810, to within a few months of his death, three of the four reports made to the Legislature within this time being from his pen.

Gouverneur Morris died November 6th, 1816, in the 65th year of his age, enjoying, to within a short time of his death, the same good health of which he boasts above. Aware of his condition, his faculties were unimpaired to the last, his mind tranquil, his conversation collected, and frequently

cheerful. He was buried on his own estate at Morrisania. His will provided an annuity of \$2600 for his wife, and this unusual clause was added: "In case my wife should marry, I give her six hundred dollars more per annum to defray the increased expenditure which may attend that connection."

Gouverneur Morris was a man of strong convictions and out-spoken expression. This habit of speaking his mind, joined to a quick sense of the ludicrous, betrayed him at times into remarks which gave his friends offence, but he never intentionally wounded their feelings. It has been charged that he was overbearing in conversation; perhaps so, to the presuming and the ignorant. After listening patiently to a gentleman at the breakfast table who proved a bad listener when Morris's turn came, "Sir," said the latter, "if you will not attend to my arguments, I will address myself to the tea-pot," and so he did, with much animation of tone and gesture.

Gouverneur Morris had the rare grace, as Mr. Madison testifies, of confessing himself in the wrong when fully satisfied that his opinions had been too hastily formed. He had the rarer grace of being ready to give his hearty co-operation in carrying out measures in which his views had been overruled. He was generous, straightforward, sincere, and truth-loving, having, as one said of him, "no conception of the pliancy of truth."

In political life he was too independent to be trammelled by the dictates of party, and in private life, his integrity was above suspicion; in neither was he ever influenced by low aims or selfish ambitions.

He lived not for fame but for duty; not for self, but for his country.

He died greatly beloved and venerated by his kinsfolk, and by all who could rightly estimate his remarkable mental attainments, and his high moral culture.

. "Where's the manly spirit
Of the true-hearted and the unshackled gone?
Sons of old freemen, do we but inherit
Their names alone?"

MEMOIR OF GENERAL SULLIVAN.

BY THOMAS C. AMORY.

(Centennial Collection.)

Our memorable struggle for independence demanded for its successful issue many minds. Men of various nationalities and religious opinions, from all pursuits and employments, of strong impulse and generous sentiment, bold for the right and ready to maintain it in arms or in civil service as perilous, were recognized all over the land as its natural leaders. By general consent and without distinction whoever possessed the profound convictions and energy of character suited to the crisis, who shrank from no sacrifice or danger, needed little effort of his own to be placed in the front.

New Hampshire abounded in able men, and in Weare, Langdon and Stark, Folsom, Livermore and Whipple, possessed sons in whom she might well feel pride. But the warmth and glow which distinguished General Sullivan, his indifference to personal consequences, with his natural gifts of eloquent expression by lip and pen; his professional success; his military tastes and aptitudes, all designated him as singularly well constituted for the conjuncture, commended him for positions where difficult duties were to be performed or extraordinary perils to be encountered.

His father, the son of Major Philip O'Sullivan Beare, of Ardea, on the river Kenmare in Ireland, an officer of the army that surrendered at Limerick in 1691, was born the year of that surrender in Ireland, and, having enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, in early manhood sought in America an asylum from political and religious persecutions. At Somersworth in New Hampshire and at Berwick in Maine he devoted the residue of his life, which was prolonged to his one hundred and fifth year, to the education of youth. Of his six children four took an active part in the revolutionary

struggle. Daniel resided at Sullivan in Maine, on Frenchman's Bay, near Mount Desert. In command of one hundred minute men, his active enterprise and bold exploits attracted the attention of the enemy, and in the winter after the unsuccessful expedition to Castine in 1779, he was taken away at night from his house by Mowatt in a British frigate, and imprisoned in the Jersey hulks he perished a victim to cruelty which was a disgrace to humanity, and which is no longer practised in civilized warfare. James early acquired reputation at the bar, and at the age of thirty-one was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and died 1808 its governor. Eben, also a lawyer, served with distinction in the Continental Army, offered himself as a hostage at the Cedars, and rose to the rank of major. Their only sister, Mary, married Theophilus Hardy, and among her grandsons were Governor Wells, of Maine, and John Sullivan Wells in the Senate of the United States from New Hampshire.

John, subject of this memoir, born in 1740, was carefully educated by his father, and after a voyage to the West Indies studied law at Portsmouth. He early gained distinction and fortune in its practice. By his earnest and eloquent denunciations of parliamentary encroachments on the rights of the province and stretches of royal prerogative, by his spirited contributions to the public press, he attracted attention and became popular. He early exhibited a taste for military science, was familiar with all the great historical battles, and, holding from 1772 the rank of major under the crown, drilled his neighbors in squads and companies, until large numbers of men had become efficient soldiers.

Sent to the Continental Congress in September, 1774, he drafted one of its important papers, and when at home in December shared in the attack on Newcastle, to procure arms and powder, which, being concealed in the church at Durham opposite his dwelling, were used at Bunker Hill. In the Congress of 1775, he defeated with great power the motion of Dickinson for another appeal to the king, and was elected one of the eight brigadiers who, with Washington and the four major-generals, Lee, Putnam, Ward, and Schuyler, took command

of the army engaged principally in the siege of Boston; his brigade and Greene's, under Lee at Medford and Charlestown, forming the left wing of the American army. Sent twice to Portsmouth, he fortified that place against British cruisers; and when in January the withdrawal of the Connecticut troops imperilled the army, his influence brought down from New Hampshire two thousand men to replace them.

After the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, he marched his brigade by Providence to New York, and thence dispatched to Canada, extricated the northern army, seven thousand in number, prostrated by disease and beset by greatly superior forces which had been reinforced with troops from England under Burgoyne, from a position threatening its destruction; receiving from his officers, many of them greatly distinguished in the war, high commendation. At Long Island, now Major-General, with Lord Stirling and McDougal as his brigadiers, he commanded on the left of the outer line in the battle, and after contending for three hours with the enemy, whose force on the island numbered twenty-two thousand, with Stirling was taken prisoner. With the approval of Washington, he submitted to Congress Lord Howe's overtures for a negotiation. Exchanged, he participated in the masterly movements of Washington in West Chester to baffle Howe in his efforts to take our troops at a disadvantage. The British withdrew to New York sorely pressed by Sullivan, who received in general orders the acknowledgments of the commander-in-chief.

When Lee was captured on December 13th, 1776, Sullivan, next in command, marched his army to join Washington, and with him crossed the Delaware on Christmas night through the ice. After a night's march in snow and sleet, he entered Trenton the next morning at eight o'clock, the hour appointed, at the head of his troops. A thousand Hessians were taken prisoners, and Rahl, their commander, mortally wounded. At Princeton, January 3d, he drove the 40th and 55th British regiments from the town. During the rest of the winter, in front of the lines at Morristown, he held the enemy within their entrenchments, preventing their marauds.

While waiting for tidings of Gen. Howe, who had sailed in July with a large portion of his army for the south, he planned an expedition to capture several British regiments exposed on Staten Island. One of his detachments under Col. Ogden captured ninety men; he put to flight various bodies of the enemy that resisted; but an ignorant or treacherous guide prevented the complete success anticipated. An inquiry resulted in the conclusion that the plan was well concerted, and would have succeeded but for accidents not to be foreseen or prevented, and that Gen. Sullivan deserved the approbation of the country, a judgment confirmed by Congress.

At Brandywine he commanded the right wing, consisting of his own division under De Borre, Stephen's, and Stirling's, posted along the river. Whilst Knyphausen engaged the attention of the left wing under Washington and Maxwell lower down, Howe proceeded by a circuit of seventeen miles, by roads several miles from the river, through dense woods, in a fog, and crossing above the forks and the ford where Hazen was stationed, came down the left bank at about two in the afternoon.

Sullivan, as instructed by Washington, had stationed his main body at Brinton's Ford, two miles above Chad's, the Delaware regiment at a ford, probably Jones's, a mile and a half further up the stream, one battalion of Hazen's at another ford (probably Wistar's) a mile and a half still further up, and another at Buffington's, a mile or more above that. His troops were thus posted, not only to oppose any attempt of the enemy to cross the river, but to gain information of their movements. Sullivan had but four light-horsemen employed as messengers, and Washington, assuming himself the charge of procuring intelligence, sent out for this purpose what cavalry he had, and besides several other mounted scouts, Colonels Ross and Bland and Major Spear. Jeffry's Ford, above the forks where Howe actually crossed, was twelve miles above Chad's, two at least above Buffington's, or more, as the roads then ran. That Sullivan exercised due vigilance, within the limits of his discretion, to ascertain the position of the enemy, is now generally conceded.

When reliable intelligence reached him that the British had actually crossed the Brandywine, and from Washington what disposition was to be made to oppose them, he immediately recalled his troops from the upper fords, and proceeded without delay to Birmingham Heights, where Stephen and Stirling, nearer headquarters, were already posted at about right angles with the river. As he commanded their divisions and his own, which together constituted the right wing of the army, the command of his own division devolved on De Borre, his brigadier. When his division reached the heights, the enemy was already formed to attack. De Borre would have insisted upon marching his division on the right of Stephen and Stirling, as it had laid along the river fronting across, but there was no time for any such punctilio, and he was ordered to take position on their left. The array was still incomplete when the engagement commenced, and though Sullivan upon his return from the centre, where he had proceeded to consult with the other generals, endeavored to restore order and rally the men who had fallen out of line, his efforts proved but partially successful. His own position as commander of the wing was near the guns, and leaving his division to De Borre and his brigadiers, who were excellent officers, to bring back the men to their duty, he returned to his appropriate post.

It commanded both the right and left of the line, and to use the words of Sullivan himself, in his graphic account of the battle, if carried, "would bring on a total rout, and make a retreat very difficult." He therefore determined to hold it as long as possible, to give Stirling and Stephen, as also the regiments of Hazen, Dayton, and Ogden, which stood firm on the left, the assistance of the artillery, and cover the broken troops of De Borre still in confusion. Five times the enemy drove "our troops from the hill, and as often was it regained," and possession of the summit for nearly an hour was disputed muzzle to muzzle. The battle lasted nearly three hours, and when Sullivan was at last forced to retreat, it was not in total disorder. He rallied his troops upon a very advantageous piece of ground, and retarded the pursuit so effectually, that

the enemy suffered our whole army to pass off with their baggage and artillery. Weedon's brigade, under Greene, had come up double-quick from below, Sullivan joined him, and the battle continued until nightfall. By their united efforts, the retreat of the American army was effectually secured, and the enemy stayed from pursuit. In this engagement Sullivan had his horse, "the best in America," shot under him.

That the Americans fought bravely, is sufficiently evident from their having so long withstood the repeated assaults of Howe and Cornwallis, vastly superior in number and equipments. Ill nature, reckless of truth and without due regard for military reputations, travels far to censure; but Lafayette, Stephen, Laurens, Howard, and many other competent witnesses, bear ample testimony to the coolness, judgment, and promptitude of Sullivan in moving his men from the river to the heights, correcting the mistakes of De Borre in the battle and retreat. It was one of the hardest fought battles of the war, and as creditable to the American army as if it had resulted in victory. Five days later the two armies were again confronted, but an engagement was prevented by a violent storm, and Howe, proceeding to Philadelphia, there remained till the following June.

Howe's principal encampment was six miles from the city, at Germantown. Washington left Metuchin Hills at nine o'clock in the evening of the third of October, for a night march of fourteen miles to attack them; his right wing commanded by Sullivan, his left by Greene.

The right wing, with Conway's brigade at its head, followed by Sullivan's division, then by Wayne's, and Stirling with his division under his brigadiers Nash and Maxwell, forming the reserve, and closing the column, Sullivan in command of the whole, but accompanied by Washington, and by Knox and Pulaski, chiefs of artillery and cavalry, reached Chestnut Hill soon after daybreak of the fourth. All but one of the advanced pickets being surprised, dispatched, or otherwise disposed of, they discovered a mile further on, near Allen's house at Mount Airy, the grand picket, or advanced guards of the enemy, in force, with two field-pieces. Sulli-

van ordered forward one regiment from the second Marylanders and one from the brigade of Conway to open the attack, and directed Conway himself to fall into line to support them. The British light infantry, reinforced by the fortieth and later by two brigades from Germantown, made stubborn resistance. Sullivan formed his own division in the lane opposite the Allen house, and at right angles with the Skippack road, and ordered them to advance through the fields. He very soon encountered a considerable force opposed to them. Wayne coming up and forming on the east side of the road, Sullivan directed Conway to file in the rear of the line, and take post on the right flank. This disposition was the more important, as neither Greene, whose line of march was along the Limekiln road to the east, nor Armstrong, directed to advance between the Wissahickon and the Schuylkill on the west, had been heard from, and the flanks of the right wing as it advanced might consequently be exposed to attack from troops whose attention would have been occupied by those generals "had they reached the points they were designed against." Moylan's horse was at the same time sent to the extreme right, to watch the movements of the enemy, and procure intelligence of Armstrong's whereabouts and progress.

In this array the right wing pushed on; and vigorously attacked the British light infantry on either side of the Skippack road or turnpike, who fell back, leaving their encampment, but making a stand at every fence, wall, and ditch. Fences were to be removed, which delayed the pursuit, but the Americans as they proceeded encountered the enemy in yet greater strength, and what they supposed to be their whole left wing. A severe conflict ensued. How numerous the forces opposed to them in reality were, can only be conjectured; but as Hunter says that Howe knew of the contemplated attack the evening before, and Howe himself says he received information of the approach of the Americans at four o'clock, they were no doubt quite equal in number to their assailants. Wayne and Sullivan, when the enemy wavered, marched forward with shouldered arms, prepared to charge when the British withdrew in confusion.

Sullivan sent his aid, Colonel Morris, to Washington to inform him that the left wing of the enemy had given way, and to request that Wayne, who had pushed on with equal vigor and success on the east side of the road, but whose movements may have been obscured by the fog, might be ordered to advance against the British right—a prudent precaution if they were to act without reference to Greene.

It may well have been the design of the enemy to draw the Americans nearer the town before engaging them in force. They may have been in some measure surprised and not yet prepared for an engagement; but Howe, apprised of what was impending two hours before, would hardly have left so large a portion of his army in danger of being cut off without effort to extricate them. It was reasonable to provide for the probability that he would do what his duty demanded, and Wayne accordingly received orders from Washington to proceed, and as he was already well advanced, his division and Sullivan's as they passed the Chew house were abreast.

Musgrave with six companies of the British fortieth, after the conflict at Mount Airy, had taken possession of the Chew house, a substantial structure of stone, which is still in good preservation. It stands about midway between Mount Airy and the market place, a mile or more from either. The garrison fired a few shots without effect at the Americans as they passed. Washington, who had sent forward Nash with a portion of the reserve to support Sullivan, and another of its brigades to support Wayne, retained Maxwell with the third to reduce the Chew house.

The right wing as it pressed onward was impeded in its progress by the enemy, who, though routed, took advantage of every yard, house, and hedge in their retreat. More frequent buildings and dense smoke as the right wing came nearer the centre of the town, embarrassing their movements, as a rallying point Col. Howard with his regiment, forming the left of Sullivan's division, was halted by Hazen in an inclosed field near the road, about six hundred yards from the market-house, but the rest moved on, the troops on the west of the road down to the School-house lane and across it, if we

credit Tilghman, one of Washington's aids. White, one of Sullivan's, had been killed while on an errand, probably for ammunition, when attempting to fire the Chew house; when or where Sherburne fell, his other aid also killed in the battle, or General Nash, is not recorded, but the position of the latter in the front was to the right of Sullivan. The Marylanders, who fought well at Long Island the year before under Stirling, in some of the relations of this battle were with Nash on the right flank. That they, the right wing, pressed the enemy hard, and penetrated their lines as far as courage could carry them, some portion of it south of School-house lane, may well be believed, as likewise the impression that the left wing of the British had the worst of the fight at this stage of the battle. Donop and Du Corps, with the Hessians, may not have actually crossed the Schuylkill, as mentioned in Irving, but that such an alternative in case of defeat was at least under consideration, and was provided for, may be inferred from the original authorities.

Whilst thus engaged with unabated ardor and reasonable promise of victory, the heavy firing to the east indicated the approach of the left wing, which from treacherous guides and the necessity of countermarching, as the position of the enemy was not as represented, had been delayed. Wayne, finding ~~that his~~ progress would interfere with Stephen, and recalled by the firing at the Chew house, fell back, but the ground failed to be occupied by Stephen who had become bewildered in the fog. We are not permitted to relate what took place on the left, already familiar in connection with Greene, who, it is sufficient to say, gallantly bore his share in the conflict.

The right, finding themselves unsupported, their cartridges expended, their left flank exposed, and the enemy collecting there to oppose them, Greene's guns apparently receding, troops flying on the right, and a light horseman in that quarter crying that the enemy had got round us, retired with as much precipitation as they advanced, against every effort of their officers to rally them. Engaged for three hours, wearied and worn by twelve hours of constant marching or battle, they still effected their retreat, bringing off their cannon and

wounded, their loss about seven hundred, being about equal to that of their antagonists. The misfortunes of the day were principally owing to the obscurity from the dense fog and smoke of cannon and muskets which prevented the troops from discovering the motions of the enemy, or acting in concert with each other.

Of Sullivan's part in the battle, Washington wrote to the President of Congress: "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor."

During the winter Gen. Sullivan remained at Valley Forge, building a bridge, and in April took command at Providence. In February, 1778, the Treaty of Alliance had been made with France, and in July, D'Estaing with twelve ships of the line and four frigates arrived off New York. That city being too well protected for attack, an expedition against Newport was determined upon. Sullivan, on the twenty-third learning this decision, made preparation and, with fifteen hundred men sent from the army that fought in June at Monmouth, in two weeks collected nine thousand. With him were Greene, Lafayette, Cornell, Varnum, and Glover, all able and experienced general officers, Crane, Gridley, and Gouvion, distinguished engineers. On the 30th D'Estaing arrived off Brenton Point, where he preferred to remain till the troops were ready to attack the city in order better to command the wind, obtain supplies, prevent additional reinforcements to the garrison, recently increased to seven thousand strong, and also to avoid the land batteries higher up. Three of his vessels were sent into the east passage to cover the crossing of the American army. Three British vessels there stationed were burnt by the enemy themselves, as also five on the 5th of August in the west passage. On the 8th D'Estaing forced the middle passage, and moored opposite the town, but behind Rose and Goat Islands, and the troops from Boston, on that day arriving at Tiverton, crossed the next morning on to the island; a part

left to join D'Estaing under Lafayette, who proceeded without delay to the fleet twelve miles below with information of what had been done.

That afternoon the English fleet, sixty-four sail, hove in sight. The French re-embarked from Conanicut where they were landing, and, the wind serving, sailed the next morning in pursuit. After capturing several vessels from the enemy, and being shattered by a violent storm, they went to Boston to refit. The American army, which had also suffered from the storm, when it was over approached Newport, and under able engineers had advanced their lines and constructed redoubts; but when the volunteers, comprising a large part of the army, and who had come for a special purpose, learnt there was no chance of French aid, their stipulated term of service over, many of them went home, and on the twenty-eighth, the army, inferior in numbers and effective force to the garrison, withdrew to Butt's Hill at the north end of the island. There, on Saturday, the 29th August, took place what Lafayette pronounced the best fought battle of the war. The right wing, under Greene, with Varnum, Cornell, and Glover, repulsed three attacks of the enemy, but the battle was decided by a bayonet charge of a thousand men, among them some troops of Massachusetts, under Livingston, ordered up by Sullivan at the fitting moment, who drove the British to their entrenchments from which they did not again venture. The two armies were equal in strength and numbers. The Americans after thirty-six hours' march and incessant fighting, deferred action in the hope that d'Estaing, whom Lafayette had gone to consult at Boston, would send down his forces. This it was his design to do, but the approach of Clinton with five thousand men from New York, who actually arrived the next day, made it advisable to withdraw from the island, which, thanks to Gen. Glover and his boats, was safely effected that night without opposition or loss.

In April, 1779, Sullivan relinquished command at Providence, to prepare for an expedition into Western New York, to discourage predatory marauds by the Indians on our frontier settlements, retaliate for the massacre of Wyoming and

Cherry Valley; and, if opportunity favored, for the capture of Niagara and an invasion of Canada. His army, consisting of four thousand men, accomplished the former object; but the British were too strong in Canada for the latter to be attempted. His constitution shattered by five years' constant exposure in the field, and suffering from an accident in the Indian campaign, he resigned from the army at the close of 1779, and was recovering from dangerous and painful illness when chosen again to Congress. He went with reluctance, and from August, 1780, to 1781 served a year in that body. He knew what reforms were needed in army administration, and his efforts to reorganize the civil service, as also the financial, were ably furthered by his associates, and contributed largely to the possibility of the Southern campaign and surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, which virtually ended the war.

When he first went to Congress, in 1774, although then but thirty years of age, the accumulations from his practice, we are told by John Adams, amounted to ten thousand pounds. Although judiciously invested in farms and mills, the property produced little or no income during the war, and commanded no sale, unless at a ruinous sacrifice, until it was at an end. He forbore to call in what was due to him, not to distress his debtors. His pay, as he had received no depreciation, realized but little of its nominal value. He was generous in his nature, and advanced liberally to his companions in the army, and considerable amounts to at least one French officer. He had to support his staff and administer the hospitality of his headquarters when in separate command, which was a heavy charge upon his private fortune. The horses he lost in battle or in service he had to replace, and several times his personal effects were captured by the enemy. His wife and four children at Durham required support. These various claims upon his purse exhausted his resources, and he left the army partly from broken health, partly to protect his family from actual want. When chosen again to Congress in 1780, he declined, from not having the means to

go, and the State treasury could allow him but a single dollar a day.

The government owed him four thousand dollars—sixteen hundred, allowed him by resolve of Congress in August, 1781, was not all paid, lest it should embarrass the public treasury, till some years afterwards. On what was due to him he had relied for his necessary expenses in Philadelphia; but the government resources were exhausted, and he wrote home in October, 1780, urgently for a remittance. His letter, intercepted and published by Rivington, came to the knowledge of Luzerne, French Minister to this country, who, of his own motion, advanced him what was equal to the one year's pay allowed him by New Hampshire, or seventy guineas, and offered to continue it whilst he continued in Congress. France was furnishing our army with supplies, paying our ministers abroad their salaries and expenses, guaranteeing our loans, and her minister alone in Philadelphia could, without inconvenience, make such an advance. The two countries had no conflicting interest, but were equally bent on the point at issue. Certainly for the acceptance of a loan under such circumstances no apology is needed here or anywhere to those who know General Sullivan, and who will admit that he was incapable of a dishonorable thought or deed.

Nor is it out of place to insist that the transmission to Congress in 1776 of Lord Howe's overtures for a negotiation, with the sanction of Gen. Washington, was perfectly proper and reasonable. His exoneration by Washington from any reproach of negligence in not procuring information of the enemy's movements on the Brandywine ought to silence that aspersion. Lafayette, Laurens, Hamilton, and a throng of officers on the field, bore willing witness to his coolness and good judgment in the battle. Washington commended him in unmeasured terms for his good conduct at Germantown; Congress for the descent on Staten Island, the siege of Newport, and the expedition against the Six Nations. Abundant correspondence disproves the charge that D'Estaing for ten days remained at the opening of the middle passage at Newport against his own judgment and at his dictation; that Gen. Sullivan crossed

on to Rhode Island earlier, or withdrew from it later, than propriety or prudence warranted; and all candid minds will agree that his orders of the 24th August under the circumstances were precisely what the occasion demanded, to animate his dispirited troops to prosecute the siege, and that only undue susceptibility could have taken umbrage at the phrases used, when connected with the context of this address to his army.

The remainder of his days, after he left Congress in 1781 till near its close, when appointed by Washington to the federal bench, were passed in the service of his native State. As attorney-general, an office held by himself, his son, and his grandson for half a century; as major-general, in which function he made the military force of the State effective, by a system of drill and discipline, important from the nearness of the frontier and from an anticipated renewal of the war; as speaker of the Assembly and chief executive of the State, to which position he was thrice chosen; as president of the convention to ratify the adoption of the Federal Constitution by New Hampshire, the ninth and deciding State, brought about, as allowed, mainly by his influence and efforts; as one of the most energetic in putting down the rebellion of 1786, in introducing manufacturing industry into the southeastern section of the State, now one of its busiest centres in the world, he did his best to develop the country, shape its institutions, and promote its welfare.

His health, greatly shattered by his military services, gave way a few years after his appointment to the bench, and he became for a time a sufferer from the malady which ended his life on the twenty-third of January, 1795, in his fifty-fifth year. He was buried in the family cemetery on his farm at Durham, not far from the dwelling which had been his home for thirty years. The view from the cemetery over the water and neighboring hills is interesting and impressive. Across the river, in which the tide ebbs and flows from the sea to the falls near by, stands the handsome mansion long occupied by his daughter, Mrs. Judge Steele. His widow resided till her own death in 1820 in the house where he died, and which

is still in excellent preservation. His son George, to whom the name of the Cicero of New England is said to have justly belonged, dwelt in Exeter, and the farm was most of it sold by him after his father's death. Only a few acres, embracing some terraces to the river, gardens and orchards, and the cemetery higher up, remain attached to the house. The marble monument over the grave of General Sullivan, bearing a simple inscription with brief reference to his noble career, is carefully guarded by pious hands from dilapidation.

Prejudice may rob him of his well-earned laurels. Patriots who made fewer sacrifices, who contributed less to the grand result, may be preferred before him. It was no thirst for fame, no yearning for distinction, that prompted him to pledge life and all he possessed to the cause of liberty and what he conceived the true interest of his country. Far better to have deserved well of the country without acknowledgment, than to be laden with its regard and not be justly entitled to it.

We feel assured that future generations, as they come and pass, will recognize him among the honored throng that established our national independence, built up our great republic. A friend of Washington, Greene, Lafayette, and all the noblest statesmen and generals of the war, whose esteem for him was universally known—to whom his own attachment never wavered—he will be valued for his high integrity and steadfast faith, his loyal and generous character, his enterprise and vigor in command, his readiness to assume responsibility, his courage and coolness in emergencies, his foresight in providing for all possible contingencies of campaign or battle-field, and his calmness when results became adverse. All will admit that one endowed with natural gifts as an orator, who wrote readily and well, who was so constituted as to inspire affection and conciliate support, could not well have been spared in a cause which depended for success upon elevated traits of character, superior attainments, inflexible integrity, indomitable courage, and unfaltering trust.

THE WHARTON FAMILY.

BY ANNE H. WHARTON.

(Concluded from page 57.)

43. WILLIAM MOORE WHARTON⁵ (Thomas, Junr.,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 24, 1768; m. 1st, Mary Waln, and 2dly, Aug. 13, 1804, Deborah Shoemaker, who was b. Dec. 18, 1783; d. July, 1851. He d. Aug. 14, 1816. By his first wife he had four children.

142. MARY WALN.

143. REBECCA, b. Aug. 6, 1793.

144. SUSAN, m. Colin Campbell.

145. SARAH, b. 1797; bu. Feb. 25, 1800.

By his 2d wife he had eight children.

146. MARY MOORE, b. May 25, 1805; d. unm. July, 1868.

147. DEBORAH MUSGRAVE, b. April 29, 1806; d. unm. July, 1871.

148. WILLIAM MOORE, b. June 10, 1807; d. unm.

149. DANIEL CLARK, b. July 9, 1808; m. Anne W. Morgan.

150. JOHN HALOWELL, b. July 9, 1809; d. July 26, 1809.

151. SARAH NORRIS, b. Feb. 11, 1811; d. July 5, 1811.

152. KEARNEY, b. March 4, 1812; d. unm. Feb. 1, 1843.

153. ELIZABETH SHOEMAKER, b. June 16, 1813; m. William J. McCluney.

44. SARAH NORRIS WHARTON⁵ (Thomas, Junr.,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), m. 1st, Benjamin Tallman, M.D., of Haddonfield, N. J., who d. s. p. She m. 2dly, Samuel son of Samuel Courtauld, of London, by his wife Louisa Perine Ogier. He d. 1821, aged 69. She d. 1836, aged 64. They had three children.

154. LOUISA, b. Oct. 7, 1800; d. unm. Aug. 27, 1860.

155. AMELIA WHARTON, b. Aug. 10, 1803; m. June 26, 1843, Milton Smith.

156. SARAH LLOYD, b. Feb. 1806; m. July 28, 1830, Milton Smith.

48. FISHBOURN WHARTON⁵ (Thomas, Junr.,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Aug. 10, 1778; m. 1st, May 10, 1804, Susan Shoemaker, who d. Nov. 3, 1821; and 2dly, Jan. 20, 1832,

Mary Ann Shoemaker, sister of his first wife. She d. Nov. 4, 1858. He d. Dec. 3, 1846. By his first wife he had eight children.

- 157. THOMAS, b. May 4, 1805; d. unm. March 7, 1830.
- 158. GEORGE MIFFLIN, b. Dec. 26, 1806; m. Maria Markoe.
- 159. FISHBOURNE, b. Feb. 13, 1809; d. unm. Jan. 3, 1842.
- 160. HENRY, b. Dec. 24, 1810; d. young.
- 161. JOSEPH, b. March, 1812; d. unm. Aug. 30, 1838.
- 162. DEBORAH, b. Feb. 29, 1816; d. Dec. 23, 1816.
- 163. WILLIAM, b. Nov. 14, 1817; d. young.
- 164. EDWARD, b. Jan. 25, 1819; m. Jane G. Shippen.
- 165. ELIZABETH FISHBOURNE, b. Jan. 14, 1821.

By his 2d wife he had two children.

- 166. SUSAN, b. April 9, 1837.
- 167. PHILIP FISHBOURNE, b. April 30, 1841.

52. SARAH CRISPIN⁵ (Rachel,⁴ John,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), m. William Levis. They had two children.

- 168. EDMUND, m. Elizabeth Thomson.
- 169. WILLIAM, m. Elizabeth A. White.

57. HANNAH WHARTON⁵ (Thomas,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Sept. 3, 1753; m. Jan. 5, 1785, James Cowles son of William and Sarah Fisher. They had one son.

- 170. WILLIAM WHARTON, b. Oct. 1, 1786; m. Mary P. Fox.

67. SAMUEL LEWIS WHARTON⁵ (Samuel,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. in Philada. Feb. 14, 1759; m. May 30, 1782, by Rev. William White, to Rachel, widow of Israel Musgrave, and dau. of James and Rachel McCulloch. He d. Oct. 27, 1788. They had three children.

- 171. SAMUEL, b. May 25, 1783; m. Dorcas Clark.
- 172. WILLIAM, d. May 6, 1786, aged 6 mo.
- 173. HANNAH CARPENTER, d. infant.

70. MARTHA WHARTON⁵ (Samuel,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), m. Samuel B. Shaw, whose will, dated Feb. 27, 1822, was offered for probate Dec. 1, 1835. She d. Nov. 3, 1821, aged 53. They had two children.

- 174. SARAH LEWIS.
- 175. SAMUEL WHARTON.

75. HANNAH WHARTON⁵ (Joseph,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Nov. 4, 1767; m. June 24, 1790, William son of William Chancellor, by his wife Salome Wistar. She d. April 13, 1847. They had six children.

176. WILLIAM, d. infant.

177. WILLIAM, b. 1792; d. unm. May 18, 1876.

178. CHILD, bu. March 7, 1794.

179. SARAH WHARTON, b. 1797; m. Edward Twells.

180. HENRY, b. 1804; m. Caroline Clapier.

181. WHARTON, d. unm. 1866.

77. SARAH WHARTON⁵ (Joseph,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. April 23, 1772; m. Jan. 22, 1795, by Bishop White, at her father's house, 81 South Third Street, to Jonathan Robeson. He was commissioned, by President Adams, Lieut.-Vol. Light Dragoons Provisional Army of the U. S., July 17, 1798.* In Feb. 1799, he was appointed one of twelve commissioners to receive subscriptions for shares in a loan for the purpose of supplying the city of Philadelphia with wholesome water.† He d. Sept. 5, 1799, aged 44. She d. Aug. 27, 1847. They had three children.

182. SARAH WHARTON, b. Nov. 26, 1795; m. Charles F. Logan.

183. JOSEPH, b. July 13, 1797; d. April 12, 1798.

184. ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 14, 1799; d. unm. July 3, 1872.

83. SARAH REDWOOD WHARTON⁵ (Charles,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 1, 1789; m. Nov. 19, 1808, William‡ son of William Craig, by his wife Mary Johns. She d. June 15, 1837. He d. July 14, 1869. Their children were—

185. MARY JOHNS, m. James Hall.

186. WHARTON, m. Sarah A. Kruger.

187. NANCY WHARTON, d. unm. Dec. 26, 1867.

188. JOSEPHINE, m. Samuel Rodman son of Charles Waln Morgan, by his wife Sarah Rodman.

84. WILLIAM WHARTON⁵ (Charles,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 27, 1790; m. at old Pine Street Meeting, June

* "History of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry."

† "Daily Advertiser."

‡ Mr. Craig m. 2dly, Beulah, dau. of William Rawle.

4, 1817, Deborah, b. Oct. 24, 1795, dau. of Samuel Rowland Fisher, by his wife Hannah Rodman. He d. Jan. 15, 1856.

- 189. HANNAH, b. March 6, 1818; m. Robert Haydock.
- 190. RODMAN, b. Jan. 26, 1820; m. Susan D. Parrish.
- 191. SARAH, b. Dec. 10, 1821; m. Abraham Barker.
- 192. CHARLES WILLIAM, b. Dec. 23, 1823; m. Mary Lovering.
- 193. JOSEPH, b. March 3, 1826; m. Anne Lovering.
- 194. MARY, b. Jan. 17, 1828; m. Joseph Thurston.
- 195. WILLIAM, b. May 19, 1830; m. Anna Walter.
- 196. SAMUEL FISHER, b. Aug. 11, 1832; d. Feb. 22, 1843.
- 197. ANNA, b. March 30, 1834; d. unm. Nov. 20, 1863.
- 198. ESTHER FISHER, b. Jan. 20, 1836; m. Benj. R. Smith.

85. CHARLES WHARTON⁵ (Charles,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Sept. 20, 1792; m. June 15, 1815, Anne Maria dau. of Jehu Hollingsworth, by his wife Hannah Shallcross.* She was b. March 29, 1796; d. Jan. 24, 1865. He d. May 23, 1864. They had five children.

- 199. CHARLES, b. Feb. 26, 1816; m. Mary M. Boggs.
- 200. ELIZABETH, b. Feb. 12, 1818; m. Charles Illius.
- 201. REDWOOD, b. June 15, 1821; d. July 19, 1821.
- 202. ANNE MARIA, b. July 28, 1824; m. April 2, 1844, Patrick Julius, son of John Lachaussée Bujac, by his wife Celeste Robin. He d. s. p. Jan. 3, 1854.
- 203. EDMUND, b. May 13, 1831; d. unm. Dec. 26, 1856.

86. HANNAH REDWOOD WHARTON⁵ (Charles,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Nov. 15, 1794; m. Oct. 14, 1813, before Robert Wharton, to Thomas Gilfillan Hollingsworth (brother of Mrs. Charles Wharton), b. April 16, 1791; d. Oct. 19, 1864. She d. June 11, 1854. Their children were—

- 204. CHARLES WHARTON, b. Oct. 27, 1814; d. Jan. 10, 1853.
- 205. HANNAH REDWOOD, b. Jan. 29, 1816; d. unm. Feb. 3, 1868.
- 206. ELIZABETH SHALLCROSS, m. Charles A. Lyman.
- 207. WILLIAM WHARTON, b. Dec. 14, 1827; m. Caroline Newbold.
- 208. FANNY REDWOOD, b. Aug. 8, 1833; m. Crawford Arnold.

87. FRANCIS RAWLE WHARTON⁵ (Isaac,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Jan. 11, 1788; m. April 5, 1826, Juliana Matilda dau. of Isaac Gouverneur, of New York. He d. Feb. 10, 1862. She d. March 7, 1870. They had seven children.

* Daughter of Joseph Shallcross, by his wife Orpah Gilpin.

209. ALIDA GOUVERNEUR, m. June 25, 1856, John T., son of Rev. James Montgomery, D.D., by his wife Eliza Dennis Teakle. He was b. April 3, 1817.
210. FRANCIS RAWLE, b. April, 1828.
211. ROBERTSON, b. Sept. 29, 1829; d. unm. March 31, 1863.
212. EDWARD, b. Dec. 9, 1830; d. unm. May 27, 1873.
213. GOUVERNEUR, b. May 23, 1832; d. unm. March 15, 1850.
214. MARGARET, b. Oct. 2, 1833; d. March 24, 1849.
215. ALFRED, b. Sept. 5, 1835; m. Susan Budd.

89. THOMAS ISAAC WHARTON⁵ (Isaac,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), "the second son of Isaac Wharton, was born at the family residence on Third Street, on May 17th, 1791. He graduated at an early age at the University of Pennsylvania, and shortly after graduating began the study of law in the office of his uncle, Mr. William Rawle, then a lawyer of large practice in Philadelphia, and previously district attorney under Washington's administration. In the war of 1812 Mr. Wharton served as a captain of infantry, and was engaged, with his company, in the duties at Camp Dupont. At the close of the war he began the practice of law in Philadelphia, and in the twenty-fifth year of his age married Arabella, second daughter of Mr. John Griffith, a merchant of Philadelphia, son of the attorney-general of New Jersey of the same name, and brother of Judge William Griffith, a judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, and author of several law treatises. Mr. Wharton was a diligent and discriminating student, and at an early period of his life was distinguished for his literary taste and skill. He was one of the contributors to the Portfolio, under Mr. Dennie's management, and he became afterwards one of the editors of the *Analectic Magazine*. It was to law, however, that his studies were principally given; and in this department they bore ripe fruit. To him, in connection with his uncle, Mr. Rawle and Judge Joel Jones, the codification of the civil statutes of Pennsylvania was committed; and the code they reported, a document much in advance of the legislation of the day, is marked by the impress of their wisdom, learning, and skill. He was the author of the first editions of Wharton's Digest, and of the six volumes of Wharton's Reports. In addition to these works, several historical and

literary addresses are in print bearing his name; addresses marked by strong sense, clear thought, and a nervous and elegant style. Mr. Wharton's chief labors, however, were given to his profession, in which he acquired, chiefly as counsel on matters of title, a large and commanding practice. In politics he was attached to the Whig party during its existence, and was a personal and political friend of Mr. Clay. On the dissolution of the Whig party, his attachments and constitutional principles led him to unite with leading members of that party in union with the Democratic. He died on April 7th, 1856, leaving behind him the reputation not only of high legal abilities, but of spotless integrity and of undaunted courage in the performance of duty. Of purity and unselfishness in domestic relations no truer example could be found."—F. W.

Thomas Isaac Wharton m. Arabella Griffith, Sept. 11, 1817; her mother was Mary Coré. She d. Feb. 27, 1866. Their children were—

216. MARY GRIFFITH, b. Aug. 24, 1818; m. George D. Bland.

217. FRANCIS, b. March 7, 1820; m. 1st, Sydney Paul; and 2dly, Helen E. Ashhurst.

218. EMILY, b. Oct. 12, 1823; m. Charles Sinkler.

219. HENRY, b. June 2, 1827; m. Katharine J. Brinley.

91. REBECCA SHOEMAKER WHARTON⁵(Isaac,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Sept. 1, 1795; m. Nov. 12, 1817, Jacob Ridgway son of James Smith, by his wife Ann Ridgway, b. Oct. 10, 1791; d. Sept. 2, 1865. She d. July 16, 1846. They had five children.

220. MARGARET WHARTON, b. April 4, 1819; m. George H. White.

221. CAROLINE RIDGWAY, b. Oct. 24, 1820; m. Feb. 25, 1851, Samuel son of Joseph and Mary Pleasants, and d. s. p. Sept. 27, 1858.

222. ANNA RIDGWAY, b. April 30, 1822; m. William F. Evans.

223. EMILY SOPHIA, b. June 3, 1824; m. James C. Worrell.

224. JAMES CHARLES, b. Jan. 6, 1827; m. Nov. 7, 1869, Heloise dau. of Francis Martin Drexel, by his wife Catharine Hookey.

92. JOHN WHARTON⁵(Carpenter,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹) m. April 22, 1809, Nancy, dau. of William Craig, by his wife Mary Johns. She was b. July 6, 1781.

225. WILLIAM CRAIG, b. May 7, 1811; m. Nancy W. Spring.

226. MARY CRAIG, b. Aug. 24, 1814; m. James S. Wadsworth.

227. THOMAS CARPENTER, b. April, 1819; d. unm.

101. ROBERT MORTON LEWIS⁵ (Rachel,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Aug. 20, 1786; m. Feb. 23, 1815, Martha Rutter dau. of John Clement Stocker and Mary Katharine,—b. March 11, 1789. He d. Feb. 18, 1855. Their children were—

- 228. CLEMENTS STOCKER, b. May 6, 1816; d. Aug. 26, 1816.
- 229. ROBERT WHARTON, b. June 22, 1817; d. July 12, 1817.
- 230. MARY STOCKER, b. Oct. 14, 1818; d. unm. 1858.
- 231. MARGARETTA STOCKER.
- 232. JULIA WHARTON, b. Aug. 2, 1823; m. Lawrence Lewis.

105. HANNAH OWEN LEWIS⁵ (Rachel,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 6, 1795; m. Richard, son of Richard Wistar. She d. Jan. 30, 1857. They had six children.

- 233. SARAH, m. 1st, Joseph Hopkinson; and 2dly, James Gillilan.
- 234. RACHEL, d. inf.
- 235. RACHEL LEWIS, m. Alexander E. Harvey.
- 236. RICHARD.
- 237. WILLIAM LEWIS.
- 238. FRANCES, m. Lewis A. Scott.

107. CLIFTON WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Oct. 22, 1801; m. Aug. 21, 1838, Oliveretta, dau. of Oliver and Sarah Ormsby, of Pittsburg. They had five children.

- 239. CLIFTON ORMSBY, b. Aug. 19, 1839; m. Jane E. Page.
- 240. OLIVER FRANKLIN.
- 241. JOHN BURGWIN, d. young.
- 242. JOSEPHINE, m. Pressly N. Chaplin.
- 243. MARY ETTA, d. young.

108. GEORGE WASHINGTON WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. May 12, 1803; m. Dec. 3, 1829, Emmeline Davis dau. of Robert Stout, by his wife Elizabeth Evans. Their children are—

- 244. MARY CLIFTON, b. June 3, 1831; d. unm. May 5, 1858.
- 245. FRANKLIN, b. Feb. 11, 1833; d. April 7, 1846.
- 246. GEORGE WASHINGTON, b. June 27, 1835; m. Josephine O. Page.
- 247. ROBERT STOUT, b. Nov. 2, 1837.
- 248. ELIZABETH, b. April 13, 1840; d. unm. Aug. 10, 1872.
- 249. EMMELENE BARCLAY, m. George O. McMullin.
- 250. CLIFTON LEWIS, b. June 8, 1848; m. Letitia Irwin.

109. FRANKLIN WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 3, 1804; m. 1st, — Baylor; 2dly, Walker; 3dly, Madam Octavie Coycault, née Duvergé. By his 1st wife he had one son.

251. EDWARD CLIFTON, b. Nov. 1827; m. twice.

By his 3d wife he had two sons.*

252. LOUIS DUVERGÉ, b. June, 1844; d. unm. Feb. 1876.

253. FRANKLIN NICHOLAS, b. 1847.

110. WILLIAM LEWIS WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Dec. 17, 1805; m. Nov. 9, 1829, Ellen Jones dau. of Col. David Brearley; and d. Oct. 4, 1846. He had four children.

254. CLIFTON TUCKER, b. July 31, 1834.

255. DAVID BREARLEY, b. Aug. 7, 1836.

256. AMANDA JONES, b. Oct. 16, 1840; m. Frederick H. Gibson.

257. WILLIAM LEWIS, b. April 10, 1842; m. Jane A. Cavanna.

113. ALFRED CLIFTON WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. June 1, 1810; changed his name to Alfred Wharton Clifton. He m. Dec. 22, 1829, at Princeton, Adelaide Charlotte dau. of John and Mary Passage, and d. March 30, 1854.

258. FRANKLIN WHARTON, b. Oct. 18, 1830; d. 1849.

259. ANNA HOWELL, b. June 16, 1832; d. May 18, 1835.

260. MARY, b. Dec. 11, 1833; m. Henry P. Ross.

261. ALFRED CLIFTON Wharton, d. unm. Aug. 24, 1865, aged 30.

262. CLIFTON WHARTON, b. Feb. 22, 1837.

263. FRANCES ANNA, m. June 8, 1874, Henry son of Henry Freedley, of Norristown, Pa., by his wife Eleanor H. Pawling.

264. ADELAIDE CHARLOTTE, b. Feb. 9, 1846; d. June 3, 1852.

265. ROSA, b. Feb. 29, 1848; d. June 3, 1852.

266. HENRIETTA, b. Aug. 23, 1851; d. unm. Aug. 1874.

114. HENRY WILLIAMS WHARTON⁵ (Franklin,⁴ Joseph,³ Thomas,² Richard¹), b. Sept. 27, 1811; m. Jan. 13, 1841, Ellen G. Nugent. Their children are—

267. HENRY C., b. Nov. 1842; d. unm. April, 1870.

268. GEORGE, d. 1859.

269. ELLEN CLIFTON, m. William Moore Wharton.

* Their eldest child, Oclavie, d. infant.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 101.)

April 15, 1735.	Carpenter,	Jasper, son of Samuel.
Feb. 26, 1735-6.	"	Samuel.
Sept. 25, 1738.	"	Anne, wife of Benjamin.
July 31, 1742.	"	Bridget, wife of Joshua.
		Strangers' Ground.
Feb. 1, 1745-6.	"	John, son of William.
Nov. 17, 1714.	Carr,	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 18, 1716.	"	Robert.
Aug. 30, 1732.	"	Mary, wife of James.
April 17, 1739.	"	Mararet, wife of James.
July 29, 1742.	"	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Nov. 3, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Sept. 11, 1744.	"	Thomas.
Sept. 3, 1745.	"	Thomas, son of ye widow.
Oct. 11, 1748.	"	Crowthilton, wife of William.
July 31, 1750.	"	William, son of John.
Jan. 29, 1750-1.	"	James.
July 24, 1712.	Carrick,	George.
June 28, 1756.	Carson,	John.
Sept. 15, 1759.	"	Robert, son of Robert.
June 2, 1714.	Carter,	Susannah, dau. of James and
		Mary.
Aug. 30, 1716.	"	James, son of James and Mary.
Sept. 7, 1726.	"	Richard, of Barbadoes, Gent.
June 4, 1730.	"	Jane.
July 1, 1731.	"	Mary.
Aug. 26, 1734.	"	Isabella, dau. of Edward.
Jan. 8, 1734-5.	"	George-King, son of Edward.
Sept. 27, 1736.	"	Edward, son of Edward.
Jan. 22, 1743-4.	"	Thomas.
June 20, 1749.	"	Hannah, dau. of William.
Sept. 23, 1752.	"	Hannah, dau. of William.
Sept. 29, 1757.	"	—— wife of David.
Aug. 14, 1758.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Jan. 9, 1759.	"	—— wife of John.

Sept. 19, 1746.	Carteret,	Cadwalader, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 11, 1749.	Cartwright,	Cadwalader, son of Thomas.
Aug. 7, 1752.	"	Mary, dau. of Shackerleyer.
May 15, 1738.	Carver,	Frances.
April 8, 1759.	Cary,	—— son of Captain. [beth.
Sept. 9, 1711.	Cash,	John, son of Caleb and Eliza-
Sept. 19, 1711.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Caleb.
Dec. 12, 1726.	"	Caleb, son of Caleb and Re- becca.
Oct. 19, 1729.	"	Alice, dau. of Caleb, Senior.
Feb. 21, 1730-1.	"	Alice, wife of Caleb.
Sept. 30, 1731.	"	Caleb, son of Caleb, Junior.
Aug. 25, 1734.	"	Josiah, son of Caleb.
April 7, 1737.	"	Caleb.
April 20, 1741.	"	Caleb Appleton, son of Caleb.
July 26, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of Thomas.
Sept. 11, 1751.	"	Rebekkah, wife of Caleb.
Jan. 1, 1758.	"	Cynthia, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 5, 1753.	Castle,	Mary, wife of Nicholas.
Oct. 8, 1744.	Cater,	Elizabeth. [poor.
Aug. 26, 1743.	Catman,	Thomas. Strangers' Ground,
Jan. 8, 1753.	Chace,	Abigail, wife of Newburn.
Aug. 20, 1750.	Chaise,	Benjamin, son of Newbold.
Aug. 7, 1741.	Chalmer,	Andrew.
Aug. 9, 1742.	"	Andrew, son of Andrew.
Oct. 4, 1729.	Chambers,	George.
June 22, 1744.	"	Richard. Strangers' Ground,
Nov. 13, 1752.	"	Henrietta. [poor.
Oct. 10, 1756.	"	—— son of Alexander.
Nov. 6, 1759.	"	William, son of Alexander.
Sept. 6, 1729.	Chancellor,	Hugh, son of William.
July 1, 1731.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
June 9, 1734.	"	Hugh, son of William.
Nov. 25, 1741.	"	Mary, wife of William.
Jan. 18, 1742-3.	"	William.
Oct. 13, 1747.	Channel,	John, son of James.
June 23, 1749.	"	—— child of James.
Dec. 31, 1753.	Chapel,	Mary, wife of John.
April 4, 1755.	Chapman,	John.
July 31, 1733.	Chappell,	William, son of John.
July 26, 1740.	Charington,	Thomas, son of Clement.
Jan. 16, 1719-20.	Charlton,	Judith, wife of Edward. Gent.
Aug. 24, 1727.	Charnock,	Thomas.
Oct. 20, 1749.	Charriton,	Mary. [Mary.
July 12, 1721.	Chase,	Thomas, son of Thomas and

June 26, 1732.	Chase,	Mary, wife of Thomas.
Aug. 27, 1734.	"	Thomas.
June 1, 1735.	Cheek,	Damaris.
April 23, 1731.	Cheesman,	Margaret.
Nov. 19, 1721.	Cheney,	Mary.
Dec. 24, 1723.	Chevers,	Adam, Junior.
Dec. 22, 1748.	Chew,	Joseph.
Nov. 11, 1755.	"	Mary, wife of Benjamin.
June 15, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Benjamin.
May 8, 1733.	Chilcoat,	Hannah, wife of Thomas.
Sept. 21, 1722.	Child,	William, from Jamaica.
Nov. 7, 1757.	"	William.
Feb. 11, 1749-50.	Childs,	Jane, dau. of John.
Sept. 3, 1758.	Christian,	Matthew.
July 30, 1742.	Christie,	James, son of Robert.
June 12, 1734.	Church,	Edward, son of William.
Aug. 11, 1756.	"	Elizabeth. [Drowned.
July 5, 1748.	Clackson,	Josiah, son of James.
June 28, 1749.	Clakson,	Sarah, dau. of James.
Mar. 24, 1730-1.	Clare,	John, son of John.
April 13, 1731.	"	Rebecca, dau. of John.
Dec. 22, 1732.	"	John, son of John.
Mar. 24, 1716-7.	Clark,	Thomas.
Dec. 12, 1726.	"	Henry. Sailor.
Oct. 21, 1739.	"	Jane, wife of John.
July 3, 1740.	"	Mary, wife of Henry.
July 16, 1744.	"	Mary, wife of Henry.
July 10, 1749.	"	Henry.
Oct. 26, 1756.	"	Abner.
Mar. 8, 1759.	"	—— wife of Abner.
July 18, 1745.	Clarke,	Richard.
Dec. 7, 1759.	"	Joseph.
Aug. 24, 1733.	Clarkson,	Martha, wife of Jude.
June 20, 1756.	"	—— dau. of Matthew.
Sept. 8, 1712.	Claton,	Richard.
Oct. 4, 1753.	Clawson,	Anne.
Aug. 1, 1750.	Claxon,	Mary, wife of James.
May 29, 1750.	Claxson,	William, son of Joseph.
Jan. 18, 1739-40.	Claxton,	James, son of James. [Anne.
Aug. 2, 1714.	Clay,	Hannah, dau. of Robert and
Feb. 12, 1726-7.	Claypole,	Joshua, son of Joseph. Qua-
		kers' Ground.
Jan. 13, 1736-7.	"	Edith, wife of Joseph. Ground
Jan. 18, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of George. [given.
Feb. 22, 1744-5.	"	Hannah, wife of George.

July 19, 1746.	Claypole,	Mary, dau. of James.
July 19, 1749.	"	Rebekah, wife of James.
July 8, 1751.	"	Edith, dau. of James.
Feb. 25, 1740-1.	Claypool,	Joseph. [Edith.
Jan. 5, 1719-20.	Claypoole,	James, son of Joseph and
July 30, 1738.	"	John, son of George.
Aug. 11, 1757.	Cleaveland,	The Reverend.
July 3, 1714.	Cleinhoof,	Ralph.
Jan. 25, 1739-40.	Clemence,	Mary, wife of Abraham.
April 18, 1746.	Clements,	Edy.
Sept. 12, 1751.	Clemm,	Mary, dau. of William.
Oct. 17, 1743.	Clifton,	John, son of John.
June 11, 1745.	"	Thomas, son of John.
May 12, 1755.	"	John. [beth.
Aug. 7, 1710.	Climer,	John, son of Richard and Eliza-
Sept. 25, 1751.	Clinton,	Sarah, dau. of William.
Nov. 11, 1756.	"	—— son of John.
Aug. 3, 1758.	Clipson,	William.
Oct. —, 1725.	Closs,	Susan, dau. of Hanns and
June 22, 1709.	Clouthier,	Roger. [Elizabeth.
July 26, 1712.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Roger and
Dec. 17, 1715.	Clubb,	Rev. John. [Ann.
June 24, 1723.	"	Isabel.
Aug. 22, 1736.	Clulow,	Anne, wife of James.
Aug. 21, 1748.	"	William, son of James.
Aug. 10, 1744.	Clyant,	William, son of William.
May 19, 1714.	Clymer,	Sarah, dau. of Richard and
		Elizabeth.
Jan. 4, 1715-6.	"	Richard, son of Richard and
		Elizabeth.
July 4, 1733.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Richard.
Aug. 17, 1734.	"	Richard.
July 31, 1744.	"	Richard, son of William, Jr.
July 27, 1746.	"	Capt. Christopher.
April 26, 1751.	"	Capt. William.
Mar. 8, 1726-7.	Clynough,	Casper, son of Casper.
July 17, 1721.	Coant,	Mary, dau. of John and Sarah.
July 1, 1747.	Coatam,	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
Aug. 7, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas.
Nov. 11, 1754.	"	Thomas.
Aug. 1, 1757.	"	William.
Aug. 6, 1742.	Coates,	Elizabeth, dau. of John, Jr.
Oct. 1, 1744.	"	Mary, wife of Warwick.
Mar. 29, 1744-5.	"	John, son of Warwick.
Aug. 11, 1750.	"	John, son of John.

(To be continued.)

MARCH MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of March 11, 1878, the President (Mr. Wallace) in the chair.

On behalf of the sculptor, Mr. Joseph A. Bailly, the Hon. Benjamin Harris Brewster presented to the Society a bust of Gen. Meade, which was accepted by the President.

Henry Flanders, Esq., read a memoir of Thomas Fitzsimmons, a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, a partner of the pre-Revolutionary firm of Mead and Fitzsimmons of the city of Philadelphia.

A biographical sketch of Gouverneur Morris by Miss Catharine Keppele Meredith was read by Mr. William J. Morris. William Henry Ruddiman, Esq., announced the death, upon the 15th of February, of Joseph J. Mickley, one of the Council of the Society, and read an obituary notice of that gentleman.

The President read the Regulations of the Philadelphia Dancing Assembly, of 1748-9, recently found among the papers of John Swift, one of the four managers; and presented to the Society by his great-grandson, Mr. Charles Riché Hildeburn.

The President then announced, that by the charter an election for certain officers, would be held on the 6th of May, 1878, and that all nominations must be made at the present meeting.

John Goforth, Esq., nominated the present officers for the places which would become vacant with the close of the charter year.

The thanks of the Society were unanimously given to the different persons to whom it was indebted for the papers read and for the reading of them.

The President announced that at eight o'clock, on the evening of Monday, April 8, 1878, Mr. Solomon W. Roberts, Civil Engineer, would read before the Society a paper entitled *Reminiscences of the First Railroad Across the Allegheny Mountain*.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

EARLY SWEDISH RECORDS—EXTRACTS FROM PARISH RECORDS OF GLORIA DEI CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—Mr. Rudman, anxious for a speedy and accurate knowledge of his congregation, formed in 1697 and 1698 a list of all the families, and classed them in local districts. This was inserted in the book, still preserved, which also contains the records of baptisms, marriages, burials, etc. It is here translated from the Swedish. Many of the names being somewhat altered by time, they are written in the modern way, as follows: Baptism names—Andrew (Anders), Benedict (Bengt), Isaiah (Esaia), John (Johan), James (Joens), Laurence (Lorenz), Nicholas (Nils), Stephen (Staphan), Swan (Sven), William (Olave). This last name has not, indeed, any corresponding in English, William being called Wilhelm in Swedish; but the offspring of these Olaves substituted William as in some degree similar, and of common use; the former is quite obsolete. The female names are nearly the same in both languages. Brigitta or Bridget for Brita, and Helena for Elanor, may be noticed. Surnames, little altered, are: Johnson (Janson), Morton (Mortenson), Swanson (Svenson), Wheeler (Wieler), Fish (Fisk), of the same meaning. More changed are: Bancson (Bengtson), Cox (Cock), Lycon (Laiken), Jones (Jonason or Jonson), Toy (Tay and Taw). Much varied from the original are: Culin (Van Coelen), Hewlings (Haling then Huling), King (Cone then Koenig), Boon (Bonde), Justis (Gustafson then Justison), Urian (Joergen). Garret (Gertson). The sons of Arian Johnson, at Tinnicum, took the name of Aretzon, and this was afterwards changed into Archer, which is yet preserved. [*Note by Rev. Dr. Collin.*]

New Jersey.—Senamensing, at the other side of the river. Fredric King, b. in Sept. 1659, married 1686, drown'd Sept. 24th, 1698. His wife Christina, d. of Jonas Nelson. Their children: Andrew, John, twins, 2½ years, b. Decr. 11, 1694; Elias, 7 years, born in May, 1690; Alexander, 15 weeks, b. March 31, 1697; Julia, 4 years, born in Sept. 1693. Their hired men, John and Peter.

Elias Toy, born in Oct. 1664. His wife Gertrude, d. of Nelson, born 1671, married Febr. 1690. Their children: Fredric, b. July 30th, 1690; Margaret, b. Decr. 14, 1691; Maria, b. Septr. 4, 1693; Christina, born in the year 1694. His wife's sisters: Catharine Nelson, b. May 1st, 1674; Anna do., b. July, 1676. Isaiah do., born June 20, 1697.

Caspar Fish, b. Febr. 4, 1651, married Apr. 17, 1675. His wife Margaret, born 1636, died Nov. 14, 1697. Their children: John, 19 ys., born Septr. 15, 1677; Gustavus, 18 ys., b. Decr. 10, 1678; Elias, 17 ys., b. June 16, 1681; Caspar, 9 ys., born Febr. 9, 1684; Susannah, b. Jan. 11, 1688; Maria, 4 ys., born May 15, 1693.

Mrs. Ella, mother of the Steelmans now. Her sons: Eric, aged 16 ys.; Charles, 18 ys.

Mouns Cox. His wife Gunnila, d. of Jonas Nelson. Their children: Peter, 14 years; Jonas, 12; Gabriel, 7; Margaret, 16; Helene, 10; Maria, 5; Catharine, 1. His wife's sister, Brigitta, 17 ys.

Peter Matson. His wife Catharine Rambo. Married Febr. 16, 1674. Their children: Peter, 12 ys., b. May 27, 1685; Mathias, 10, b. Augt. 12,

1688; John, 3, b. June 14, 1694; Jacob, $\frac{1}{2}$, b. May 25, 1697; Eliza, 19, b. February 7, 1678; Catharine, 17, born Decr. 29, 1679; Maria, 14, b. May 11, 1682; Margret, 5, born Febr. 1, 1692.

Laurence Hulings. His wife Catharine. Their son Laurence.

Eric Cox. His wife Elizabeth. Their children: Peter, 23 years of age; John, 21; Laurence, 14; Olave, 12; Helene, 10; Margret, 8; Anna, 4; Maria, 2.

Olave Dahlbo. His wife Catharine. Their children: Andrew, Laurence, Gabriel, Charles, Peter, born 1690; John. His mother Elizabeth.

John Rambo. His wife Brigitta, d. of Peter Cox. Their children: John, born July 6th, 1692; Peter, born Jan. 6, 1694; Brigitta, b. Nov. 15, 1685; Catharine, b. Octob. 4, 1689; Margret, born Jan. 23, 1691; Maria, born May 5, 1695.

Stephen Johnson. His wife Anna, d. of Matson. Their children: Andrew, 4 years; John, $1\frac{1}{2}$ years; Jonas, born Augt. 6, 1697. His wife's sister Gertrude.

John Lock.

Andrew Lock. His wife Christina Fish. Her children by the first husband: Catharine, Peter, Fredric, Elizabeth, John, Regina. The eldest of them fifteen years old. Her child with Andrew Lock: Maria, 2 years old, Aug. 15th.

Trumpeter's Creek.—Andrew Anderson Homan. His wife Catharine, born in Finland. Their children: Olave Anderson, Andrew Anderson, Michael Anderson, Brigitta.

On the Sea Shore Great Egg Harbor.—James Steelman. His wife Susannah, sister of Elias Toy. Their children: Andrew, $5\frac{1}{2}$ years; Susannah, $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. His mother-in-law Christina. A servant girl.

Peter Steelman. His wife Gertrud. Two children.

Takokan, near Little Egg Harbor.—Eric Mollicka, born in Helsingeland and Mora Parish, 62 years of age in Apr. 1698. His wife Ingabor, sister of Peter Cox's wife. Their children: John, 20 years; Stephen, 13 ys. the 30th of April; Catharine, 15 years.

Pennsylvania, this side of the river above the Church, Pacquessung.—Andrew Bancson, Junr. His wife Gertrud. Their children: Andrew, 2 years; Elizabeth, 3 months. The girl Magdalen, 10 ys.

Laurence Boor, b. Aug. 1648. His wife Elizabeth, b. Febr. 1654. Married in 1671. Their children: Laurence, 19 years; Andrew, born Sept. 20 or 29, 1691; Elizabeth, 10 ys., born March 14, 1687; Maria, born August 7, 1698. The servant girl Maria, b. 1675.

Peter Rambo, Jr., b. June 17, 1653. His wife Magdalen, d. of Swan Scuter, born March 25, 1660. Married Novr. 12, 1676. Their children: Swan, 20 years, b. Octob. 19, 1677; Peter, 15, born Dec. 20, 1682; Andrew, born Apr. 2d, 1691; Elias, 4, born Febr. 7, 1694; Jacob, $\frac{1}{2}$, born March 28, 1697; Brigitta, 17, b. March 10, 1679. The servant girl Ingabor, 23 ys. Living by themselves: Ann, the sister of Ingabor, 23 ys.; Maria, do., 21 ys.; Helene, do., 10 ys.

Nicholas Jestenberg, b. in 1659. His wife Maria, born in 1663. Married in 1680. Their children: Ingabor, 16 years, b. 1681; Anna, 14 years, b. 1683; Helene, 12, b. 1685; Maria, born Jan. 18, 1690; Brigitta, 6, born Apr. 11, 1691; Abigail, $\frac{1}{2}$, born March 11, 1697; Peter, 4, born Aug. 3, 1693. Marcus, his wife's sister's son, 13 ys.

Eric Jestenberg. His wife Hasin. The servant girl Regina. A negro boy.

Mathias Keen. His wife Henrietta. Their children: Maria, 5 years; Christina, 4; John, 2; Anna, born Sept. 7, 1697; Jonas, born Sept. 16, 1698. A negro boy.

Christian Classon. His wife Margret. Their children: Clas, 14 years; Ann, 12; Catharine, 10; Christina, 8; John, 6; James, 2; Elizabeth, 3; Christian, born Sept. 29, 1697.

Eric Keen. His mother Welamkie. His brothers Jonas and Peter.

Nicholas Lycon. His wife Maria. Their children: John, Peter, Christina, Gertrud, Maria, Anna.

Andrew Lycon. His wife Anna. Their child Christina. The servant girl Catharine.

Hans Lycon. His wife Gertrud. Their children: John, Peter, born Jan. 2d, 1699.

Gunnar Rambo. His wife Anna. Their children: Peter, 19 years; Gunnar, 17; Andrew, 15; Mouns, 13; Gabriel, 10; Mathias, 7; Elias, 4; Brigitta, 12.

Michael Lycon. b. 1644. His wife Helena, b. 1650. Married in 1670. Their children: Nicholas, born Febr. 20, 1677; Mouns, born March 10, 1679; Andrew, born March 11, 1682; Michael, born Octob. 11, 1686; Zacharias, born Dec. 26, 1696; Gertrud, born Dec. 16, 1675; Christina, born Febr. 17, 1684; Helene, born Decr. 29, 1689.

Wicacoa.—Anna Swanson, widow of Andrew. Her children: Gunnar, 30 ys.; Christopher, 19 ys.; Andrew, 11.

Swan Swanson's widow Catherine. Her children: Barbara, 23 ys.; Catharine, 15 ys.; and four negroes.

Lydia, widow of Olave Swanson, born in Apr. 1647. Her children: John, 30 ys.; Peter, 29 ys.; Lydia, 17 ys.; Judith, 9 ys. A colored girl.

Nitapkung. at Schuykill.—John Skute, b. Sept. 4, 1654. His wife Ann-gott. Their children: Swan, born Jan. 10, 1692; Christina, born Sept. 4, 1687. A servant girl of Engl. religion. His brother-in-law Morton Garret.

Garret Morton. His wife Magdalen.

Mouns Justis. His wife Christina. Their children: John, 2 years; Andrew, $\frac{1}{2}$ year. N. B. John Bowler and his wife, daughter of John Jones.

Nicholas Jones. His wife Christina. Their children: Swan, 14 years; Peter, 10; Andrew, 4; Helene, 12; Margret, 8; Brigitta 6; Cicely, 2.

Mouns Jones. His wife Ingabor. Their children: Peter, 4 years; Margret, 6; Christina, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Jonas, born Sept. 23d, 1698.

Peter Jocom. His wife Julia. Their children: Peter, 20 years; Mouns, 19; Charles, 15; Swan, 12; Jonas, 8; Andrew, 4; John, $1\frac{1}{2}$; Catharine, 16; Julia, 10. An Indian boy, 20 years.

Thomas Jenderman. His wife Margret. Their children: Euclides, Elsa (children by her former husband), Longshore; Maria, d. of Thos. Jenderman.

Andrew Longacre. His wife Magdalen, d. of Peter Cox. Their children: Peter, 15 years; Andrew, 13; Margret, 9; Helene, 7; Maria, 5; Catharine, 9 months.

Gustavus Justis. His wife Anna. Their children: John, 15 years; Mouns, 13; Gustavus, 10; Morton, 8; Andrew, 6; Peter, 4; Helene, 2; Charles, b. Oct. 15, 1697.

Peter Lock.

Tahokaning.—Olave Mollicka, 24 ys.; Eric Mollicka, 22; Anna Mollicka, Helena, sisters. Anna Runnels, Engl., professing our religion. Her daughter Elsa, son Olave.

Nishammi Creek.—Clas Johnson. His wife Walburg, d. of Mathias Bancson. Their children: John, 14; Laurence, 9; Derick, 6; Gertrude, 3; Barbara.

John Classon. His wife Margret, d. of Johnson. Her [or his] sisters: Catharine, 17 ys.; Elizabeth, 19 ys.

John Enochs. His wife Brigitta, d. of Olave Jestenberg. Their children: John, 7 years; Peter, 6 ys.; Brigitta, 4; Anna, $\frac{1}{2}$.

Michael Fredrics. His wife Anna, d. of John Classon. Their daughter Frances, 20 yrs.

Walburg, widow of Donck Williams. Her son William, born in Nov. 1676.

In the City of Philadelphia.—George Thompson.

Single men: Clement Paul, John Bartholomews, Nicholas Matson, Peter Homan, Matthew Henricson, Peter Lock.

From the Church down the River, at the Hollander's Creek (near Moy-amensing).—Benedict Bancson. His wife Catharine. Their children: son Daniel, 3 yrs.

Andrew Wheeler. His wife Catharine. Their children: John, 7 ys.; Andrew, 5; Laurence, 4; Anna, 1½.

John Stille. His wife Gertrud. Their children: Christina, 13 ys.; Anna, 12 ys.; Olave, 10; John, 5; Sarah, 7; Brigitta, 4; Barbara, ½.

Andrew Bancson, b. 1640. His wife Gertrud, b. Oct. 19, 1650. Married Nov. 22, 1668. Their children: Peter, born March 6, 1677; Catharine, b. Jan. 29, 1679; John, b. March 31, 1681; Jacob, b. Octob. 19, 1684; Brigitta, b. April 10, 1687; Daniel, b. Jan. 22, 1691; Joseph, b. May 2, 1696.

John Cox, Junr., b. Jan. 20, 1673. His wife Margret, born in 1671. Married May 25, 1694. Their children: Swan, 2 ys.; Martha, 2 months. The servant boy Fredric, 10 ys., part Swede.

John Rambo, Junr. His wife Anna, d. of Michael Lycon, b. Aug. 21, 1673. Their son Peter.

Peter Cox, Junr., b. Jan. 20, 1671. His wife Elizabeth. Their children: Laurence, 5 years; Andrew, 1½.

Captn. Laurence Cox, b. March 21, 1646. His wife Martha, b. in Augt. 1650. Married May 15, 1669. Their children: Robin, b. Sept. 1681; Mouns, b. Nov. 4, 1683; Laurence, b. Aug. 15, 1688; Gabriel, b. March 25, 1695; Margret, b. February 18, 1685; Deborah, b. July 7, 1693. Note. A negro girl 14 ys., a heathen. Richard Ross, an Englishman, married a daughter of Captn. Lawrence Cox.

Richard Rods, Englishman. His wife Catharine, b. Decr. 1669. Their children: John, Laurence, Richard, Joseph, Benjamin, Martha. His wife and children are Lutherans.

Peter Cox, Senr. His wife Helene. Children: Peter, 9 ys.; Israel, 4; Mouns, 2; Maria, 14; Helene, 12; Margret, 7.

Matthias Holstein, b. 1642. His wife Catharine, b. 1673. Married in 1688 (*sic*). Their children: Laurence, b. Sept. 15, 1677; Andrew, b. Jan. 19, 1679; Mathias, b. July 1, 1681; Fredric, b. Jan. 13, 1684; Peter, Jan. 16, 1691; Henry, b. March 29, 1694; Catharine, b. Jan. 10, 1697.

Andrew Rambo. His wife Maria. Their children: John, Andrew, Peter, Brigitta, Maria, Martha. Note. Old Peter Rambo. The hired man, Peter Homan.

Peter Justis. His wife Brigitta. Their children: Peter. Jonas, his wife's sister's son.

Brigitta, daughter of Mouns. Swan Justis, 20 years; Andrew Justis, 16 y.; Maria, a nurse child, 8 years; Charles Justis, Taylor, single man; John Justis, widower.

Andrew Jones. His wife Catharine. Their children: Boerje, 5 years; Swan, 3½ y.; Jonas, 2.

Gabriel Cox. His mother Margret. His wife Maria. Children: Peter, 9 ys.; Gabriel, 7; Rebecca, 5; Margret, 3; David, ½. The hired man Matthew.

Valentine Ernest Cox. His wife Margret, d. of Swanson.

Nicholas Boon. His mother Anna. His brothers and sisters: Olave, 20 y.; Andrew, 14; Margret, 18; Brigitta, 16; Ambor, 12.

Peter Boon. His wife Catharine.

Otto Ernest Cox. His wife Christina. Their son Zacharias, 23 ys. An Engl. boy, Jacob Davis, 13 ys. Their son-in-law Mathias Nezelius. His wife Eliza. Their daughter Christina.

Calkoon Hook.—Swan Boon. His wife Brigitta, d. of Swanson. Their children: Gertrud, 8 ys.; Catharine, 6; Andrew, 2½.

Hans Boon, 28 y.

Morton Morton. His wife Margret. Their children: Morton, b. June 17, 1675; Laurence, b. Oct. 5, 1678; Andrew, b. Sept. 8, 1681; John, b. June 1, 1683; Jacob, b. May 24, 1686; Matthias, b. Sept. 8, 1690; David, b. Feb. 20, 1695; Margret, b. March 27, 1687. John Bartholomews, single man.

Mouns Peterson. His son Peter, 30 y. His wife Anna Fish. Their children: Magdalene, 5 y.; Peter, 2 y.; Henrietta. A nurse boy, 4 years. An old man, Nicholas Matson.

Hans Urian. His wife Elizabeth. Their children: John, 18 years; Fredric, 10; Andrew, 7; Ann Mary, 17; Helene, 12; Elizabeth, 8; Dorthea, 5. His stepson Laurence.

Tennicum Creek.—Anan Johnson. His wife Gertrud. Their children: Helene, 17 years; Gunnar, 12; John, 10; Jacob, 3; Adam, 1. His wife's sister's daughter Elizabeth, 7 years.

Mathias Morton. His wife Anna, d. of John Justis. Their children: Andrew, 6 ys.; Martin, 5 y.; Maria, 2 y.; John, b. April 14, 1697; Christina, b. Oct. 23, 1699.

Morton Morton. His wife Helene. Their children: Mathias, 28 ys.; Andrew, 26.

Henric Johnson. His son John Henricson. His wife Magdalen. Their children: Ann Mary, 5 ys.; Elizabeth, 3; 2 children not baptized, Andrew, Sarah, twins, b. Aug. 6, 1697. A hired girl, Brigitta. A boy, Michael, 12 ys.

William Cabb. His wife Christina. Their children: John, Christina, Deborah, Mary, Elsa, William, Helene.

Crum Creek.—Andrew Henricson. His wife Brigitta, d. of Morton. Their children: Henric, 6 years; Jacob, 4; Helene, 1.

John Cox, Senr. His wife Brigitta. Their children: Peter, 18 years; Charles, 12; Magnus, 9; John, 2; Catharine, 16; Anna, 7; Mary, 4; Augustus.

Culen's children: Jacob, Reigner, Gregory, Maria.

John Friend. His wife Anna, d. of Henr., Colman. Their daughter Helen, b. Jan. 26, 1697.

Enoch Enochis. His wife Susannah. Their children: Gabriel, born Feb. 95, 1695; Andrew.

Anna, widow of Nelson. Her children: Sarah, Barbara, Gabriel, Laurence.
G. B. KEEN.

THE FIRST CHILD OF ENGLISH PARENTAGE BORN IN PENNSYLVANIA.—The "Pennsylvania Gazette" for June 28 to July 5, 1739, contains the following: Philadelphia. On the 30th of May past, the children, grand-children, and great grand-children of *Richard Buffington*, Senior, to the number of one hundred and fifteen, met together at his house in *Chester* County, as also his nine sons- and daughters-in-law, and twelve great grand-children-in-law. The old man is from *Great Marle*, upon the *Thames*, in *Buckinghamshire*, in *Old England*, aged about 85, and is still hearty, active, and of perfect memory. His eldest son, now in the sixtieth year of his age, was the first-born of *English* descent in this Province.
C. R. H.

CLAIM TO NEW JERSEY IN 1784.—In the discussion of the fishery and boundary question of New Jersey, early deeds conveying such rights become

of importance. Some time since the writer saw at an old bookstand a tattered 12mo. volume, which was evidently an English book, and printed by subscription, as a few subscribers' names remained, though the title-page was gone. The name of this work, "Nature Displayed," is a popular appellation in the literary world; and is not to be confounded with Dufief's volume, or with the "World Displayed," both on very different subjects.

The author set out for America in 1784, and traveled about the country; this statement comes in the middle of this wandering narrative. He came to pursue a claim to New Jersey, based on a newly discovered deed registered in Dublin, which he had copied and handed about (query in a printed broadside) among the skeptical Jerseymen. He speaks particularly of Edmund Plowden's History, and of the libraries in Philadelphia and Burlington, which latter, he says, contains many rare pamphlets, and refers also to Smith's History.

The observations are largely meteorological, the weather having made a much greater impression on this traveler than anything else, as the places visited are only briefly mentioned. No copy of this book is to be found in the Philadelphia Library, or in the Historical Society of Penna. I should therefore be obliged for the name of the author and some account of his claim to our State.

A curious instance of long possession under the Scottish law, of the fishings for nearly four hundred years, may be of interest in the discussion, as that long tenure under the decision of the courts in Scotland did not, it appears, give undisturbed rights. See the *Herald and Genealogist*, London, 1873, vol. 7, pp. 464, 465.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, New Jersey.

Queries.

MARTIN FUNK.—Information is wanted concerning the former residence of Martin Funk in Germany—*when* he left the old country, and *where* he landed. He and his family of seven children were members of the Institution at Ephrata, Lancaster Co., Pa.

Paxton, Ills.

J. M. HANLEY.

"AN AUTHOR WANTED."—Information is desired regarding the author of a small octavo pamphlet of 20 pages with the following title: Some | Remedies | proposed | for the | Restoring the Sunk Credit | Of the Province of | Pennsylvania; | with | Some Remarks on its Trade. | Humbly Offer'd to the Consideration of the | Worthy Representatives in the General | Assembly of this Province | By a Lover of this Country. | *Amor Patriæ, Ratione valentior Omni.* | Ovid. ex Pont. | Printed in the Year, 1721. |

W. B. R.

HEROES OF THE WAR OF 1812.—Can any of the readers of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* give me the title of a book relating to the War of 1812-15, containing an account of the personal appearance of the heroes of that war?

J. P. N.

MELLON.—Can some of your readers give a solution to the following queries? 1st. Where the mortal remains of Thomas Mellon, a soldier of the War of 1812 from Philadelphia, were buried? His musket, captured from

the third Highlanders at the battle of New Orleans, was kept on exhibition at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, as late as 1862; it has since disappeared. 2d. The burial-place of Lieut.-Col. James Mellon, of Col. Weston's Massachusetts Regiment, who was at the defence of Fort Schuyler, August, 1777? To what branch of the family did Thomas Mellon and James Mellon belong? 3d. Are there any of their descendants living? 4th. What was the origin of naming *Mellenville*, Columbia Co., New York; *Mellonsville*, Laurens Co., Kentucky; *Mellonville*, Orange Co., Florida; *Millin*, Burke Co., Ga.; *Millen's Bay*, Jefferson Co., N. Y.; *Malone* or *Malon*, Franklin Co., N. Y.? 5th. Where were the remains of Grenville Mellen, a lawyer and poet, who died in the city of New York 5th September, 1841, interred? He was the eldest son of Prentiss Mellen, who was Chief Justice and Senator in Congress from the State of Maine. 6th. Who were the parents of the Deborah Mellon, who married Samuel Buckman, at Malden, Mass., Sept. 1697, lived afterwards at Weymouth, Me.?

335 E. 16th St., New York.

GEORGE MELLON.

THE SHOEMAKER PROPERTY, GERMANTOWN.—Watson's Annals, ii. 23, refers to "Schumacher's ancient house, built in 1686, and till lately standing in Mehl's meadow;" and again, p. 33, refers to Mayor "Shoemaker's country house, the same now a part of the house of Mr. Duval's place, and enlarged by Col. T. Forrest."

Was not Shoemaker Lane, now Penn Street, named after this family, and did not the modern house stand on Main Street at the corner of this lane, and was not the last owner of the name of Benjamin Shoemaker, whose daughter, Mrs. Ann Bloodgood, succeeded to it?

May 9.

T. H. M.

MARSHALL.—Can any reader of the Magazine inform us whether the ancestors of John Marshall, Chief Justice, came directly from England to Virginia, or if they were of the Pennsylvania family, as supposed by some of the latter? The name of General Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, suggests relationship with the Pennsylvania botanist, on which point the writer would be pleased to be informed.

COPE.

WILLIAM MOORE.—Information wanted concerning William Moore, President of Supreme Executive Council of Penna. from 1781 to 1782.

J. A. M. P.

EARLY MENTION OF COAL.—In the Non-importation Agreement entered into by the merchants of Philada, in 1765, we find "coals," one of the articles which persons having vessels cleared for Great Britain were allowed to bring back as ballast. Can any one inform us what kind of coal is alluded to?

G.

Replies.

WHO WAS JOHN BYERS (Vol. II. p. 111)?—The first notice we have found of him is in a deed to him of three hundred acres of land in West Pennsborough, Cumberland County, Pa., five miles west of Carlisle, from John McCallister, who had resided there, and had made improvements on the land. The deed is dated Nov. 18th, 1751, and he is there said to be "of

Lancaster County." The same year he is mentioned among the taxables of Middleton Township. He was, however, originally from Ireland, from which he emigrated with his brother James at an earlier period. On October 24, 1758, he held a commission from the crown of a justice of the peace, and acted as an associate judge in the Court of Common Pleas for the county, with Samuel Smith, Esq., as President. From this time onward until 1780, he acted as a Justice and a Judge (once, Sept. 9, 1766, he is mentioned as President Judge), having his commission renewed on several occasions as the authorities of the State were changed, and as circumstances called for a reappointment. In 1766 he joined with a number of his associate justices of the county in a letter to the Governor with respect to the escape from jail of Stump, the Indian murderer.

In the minutes of the Supreme Executive Council for Nov. 20, 1781, it is recorded that "Mr. John Byers, Esquire, attended in council (being elected Councillor for the county of Cumberland), and took the oath of allegiance and oath of office required by the Constitution of this State; and thereupon took seat at this board as a member thereof." He was a member of this body and a constant attendant upon its sessions for two years whenever it was together. He, with some others, took a resolute stand in opposition to the reception of a member from Philadelphia whose election was alleged to have been carried by the unlawful interference of military officers in his behalf. A person of the name of John Buyers also appeared before the Council in the impeachment of Matthew Smith as Prothonotary of Northumberland County. In 1783, he comes again before the Council in advocacy of the claims of General William Irvine. During the war he had command, as a colonel, of a battalion of infantry; but his principal service in the army was as commissioner of purchases of flour and provisions under Dep. Commissioner Ephraim Blaine, through whose earnest efforts the army was more than once saved from the necessity of disbanding. The prodigious activity of these men in this region, in which they staked their large fortunes and unsullied reputations, where much odium and small emoluments were sure to be given them, has never yet received due appreciation. Mr. Byers was for many years an active elder in the Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, under the care of the Rev. Captain John Steel, and was one of the trustees to whom the quarter of the public square, on which its house of worship stands, was deeded Sept. 20, 1766, and who were named in the charter of incorporation in 1773. He left a family of at least three daughters, who were married into the Alexander, the Carothers, and the Henderson families, but I am not aware of any living descendant who bears his name. The date of his death I have not yet found.

C. P. W.

Carlisle.

LOST GOVERNORS OF PENNA. (Vol. II. p. 110).—When William Penn returned to England in 1684, he empowered the Provincial Council to act in his stead as Governor, Thos. Lloyd being then President of that body. This commission was read at the meeting of Council, held at New Castle on the 18th of 6th mo., 1684.

"On the 12th of 7th mo. 1684. Council ordered that upon the decease or absence of ye present President from this Province or Territories, that it shall and may be Lawful for the Provll Council, upon any urgent Emergency, to meet together and chuse a Presidt or Vice presidt, as occasion shall offer, from time to time." (See Col. Records. vol. i. p. 120.) Under this resolution the following persons, besides Thos. Lloyd, acted as Presidents of the Council at the time given, and may be considered as Govs. of the Colony.

William Clayton, 24th 8th mo., 1684.

Thomas Holme, 30th 1st mo., 1686.

William Clark, 9th 2d mo., 1686.

Arthur Cook, 1st 3d mo., 1686.

John Symcock, 3d 7th mo., 1686.

Francis Hamson, in afternoon of 3d mo., 1686.

Arthur Cook, 1st and 2d of 8th mo., 1686.

John Symcock, 16th and 17th of 9th mo., 1686.

William Clark, 19th 2d mo., 1687.

J. H. M.

SAMUEL J. ATLEE (Vol. II. p. 74).—I was very much interested in Mr. Pennypacker's sketch of Col. Samuel John Atlee, in Vol. II. No. 1.

He was a citizen of Lancaster County for many years. He owned and resided on the plantation situated on the old Philadelphia and Lancaster Road, about twenty-two miles east of Lancaster. It was owned for many years by "King" Thomas Henderson.

By referring to Major James Burd's MSS. journal, while in command at Fort Augusta, I find some interesting facts in relation to the attack of the Indians upon the Bullock Guard.

[We regret that our space will not allow us to give the extract from Col. Burd's Journal, furnished by our correspondent. We refrain from doing so as the Journal has lately been printed in Vol. II., 2d series, Pa. Archives. The last extract sent us is dated July 25, and is as follows:—Ed.]

"Ordered Lieut. Atlee on the recruiting service from Fort Halifax, and Lieut. Miles to take post there."

This seems to settle the point that Lieut. Atlee was in command at Halifax, and that he ranked as lieutenant before Dec. 7, 1757. He was, perhaps, the youngest officer in Major Burd's command, and he must have been a soldier of great promise, to have ranked older officers in getting the command at Fort Halifax.

There is another record which also establishes the data for facts not stated. On the 12th day of November, 1778, Col. Samuel John Atlee took the following oath before John Whitehill, Esq., who was a Justice of the Peace for Salisbury Township, where Col. A. resided. The record can be found in Book "M," at page 542, in the second column of names, in the Recorder's Office in Lancaster City.

"I do swear that I renounce and refuse all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and Successors, and that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do, or cause to be done, any matter or thing that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom or independence thereof, as declared by Congress, and also that I will discover and make known to some one Justice of the Peace of the said State, all Treasons, or Traitorous conspiracies, which I now know, or hereafter shall know, to be found against this or any of the United States of America. July 10, 1777.

"Taken prisoner August 27, 1776.

"Exchanged October 7, 1778."

Columbia, Pa., April 16, 1878.

SAMUEL EVANS.

THE CRISIS (Vol. I. pp. 115, 227).—[The following from the London Notes and Queries of Sept. 1st, 1877, has been furnished to us by SAMUEL TIMMINS, Esq., of Birmingham, England:—Ed.]

Though I cannot answer Esre's query as to the author of these tracts, some additional particulars may prove useful. In that invaluable *Dictionary of Books relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time*, by Joseph Sabin, New York and London, 1871, there is a notice of an edition that seems more complete than any yet mentioned in your pages:—

"The *Crisis*. To be continued weekly during the present Bloody Civil War in America. [London] Printed and published for the Authors by T. W. Shaw, Fleet Street, where letters to the publisher will be thankfully received. 1775-1776. 2 vols. folio, 91 numbers, pp. 574, and Broad-sides of the Declaration, July 4, 1776."

In a note, Sabin says:—

"In one of Welford's catalogues there are said to be 98 numbers, the last being dated Oct. 12, 1776. It was reprinted in part as below: 'The *Crisis*, vol. i. containing xxviii. numbers. London printed; New York, reprinted by John Anderson, at Beekman Slip, MDCCCLXXVI. 12mo. Pp. 236.'"

Another authority (Gowans) states this to be very rare, and all ever published by Anderson. Sabin mentions a few other editions of only a few numbers printed at Newport, R. I., and New London, but omits one printed at Hartford in 1775, mentioned in the bibliography of ante- (American) revolutionary publications in the 1874 edition of Thomas's *History of Printing*, vol. ii. p. 657.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1775, will be found the following interesting details in regard to this tract and a fellow-martyr with a nearly similar title:—

"House of Peers, Feb. 24, 1775. Lord Effingham complained of the licentiousness of the press, and produced a pamphlet entitled 'The Present Crisis with Respect to America Considered,' published by T. Becket, which his Lordship declared to be a most daring insult on the King, and moved that the House would come to resolutions to the following effect: that the said pamphlet is a false, malicious, and dangerous libel, subversive of the principles of the glorious Revolution to which we owe our present invaluable constitution, and of the rights of the people; that one of the said pamphlets be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Old Palace Yard, and another at the Royal Exchange; that these resolutions be communicated to the House of Commons at a conference, and that the concurrence of that House be desired. Which resolutions, being read, were unanimously agreed to.

"Feb. 27. A conference was held between the two Houses of Parliament on the subject of the pamphlet published by T. Becket, when the concurrence of the Commons with the resolutions of the Lords on the 24th was agreed, and the pamphlet ordered to be burnt accordingly. A second conference ensued, arising from a complaint of the Earl of Radnor in the Upper House, and a like complaint in the Lower House preferred by Lord Chewton, against a periodical paper called the *Crisis*, No. 3, published for T. Shaw. In the Lower House the paper in question has been voted a false, malicious, and seditious libel; in the Upper House the word *treasonable* was added, but upon reconsidering the matter that word was omitted, and the paper ordered, like the other, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

"The principles of these offensive publications were diametrically opposite: the pamphlet asserted a right in the sovereign to levy taxes without consent of Parliament, provided this consent was withheld; the other, that every attack upon the fundamental principles of the constitution was treason against the people."

The same magazine says, p. 148, under date "Tuesday, March 7":—

"The *Crisis*, No. iii., and a pamphlet entitled 'The Present Crisis with Respect to America' were both burnt at the Royal Exchange gate by the hands of the common hangman. There was a prodigious concourse of people, some of whom were at first very riotous; they seized and threw about the first brush faggots which were brought, and treated the city marshall and the hangman very ill; but more faggots being sent, which were dipped in turpentine, they immediately took fire, and the pamphlet and periodical

paper were soon consumed. Both the said publications were burnt in like manner at Whitehall the day before."

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, New Jersey.

DUFFIELD PARRY (Vol. II. p. 61, at bottom).—Edward Duffield. b. 1720, is said to have married Mary Parry, a grandchild of Owen Humphreys. The published ancestry of Dr. Benj. Duffield states that his mother was Catharine Parry, daughter of David Parry by his wife Mary, daughter of Owen Humphreys and Sarah Hughes. Inasmuch as Owen Humphreys and Sarah Hughes were married Sept. 9, 1738, and Edward Duffield to Catharine Parry, June 12, 1751, these statements seem to need revision. COPE.

PHILADELPHIA DOCTORS (Vol. I. p. 116).—Dr. John Kearsley was twice married, first to Ann — who died Aug. 26, 1747, by whom he had a child who was buried in Christ Church burying-ground, Dec. 24, 1748. He married, secondly, at Christ Church, Nov. 24, 1748, Mrs. Margaret Brand.

CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

EDWARD WHALLEY, THE REGICIDE (Vol. I. 55, 230, 359, Vol. II. 11).—Mr. Robert P. Robins's paper in your first number has led me to make some further researches into the regicide's family history, and I think it is clear that Mr. Robins is mistaken in supposing that the will of Edward Wale (whom I take to have been Edward Wall) was made by the regicide.

The letters of Edward Whalley, in the British Museum, prove him to have been an educated gentleman, which Mr. Robins's testator evidently was not.

We know that Henry Whalley, Judge Advocate General (brother of Edward), settled in Ireland, and that at least two of Edward's sons were captains in Henry Cromwell's regiment of dragoons quartered in Ireland.

I have found in the Public Record Office in Dublin, proceedings instituted in 1699, in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, by Oliver Whaley against John Ormsby and Frances his wife, Richard Whaley and Susanna his wife, James Budd and Lucy his wife, and John Lopdell and Elizabeth his wife, which throw much light upon the family history of the Whaleys, and I give you the following extracts from the pleadings.

The Bill states that Henry Whaley was seized in May and June, 1659, of certain lands in Ireland, as an adventurer in the double ordinance, and that he made his will dated 7th June, 1659, and thereby devised his lands to his brother, Edward Whaley, William Gough, and Henry Middleton, Esq., upon trust to permit his wife to take £150 per annum jointure; then for his son John for life, with £100 jointure for Susanna his wife; remainder to his first and other sons in tail, with a provision for Elizabeth and Rebecca, daughters of said John Whaley; remainder to Edward Whaley, brother of said testator, for life; remainder to his son Henry and his heirs male; and in default, remainder to his son Edward and his heirs male; and remainder, in default, to the plaintiff, Oliver Whaley, another of the sons of said Edward, and his heirs male; and remainder, in default, to testator's granddaughters, Elizabeth and Rebecca, and that said Henry Whaley was appointed sole executor.

That the will remained in England as a settlement, until after testator's death.

That soon after the Restoration, said Henry Whaley, the testator, came into England, and on 10th March, 1663, made his claim to the Court of Claims, but died before he obtained a certificate, and said John Whaley, his son and heir, obtained the certificate from the Court of Claims.

That Rebecca died *v. p.*, unmarried and under age.

That said Edward Whaley, brother of said Henry (*i. e.*, Edward, the regicide), is long since dead, and said Henry and Edward, sons of said Edward,

are both dead without issue, and said John outlived them all, and himself died in 1691, without issue male.

That plaintiff was then in London, and it was a time of war, and he could not come to Ireland until lately. Plaintiff found that said John Whaley left four daughters, who were married to the defendants, Ormsby, Whaley, Budd, and Lopdell.

That William Gough and Henry Middleton died before said Edward Whaley, who was the survivor and plaintiff is his son and heir.

The defendants all answered the plaintiff's bill, denying the existence of this alleged will and the relationship of the plaintiff, and stating that Henry Whaley died in Dublin in 1667, having devised all his estates to his only son John and his heirs forever.

That Henry was a member of Parliament.

That Edward was one of the regicides, and attainted and fled from England, and they knew nothing of him or his sons Henry and Edward, the younger being dead.

Several witnesses were examined on interrogatories: the result was that the bill was dismissed without costs in the year 1700. The following is some of the evidence:—

John Wattson, examined October 26, 1699, deposes that he is sixty years and upwards, and was a servant of and waited on Henry Whaley, and afterwards bought and sold cattle for his son John Whaley. About 1683, he was in London with said John Whaley, who inquired for his friends and relatives, and met a son of one Captain John Whaley, who was a knight and married a lady, as deponent heard; and also met with one Mrs. Goffe, who lived at the bridge-foot in London, who was also said John Whaley's relation.

Mary Birkhead deposes that about five or six years ago, when her father, Henry Middleton, Esq., lay ill of his last sickness, Oliver Whaley, the plaintiff, went to ask him about the will made by Judge Advocate Whalley. She very well knew Edward Whalley, and that he was one of the judges on the pretended trial of King Charles I., and at the time of the Restoration he left England. She had known the plaintiff, Oliver, from his infancy, and that he was son to said Edward Whalley, the "trateor," by Catherine his second wife, and was born in said Edward's house in King Street, in the city of Westminster.

Grace Scudamore deposes that she was a menial servant of Edward Whaley, and knew the plaintiff, Oliver his son, who was born about two years before the Restoration. Heard that the will was in the hands of Catherine, one of the daughters of said Edward Whaley. Said Catherine died about seven years ago. Heard that the Lord Protector was godfather of the plaintiff.

Anne, wife of Robert Garrett, deposes that she was married in 1657, and was servant of Judith, one of the daughters of Edward Whaley.

Dame Isabella Shorter heard Edward Whaley went to New England, where he died.

Wm. Middleton heard Edward Whaley died beyond the seas thirty years ago.

Pat. Carwan, of Athinree, (Athenry Co., Galway), deposes that Henry Whaley died in Wm. Gray's house in Copper Alley, Dublin, and was buried in St. Werburgh's Church there.

Joseph Harvey, examined 4th August, 1699, deposes that he knew Edward Whalley, who was a colonel in arms under Oliver Cromwell, a Commissary General of Horse, and Major-General, who had a son named Oliver. Deponent was in the family when Oliver was born, and knew Henry Whalley, brother of said Edward, and had seen Rebecca, wife of said Henry.

The decree in 1700 dismissed the bill without costs, thereby showing that the Lord Chancellor considered the plaintiff had made some case.

I have been unable to ascertain with certainty who Richard Whaley (father

of the defendant, Richard Whaley) was, save that he was a cornet, and afterwards a captain of horse in Colonel Henry Cromwell's regiment. He had a grant in 1666 of lands in counties Kilkenny and Armagh, and purchased an estate in County Wicklow, which remained in his family until last year.

I still incline to the opinion (expressed by me in *Notes and Queries*, June 26, 1869) that he was a son of the regicide. I hope to discover a list of officers in Henry Cromwell's regiment, which will, perhaps, clear up this point.

It is very likely that the defendant, Richard Whaley, did not care to proclaim, in the year 1699, his relationship to the "Treasor" if he were his grandson.

The pedigree copied by E. D. N., and inserted in your second number, does not quite tally with the statements in the foregoing chancery proceedings.

WM. F. LITLEDAL.

Whaley Abbey, Co. Wicklow, Ireland, February 7, 1878.

PENNSYLVANIA OFFICERS AND PRIVATES KILLED AND CAPTURED AT THE ISLE AUX NOIX (Vol. I. p. 226).—J. S. W., in the second number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, gives an extract from Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, in which is related an account of the death of Captain Adams, Ensign Cuthbertson, and two privates, and the capture of Captain M'Lane, Lieutenants McFarren, McAllister, Hogg, and two privates, all of whom, it is said, belonged to the Pennsylvania line. In the second volume of the *American Magazine of History*, page 45, in the *Diary of Joshua Pell, Jr.*, a British officer, we find the following: (Aug. 10, 1776.) "This Isle (Isle Aux Noix) was well fortified by the French last war, and had a Boom across the River, in order to stop our entrance into Canada, after the reduction of Tyconderoga and Crown Point. I could not but notice the Inscription on a Tombstone in this Island, which is as follows:—

"Beneath this humble sod | Lie | Captain Adams, | Lieutenant Culbertson, | & | Two privates of the 6th Pennsylvania—Reg't. | Not Hirelings | But Patriots. |

"They fell not in battle, but unarmed. They were basely murdered, and inhumanly scalp'd by the barbarous emissaries of the once just, but now abandon'd Kingdom of Britain.

"Epitaph.

"Sons of America, rest in quiet here,
Britannia blush, Burgoyne let fall a tear,
And tremble Europe sons with savage ease [sic]
Death and Revenge awaits you with disgrace.

"The above Provincials were scalped by an advanc'd party of our Indians on the 20th of June, after they left St. Johns, about three miles from this place."

OFFICERS OF THE FRIGATE RANDOLPH (Vol. I. p. 469).—John F. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. II. p. 297, states that his uncle, Simeon Fanning, was a midshipman on the Randolph, but left that ill-fated vessel previous to her loss, having been placed in charge of a prize that she had captured. Mr. Watson also says that another of his uncles, Joshua Fanning, was a lieutenant on the Randolph when she blew up. F. D. S.

ST. VINCENT AND PUKE'S LAND ASSOCIATION (Vol. I. p. 471).—This should read the "Vincent and Pikeland Association." J. B. L.

THE
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VOL. II.

1878.

No. 3.

WILLIAM PENN'S TRAVELS IN HOLLAND AND
GERMANY IN 1677.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dec. 10, 1877.

BY PROFESSOR OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

It so happens that the centennial commemorations of revolutionary events are mingling with the bicentenary footprints in the history of our Commonwealth. We shall celebrate the two-hundredth birthday of Pennsylvania, before the first hundred years since the restoration of peace and the achievement of independence will have passed.

It may seem, perhaps, as if William Penn's journey through Holland and Germany in 1677, on which I have the privilege to address you this evening, hardly had so direct a bearing upon the destinies of our State, as to entitle it to a bicentenary commemoration. My task shall be to show that, short as that journey was, it had a very potent influence on the settlement of Pennsylvania, preparing the way for an immigration, that rapidly filled the wooded hills and fertile valleys of the young colony with thrifty farmers, and gave to the population of our State features of a peculiar mould. In fact, that

journey, far from needing the accidental circumstance of date for rising into prominence, has an independent interest of its own, that entitles it at any time to careful consideration.

Let me state at the outset, that the historic significance of Penn's journey would, very likely, have escaped the knowledge of posterity, had the famous founder of Pennsylvania not kept a record of it, which, fortunately, has obtained publicity through print. I say fortunately, for it lay till 1694 among his private papers, apparently not destined for the general reader. He had written out his journal, merely for his own satisfaction and that of some relations and particular friends. A manuscript copy had come into the possession of the Countess Conway, after whose death it fell into the hands of friends, who asked and received of the author permission to print it. This wish was prompted, perhaps, not so much by the facts that are recorded, as by the intrinsic merit of the numerous letters and addresses embodied in the narrative. They set forth in most impressive language the religious principles of the early Friends, and are for this reason highly valued as edifying and instructive. Upon the present occasion this feature of the journal has, of course, to be set aside; our attention will mainly be given to the persons with whom Wm. Penn became connected, and to the consequences that his presence among them had upon the settlement of our State.

On the 26th of July, 1677, Penn embarked at Harwich for Briel, in Holland. He was accompanied by George Fox, Robert Barclay, George Keith, George Watts, John Furly, William Tallcoat, Isabella Yeomans (G. Fox's stepdaughter), and Elizabeth Keith. What a precious freight that vessel carried! Think of George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and George Keith all entrusted to the same frail bark upon the treacherous sea. Nor is it an idle fancy to weigh the chances of shipwreck. Though not on their outward voyage, they were, when homeward bound, in great peril. The leaky vessel encountered a violent tempest, and was kept afloat only by working the pumps day and night. With the same confidence, however, that inspired the great Roman to

say to his affrighted captain, in the face of threatening shipwreck, "*Fear not, thou carriest Cæsar,*" we dare look upon the laboring ship that conveyed Penn in 1677. He could not perish, he had not yet fulfilled his mission. And now, while we imagine the pilgrims to be on their way to the Continent, discussing with each other their plans and prospects, let us follow their example, and take a rapid survey of the field that lay before them.

Their object can be briefly stated. They wanted to extend the principles and the organization of the Society of Friends in two countries of the Continent, in Holland and in Germany. This was no novel enterprise, nor the first attempt in this direction. The early Friends were, as a matter of course, eager to convert all Christians to their views, to impart what they considered the true and undefiled religion to all mankind. Though their native land, and next to it, other English speaking countries, were the foremost ground of their action, they, by no means, confined their missionary labors within these bounds. Not to dwell upon the venturesome journey of Mary Fisher to Adrianople, where she tried to bring conviction to the Turkish Sultan, or the equally hopeless task of Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs to make proselytes in Rome,¹ an earnest and not altogether unsuccessful effort had been made to gain converts in Holland and in Germany. With well-sustained zeal and steadiness a number of Quaker missionaries had been active in those countries ever since 1655. In that year William Ames went to Holland, and continued to live there for the most part until the time of his death in 1662. He appears to have chosen Amsterdam as his place of residence, but he extended his efforts to Rotterdam, Utrecht, the Hague, Schiedam, Leyden, Zutphen, Frisia, the Palatinate, Hamburg, Dantzick, Bohemia, and Poland. He spoke Dutch and German, as well as English,² and published in defence of his principles a book with questions propounded to the Reformed Church. These were answered by James Coel-

¹ Sewell's *History of the People called Quakers*, Phila. 1856, vol. i. p. 327.

² See G. Croese, *Historia Quakeriana*, Amsterdam, 1695, p. 529.

mann, who in return put sixty questions to the Quakers. W Ames wrote a rejoinder, and J. Higgins replied to the questions.¹ In the Palatinate he enjoyed the respect, and obtained the protection of the reigning prince, the Elector Palatine, Charles Louis. It was Wm. Ames who converted a number of Mennonites in Kriesheim, near Worms, to his views.²

A friend and colaborer of Wm. Ames was William Caton, who went for the first time to Holland in 1656, and repeated his visit in 1657, 1660, 1662, and 1665. Of his stay in Amsterdam in 1657, he says: "I arrived there in a very seasonable and needful time; for the Friends being but young, and having had a pretty sore storm, were somewhat scattered and scattering, being discouraged and frightened through the indignation and wrath of the magistrates and priests, which were kindled against them."

Caton preached also in the Hague, Leyden, Utrecht, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Alkmaer, and the Palatinate. During his stay in Heidelberg (1660), the Prince Palatine treated him with much regard, and when the Ecclesiastical Council annoyed him by an investigation, the Prince expressed his displeasure at the course pursued. In Frankfort he wanted to print some books on the Friends' religious views, but the censorship exercised by the clergy prevented it; while at Hanau he met with no obstacle. Wm. Caton married in 1662 Annecke Dirricks, of Amsterdam; he died 1665.³

Another very active man in the Continental mission was Stephen Crisp. According to his autobiographical memoir he made a number of trips to Holland and Germany between the years 1663 and 1684.⁴ Again and again he visited the principal towns of Holland and Frisia, likewise Emden, Hamburg, Friedrichstadt in Sleswick, Dantzick, the Palatinate, and Crefeld. ("Another time he made a journey to the

¹ See W. Ames's *Life in Friends' Library*, vol. xi.; G. Croese, *Historia Quakeriana*, p. 494.

² See Sewell's *History of the People called Quakers*, i. 261; Croese, *Hist. Quak.* p. 530.

³ William Caton's *Life in Friends' Library*, vol. ix.

⁴ They were made in the years 1663, 7, 9, 1670, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1680, 3 and 4.

county of Meurs to the town of Crevel, where a meeting was set up." See *Memorable Account of Christian Experiences of Stephen Crisp*, London, 1694.) He took on his trip of 1675 particular pains to obtain more lenient treatment for the persecuted Friends at Emden, and expressed his sentiments on the subject of oppression in a pamphlet.¹

Stephen Crisp married Gertrude Dirricks, a lady of Amsterdam, who was remarkably zealous in the cause of the Friends. Penn and his companions lodged in her house when they came to Amsterdam in 1677.

There were still other Friends who occasionally visited the Continent, and aided in missionary efforts, such as George Rolf, John Stubbs, John Higgins, William Moore. Benjamin Furlly, an Englishman by birth, who had made Rotterdam his permanent home, and was engaged in mercantile business, should also be mentioned as active in the same field by word and pen.

There is no question but that in both countries, and notably so in Germany, the doctrine and peculiar habits of the Friends met with a strongly-marked antipathy. The word Quaker, sufficiently reproachful in England, had been adopted in Germany as an epithet designating the very acme of wild fanaticism, unsoundness in religion, and daring innovation. For once, the clergy, the civil government, and the mob were in unison, all assailing what they gracefully termed the Quaker abomination. When a Lutheran or a Calvinist was to be denounced for not strictly keeping within the beaten track, the most damaging reproach that could be hurled against him was that he was no better than a Quaker. The very titles of the books which appeared at that period betray the acrimonious temper that pervades them.²

¹ Two other publications, bearing on his experiences in Holland and Germany, are: "A word of consolation, and a sound of glad tidings to all mourners in Germany and the parts adjacent, 1670;" "A lamentation over the city of Groningen, containing an answer to four papers against the people called Quakers, two by the magistrates, and two lies sung in the streets, 1670."

² Here are some of them: *Quaker-Grewel*, d. i. *abscheuliche, aufrührische verdamblliche Irthumb der neuen Schwermerei*. Auf Anordnung des Rathes

Considering these circumstances, it is natural to ask: How did the Friends contrive to breast such a torrent of prejudice, and to gain a foothold upon hostile ground?

Like wise tacticians, they made their approaches not over impassable ravines, or in the face of impregnable strongholds, such as the orthodox churches presented, but operated against positions already weakened, and tolerably easy of access. This vantage ground was offered by the Mennonite congregations, numerous scattered through Holland, and not altogether wanting in Germany. Wherever the Friends succeeded in making an impression the Mennonites had been the pioneers, preparing the way.¹ Such was the case in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, Harlingen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Emden, Friedrichstadt, Krisheim, Dantzick, etc. It should be stated, however, that the Mennonites who joined the Quakers did so individually; the congregations kept their own, and discountenanced all defections.²

The affinity between the religious principles of the Friends and of the Mennonites is so obvious, and in many respects so striking, that an actual descent of the former from the latter has been hinted at as highly probable. "So closely," says Barclay,³ "do these views (sc. of the Arminian Baptists),

in Hamburg gedruckt, 1661. (Quaker Abominations, *i. e.*, horrid, rebellious, damnable errors of the new fanaticism. Printed by order of the Council of Hamburg, 1661.) Neue Schwarmgeister Brut, von Johann Berkendal, 1661. (New Brood of fanatical Spirits.) Many others of the same kind are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹ For evidence, see Croese, *Hist. Quakeriana*, p. 485, 486, 491, 492, 535. Also extracts from a letter of William Caton to George Fox, quoted in Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, p. 247, London, 1876. Caton says that he was allowed to preach in the Mennonite Assemblies, and that they expressed their willingness to hear him, "if he had a nearer way to God," or "one which was more excellent than theirs."

² Their desire to keep intact occasionally led to measures of opposition. The Mennonites in Zutphen barred the doors of their meeting-house against Wm. Caton and Wm. Ames. See Caton's *Life in Friends' Library*, vol. ix. p. 453. Croese, p. 500, reports: "Mennonitæ religiosiores rigidioresque illos (sc. Quakeros) ægris oculis aspicere et illis succensere."

³ *Inner Life*, etc. p. 77.

correspond with those of George Fox, that we are compelled to view him as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites." The resemblance of the two sects is the more apparent, if tested, not by their respective professions of faith, but by their agreement upon the salient features of Christian life and duty. Both laid the greatest stress on inward piety and a godly, humble life, considered all strife and warfare as unchristian, scrupulously abstained from making oath, declared against a paid ministry, exercised through their meetings a strict discipline over their members, favored silent prayer, were opposed to infant baptism, and looked upon the established churches as unhallowed vessels of the divine truth.

The Mennonites, the meekest of all Christians, after suffering much bloody and heart-rending persecution, were granted in the Netherlands the enjoyment of all religious and civil rights which pertained to the other citizens of the Provinces.¹ Though passionate contests between the factions of the Reformed Church, the Gomarists and the Arminians, fostered, at times, a spirit of intolerance, the civil authorities were not inclined to listen to the suggestions of bigotry.² When, in 1618, the Mennonites in Aardenburg were hindered in the free exercise of their worship, the States General issued in their favor a mandate of toleration. It is a noteworthy fact, that, at the request of the Dutch Mennonites, the States General of Holland, in 1660, officially remonstrated with the Swiss authorities on account of the persecution to which the Mennonites continued to be subjected in Zurich and Bern, after a similar intercession by the magistrates of Amsterdam in 1642 had proved ineffectual.³

The freedom of worship warranted to the Mennonites, the Collegianten, and other sects in Holland, was the shelter under which the Friends introduced their doctrines, and organized

¹ Barclay, *Inner Life*, etc. p. 78.

² Davies's *History of Holland and the Dutch Nation*, vol. iii. p. 160.

³ *Der Blutige Schauplatz oder Märtyrer-Spiegel*, Ephrata, 1748, vol. ii. p. 928, 943, and 944.

their societies. True, obstacles were put in their way, and some hardships had to be endured, but serious difficulties they did not encounter. The clergy tried their best to have the new heresy put down by the strong arm of the government, and their denunciations against the Quakers at the Synod of Gouda in 1659, appears to have for some time checked their progress. "Post hoc parum de Quakeris auditum," is the summing of Croese, after mentioning that Synod. In Frisia, a law was really enacted in 1662, banishing Socinians, Baptists, and Quakers, the penalties for violation of this edict being confinement in the workhouse for five years, while the informer against one of the proscribed persons was to receive a reward of 25 florins.¹ But this harsh statute, so inconsistent with the tolerant spirit of the general government, appears to have remained a dead letter; Stephen Crisp, William Caton, and other prominent Friends travelled through Frisia unmolested.

The common people, as may be expected, could easily be excited to hostile demonstrations, and rude acts, especially, when the peculiar habits of the Friends, such as keeping their hats on, even in places of worship, seemed to afford just provocation. Cases of rough handling of Friends by the mob in various Dutch towns are mentioned in the well-known works of Sewell and Besse. Here is one of the incidents recorded by the latter: "Peter Hendricks and Jacob Arents went into a steeple-house, called the *Nuwe Kerke*, at Amsterdam. But standing with their hats on were thrust out with violence, and suffered many abuses from the common people."

Also local magistrates would now and then vent their spite against Quakers by arbitrary expulsions or committals; thus, Wm. Ames was, in 1659, shut up in the mad-house at Rotterdam, and kept there for three weeks, but as time wore on, such acts became scarcer, and when Penn visited Holland we hear not a word of interference or spiteful treatment. Even ten years before that time, William Caton could write from Amsterdam: "Methinks it is very commendable to see,

¹ Croese, *Hist. Quak.* p. 501.

as I have often seen in this city, Calvinists, Lutherans, Papists, Baptists of divers sects, Jews, Friends, Arminians, etc., go in peace and return in peace, and enjoy their meetings in peace in this city, and that without any trouble to the rulers."¹

More serious were the difficulties that obstructed the entrance of the new doctrine into Germany. In the Catholic parts of the country dissenters had no ground at all to stand upon, and most Protestant governments, also, considered them wicked and pernicious enemies of the Church. "As for Papists," says Wm. Caton,² "they hate us as new-upstarted heretics, whom they account worthy of death; and the Protestants, they revile us and upbraid us, as if we were the Pope's emissaries, and many of them esteem us as not fit to live upon the earth." Toleration of Separatists was exceptional and local. The Schwenkfelders, in Silesia, an inoffensive and thrifty people, were, on account of their religious creed, the butt of endless persecutions; even their dead were refused burial in consecrated ground;³ the Labadists, though patronized by a princess, were worried out of their asylum at Herford. The Mennonites were, at few places only, privileged with freedom of worship. Most numerous they were, comparatively, in the Palatinate, where, since the accession of Charles Louis in 1649, a more liberal course towards Separatists had been adopted.⁴ Mennonite congregations existed also at Hamburg, Crefeld, Emden, Altona, Friedrichstadt (the latter two places belonged to Denmark), and in Dantzick, then subject to the crown of Poland. It was mainly in these places, just as among the Mennonites of Holland, that the Friends managed to obtain an opening for their religious views, and to establish little societies of faithful adherents.

But their prospects in Germany would have been hardly worth a trial, considering the determined opposition of the churches and the proscriptive policy of the government, had

¹ Wm. Caton's Life in Friends' Library. vol. ix. p. 479.

² Caton's Life in Friends' Library, vol. ix. p. 470.

³ Kadelbach, Geschichte K. v. Schwenkfelds und der Schwenkfelder, p. 27. Lauban. 1860.

⁴ See Häusser, Geschichte der Pfalz. Bd. ii. p. 587.

there not been unmistakable signs of an approaching change in religious sentiment. There was a strong under-current of religious feeling, that bore far away from the broad track of the established churches; the conviction was deepening, that the dominant orthodoxy was not the true exponent of pure Christianity. Men of refined intellect turned away with disappointment from the boisterous controversies and useless speculations of theologians,¹ honest Christians from the cold lip-service, and unhallowed life of the clergy. These various forms of reaction against the deadness, formality, and scholasticism of the churches may be classified under two main heads, *Mysticism* and *Pietism*, both prominent factors in the religious life of that time, and both denounced by the orthodox as "Schwärmerei."

One of the cardinal doctrines of the Mystics was that God's revelation must come from within, not from without, and that we must shape our inner life so as to establish and to maintain an intimate union with the Divine essence.² It will be readily observed, that the Friends' doctrine of the inner light, given to us by God for our guidance, bears a strong analogy to this view of the Mystics. Among these the most prominent during the seventeenth century was Jacob Böhm (1575–1624), the shoemaker of Görlitz. His somewhat abstruse speculations made a deep impression, and were also noticed in England. Attention has been called to the fact that Giles Calvert, the publisher of the first Quaker tracts, was also the publisher of the English translation of Jacob Böhm's writings, which appeared between 1644 and 1662. William Tallack, in his work on George Fox (p. 81), goes so far as to call the German Mystics Quakers before Fox. Baxter says of the Böhmenists, that their opinions go much towards the way of the Quakers for the sufficiency of the light of nature, *i. e.*, the light within. In George Fox's earlier writings, passages

¹ See Dorner's *History of the Protestant Church*, p. 561, and Hossbach's *Jacob Spener*, vol. i. p. 12–40.

² "Supernatural knowledge does not come from without, for God, Spirit, and Word are within us." Valentin Weigel in *Der güldene Griff*, published 1613.

occur strongly savoring of Böhm's¹ ideas and style. This evident unison between the Friends and the German Mystics might, therefore, have encouraged and favored the project of the English Quaker Missionaries. Another proof of the intimate relations existing between English and German forms of Mysticism is furnished by the fact that the Philadelphic Societies, which originated with Jane Leade and Dr. J. Porlage, rapidly gained ground in Germany. The publications of both authors were at once translated, and appear to have obtained a greater circulation in Germany than in England. The Secretary of the Society, Heinrich Johann Deichmann, was a German; he became the friend and correspondent of John Kelpius, the so-called hermit of the Wissahickon. An accredited agent of the Society, Hermann von Saltzungen, was sent to Germany, and found a warm reception in the Philadelphic circles; the catalogue of persons called "*amici*," *i. e.*, well-disposed friends, contains the names of distinguished men and women in numerous cities of Germany.² It must not be thought that the mystic acceptation of God's presence and agency in the soul of man was confined to a few eccentric heads; there was no more popular book than Johann Arnd's *Lessons on True Christianity*, which, like Tauler's *Sermons*, and the "*Theologia Germanica*," had a strong leaning towards mysticism. That the religion of the Friends had something in concert with the tone of these pious books appears to have been felt. When George Wunderlich, a plain citizen of Dantzick, in 1663, was arraigned before a Court of Inquiry on the charge of being a Quaker, he declared he liked the Quaker doctrine, finding how well it agreed with the writings of Johann Arnd, Johann Tauler, and Thomas à Kempis.³

¹ About the affinity of the Quakers and German Mystics, see Prof. R. E. Thompson's exhaustive essay in the *New Englander*, Oct. 1877, "English Mystics of the Puritan Period." Barclay in his work on the "*Inner Life of Religious Societies during the Commonwealth*," insists on the similarity of Caspar Schwenkfeld's theology with the teachings of George Fox (p. 247). Schwenkfeld died 1561.

² See L. W. H. Hochhut: *History and Development of the Philadelphic Congregations in Niedner's Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, 1865. Second number.

³ B. Figken, *Historia Fanaticorum*, p. 70.

The second form of reaction against the barren scholasticism of the Church was *Pietism*, indissolubly connected with the name of Jacob Spener.¹ The great aim of this excellent man, then the leading minister of the Lutheran Church in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, was—as has been pithily said—to bring religious conviction from the head to the heart, to quicken the action of conscience, and to educate the laity to the idea of a spiritual priesthood, open to all believers. It was he who instituted the famous *collegia pietatis*, private gatherings of men and women for mutual edification, practical lessons, and Christian work. The innovation was angrily rebuked by most of his clerical brethren, who saw in it something, if I may use that term, unprofessional, and intimated that Pietists had a touch of the Quaker. Though the allusion was made in jeer, as the most opprobrious that offered, and though the Pietists by their adherence to the Church and its symbols were in their *locus standi* as distant from the Friends as possible, there were, nevertheless, some features that both had in common, such as retirement from worldliness, earnestness and fervor in their devotions, the stress laid on the practical fruits of belief, the permission given to women to be heard in private meetings. Hence it was a charge frequently brought against Pietism, that it paved the way to Quakerism and other heresies (“quia ad Quakerismum viam sternit et ad alias errores hæreticos”).

More or less allied with this mystical and pietistic bias were numerous other manifestations of unrest in the religious life of Germany, some leading to severe asceticism, others connected with millennial doctrines, others, again, productive of visions, prophetic utterances, inspirations, and ecstasies, while all contributed to swell the tide of that great awakening which swept over Germany during the last quarter of the seventeenth, and the first quarter of the eighteenth century. One of these side currents, though soon enough ebbing out of sight, requires some notice here, as for particular reasons it

¹ For similar efforts in the same direction and of earlier date. see Tholuck, *Das Kirchliche Leben im 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. ii. p. 37, Berlin, 1861, and Hossbach, *Spener and seine Zeit*, vol. i. p. 63.

attracted the attention of Penn, who may have hoped to make it subservient to his own purposes on the Continent, I allude to the sect which originated, and, it might be said, ended with Jean Labadie. Born in the southern part of France (1610), and educated for holy orders, this remarkable man was in turn Jesuit, Jansenist, and minister of the Reformed Church, till his convictions, and, perhaps, his temper, carried him outside the pale of any established creed. Though still adhering on important points to the decrees of the Synod of Dort, he verged upon the question of direct revelation and the inner light far towards the views of the Friends. The high ground which he took as a religious reformer, and his lofty eloquence made a deep impression on several persons of eminence, such as the pious Jacob Spener, the learned Anna Maria von Schurman, and notably so on Elizabeth, the granddaughter of James I., who was then Abbess of Herford, in Westphalia. The latter afforded (1670) shelter to the much-persecuted flock of Labadists, and kept her protecting hand over them in spite of the outcry raised by the clergy, the protest of the civil magistrates, and even in the face of an imperial edict, issued from the Chancery Court at Spire, Oct. 20, 1671. So much interest bestowed upon a kindred sect, coupled with firmness of character, made Elizabeth, in the eyes of the Friends, a very important personage for the prospective planting of their principles on the soil of Germany. If she, the scion of the royal house of England, the sister of a reigning sovereign (Charles Louis), and the cousin of the great Elector of Brandenburg (Frederick William), could be "convinced," the despised sect of the Quakers would have cast an anchor in Germany, not easily dragged from its moorings.

Such was the outlook upon the lands, towards which Penn and his companions were borne by favoring breezes in July, 1677. They landed on the 26th of that month in Briel, a seaport of Holland, and were there met by several old friends, of whom the journal names Aaron Sonneman, Benjamin Furly, S. Johnson, and Vettekeuken. B. Furly was an Englishman, doing business in Rotterdam, perhaps a brother of John Furly,

who belonged to Penn's party. He had joined the Society of Friends in Rotterdam, and became subsequently very useful to Penn as agent for the sale of Pennsylvania lands. The name Vettekeuken, also, is found in the account of the first emigration from Germany. When Francis Daniel Pastorius, in 1683, came to Rotterdam, he took lodgings at the house of his friend Mariecke Vettekeuken, and was met there by Benj. Furly, Jacob Tellner, and others.

By way of Leyden the travellers, accompanied by Jan Roelof,¹ Jan Arents, and Jan Claus, went to Haarlem, where they attended a meeting consisting of Friends and Menno-nites. On the 2d of August, the party, increased by some Friends of Haarlem, Alkmaar, and Emden, arrived in Amsterdam, the famous metropolis of Holland. Fain would we hear from Penn how that busy mart of the world, the Venice of the North, impressed him, what he had to say on the political complexion of the country, of the people and their ways. But in vain do we look in the traveller's note-book for information of a secular character, remarks on architecture, national peculiarities, government, improvements, scenery, and the like. He had only one object in view, the spread of his faith, all other interests were sunk, as it were, below his horizon. Holland, it may be briefly stated, was at that time prominent for its prowess of war, its maritime enterprise, its art-culture, and learning. After passing through a long series of bloody contests, it had just sustained a war against the combined forces of England and France; with the former peace was concluded in 1674, with the latter hostilities continued while the preliminaries of a treaty were being discussed

¹ J. Roelof (misspelled in the *Journal* Boelcliffs and Roelcliffs), was a son of Berend Roelof, a Mennonite preacher in Hamburg, who, in 1659, joined the Society of Friends. See *Life of Gerhard Roosen*, by Berend C. Roosen, p. 20. Jan Roelof himself was a staunch advocate of the Friends, and took up the pen in their behalf when they were assailed by Berkendal, a minister of the Reformed Church. At the foot of a German pamphlet, printed at Amsterdam by Christoph Cunrad, in 1681, giving an account of Pennsylvania, Jan Roelofs van der Werf is named as the agent in Amsterdam, ready to receive applications. It may be that the latter is identical with the above-mentioned J. R.

at Nimuegen. At the head of the government stood William III., by the revolution of 1672 Stadtholder of Holland; he had in this very year espoused Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, thus paving his way to the English throne.

While Penn is silent on the affairs of the world, he apprises us of an event that soon after his arrival occurred at Amsterdam, and which in the history of the Friends, unquestionably, was of great importance—the holding of a General Meeting.

In Amsterdam a congregation of Friends had been in existence since 1657, the year in which William Ames converted Jacob Williamson Sewel, and his wife, Judith Zinspenning. Other Quaker missionaries from England, John Stubbs, Wm. Caton, John Higgins, Stephen Crisp, and Benjamin Furly, who visited Holland shortly after, co-operated with Ames in gaining proselytes. Small societies sprang up in Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, Alkmaar, Utrecht, and other towns.¹ At length a general meeting was called, and William Penn, with Fox, Barclay, etc., had come purposely to attend it, and to lend their aid in effecting an organization. In the first session (2 August), the establishment of monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings was determined on, the time for holding them was fixed, questions of discipline and jurisdiction were considered and settled. In the Select Meeting, held the evening of the next day, rules on marriage, printing, collections, and disbursements were adopted. To the Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam, not only the Friends of Holland, but also those in the Palatinate, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Frederickstadt (a town

¹ William Caton, speaking of his stay in *Rotterdam* and *Leyden*, 1660, says: "I got well to Rotterdam through mercy, where I found Friends very well in the Lord. After we had sweetly comforted together, I took leave of them, and went to the city of Leyden, where I also visited that little flock, with whom my soul at that time was comforted." Stephen Crisp writes in 1670: "I went to Groningen, where divers had believed in the name of Jesus. . . . I left, and returned through Friesland to Amsterdam, where, by reason of now speaking their own language, meetings grew exceedingly great, and many strangers came flocking in, and a great openness I found in the country." (Friends' Library, ix. and xiv.) Many particulars about the labors of English Friends in Holland are given in Croese, *Historia Quakeriana*.

in Holstein), were to send delegates. Thus the system of Meetings, the most simple and democratic that can be devised for the government of religious societies, was to be extended over the Continent in the same manner as it had been introduced in England, and other English-speaking countries. We cannot help noticing here, how much superior the Friends were as organizers to other sects that struggled into existence. The German Mystics, of whatever hue, soared so high above all things terrestrial, that ordinary business arrangements remained altogether out of sight.

Before leaving Amsterdam, Penn addressed a letter to the King of Poland, the renowned John Sobieski, who, in 1683, vanquished the Turks, and saved Vienna, strongly pleading with him in behalf of the Friends in Dantzick, who suffered sore oppression by the civil authorities. Strange! Far away beyond the eastern confines of Germany, near the point where the Vistula mingles her sluggish waters with those of the Baltic, on territory then subject to the crown of Poland, a seed of the Quaker faith had been wafted, and taken root in the hearts of a few but resolute men. It was no other than the intrepid William Ames who had wended his steps so far out of the beaten track of tourists, and carried his testimony to that distant spot. Very likely he was attracted by the presence of Mennonites, who, since the middle of the 16th century, had found toleration—though not unmixed with intervals of persecution—in several towns of the Vistula country.¹ In the very year of Penn's journey (1677) the protection hitherto enjoyed by the Mennonites was confirmed to them by Royal decree, the clamorous opposition of the Woiwods notwithstanding. But the same favor was not shown to the Quakers, who were looked upon with a feeling mixed of dread and contempt. A very curious account of their hearing before the municipal authorities of Dantzic has been preserved in Figken's *Historia Fanaticorum* (pp. 61-67), but it is too long to be inserted here. Ames appeared July 15, 1661, "with

¹ See Reischwitz und Wadzeck, *Glaubensbekenntniss der Mennoniten*, Berlin, 1824, pp. 25-31.

head covered," and gave to all questions a fearless, straightforward answer. He was in the end told to "pack off" with the earliest opportunity, which he promised to do, and left "with head covered." The expectation that, with the root cut off, the noxious weed of the new heresy would speedily die out, was not fulfilled, for, two years later, several citizens and a woman, who had formerly attended the Lutheran Church, were, by order of the City Councils, examined by the Burgomaster, Adrian von der Linde, on the charge of being Quakers, and notified that they must either return *in gremium ecclesiæ*, or be removed. Here Figken's account closes; it is supplemented by Besse,¹ who in speaking of the same persons, but placing the proceedings "in or about the year 1677," gives the following most remarkable decree as the result of the investigation: "Whereas three Quakers [George Wunderlich, Daniel Abrahamson, and Christian Pützel] have been for some time kept in prison in the Fore-Court of the Council-House, and that the Honorable Council doth not think it possible to keep them close enough, therefore, they have deputed the Servant of the Court to seek opportunity (the sooner the better) to bring them on board some ship, to be brought anywhere beyond the Seas, with this determination, that in case they shall come hither again, they shall without fail be put into the house of correction, or be punished with some other hard punishment. Dated in the Senate the 11th of May. Pursuant to this order they were put on board a ship, the 'Pillar of Fire,' Hubert Garretson, Master, and transported into England."

The harsh treatment to which the Quakers of Dantzick were subjected, had been the occasion of Penn's consolatory letter written in 1673: hence it was but natural that they turned to him for advice, when their wrongs continued unabated. The petition to John Sobieski, drawn up in the name of his suffering brethern, is couched in that fearless, plain, and impressive language, which has the true stamp of a manly soul. "*Le style c'est l'homme.*" After giving a succinct ac-

¹ Sufferings of the People called Quakers, London, 1763, vol. ii. p. 433.

count of the belief of the Friends, and their reasons for separating from the Church, the petition thus addresses the King: "O King! When did the true religion persecute? When did the true Church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs and staves, swords and prisons, and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man?" Very opportune allusion is also made to the tolerant principles of Stephen, one of Sobieski's predecessors on the throne of Poland (1576-1586), whom Penn quotes as saying: "I am king of men, not of consciences; king of bodies, not of souls."

What the valiant king thought of Penn's missive is not recorded. That religious opinions conscientiously held should not be interfered with, restrained, or punished by the State, was an idea far in advance of the age, and the reasons that Penn puts forward for toleration, clear and forcible though they are, have even to the present not found general recognition. At all events, we learn by a very plaintive letter of Christian Andreas, of Dantzick, to John Claus, of Amsterdam, dated 22 January, 1678, that the Friends continued to be worried and oppressed.¹

And now, on the 6th of August, the Friends, who had set out together from England, separated at Amsterdam; George Fox, with others of the party, went to Emden, Bremen, Hamburg, and Frisia; Penn, accompanied by Keith, Barclay, and Furly, took the boat to Naerden, and then the stage-coach to Herford in Westphalia, to pay a visit to Princess Elizabeth Stuart, niece of Charles I.

The abbey at Herford (Herwerden), founded about a thousand years ago, by a grandson of Wittekind, was under exclusive imperial jurisdiction, a privilege, which the town itself had lost by the peace of Westphalia, when it was annexed to the Electorate of Brandenburg. To the abbey still clung certain traditional attributes of sovereignty, the shadow

¹ Besse, *Sufferings*, ii. 433.

of a court, consisting of a few hereditary dignitaries and other honors, more ornamental than exalted. Elizabeth, who had been solemnly invested as Abbess in 1667, was one of the most remarkable women of her age. She was born Dec. 26, 1618, the year when the war that proved so calamitous to her house broke out, being the oldest daughter of Frederick V., Prince Palatine of the Rhine, who in 1619 accepted the crown of Bohemia, and, soon after, lost in consequence of the unfortunate battle of Prague, not only the newly-conferred dignity, but also his hereditary throne in Heidelberg.

Thus Elizabeth had from infancy a share in the sad disappointments of her parents. The earlier years of her childhood she spent, in company of two of her brothers, with her grandmother, Juliana, the widowed Electress of Brandenburg and mother of Frederick William, the Great Elector; when she was ten years old, she joined her parents in the Hague, and, naturally averse to frivolous pastimes, pursued the severer studies of mathematics and philosophy with eminent success. Not little influence on the development of her mind had the works and personal acquaintance of the French philosopher Des Cartes, who since 1629 was domiciled in Holland. He corresponded with Elizabeth till within a short time of his death, and his letters to her, full of thought and information, form a part of his published writings.¹ To Elizabeth he dedicated the great work of his life, the *Principia Philosophiæ*, declaring that she was the only person that mastered with equal success the mathematical and metaphysical propositions of his system. "And," says the philosopher, with a polite turn so natural to a Frenchman, "what heightens my admiration, is, that so complete a knowledge of all sciences should be found, not in an old doctor, who has spent many years upon research, but in a princess, still young, and with features such as poets give to the Muses and to Minerva."

When Elizabeth was 17 years old, she was offered the hand

¹ Her own letters have not been found. Mr. G. E. Guhrauer, who contributed to Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1850 and 1851, a very full memoir of Elizabeth's life, made searches in archives, etc., but without success.

of Ladislaus IV., King of Poland, provided she were willing to become Catholic. The offensive condition did not originate with the King, but was forced upon him by the prelates and Woiwods of Poland, who boisterously protested against a heretic partner of the throne. The Princess, less pliant than was Henry IV., spurned to purchase her elevation by the sacrifice of religious convictions.

Many had been the afflictions that checkered Elizabeth's life. Her childhood and youth were passed in exile; at the age of 13 she lost her father; a beloved brother, Frederick Henry, found a sad death by drowning in the Zuyder Zee; the heroic struggles of her brother Rupert at the head of the Cavaliers ended in failure; her uncle, Charles I., died by the hand of the executioner; her brother Philip, taking vengeance for an affront, killed with his own hand a French nobleman, and fell at the siege of Rethel; the apostacy of her brother Edward, and her sister Louise, the dissolute Abbess of Maubuisson, could not but shock one so sincerely attached to the Protestant faith; finally, the immoral conduct of her brother, Charles Louis, after his restoration to the throne, was to her a source of silent grief.

In the tranquil retreat at Herford, Elizabeth found at last the promise of a quiet, contemplative life, such as was best suited to the sober cast of her mind. She owed the position of Abbess to her cousin, the great Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, who ever stood at her side as friend and protector.

Penn had, during his first journey to Germany in 1671, come to Herford upon the same errand as now. At that time, J. Labadie, received by Elizabeth upon the urgent solicitation of Anna Maria von Schurman, was staying with his followers¹

¹ Among these were the two ministers, Ivon and Du Lignon, Henry and Peter Schlüter from Wesel, Miss Schurman, Mrs. Peter Schlüter, née de Vries, Miss Wilhelmine de Buytendyk, the Misses Anna, Maria, and Lucia van Sommelsdyk, Louisa Huygins of Rhynsburg, Emilia van der Haar from the Hague. All these, with the exception of the ladies Sommelsdyk, occupied the same house. As with the Shakers, a mystic dance was part of the worship. S. Hölscher, *The Labadists in Herford*, 1864.

at Herford, and was in high favor with the Princess. So great was his influence upon her, that he prevented the admission of Penn to her presence. Since then many changes had taken place. The Labadists, hated by the clergy, harassed by the civil authorities, and derided by the people, had, after two years of incessant pressure, which Elizabeth resisted with much determination, voluntarily abandoned the field¹ (23 June, 1672). Labadie died at Altona, 1674; most of his followers went to Wiewart, a little village in Friesland, where Penn, as we shall see, paid them a visit.

The Quakers had in the mean time not failed to make the best of their improved chances. Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furly, Gertrude Dirricks, and Elizabeth Hendricks went to see the Princess, and found a gracious reception. George Fox and Stephen Crisp tried by letters to open to her the mystery of truth. Penn, also, had entered into correspondence with her.

The way being thus prepared, Penn thought the time had come to approach her with the testimony. He arrived with his companions at Herford on the 9th of August. Let us cast a glance at the two principals in the remarkable interviews that then took place. Penn, at the age of 33 years, in the flush of manly beauty, blending all the graces of the courtly gentleman with the fire of the religious enthusiast, looking back upon a strangely checkered life, that had led him from the lawns of Oxford to the prison walls of Newgate, the determined champion of religious liberty, and dreaming, perhaps, of a distant domain, that should be blessed with it; opposite to him Elizabeth, who was then in her 60th year, the granddaughter of a king, and who herself might have been a queen, an adept in philosophy, the friend of the sages of her

¹ An Imperial Edict, issued upon the representation of the magistrate of Herford, is thus headed: "An earnest edict of his Roman Imperial Majesty to the Abbess of Herford, to remove, and no longer to tolerate the Anabaptists, new Fanatics, and Sectaries, as Jean Labadie, Peter Ivon, Peter de Lignon, Henry and Peter Schlüter, and other dangerous and restless spirits." In the text, the Labadists are styled Quakers and Anabaptists. Elizabeth paid no attention to the Imperial Edict, which was dated 30 October, 1671.

time, still seeking an answer to life's enigmas, which science did not give, in religious experience, in an inward revelation, such as the ministry of Labadie had led her to hope for. And now the young Quaker stood before the old Princess, to teach, to convince, to inspire her.

On the morning of the 10th of August the first meeting took place by appointment, at which the Princess, the Countess of Hornes, her intimate friend, and a few others were present. The impression that Penn made buoyed his hopes, and other meetings were held in the afternoon, and during the following days. Penn, fully realizing how great issues hinged on the present opportunity, opened the floodgates of his heart, and spoke with the unrestrained fervor of conviction. The effect of his pious eloquence appears to have been marvellous. "The eternal Word," he says, "showed itself a hammer at this day, yea sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the Lord! it amazed one, shook another, broke another."

According to Penn's account, the Princess was quite wrapped up by his ministrations. As long as the Friends stayed at Herford, they were entreated, morning and afternoon, to renew their calls, an invitation to stay to dinner having been respectfully declined. Others also came under Penn's powerful influence. The young Countess of Hornes was very much interested; a French lady,¹ a companion of Elizabeth, "from a light and slighting carriage towards us became intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us." The servants of Elizabeth, lodgers at the inn where Penn stayed, and inhabitants of Herford that attended meetings were reached by the "quickenings power."

At last the hour of parting came, and most affectionate was the leave-taking. The Princess wished to unburden her mind, but overpowered by emotion could stammer only, "I cannot speak to you, my heart is full," at the same time

¹ Her name is not given. Perhaps it was Mademoiselle de Reneval, who stayed with Elizabeth at Herford, and afterwards married R. Copper, minister at Mühlheim. See Reiz, *Geschichte der Wiedergeborenen*, v. p. 200.—Ed. 1717.

clasping her hands upon her breast. Penn, "melted into a deep and calm tenderness, was moved to minister a few words softly to her." She recovered, and cordially invited him to visit her again upon his return. This he did, arriving at Herford on the 22d of September. As the proceedings differed very little from those at the first visit, a short reference to them will serve our purpose. There was a new series of "tender opportunities," fervent exhortations, and startling effects. Emotion must have run high. The Princess exclaimed: "I am fully convinced, but oh! my sins are great!" The Countess of Hornes, Penn says, was so overpowered, that she was broken to pieces; the French lady is reported as improved, zealous, and broken. Very likely Penn was led to hope that the Princess would accept the "testimony," but she never was definite in her declarations. "I can say little for myself," she wrote in answer to a letter that Penn addressed to her between his two visits, "and can do nothing of myself, but I hope that the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end." Though in full sympathy with the aspirations of the Friends, she took no step to become one of their number. She died in February, 1680, and Penn paid to her memory a touching tribute in the second edition of "*No Cross no Crown.*"

Parting with Robert Barclay at Herford, the rest of the party, consisting of Penn, Keith, and Furlly, set out on the 13th of August, to proceed by way of Paderborn, "a dark Popish town," and Cassel to Frankfort-on-the-Main. In Cassel Wm. Penn visited old John Dury, an Englishman, who had spent most of his life in Germany, zealously laboring for Christian peace, especially the union of Lutherans and Calvinists.¹ As early as 1633, he was engaged in this work, having the countenance of eminent statesmen and theologians. Penn remarks, that "for his approaches towards an inward principle," he was by some reproachfully called Quaker. Mosheim said of him, without, however, intending a slur, "*Quakerus ille fuit ante Quakeros.*"

¹ See A. Tholuck, *Das Kirchliche Leben des 17 Jahrhunderts*, i. p. 59, and Hossbach, *Leben Spener's*, i. p. 4.

In Frankfort, the pilgrims arrived on the 20th of August. Their coming had been announced to persons of a kindred mind, and so they were met, before they reached the city, by two prominent men. One of them was the merchant Vandewalle, who introduced the three Quakers to a circle of eager friends, that gathered in his house. Of all persons whom Penn became acquainted with on that occasion, decidedly the most interesting was the enthusiastic Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, a woman of more than ordinary mental abilities. She is quite a prominent personage in the history of the German revival, and her peculiar views on important doctrinal points, as set forth in her writings, drew upon her general attention. Johanna was born 1644, and consequently of the same age as Penn. Being the daughter of a nobleman, she moved in aristocratic society, and was for several years court lady to the Duchess of Holstein, but the giddy pleasures of her companions had no charms for her, and in spite of taunts she led a devout, religious life. During this time Johanna formed the acquaintance of an officer of the army, a Mr. de Bretewitz, the offer of whose hand she accepted; but she was glad, when, owing to some misunderstanding, the engagement was cancelled, as Bretewitz was for her too much a man of the world. Much to the regret of the Duchess, Johanna at length left her court, and went to reside in Frankfort with the widow of a nobleman, M. J. Bauer von Eiseneck (born 1641), who, like herself, was deeply interested in Jacob Spener's *Collegia Pietatis* at the Saalhof. She stayed six years in Frankfort, from 1674 to 1680, when she gave her hand to the famous theologian, Dr. Wilhelm Petersen, a voluminous author, and now Johanna herself began to write works, explanatory of Apocalypsis, and in defence of the doctrine of the "Restoration of all Things." Her views entirely agreed with those of her husband, but were reached independently.¹

It was Johanna Eleonora von Merlau and Mrs. Bauer von Eiseneck whom Penn met at Vandewalle's house. Both ladies took a great fancy to the Quakers, or as Penn has it, "their

¹ See the antobiographies of Johanna Eleonora Petersen and Dr. J. W. Petersen; about Mrs. Bauer, Reiz, *Geschichte der Wiedergeborenen*, iii. p. 97.

hearts yearned strongly towards us." Johanna gave the Friends a particular invitation to her house the next morning, which they complied with. They had, says Penn, a most blessed opportunity; the Lord's power appeared, a student, who resided with a Lutheran minister, whom the young woman sent for, was broken to pieces, and a doctor of physic who accidentally came in confessed to the truth.

When, after some days spent in Worms and Krisheim, the Friends returned to Frankfort, it was again the house of these two pious ladies where a meeting was arranged, "whither resorted some that we had not seen before." The religious exercises lasted till 9 o'clock at night, and then the Friends had to stay to supper. The ladies joyfully consented to another meeting the following morning (August 29th), which proved to be "a blessed and heavenly opportunity." On the same morning, a more public meeting was held at Vandewalle's house, which was likewise a great success, those present being in a tender and broken frame of mind. One man, it would seem, shone by his absence from all these demonstrations, John Jacob Spener. While his best friends clustered around the missionaries, the venerable founder of the Pietists was not seen, although in his earnest zeal to overcome the deadness and outwardness of the Church, he had much in common with the followers of George Fox. It must have been a disappointment to Penn not to have met Spener. He refrains mentioning his name, but perhaps alludes to him when he remarks: "Among some of those who have inclinations after God, a fearful spirit together with the shame of the Cross has entered." It was just at this time that Spener, bitterly assailed by the old church party, was very careful strictly to define his position, which he did in two tracts, published in 1677. While his enemies tauntingly called him the "Frankfort Quaker," he may have found it embarrassing to meet the veritable English Quakers with friendly advances. No such scruples restrained the enthusiastic Johanna Eleonora. "It will never be well with us," she said, "till persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the stadt-house, *i. e.*, prison." So strong an attachment to principle fully deserved the recog-

nition which Penn's affectionate letter written to Johanna from Harlingen contains: "The sense of your open-heartedness, simplicity, and sincere love to the testimony of Jesus, delivered by us unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you."

It was by no means an accidental circumstance that Miss von Merlau and other gifted women appear so conspicuously in the account of Penn's travels. For in the contest waged by mystics and the partisans of emotional religion against the "deadness" of the orthodox, women of spirit invariably sided with the former, and several of them, Antoinette Bourignon, Madame de la Mothe Guion, etc., became noted standard-bearers. It was, in fact, one of the reproaches cast by the church party upon the "fanatics," that they affiliated with visionaries of the other sex. A Protestant minister, J. K. Feustking, wrote a whole book which he called *Gynæceum hæretico-fanaticum*, holding up to scorn the long array of women, that had troubled, and were still troubling the church with their heretical antics. It is quite a curious gallery of eccentric females, displayed by Feustking in alphabetical order; all blessed with illumination, gift of prophecy, ecstatic visions, angel whispers, etc. They ranged from women of culture, like Johanna, and her friend, the fair Rosemunde von Asseburg, who was petted by princes, and solemnly discussed by eminent clergymen, down to convulsive servant girls, who claimed to be the chosen instruments of Divine grace. It would almost seem, as if these visionaries, who in their trance were believed to be *en rapport* with a higher world, occupied at that time very much the same place as in ours the mediums of spiritualism. Johanna v. Merlau, certainly, was far above the average of the illuminated, but that she had a touch of their morbid propensity is shown by her belief in dreams as a means of special revelations. Many of the persons whom the ill-natured Feustking stigmatizes as half crazy and mischievous women had the satisfaction to appear in the publications of the "awakened," as shining patterns of piety.

Penn's visit to Frankfort had a very important result, not

then anticipated. The emigration of Germans to America took its beginning with an association formed in 1682, called the Frankfort Company. It was this company that planted Germantown, the first spot where Germans built themselves new homes on this continent. There were originally eight stockholders: Jacob Van de Walle, Caspar Merian, Dr. Johann Jacob Schütz, Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, George Strauss, Daniel Behagel, Johann Laurentz, and Abraham Hasevoet; after some changes and a reorganization, there were in 1686 ten: Jacob Van de Walle, Dr. Johann Jacob Schütz, F. D. Pastorius, Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, Daniel Behagel, Dr. G. von Mastricht, Dr. Thomas von Wylich, Johannes Lebrun, Balthasar Jawert, and Johannes Kember.¹ Five of the latter were residents of Frankfort; of the rest two lived in Wesel, two in Lübeck, and one in Duisburg. Now, though Penn in his journal gives the names of only a few persons, whom he met in Frankfort, the identity of these few with members of the Frankfort Company, proves the connection of his visit with its subsequent establishment. Jacob Van de Walle was the merchant in whose house he held the first meeting, Eleonora von Merlau the lady whom he honored with his friendship. Both were attendants of Spener's *collegia pietatis*. Dr. J. J. Schütz, an intimate friend of Miss von Merlau, also belonged to this set.² Ueberfeldt was a well-known advocate of mysticism, a devoted follower of Jacob Boehm. He came in 1674 to Frankfort, where he engaged in mercantile business, and went in 1684 to Holland, where, in connection with Gichtel, he formed the order of the "Angelical Brethren." The Duisburg member of the Company, Dr. Von Mastricht, became, as we shall see, personally acquainted with Penn, when the latter visited Duisburg; one of the members in Wesel, Dr. Thomas von Wylich, initiated in that city *collegia pietatis* after Spener's manner,³ and though

¹ An original copy of the agreement of the members with their autograph signatures, is in possession of our fellow-member, Howard Edwards, in Philadelphia.

² Petersen's Autobiography, p. 19.

³ Reiz, Geschichte der Wiedergeborenen, iv. p. 59.

not himself, a near relative of his is noticed in Penn's journal. Of the Lübeck members of the Company, Kember and Jäwert, nothing is known, but it can hardly be a mere coincidence, that Lübeck, one of the very few cities in Germany where we hear of Quakers, should also furnish two participants to the Frankfort Company. To complete the proof that the project of buying land, and forming a settlement in Pennsylvania, originated in the very circles that had been in contact with Penn, we have the statement of Pastorius, contained in an autobiographical memoir,¹ to this effect: "Upon my return to Frankfort in 1682, I was glad to enjoy the company of my former acquaintances and Christian friends, assembled together in a house called the Saalhof, viz., Dr. Spener, Dr. Schütz, Notarius Fenda, Jacobus Van de Walle, Maximilian Lerner, Eleonora von Merlau, Maria Juliana Bauer, etc., who sometimes made mention of William Penn of Pennsylvania, and showed me letters from Benjamin Furly, also a printed relation concerning said province,² finally the whole secret could not be withholden from me, that they purchased 25,000 acres of land in this remote part of the world. Some of them entirely resolved to transport themselves, families and all. This begat such a desire in my soul to continue in their society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly, and honest life in a howling wilderness, that by several letters I requested of my father his consent, etc."

Thus we see that the origin of the Frankfort Company is directly traceable to Penn's visit in 1677. With the exception of Pastorius, who became the agent of the company, none of the participants emigrated, though that seems to have been their

¹ Inserted in the "Beehive," a large folio manuscript, in possession of Mr. Washington Pastorius.

² Probably the German translation of "Some account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America," which was published in London, 1681; the German translation appeared in Amsterdam the same year, under the title: Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America, welche jüngstens unter dem grossen Siegel in Engelland an William Penn, etc., übergeben worden. Nebenst beygefügetem ehemaligen in 1675, gedruckten Schreiben des oberwähuten, William Penn. In Amsterdam gedruckt bey Christoph Cunraden 1681.

intention at first. Miss Merlau's name, which appears on the original record, was, in the list of members, replaced by that of Dr. W. Petersen, the learned theologian, to whom she was married by Spener Sept. 7, 1680.

William Penn and his companions left Frankfort on the 22d of August, and arrived the next day at Krisheim, a small village, about six miles from Worms. Here a little congregation of German Quakers had, in spite of many tribulations, managed to hold together ever since William Ames and George Rolfe in the year 1657 had convinced them. They were occasionally visited by travelling Friends, who watched tenderly over this distant offshoot of their brotherhood. William Caton mentions them in 1660, speaking of the Palatinate, "where in due time we arrived, through the mercy of the Lord, at a place called Kriesheim, where we found a small remnant of Friends, that bore their testimony to the truth, with whom we were refreshed after our long and pretty tedious journey. There we continued some time, helping them to gather their grapes, it being the time of their vintage."¹ Stephen Crisp and Wm. Moore likewise visited them. And now Penn, also, turned his steps to this sequestered spot,² to welcome and comfort the simple husbandmen and weavers who shared his religious convictions. Though the magistrate of the village (Vogt), instigated by a clergyman, attempted to put obstacles in the way of preaching, Penn would not be baffled, and had, with the Friends of Krisheim, increased by a "coachful from Worms," a quiet and comfortable meeting.

¹ Friends' Library, vol. ix.

² Unquestionably the village now named Kriegsheim near Worms is the place meant. That this bore the older name Krisheim as late as the middle of the last century I saw by a list of taxables, when I visited the place in 1874, in the hands of Rev. Mr. Keller at Kriegsheim. The distance from Worms as given by Penn (about six miles) also tallies. No remembrance of Penn's visit clings to the place. The old Quaker families, mentioned by Besse, Sewel, and Pastorius, are not represented by descendants of the same names, and to make oblivion complete, the church records, containing registers of births, marriages, and deaths, were destroyed by fire in 1848. The disappearance of the old Quaker families is accounted for partly by their emigration to Pennsylvania, partly by the sacking and burning of Palatine cities and villages during the French invasions.

The annoyances to which the inoffensive Quakers of Krisheim were constantly subjected by the local authorities, he thought, would be most effectively stopped by a personal appeal to the sovereign of the Palatinate, Charles Louis. He, therefore, went, travelling on foot, to Mannheim, where the Prince was reported to be, but the latter had already left for Heidelberg, and as Peun had made arrangements for another meeting in Krisheim, he could not follow. He, therefore, put in writing what he had to say, and this letter is so noble, strong, and lucid a pleading for liberty of conscience, that we can hardly be sorry for the disappointment which obliged Penn to substitute the written for the spoken words. What in the argument for toleration is said about the aggressive tendencies of a powerful Church, as arrayed against the State, has a remarkably modern sound, and might have served as a key-note to Victor Emanuel or Bismarck in their conflict with ecclesiasticism. Speaking of the Clergy, Penn says: "That in most countries, it is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirate-ship in government, *imperium in imperio*, at least an eclipse to monarchy; but a superior power, and rideth the Prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church. And all this, acted under the sacred, peaceable, and alluring name of Christ, his ministry and church; though as remote from their nature as the wolf from the sheep, as the Pope from Peter." We do not learn what impression the letter made upon the Palatine. On a similar occasion Ames interceded, it appears, with good success. "The conviction, which attended the ministry of Wm. Ames, in the hearts of some persons in the Palatinate, occasioned a fine to be settled on those who gave him entertainment, but the Prince Elector being informed of it, not only took off the fine, but ordered some of the Consistory who had sent for William to desist from molesting him. The Prince's sister also behaved very kindly towards Ames, and received his exhortations favorably."¹

¹ Friends' Library, vol. xi. p. 477.

When Penn returned by way of Worms to Krisheim, Aug. 26th, no further interference was attempted. A meeting was held in a barn, and the magistrate himself was one of the listeners, carefully ensconced behind the door. The good man thereupon reported to the inquisitive minister that he heard nothing but what was good, and as to heresies he had not discovered any.

In Worms, Penn paid a visit to the Lutheran minister, who had been one of the attendants at the first meeting in Krisheim. Both he and his wife listened to Penn's discoursing with interest, and "not without some sense of our testimony," and Penn left, as he did on all suitable occasions, "several good books of Friends in High Dutch."

Not many years afterwards, the astounding news reached the country that the English gentleman, who had so kindly and impressively spoken to the humble inhabitants of Krisheim, was now the proprietor of a vast domain, even much larger than the whole Palatinate,¹ and that, under laws of his making, the fullest liberty of conscience was pledged to all that settled there. The Quakers and Mennonites of Krisheim thereupon resolved to take advantage of this godsend, and to build themselves new homes in Penn's land. So we find among the pioneers of Germantown, Peter Shoemaker, Isaac Shoemaker, Thomas Williams, Arnold and Johann Cassel, Johann Krey, Gerhard Hendricks, and other immigrants from Krisheim. The name of the village was renewed in Germantown, much of what is now called Mt. Airy receiving the name of Krisheim (884 acres), and to the present day Cresheim Street and Crisham Creek perpetuate in their appellation the memory of the Palatine village.

The remaining part of Penn's journey we may be allowed to consider in a somewhat summary manner, as it would be useless to re-state from the published account of his travels, that he met in one city a "serious seeker," held in another a "precious meeting," and had in a third a "sweet opportunity." Point-

¹ Pennsylvania is a good deal larger than Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden taken together.

ing out in a general manner the line of his travel, we shall dwell only on incidents of particular interest. But how did he find in a strange land those very persons, who were in a prepared frame of mind to listen to him? Without question, the children of the light, the awakened, the yearners after inwardness, the pietists, the sober seekers, etc., knew each other, or of each other, all over the land, and one in sympathy with them would have no difficulty to trace them.

After a second visit to Frankfort, Penn took the boat to Mayence, then up the Rhine to Cologne, where he arrived on the 31st of August. According to his custom, he is entirely reticent on the charms of nature and the foot-prints of history, and disposes of the whole voyage from Mayence to Cologne in about six lines. In the latter city he found, among persons of standing, open ears and hearts. In Duisburg, on the Rhine, which he reached on the 2d of September, he formed the acquaintance of Dr. Gerhard Mastricht, to whom he had a letter of introduction from a merchant of Cologne. This gentleman became a few years later a partner in the Frankfort Company, holding a share that entitled him to 1666 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres of land in Pennsylvania. At the time we speak of, however, Penn and Mastricht were engaged on an entirely different business. East of Duisburg lies Mühlheim, which belonged then to the domain of the Count of Bruck and Falkenstein, whose castle is on the left, while the town of Mühlheim is on the right bank of the Ruhr. The Count had a daughter, of whose godliness Penn had heard through Princess Elizabeth and Miss von Merlau. He had letters to her from these ladies, and Dr. Mastricht, who was well acquainted with the young Countess, offered likewise some lines of introduction. But there was one difficulty to be considered. The father was a rigid Calvinist, who set his face against the pietistic leanings of his daughter, and, of course, would object to her receiving a Quaker. Still there might be a way to reach her. On Sundays she used to spend the afternoon at the clergyman's house in Mühlheim, and there Penn could speak to her words of counsel and comfort. This course was suggested by Dr. Mastricht, and accepted. While the Friends, for Penn appears

to have been accompanied by his fellow-travellers, were on their way and near the castle, which lay on the road to Mühlheim, they met K. Schmidt, the schoolmaster of the neighboring village, Spieldorf, and learned of him that the young Countess had already returned home. In this emergency Penn requested the schoolmaster to take Dr. Mastricht's introductory letter to the lady and bring an answer. After about an hour, the answer came that the Count's daughter would be glad to meet Penn, and that she was going for this purpose to return to the minister's house in Mühlheim. The Friends, therefore, went on, but while passing the castle, ill luck would have it, that at that very moment the Count came out for a walk. He had the strangers at once questioned as to their designs, and discovering—they did not take their hats off—that they were Quakers, gave full vent to his passionate dislike. Remonstrance was of no avail, he ordered some of his soldiers to see them out of his territories. Coming to Spieldorf, they called on the schoolmaster, and opened to him "the message and testimony of truth," which he received with a serious spirit. Penn's remark, that in that neighborhood the Protestants manifested a more religious, inward, and zealous frame of spirit than anywhere else in Germany, quite tallies with the fact, that a mild mysticism, such as represented by G. Terstegen, found favor in Mühlheim, and was cherished by the Pennsylvania immigrants from that place. The trials of that day were not quite over. When the Friends, after a weary walk, reached Duisburg late at night, they found the gates of the city closed, and no alternative was left, no house being near, but to make their night's quarters in the fields. About three o'clock they rose, and walked till five, after speaking to one another "of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany." The first thing that Penn did when he arrived at the inn was to write two letters, one of considerable length and tenderness to the "persecuted Countess," in which he inclosed Miss von Merlau's note, and the other to her father, expostulating with his coarse conduct. They were both inserted in the journal.

Dr. Mastricht felt much concerned when he learned what

had happened. "Her father," he said, "has called her a Quaker a long time, now he will conclude she is one indeed." The lady managed to convey a kind message to Penn, expressing her regret at the rough treatment he had received, and cautioning him to beware of her father. "It would grieve her heart that any one who came in the love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled; for at some he sets his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them."

The Friends, making part of the way on foot, went over Wesel and Emmerich to Cleve, every where doing good service in their cause. In Cleve, a lady remarked that many feared to be called Quakers, only for being more serious and retired in their conversation. Penn replied, there was an honor to that name; all sobriety in Germany was called by it. By way of Nimeguen they then rode to Utrecht, and here they separated, Keith and Furly going to Rotterdam, and Penn to Amsterdam, where he arrived on the 8th of September. What he learned here of the prospects of the Friends was of a cheering character; he received a very kind letter from Princess Elizabeth, and left after a few days with Peter Hendricks¹ for Harlingen in Friesland. Here he met again George Fox, and others of the original party. A monthly meeting, the first appointed for Friesland, Groningen, and Emden was held on the 11th of September; also a public meeting attended by Mennonites, Collegians, and others. Very noticeable was the powerful impression made upon a Presbyterian minister and a physician. Having written to his Frankfort friend, Johanna Eleonora von Merlau, a long letter, containing an account of his journey since he left Frankfort, Penn set out with John Claus to pay a visit to the Labadists in Wieward, being particularly desirous to see the old and famous Anna Maria von Schurman, who had cast her lot with these people.

Wieward is a little borough in Friesland, near Leeuwarden. Its most conspicuous building was a spacious castle, called the

¹ Hendricks had also accompanied Wm. Caton to Friesland in 1660. He wrote several books in German to defend the Quaker doctrine against the aspersions of its enemies.

Walta-house, the property of the wealthy Someldyke family, which consisted of three sisters, Anna, Maria, and Lucia, all in fullest sympathy with the Labadie sect, and a brother, Cornelius, then governor of Surinam. The ladies had already belonged to the Labadie establishment in Herford, and one of them had married Yvon, the associate pastor. All of them accompanied their revered chief to Altona, and after his death offered their mansion in Wieward to the unsteadily drifting flock as a place of refuge. There the ascetic brethren and sisters passed their days in pious meditations and devout exercises, often strolling through the groves in the neighborhood of their home, whence the prosy natives of the place called them the "bush people."

They had two pastors, Yvon and du Lignon, but by far the most prominent person among them was the aged Miss Schurman, who, if only half of what her contemporaries tell of her be true, must have been the most extraordinary woman of her age. In her earliest youth she gave much attention to artistic pursuits; afterwards she became prominent as a scholar. Her biographer, Dr. Schotel, gives her credit for writing poetry in Dutch, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. She was called of the Graces the fourth, of the Muses the tenth, and a second Minerva. The notable scholars of her time vied in doing homage to her; to prove that woman is intellectually the equal of man, Maria von Schurman was brought forward as evidence. In her religious convictions she had been a Calvinist, and her conversion to the New Church, as Labadie's sect was called, was for long time a topic generally commented upon. She looked upon the change wrought in her as a Divine mercy, and so fascinated was she with Labadie's awakening power, that she was resolved to follow him to every clime, and occupied with him at Amsterdam and at Herford the same house.

Penn arrived at Wieward on the 17th of September, but as it was late, postponed his visit to the next day. And so they met. Anna Maria von Schurman was then in her seventy-first year, and in feeble health. She spoke little, told of her former life, her pleasure in learning, her love of the religion

she was brought up in, the feeling of deadness that came over her, and the powerful stroke she received through Labadie's almost magical influence. The two ministers and the ladies Someldyke then told their experiences, Penn followed with an account of his own life, his conversion, and a statement of his belief. There was on all sides a frank and respectful interchange of views, but the Labadists continued true to their own convictions.

Anna Maria Schurman died before another year had completed its circle. The Walta-house, the abode of the Labadists, gradually became so crowded with New Church people, that some step for relief had to be contemplated, and this was emigration. A settlement in Surinam was attempted, but failed. Then Jasper Dankers and Peter Schlüter were sent to North America. They explored the country, and gave a full account of their travels in a journal, which has been published in the first volume of the Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, and forms a highly interesting and important contribution to the early knowledge of America. In 1683, a Labadist settlement upon communistic principles, headed and directed by Peter Schlüter, was undertaken in Maryland, near the Pennsylvania boundary line, on a piece of land called the Bohemia manor.

Many more cities in Northern Germany did Penn visit. In Emden the small society of Friends which about 1674 commenced with the conversion of Dr. J. W. Haasbaard and wife, had been subject to severe persecution, and constant annoyance.¹ Stephen Crisp visited them in 1675, and censured in a printed paper the vindictive intolerance of the magistrates.² When Penn came there on the 16th of September, the congregation had dwindled to a few souls. Dr. Haasbaard had died in exile, but his mother and his sisters were living. Penn personally remonstrated with the President of the State Council, Dr. Andreas, whom he had on a former occasion approached by letter, and after an argument with him succeeded in shaming that violent antagonist into an advocate of tolera-

¹ See Besse's Sufferings. Croese. *Historia Quakeriana*, p. 518-528.

² See Friends' Library, xiv. p. 150.

tion. In 1686, Quakers were even invited to settle in Emden.¹

In Bremen, William Penn was joined again by George Keith and Benjamin Furly. They found several persons professing much sympathy with the Friends, but afraid of owning a name that was so unpopular. The Protestant minister whom Penn mentions as struggling between conviction and fear of the world, probably was Theodore Undereyck.²

The last month of the journey was spent in revisiting places that had been touched before, such as Herford, Wesel, Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Cleve, Nimeguen, Amsterdam, Leyden, Rotterdam, and the Hague.

In Duisburg Penn wished to make another attempt to procure an interview with the young Countess of Bruck, but Dr. Mastricht, who knew her father's deep-rooted prejudice and bad temper, frustrated the design, and a Mr. Kuper, who had been depended upon, likewise refused to lend his hand.³ In Cologne, he was very kindly received by Docenius, the "resident" of the King of Denmark, probably the same whom on a former occasion he called "an ancient seeker," that had his heart opened, and blessed God for having lived to see Penn. Docenius afterwards followed Penn to Rotterdam and the Hague to have another interview. The same gentleman, as we learn by Pastorius's note-book,⁴ would have liked in 1683 to emigrate to Pennsylvania, but his good lady interposed. She believed in the maxim "let well enough alone." "Now," said she, "I can ride in a carriage from one house to another. In America, who knows but I would have to look after cattle, and milk the cows." That dreadful contingency settled the case.

¹ See Croese, *Historia Quakeriana*, p. 528. W. Sewel, *History*, p. 300 of Phila. ed.

² Reiz, *Gesch. der Wiedergeborenen*, iii. 118.

³ This Kuper may be identical with R. Copper, the subject of a memoir in Reiz, *Gesch. der Wiedergeborenen*, iv. p. 199. Copper was minister in Mühlheim, afterwards in Duisburg, which place he left in 1683, to join the Labadists in Wieward. After their dispersion, the Countess of Horn, Princess Elizabeth's friend, invited him to come to Bielefeld.

⁴ MS. of the Hist. Society of Penna.

In Amsterdam, where the Friends arrived on the 8th of October, Penn had a public discussion with Dr. Galenus Abrahams de Haan, the distinguished leader of the Socinian Mennonites. This eminent man (b. 1622), honored alike for his learning and his benevolence, was minister of the Mennonites from 1648 till 1706. When these in 1663 were divided into a liberal and a stricter party, Dr. Galenus Abrahams sided with the former, while Samuel Apostool headed the latter. The battle of argument between the two champions, Penn of the Quakers, Abrahams of the Mennonites, caused what we would now call a sensation. The first debate between them took place on the 9th of October, and lasted five hours; the second on the 11th, was as long. Would that their speeches, questions, answers, objections, and rejoinders could have been taken down by the nimble hand of a reporter! The subject of the discussion was in the main the claim of the Friends to a complete and correct presentation of the Christian truth.

The result was highly satisfactory, satisfactory to each side, as is generally the case. If Gerhard Croese, the author of the *Historia Quakeriana*, who, as a Calvinist, stood aloof of both parties, may be accepted as an impartial judge, Penn had the better of the argument. Speaking slowly and considerately, he never was disconcerted by objections sprung upon him, while Dr. G. Abrahams, becoming entangled in a mass of words, frequently overlooked the point at issue, and resorted to pleasantry to cover his retreat. There was, nevertheless, a very good feeling between Mennonites and Quakers, a kind of fellow-feeling much stronger than their difference in matters of profession. And so, when Penn had become proprietor of the province bearing his name, he cordially invited the Mennonites¹ to seek new homes under the benign laws of Pennsylvania. Many of them obeyed his call. Quakers and Mennonites from Holland and Germany arrived almost simultaneously with the first English settlers of Pennsylvania. In 1683 they founded Germantown. When, in 1700, Claas Berends, a Mennonite of Hamburg, joined them, he had occasion

¹ *Life of Gerhard Roosen*, p. 60.

to report home that there was a lack of shepherds for the flock of his creed. Already in 1708 they could build a church in Germantown; the congregation then numbering thirty-two members. In about sixteen years this church had branched out to Skippack, Conestogo, Great Swamp, and Manatawny.¹

As to the Hollanders that came to Pennsylvania, they rapidly amalgamated with the more numerous Germans, among whom they lived and whose language they adopted. Of many settlers it is not positively known whether they came from Holland or from Germany. Among the first inhabitants of Germantown, the following hailed from Holland: Claus, Willem, and Gerrard Rittenhuysen, Peter and Dirk Keyser, Cornelis Claesen, Harmen Casdorp, Jacob Telner, Jan Roeloff Vanderwerf, his son Richard Vanderwerf, Cornelis Sjoerts, Jan and Henrich van der Sluys, Arnold van Vossen, Cornelis van der Gaegh, Jan van de Woestyne, Matthias and Isaac van Bebber, some of the Jansens (others were from Germany), Aret Klincken, Isaac van Sintern, perhaps, also, Jan Luken, the three brothers Op den Graef, and Peter Hendricks.²

In Amsterdam, Penn had an interview with Gichtel, the most devoted of Jacob Böhm's disciples, and editor of the works of the famous German mystic. Princess Elizabeth, as appears by her note to Penn, must have had direct information about this visit, for she writes: "Gichtel has been well satisfied with the conferences between you." It is asserted that Gichtel received overtures both from the Friends and the Labadists to join their respective societies, but declined.³

¹ Morgan Edwards, *Materials towards a history of American Baptists*. Much interesting information on the early immigration of Mennonites is given in Dr. Sheffer's article, translated and annotated by Mr. S. W. Pennypacker in *Penna. Magazine*, Vol. II. p. 117.

² Among the Penn papers of the Historical Society, there is an old printed sheet, without date, in the Dutch, giving information to emigrants, especially to those that are interested in Pennsylvania. Its heading is: *Nader Informatie of Onderrechtinge voor de gene die genegen zijn om na America to gaan en wel voor-namentlijk voor die geene die in de Provintie van Pennsylvania geintressirt zijn.*

³ Kanne, *Leben merkwürdiger erweckter Christen*, ii. p. 64.

On the day of his second debate with Galenus Abrahams, October 10th, Penn left Amsterdam in company of G. Fox and B. Furly. They went to Leyden, the Hague, and Rotterdam, holding meetings and gaining the hearts of many private persons. At Wonderwick, near Leyden, a gentleman of high station, whose name is not mentioned, was deeply moved in spirit by Penn's appeal, and said before the Friends left, "My house is blessed for your sakes, and blessed be God that I ever lived to see you." In Rotterdam, Penn finished and revised four religious tracts of an exhortative character, one of them designed for circulation in Holland and Germany. This method of disseminating their doctrine was freely resorted to by the Quakers; the missionary party on their tour through Holland and Germany distributed books and pamphlets on the whole line of their travel. In Germany, it may be remarked, it was next to impossible to have anything printed in favor of the Quakers; when Caton and Ames made the attempt, "the printers fearing the reproof of the clergy, durst not." Upon another occasion, Caton succeeded in Hanau, but most of the German Quaker pamphlets were printed in Amsterdam.¹

On the 21st of October, Wm. Penn, George Fox, George Keith, and Gertrude Dirick Nieson, with her children, took the boat at Briel, and after a stormy passage arrived at Harwich on the 24th. Thus the three months' journey, remarkable in more than one respect, came to a close. Penn's own account of his labors is a most valuable contribution to the history of his life. It furnishes a self-drawn portrait, true as the reflection of the mirror, and yet entirely different from any other, belonging to an earlier or later stage of his life. We are accustomed to look upon him mainly as the founder of a commonwealth, as a wise and benevolent law-giver. In a very different attitude he stands before us in 1677. Though as a trustee of the Byllinge interest in West Jersey since 1674, he had his attention drawn to the Western Continent, where even then Burlington received its first settlers, his tour

¹ W. Caton's *Life and Travels in Friend's Library*, vol. ix.

through Holland and Germany had none but missionary or apostolic objects.¹ Travelling from town to town, seeking opportunities of approach, addressing private and public meetings, edifying, exhorting, inspiring, and sometimes overpowering his hearers, unmoved by ill report, undaunted by difficulties, daring, though himself a stranger in a foreign land, to plead in behalf of the oppressed natives, his brethren in faith, for the inalienable rights of conscience, he presents all the features of a single-minded enthusiast, driven by an irresistible power. On particular occasions he felt as if surcharged by a divine afflatus, and found relief when he poured out his burthen in spoken or written words.

It is strange that no reference is made in the narrative to the language which Penn used in addressing people in Holland and Germany. We do not learn whether he spoke to them in their own tongue, or through an interpreter, as Fox did. We may presume, however, that he understood both Dutch and German, and could express himself in either language with some fluency. His mother was a native of Holland, Margaret Jasper, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant in Rotterdam. We regret that we know so little of her, for she probably transmitted to Penn those traits of mind which made him the man of history.² It is not likely that he failed to learn his mother's tongue. As to German, an incident related in Janney's *Life of Penn*, shows that he understood it sufficiently well. When Peter the Great was in England, the Friends wished to lay before him a correct statement of their views, and as a knowledge of the English did not belong to the accomplishments of the Czar, who spoke only Russian and German, Penn, on account of his familiarity with German, was chosen to converse with Peter. It is true, during his journey through Holland and Germany, Penn never was

¹ What W. H. Dixon, in his *Historical Biography of Wm. Penn*, says on page 146 of frequent conversations at Frankfort with Van de Walle, Behagel, Schütz, and Pastorius, about American affairs is altogether an invention. Pastorius was not even in Frankfort at the time.

² Pepys' (*Diary*, Aug. 19, 1664) credits her with more wit than her husband.

without a continental companion, such as Benjamin Furly, Peter Hendricks, or John Claus, but there is nothing to show that he needed them as interpreters.

Wonderfully impressive and winning must have been Penn's dealings with men. Being cast among people, who from high to low were prepossessed against Quaker doctrines and Quaker habits, he readily secured, wherever he went, a respectful hearing, cowed by his calm and dignified presence the brutish instincts of adversaries—the Count of Falkenstein only excepted—charmed strangers in spite of themselves with his gentle power, and mightily stirred the souls of those over whom he gained control. Not a few persons were drawn to him by strange sympathy. Docenius, of Cologne, followed him to Rotterdam, the Hague, and finally to Briel, the port where Penn embarked. A gentleman in Leyden, formerly professor at the university, was equally fascinated. "The men felt our spirits, and, therefore, loved us." Many other instances of this magnetic power exerted by Penn are recorded in his account.

Exhaustive as incessant travelling, combined with ministerial labor, would seem to be, Penn devoted the intervals of rest to writing elaborate addresses and letters, some of considerable length, all rich in thought, and throbbing with fervor. If the tide of feeling sometimes seems to run too high, if the utterances appear too rapturous, the tone too sentimental, remember, that all efforts directed against the coldness and formality of orthodox churches, partook more or less of this emotional character. Moreover, the religion of the Friends was then in the flush of youth, exuberant with spirit, joyous with hope.

We cannot think too highly of the noble stand which Penn took as the champion of toleration and religious liberty in a country where he was a stranger, or, as he himself expresses it, "a lonely pelican in the wilderness." He undertook this difficult task with consummate tact, tempering the strength of his arguments with gentleness of tone, and resting his appeals on the highest conception of Christianity. It does not detract from his merit, that he was in advance of his age, that the

epithets Quaker and Schwärmer outweighed all argument, and that persecution of all dissenting Christians continued to be the rule with Church and State.

But there was reserved to him a satisfaction which rarely falls to the lot of reformer and theorist, the privilege of having a field of action placed under his control, upon which to carry out, and test by experiment the principles that he had advocated. Already West Jersey had, at his advice, inserted in her fundamental law the provision which sounds like a paean to liberty, that no one should "in the least be punished or hurt in person, estate, or privilege for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith, or worship toward God in matters of religion; for no man, nor numbers of men upon earth have power to rule over men's consciences." In giving to Pennsylvania the "Great Law," he established here that freedom of conscience, which he had pleaded for in court, which he had advocated in prison, and which he had urged with eloquent appeals on the King of Poland, the Elector Palatine, and the City Councils of Emden.

And in Pennsylvania it was also where the seed he had scattered in Holland and Germany came to a rich harvest, though in a form not foreseen or intended. If by his words "the great and notable day dawning in Germany," he meant a prospective growth of the Friends' religious views in Germany, his hopes were destined to be disappointed. The feeble sparks which the Friends had left here and there were soon trodden out, and the yearning after a more intense and spiritual religious life sought for itself different channels.¹

But William Penn of 1677 was not forgotten in 1682. I have already dwelled upon the fact that the grant of a vast tract of land in the western hemisphere to the travelling missionary from England was in Germany hailed with joy by those who had seen and heard him, that the Company founded

¹ Jung Stilling, generally well informed in the history of religious enthusiasm, asserts in *Theobald*, which was published 1784, that there had been no Quakers in Germany. So soon were they forgotten. The little flock of Friends in Pymont seem to have had no connection with the efforts of Ames, Moore, Crisp, and Penn.

in Frankfort, which bought five shares, or 25,000 acres of Pennsylvania land, originated with his personal friends, and that the Quakers of Krisheim, who in 1677 had listened to his discourses, belonged to the first settlers of Germantown. Crefeld, also, where, as we learn of Stephen Crisp,¹ the principles of the Friends had found entrance, furnished a number of purchasers and settlers. Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam, Penn's travelling companion, was the agent through whom the land purchase was negotiated, and passage procured. Furly, applying to James Claypole, engaged passage for them on the Concord, master William Jeffries, a staunch vessel of 500 tons burthen. It was to sail on the 17th of July, but, as the Crefelders were delayed, did not leave till the 24th.² This pioneer guard of German emigrants to America consisted of thirty-three persons forming thirteen families, the heads of which were: Dirk op den Graeff, Herman op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Tunes Kunders, Reinert Tisen, Wilhelm Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simens, Johannes Bleickers, Abraham Tunes, Jan Lücken.³ The Concord had a rather long, but otherwise pleasant passage, arriving in Philadelphia on the 8th of October, 1683. James Claypole, who was himself a passenger, thus reports in his first letter from Philadelphia: "The blessing of the Lord did attend us, so that we had a very comfortable passage, and had our health all the way." There was, in fact, a gain in the number of passengers when the Concord arrived, Peter Bleickers being born on board.⁴

Francis Daniel Pastorius, the agent of the Frankfort Company, came over a few weeks before the rest, in the America, Captain Wasey. He at once reported to Penn, who received him with the greatest kindness, and repeatedly drew him to his table. What a joyous meeting it must have been when

¹ Memorable account of Christian Experiences of Stephen Crisp, London, 1694. "Another time he made a journey into the County of Meurs, to the town of Crevel, where a meeting was set up."

² James Claypole's Letter-book, MSS. of the Historical Society of Penna.

³ Germantown Grund und Lager Buch in the Recorder's Office, Phila.

⁴ Abington Meeting Records.

Penn welcomed his Krisheim friends on the free soil of Pennsylvania, where the freedom to worship God was as untrammelled as the air and the sunlight. They lost no time preparing new homes for themselves in the "German town," and it was there, in Peter Shoemaker's house, that Penn again edified them with discourse and exhortation.

It was thus William Penn himself who opened the gates through which Germany poured a continuous and widening stream of emigration into the new province. For it so happened, that the very parts which he had visited were soon afterwards overrun by the armed hordes of Louis XIV. In bold defiance of treaty stipulations, the French King laid violent hands on whole provinces of Western Germany, and the warfare against the unhappy Palatinate was carried on with unparalleled cruelty. Speier, Worms, Mannheim, Heidelberg, with many other cities, and hundreds of villages, were devastated with fire and rapine. Those that could escape to Pennsylvania, blessed the asylum prepared for them, and twice blessed its enlightened and kind-hearted founder.

Not only the Pennsylvania pioneers of English nationality recognize in William Penn their head and leader; the standard of religious liberty that he planted here, shone as a beacon sign, also, to the oppressed multitudes of Germany, and gladly they flocked to the fertile vales, whither the gentle Friend invited them.

ITINERARY OF WM. PENN'S JOURNEY IN 1677.

July 26th. <i>Wm. Penn, George Fox, Robert Barclay, G. Keith, G. Watts, John Furly, Wm. Tallcoat, Isabelle Yeomans, and Elizabeth Keith</i> leave Harwich.	Aug. 1st. Haarlem.
	" Amsterdam.
	6th. <i>Penn, Furly, Keith, and Barclay</i> in Naerden.
	8th. Osnabrück.
	10th. Herford.
27th. Arrive at Briel.	13th. <i>Penn, Keith, and Furly</i> in Paderborn.
28th. Rotterdam.	15th. Cassel.
29th. <i>William Penn, Geo. Fox, J. Furly, and Wm. Tallcoat</i> in Leyden.	20th. Frankfort.
	23d. Worms.

Aug. 23d. Krisheim (Kriegsheim).	Sept. 12th. <i>Penn</i> and <i>Claus</i> to Leeu-
24th. Frankenthal.	warden.
26th. Krisheim.	13th. Wieward.
27th. Worms.	14th. Gröningen.
28th. Mayence.	15th. Delfzyl.
" Frankfort.	16th. Emden.
29th. Mayence.	17th. Leer.
" Hambach (Heimbach?).	18th. Bremen.
30th. Bacherach.	22d. Herford.
" Coblenz.	27th. Wesel.
" Tressy (Breisig?).	28th. Duisburg.
31st. Cologne.	29th. Düsseldorf.
Sept. 2d. Duisburg.	30th. Cologne.
" Mühlheim.	Oct. 1st. Düsseldorf.
3d. Duisburg.	2d. Duisburg.
4th. Wesel.	3d. Wesel.
5th. Emmerich.	5th. Cleve.
" Cleve.	6th. Nimeguen.
6th. Nimeguen.	7th. Amsterdam.
7th. Utrecht.	11th. With <i>Fox</i> and <i>Furly</i> to
" Amsterdam.	Leyden.
10th. <i>Penn</i> with <i>P. Hendricks</i> ,	" Hague.
Horn.	13th. Delft.
" Enckhuysen.	" Rotterdam.
" Worcum.	16th. Wonderwick.
" Harlingen (meets here <i>Geo.</i>	17th. Hague.
<i>Fox</i> , <i>John Furly</i> , <i>Is. Yeomans</i> , <i>T. R. (?) John Claus</i>	" Delft.
and wife.	" Rotterdam.
	20th. Briel.
	22d. Harwich.

MILITARY OPERATIONS NEAR PHILADELPHIA IN
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1777-8.

DESCRIBED IN A LETTER FROM THOMAS PAINE TO DR. FRANKLIN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE POSSESSION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

YORKTOWN, May 16, 1778.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of October 7th did not come to me till March. I was at camp when Captain Folger arrived with the blank packet. The private letters were, I believe, all safe. Mr. Laurens¹ forwarded yours to me, but by some accident it missed me, and was returned again to York Town, where I afterwards received it. The last winter has been rather barren of military events, but for your amusement I send you a little history how I have passed away part of the time.

The 11th of September last I was preparing dispatches for you when the report of cannon at Brandywine interrupted my proceedings. The event of that day you have doubtless been informed of, which, excepting the enemy keeping the ground, may be deemed a drawn battle. General Washington collected his army at Chester, and the enemy's not moving towards him next day must be attributed to the disability they sustained, and the burthen of their wounded. On the 16th of the same month, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle near the White Horse on Lancaster Road, when a most violent and incessant storm of rain prevented an action. Our army sustained a heavy loss in their ammunition; the cartuch-boxes, especially, as they were not of the most seasoned leather, being no proof against the almost irresistible fury of the weather, which obliged General Washington to draw his army up into the country until these injuries could be repaired, and a new supply of ammunition procured.² The enemy, in the

¹ Henry Laurens, of S. C., President of the Continental Congress from Nov. 1, 1777, to Dec. 10, 1778.

² See Penn. Mag. vol. i. p. 297.

mean time, kept on the west side of the Schuylkill. On Friday, the 19th, about one in the morning, the first alarm of their crossing was given, and the confusion, as you may suppose, was very great.¹ It was a beautiful, still, moonlight morning, and the streets as full of men, women, and children as on a market day. On the evening before I was fully persuaded that unless something was done the city would be lost, and under that anxiety I went to Colonel Bayard, Speaker of the House of Assembly,² and represented, as I very particularly

¹ See Morton's Diary, Penn. Mag. vol. i. p. 3.

² John Bayard was a native of Bohemia Manor, Cecil Co., Md., where he was b. August 11, 1738. At the breaking out of the Revolution he was a citizen of Philadelphia, and took an active part in the questions of the day, in favor of the Colonies. He was a member of the Provincial Congress held in July, 1774, the calling of which compelled the Assembly to appoint delegates to the general Congress; and was one of the sixty citizens chosen on the 12th of November, to see to the fulfilment, on the part of Philadelphia, of the Articles of Association entered into by that body. In January, 1775, Mr. Bayard was a member of the Convention of the Province, "the ostensible object of which was the encouragement of domestic industry, while it really was meant to exercise a supervision of the conduct of the Assembly;" the same year he was chosen Major of the 2d Battalion of City Militia. In 1776, the mercantile firm with which he was connected, Hodge & Bayard, was engaged in furnishing Congress with arms, and Mr. Bayard was appointed by the Committee of Safety, with others, to superintend the erection of powder mills. In June, Mr. Bayard attended, as a member, the meeting of the "Committee of Conference," held in Carpenter's Hall to decide upon the manner in which a convention should be called to alter the Constitution of the Province; it was this body that announced its "willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress," declaring the independence of the Colonies. On the 11th of September, 1776, Mr. Bayard was appointed one of the Council of Safety by the Constitutional Convention, to which position he was reappointed by the Assembly the following year (Oct. 25, 1777). On the 21st of October, 1776, Mr. Bayard presided at a public meeting in the State House yard, at which the merits of the new State Constitution were debated, and on the 28th of the month following, he took his seat as a member of the Assembly, in the first session of that body held under the new instrument. In the winter of 1776-7, as Colonel of the 2d Battalion of Penna. Militia, he took part in the Jersey campaign, and was present at the battle of Trenton. On the 13th of Dec. 1776, Mr. Bayard wrote to the Council of Safety from the camp at Bristol: "We are greatly distressed to find no more of the militia of our State joining General Washington at this time; for God's Sake

knew it, the situation we were in, and the probability of saving the city if proper efforts were made for that purpose. I reasoned that General Washington was about thirty miles up the Schuylkill, with an army properly collected waiting for ammunition, beside which a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men were marching from the North River to join him, and if only an appearance of defence be made in the city by throwing up works at the heads of the streets, it will make the enemy very suspicious how they throw themselves between the city and General Washington, and between two rivers, which must have been the case. For notwithstanding the knowledge military gentlemen are supposed to have, I observe they move exceedingly cautious on new ground, and are exceedingly suspicious of villages and towns, and more perplexed at seemingly little things which they cannot clearly understand than at great ones which they are fully acquainted with, and I

what shall we do; is the cause deserted by our State, and shall a few Brave men offer their Lives as a Sacrifice against treble their number without assistance? For my own part, I came cheerfully out, not doubting we should be Joined by a number sufficient to drive our Enemy back with Shame, Despair and Loss I am far from thinking our cause desperate. If our people would but turn out If I thought I could be of any service I would leave my Battalion and come down for a little while; for God's sake exert yourselves." On the 13th day of March he was appointed a member of the State Board of War. In Dec. 1777, with James Young, he visited Washington's camp, to report on the condition of the Pennsylvania troops, and their letters to President Wharton give a distressing account of the army previous to the occupation of Valley Forge. On the 6th of Nov. 1778, Mr. Bayard was chosen Speaker of the Assembly; in 1780, he was made one of the auctioneers of Philadelphia, and the same year was on a committee to visit the several counties, and report the causes of the falling off of the revenues of the State. From the 12th of Oct. 1781, until the same day the following year he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and on the 11th of Nov. 1785, was chosen one of the delegates to the Continental Congress. In 1778, Mr. Bayard removed to Brunswick, N. J., where he filled in turn the positions of Mayor of the city, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. A pupil of the celebrated Gilbert Tennent, and a friend of Whitfield, Mr. Bayard was throughout his life a man guided by strong religious convictions. At the time of his death, he was a Ruling Elder in the Presbyterian Church at New Brunswick. He died Jan. 7, 1807, aged 68 years.

think it very probable that General Howe would have mistaken our necessity for a deep-laid scheme, and not ventured himself in the middle of it.

But admitting that he had, he must either have brought his whole army down, or a part of it. If the whole, Gen. Washington would have followed him perhaps the same day, in two or three days at most, and our assistance in the city would have been material. If only a part of it, we should have been a match for them, and Gen. Washington superior to those who remained above. The chief thing was whether the citizens would turn out to defend the city. My proposal to Cols. Bayard and Bradford¹ was to call them together the next morning, make them fully acquainted with the situation, and the means and prospects of preserving themselves, and that the city had better voluntarily assess itself 50,000 for its defence, than suffer an enemy to come into it. Cols. Bayard and Bradford were of my opinion, and as Gen. Mifflin was then in town, I next went to him, acquainted him with our design, and mentioned likewise that if two or three thousand men could be mustered up, whether we might depend on him to command them, for without some one to lead nothing could be done. He declined that part, not being then very well, but promised what assistance he could. A few hours

¹ Col. William Bradford, grandson of William Bradford who introduced the art of Printing in the Middle Colonies. It is impossible in the limits of a foot-note to do justice to the valuable and disinterested services he rendered his State. Born in N. Y. in 1719, he removed to Philadelphia when young, and was at one time a partner of his Uncle Andrew. In 1742, he published the first number of the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and in 1757 the *American Magazine*, a monthly periodical, which continued for 12 numbers and supplement. In 1754, in addition to the business of a printer, he opened the London Coffee House, and in 1762 a marine-insurance office. He was active in military affairs during the old French war, and opposed with great spirit the Stamp Act. During the Revolution he held the commission of Maj. and Col. in the militia, and was in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, in the latter of which he was wounded. As Chairman of the State Navy Board, he was present at the defence of Fort Mifflin. The close of the war found him "with shattered health, and ruined fortune." Franklin said of him, "his writing was spirited, his press correct, and his sword active." He died in Philadelphia, Sept. 25, 1791.

after this, the alarm happened. I went directly to Gen. Mifflin, but he had set off, and nothing was done. I cannot help being of opinion that the city might have been saved, but perhaps it is better otherwise. I stayed in the city till Sunday, having sent my chest and everything belonging to the Foreign Committee¹ to Trenton in a shallop. The enemy did not cross the river till the Wednesday following.

Hearing on the Sunday² that General Washington had moved to Sweed's Ford, I set off for that place, but learning on the road that it was a mistake, and that he was six or seven miles above that place, I crossed over to Southfield, and next morning to Trenton, to see after my chest. On the Wednesday morning I intended returning to Philadelphia, but was informed at Bristol of the enemy crossing the Schuylkill.³ At this place I met Col. Kirkbride, of Pennsbury Manor, who invited me home with him. On Friday, the 26th, a party of about 1500 men took possession of the city, and the same day an account arrived that Colonel Brown had taken 300 of the enemy at the old French lines at Ticonderoga, and destroyed all their water craft, being about 200 boats of different kinds.

On the 26th of September,⁴ I set off for camp without well knowing where to find it. Every day occasioned some movement. I kept pretty high up the country, and being unwilling to ask questions, not knowing what company I might be in, I was all that day before I fell in with it. The army had moved about three miles lower down that morning. The next day they made a movement about the same distance to the twenty-first mile-stone on the Skippach Road, Head-Quar-

¹ Paine was at that time Secretary of the Committee named.

² The 21st of September.

³ Howe crossed the Schuylkill on the night of the 22d, and morning of the 23d.

⁴ Sparks gives no letters of Washington written between the 24th and 29th, on which last date Head-Quarters were at Pennypacker's Mills. Parson Muhlenberg, who lived in the vicinity, recorded in his journal on the 26th: "The American army came to-day from New Hanover, six miles towards Providence, and then marched sideways across to the Skippack Road."

ters at John Wince's.¹ On the 3d of October, in the morning, they began to fortify the camp as a deception, and about nine at night marched for Germantown. The number of Continental troops was between 8000 and 9000, besides militia, the rest remaining as guards for the security of the camp. Gen. Green, whose quarters I was at, desired me to remain there till morning. I set off for Germantown about five next morning. The skirmishing with the pickets began soon after. I met no person for several miles riding, which I concluded to be a good sign. After this I met a man on horseback, who told me he was going to hasten on to supply the ammunition, that the enemy were broken and retreating fast, which was true. I saw several country people with arms in their hands running cross a field towards Germantown, within about five or six miles of which I met several of the wounded in wagons, horseback, and on foot. I passed Gen. Nash on a litter made of poles, but did not know him. I felt unwilling to ask questions, lest the information should not be agreeable, and kept on.

About two miles after I passed a promiscuous crowd of wounded and otherwise, who were halted at a house. Col. Biddle, D. Q. M. G.,² was among them, who called after me that if I went further on that road I would be taken, for the firing which I heard a head was the enemy's. I never could, and cannot now, learn, and I believe no man can inform truly

¹ Scull's map shows that J. Wentz lived on the Skipack Road below the creek of that name. See, also, map in Penna. Mag. vol. i. p. 375.

² Col. Clement Biddle, b. Philadelphia, May 10, 1740. Although his parents were members of the Society of Friends, in 1764 he formed a military corps to protect the friendly Indians, who had sought refuge in Philadelphia, from the fury of the Paxton boys. In 1765, he was one of the signers of the Non-Importation resolutions, occasioned by the passage of the Stamp Act. As Col. of a regiment, and Deputy Quartermaster-General, he took an active part in the military operations around Philadelphia. He was Quartermaster-General of Pennsylvania in the expedition under Washington to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection. His relations with Washington were of an intimate character, and their correspondence continued until the General's decease. He died in Philadelphia, July 14th, 1814.—*Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians.*

the cause of that day's miscarriage. The retreat was as extraordinary. Nobody hurried themselves. Every one marched his own pace. The enemy kept a civil distance behind, sending every now and then a shot after us, and receiving the same from us. That part of the army which I was with collected and formed on the hill on the side of the road near White Marsh Church. The enemy came within three-fourths of a mile and halted. The orders on retreat were to assemble that night on the back of Perkioming Creek, about seven miles above camp, which had orders to move. The army had marched the preceding night fourteen miles, and having full twenty to march back were exceedingly fatigued. They appeared to me to be only sensible of a disappointment, not a defeat; and to be more displeased at their retreating from Germantown, than anxious to get to their rendezvous.

I was so lucky that night to get to a little house about four miles west of Perkioming, toward which place in the morning I heard a considerable firing, which distressed me exceedingly, knowing that our army was much harassed and not collected. However, I soon relieved myself by going to see. They were discharging their pieces, which, though necessary, prevented several parties from joining till next day. I breakfasted next morning at Gen. Washington's quarters, who was at the same loss, with every other, to account for the accidents of the day. I remember his expressing his surprise that at the time he supposed everything secure, and was about giving orders for the army to proceed down to Philadelphia, that he saw most unexpectedly a part (I think) of the artillery hastily retreating. This partial retreat was I believe misunderstood, and soon followed by others. The fog was frequently very thick, the troops young, and unused to breaking and rallying, and our men rendered suspicious to each other, many of them being in red. A new army, once disordered, is difficult to manage, and the attempt dangerous. To this may be added a prudence in not putting matters to too hazardous a trial. The first time men must be taught regular fighting by practice and by degrees, and though the expedition failed, it had this good effect that they seemed to feel themselves more important

after, than before, as it was the first general attack they had ever made.

I have not related the affair at Mr. Chew's house, in Germantown, as I was not there, but have seen it since. It certainly afforded the enemy time to rally, yet the matter was difficult. To have passed on and left five hundred men in the rear, might, by a change of circumstances, been ruinous; to attack them was a loss of time, as the house is a strong stone building, proof against any twelve-pounder. General Washington sent a flag, thinking it would procure the surrender, and expedite his march to Philadelphia. It was refused, and circumstances changed almost directly after. I stayed in camp two days after the Germantown action, and lest my ill impressions should get among the garrison at Mud Island and Red Bank, and the vessels and galleys stationed there, I crossed over to the Jerseys at Trenton, and went down to those places. I laid the first night on board of the *Champion Continental* galley, who was stationed off the mouth of the Schuylkill. The enemy threw up a two-gun battery on the point of the river's mouth, opposite the Pest House. The next morning was a thick fog, and as it cleared away and we became visible to each other, they opened on the galley, who returned the fire. The Commodore made a signal to bring the galley under the Jersey shore, as she was not a match for the battery, nor the battery a sufficient object for the galley. One shot went through the fore-sail, that was all.

At noon I went with Col. Green,¹ who commanded at Red Bank, over to Fort Mifflin (Mud Island). The enemy opened that day two gun batteries and a mortar battery on the fort.²

¹ Col. Christopher Greene, of R. I., b. 1734. He bravely defended Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, against the attack made by Count Donop on the 21st of Oct. when that officer was killed. He was with Arnold on his march through the wilderness, and was taken prisoner at the attack on Quebeck. On the 13th of May, 1781, his quarters on the Croton River were surprised by a party of refugees, and he was slain.—*Rogers*.

² Oct. 9th. A heavy cannonade last night and this morning. The British are about to open batteries to bombard the Fort at Mud Island.—*Morton's Diary*.

They threw about thirty shells into it that afternoon, without doing any damage. The ground being damp and spongy, not above five or six burst, and not a man was killed or wounded. I came away in the evening, and laid on board the galley, and the next day came to Col. Kirkbride's, staid a few days, and came again to camp. An expedition was on foot the evening I got there, in which I went as aid-de-camp to General Green, having a volunteer commission for that purpose. The occasion was a party of the enemy about 1500, who lay over the Schuyl-kill at Grey's Ferry. General McDougal with his division was sent to attack them, and Generals Sullivan and Green with their divisions were to favor the enterprise by a feint on the city down the Germantown road. We set off about nine at night, and halted at daybreak between Germantown and the city, the advance party at Three Mile Run. As I knew the ground, I went with two light horse to discover the enemy's picket, but the dress of the light horse being white made them, I thought, too visible, as it was the twilight, on which I left them with my horse, and went on foot till I distinctly saw the picket at Dickerson's Place,¹ which is the nearest I have been to Philadelphia since September, except once at Cooper's Ferry as I went to the forts. General Sullivan was at Dr. Redman's house, and McDougal beginning the attack was to be the signal for moving down to the city. But the enemy either on the approach of McDougal, or on information of it, called in their party, and the expedition was frustrated.

A cannonade, by far the most furious I ever heard, began down the river soon after daylight,² the first gun of which was supposed to be the signal; but I was soon undeceived, there being no small arms. After waiting two hours beyond the time, we marched back. The cannon was then less frequent, but on the road between Germantown and White-marsh we were stunned with a report as loud as a peal from a hundred cannon at once, and turning round I saw a thick

¹ Near Fair Hill, on the Germantown Road below the Rising Sun, although occupied by Dickinson, it belonged to the Norris estate. See map, *Penna. Mag.* vol. i. p. 375.

² On the morning of the 23d.

smoke rising like a pillar and spreading from the top like a tree. This was the blowing up of the Augusta. I did not hear the explosion of the Merlin. After this I returned to Colonel Kirkbride's, where I stayed about a fortnight, and set off again for camp. The day after I got there, Generals Green, Wayne, and Cadwallader, with a party of light horse, were ordered on a reconnoitring party towards the fort. We were out four days and nights without meeting with anything material. An East Indiaman, whom the enemy had cut down so as to draw but little water, came up without guns, while we were on foot on Carpenter's Island, joining to Province Island. Her guns were brought up in the evening in a flat. She got in the rear of the fort, where few or no guns could bear upon her, and the next morning played on it incessantly. The night following the fort was evacuated; the obstruction the enemy met with from those forts, and the chevaux-de-frise was extraordinary, and had it not been that the western channel, deepened by the current, being somewhat obstructed by the chevaux-de-frise in the main river, which enabled them to bring up the light Indiaman's battery, it is a doubt whether they would have succeeded at last. By that assistance they reduced the fort, and got sufficient command of the river to move some of the late sunken chevaux-de-frise. Soon after the fort on Red Bank, which had bravely repulsed the enemy a little time before, was evacuated, the galleys ordered up to Bristol, and the captains of such other armed vessels as thought they could not pass on the eastward side of Windmill Island, very precipitately set them on fire.¹ As I judged from this event that the enemy would winter in Philadelphia, I began to think of preparing for Yorktown, which, however, I was willing to delay, hoping that the ice would afford opportunity for new manœuvres; but the season passed very balmly away.

I stayed at Col. Kirkbride's² until the latter end of Jan.

¹ Commodore Hazelwood in his letter to President Wharton states that the vessels were burned by direction of a Council of Continental and State officers. See Penna. Archives, vol. vi. p. 49.

² A biographical sketch of Col. Joseph Kirkbride will be found in the interesting series entitled "Bordentown and its Environs," by E. M. Wood-

Commodore Hazelwood, who commanded the remains of the fleet at Trenton, acquainted me with a scheme of his for burning the enemy's shipping, which was, by sending a charged boat across the river, from Cooper's Ferry, by means of a rocket fixed in its stem. Considering the width of the river,

ward, now being printed in the Bordentown Register, and from it we gather the following: Col. Kirkbride was born on the 13th of 6th month, 1731, at "Bellevue," Penn's Manor, Bucks Co., Pa. His grandfather, Joseph Kirkbride, settled in Penna. as early as 1681. The father of Col. Kirkbride was Joseph Kirkbride 2d, who m. Sarah Fletcher, of Abington, in 1724. The parents and ancestors of Col. Kirkbride had all been members of the Society of Friends, but the excitement of the Revolution soon carried him beyond the pales of that sect. Early in the war he was appointed Lieutenant of Bucks County, and was engaged in collecting recruits, arms, and other supplies for the army. He was subsequently made Col. of the Militia. In July, 1776, he was a delegate from Bucks Co. to the Constitutional Convention, of which Franklin was President, and was elected a member of the Assembly the following fall. On the 14th of Feb. 1778, he wrote to President Wharton: "I propose (if possible) to keep up a competent number of Horse, as the General finds them very useful I have agreed to raise a small party of Foot Volunteers to Check the Influence of the Torys below Bristol, and in the neighborhood near Neshaming, which will be some small security to the people in that quarter." The next day he wrote: "I am doing everything in my power to spirit up a small party to keep down the Torys until we can get some better defence." In May, 1778, the British made an expedition out of Philadelphia, and, among other damage committed, burned the residence of Col. Kirkbride, who thus speaks of the event in a letter to President Wharton: "The enemy have lately Burnt two Valuable Dwelling Houses, with all my out Houses of Every kind and sort, a great deal of Furniture Utensils, Corn, Hay, &c., and Intirely Disloging my Family, is the only apology I can offer your Excellency for my impunctuality. Notwithstanding, I can say with sincerity, I had rather lose ten such Estates than to be suspected to be unfriendly to my country." While in public life, Col. Kirkbride formed an acquaintance with Thomas Paine, which continued many years. In 1802, after Paine had rendered himself obnoxious to many of his former friends in America by the publication of the "Age of Reason," he called on Col. Kirkbride, then residing in Bordentown, who, remembering the eminent service Paine had rendered the country, extended to him a kindly greeting, although he could not approve of the views expressed in his work. Upon Mr. Paine's departure, he drove him in his carriage to Trenton, and was subjected to some extent to the indignities heaped upon him by the mob. Col. Kirkbride died at Bordentown on the 26th of Oct. 1803, aged 72 years.

the tide, and the variety of accidents that might change its destination, I thought the project trifling and insufficient, and proposed to him, if he would get a boat properly charged, and take a bateau in tow, sufficient to bring three or four persons off, that I would make one with him, and two other persons who might be relied on, to go down on that business. One of the company, Captain Blewer, of Philadelphia, seconded the proposal; but the Commodore, and, what I was surprised at, Colonel Bradford, declined it.

The burning of part of the Delaware fleet, the precipitate retreat of the rest, the little service rendered by them, and the great expense they were at, make the only material blot in the proceedings of the last campaign. I felt a strong anxiety for them to recover their credit, which, among others, was one motive for my proposal. After this I came to camp, and from thence to Yorktown, and published the *Crisis*, No. 5, to General Howe. I have begun No. 6, which I intend to address to Lord North. I was not at camp when Gen. Howe marched out on the 4th of December, towards Whitemarsh. It was a most contemptible affair. The threatening and seeming fury he set out with, and the haste and terror the army retreated with, made it laughable. I have seen several persons from Philadelphia, who assure me that their coming back was a mere uproar, and plainly indicated their apprehension of pursuit.

General Howe, in his letter to L. G. Germin, dated Dec. 13, represented General Washington's camp as a strongly-fortified place. There was not, sir, a work thrown up in it till General Howe marched out, and then only here and there a breastwork. It was a temporary station; beside which our men began to think works in the field of but little use.

General Washington keeps his station at Valley Forge. I was there when the army first began to build huts. They appeared to me like a family of beavers, every one busy; some carrying logs, others mud, and the rest plastering them together. The whole was raised in a few days, and it is a curious collection of buildings, in the true rustic order.

As to politics, I think we are safely landed; the apprehen-

sion which Britain must be under from her neighbors, must effectually prevent her sending reinforcements, could she procure them; she dare not, I think, in the present situation of affairs, trust her troops so far from home. No commissioners are yet arrived. I think fighting nearly over, for Britain mad, wicked, and foolish, has done her utmost. The only part for her now to act is frugality, and the only way to get out of debt is to lessen her Government expenses.

Two millions a year is a sufficient allowance, and as much as she ought to expend, exclusive of the interest of her debt. The affairs of England are approaching ruin or redemption, if the latter she may bless the resistance of America.

For my own part, I thought it very hard to have the country set on fire about my ears almost the moment I got into it; and among other pleasures, I feel in having uniformly done my duty. I feel that, if not having discredited your friendship and patronage, I live in hopes of seeing and advising with you respecting the history of the American Revolution, as soon as a turn of affairs make it safe for me to take a passage to Europe.¹

Please accept my thanks for the pamphlets which Mr. Temple Franklin informed me he has sent. They are not yet come to hand. Mr. and Mrs. Bache are at Mannheim, near Lancaster, or I heard that they were a few days ago. I laid two nights at Mr. Duffel's in the winter. Miss Nancy Clifton was there, who said the enemy had destroyed or sold a great quantity of your furniture. Mr. Duffel has since been taken by them, and carried into the city, but is now in his own house.²

¹ Paine here alludes to a History of the Revolution, which he had in contemplation. In the correspondence of Henry Laurens (N. Y. 1861), a letter of Paine's will be found on the subject, in which he writes: "My design, if I understand it, is to comprise it in three quarto volumes, and to publish one each year from the time of beginning, and to make an abridgment afterwards in an easy, agreeable language for a school-book. All the histories of ancient wars, that are used for this purpose, promote no moral reflection, but, like the Beggar's Opera, render the villain pleasing in the hero."

² Edward Duffield, of Benfield, is no doubt here alluded to. He was a friend of Franklin, who appointed him one of the executors of his will. In the winter of 1777-78, a party of British lighthorse took him and several of

and which I think were the first that were ever
 published. I have been thinking of them
 ever since, and I think it is a pity that
 they have not been published. I have been
 thinking of them ever since, and I think it
 is a pity that they have not been published.

There is a great deal of interest in the
 history of the United States. I have been
 thinking of them ever since, and I think it
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 published.

I just now hear they have burnt Colonel Kirkbride's, Mr. Burden's, and some other houses at Bordentown. Governor Johnson (House of Commons) has written to Mr. Robert Morris, informing him of commissioners coming from England. The letter is printed in the newspapers without signature, and is dated February 5, by which you will know it.

Please, sir, to accept this, rough and incorrect as it is, as I have no time to copy it fairly, which was my design when I began it; besides which, paper is most exceedingly scarce.

I am, dear sir, your obliged and affectionate

humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

The Hon. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, France.

NOTES ON THE STAMP ACT IN NEW YORK AND VIRGINIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHAS. R. HILDEBURN.

The manner in which the Stamp Act was resisted in the Northern Colonies has been told in detail by Mr. Brancroft. A still more elaborate account of the failure to enforce the Act in New York has been recently printed in the Magazine of American History, by Mr. John Austin Stevens, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. But little, however, has been published in regard to the action of the people of Virginia, and the account quoted from the Pennsylvania Journal is, therefore, comparatively new. The letters given are selected from the Swift papers in the writer's possession, and furnish additional light on the subject.

THE COLLECTOR AND COMPTROLLER OF THE CUSTOM AT NEW YORK
TO THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF THE CUSTOMS.

NEW YORK, October 28, 1765.

SIR:—

The first Day of November being near at hand, when the Stamp Act is to take place, and as there is a Great Uproar in Town, and Threatening Papers having been put up at all our

his neighbors prisoners; they were taken into Philadelphia, and confined in the Walnut Street Prison.—*Neill Memorial*, Phila. 1875. See also Penna. Mag. vol. ii. p. 62.

Doors, We are at a loss in what manner to Act, and beg your Advice and Directions in what manner we are to proceed at this most Critical time. If the Stamps are distributed no Doubt We must use them, but as the Distributor has resigned his office, and there should not be another appointed, We would be glad to know whether We Can Clear Vessels without; Certifying that Stamps are not to be obtained, or what other method will be necessary for us to take in that Case.

We are, with great respect, Sir,

Your Most Obed't and Very hbl'e Servts.

ANDREW ELLIOT,
LAMBT. MOORE.

Addressed: On His Majesty's Service To the HON. CHARLES STEWART, Esq., Surveyor-General of the Eastern middle District of America.¹

¹ Andrew Elliot was the third son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart. He was in business in Philadelphia before 1748, was a subscriber to the first "City Dancing Assembly" in 1749, and in 1754 one of the four managers. In 1756, he was a member of Kidd's Company of Philadelphia Associators, and continued a resident of this city until, by commission dated January 19, 1764, he was appointed Collector of Customs at New York. He "performed his official duties in a manner highly satisfactory," and had no difficulty of a serious nature with the people until 1774, "when he seized some firearms, and was threatened with a visit from the Mohaws and Red Indians, or, in other words, with a coat of tar and feathers." During the British occupation of New York, besides the Collectorship, he filled the important office of Superintendent-General, and, with the Mayor and a Police Magistrate, administered the civil government of the city. He was also Receiver-General of Quit Rents, and, from 1780 until the evacuation, was Lieutenant-Governor. He was one of the three persons sent by Sir Henry Clinton to make a last effort to save André. His property in New York and Pennsylvania was confiscated, and he retired to Scotland at the close of the war. Elliot was a most uncompromising "Loyalist," and after his return to his native land was very indignant with his nephew, Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards created Earl of Minto, for having voted in Parliament for the acknowledgment of our independence. He married first, Eleanor, daughter of George McCall of this city, and had one daughter, Eleanor, who married James Janncey, Jr., of New York, and after his death Robert Digby, R. N., (brother of Henry, 7th Baron, and 1st Earl Digby), who, at his decease in 1815, was Senior-Admiral of the English Navy. Elliot's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumsted, sometime Mayor of this city. By her he had several children, of whom Elizabeth married Captain Cathcart, afterwards 10th Baron and 1st Earl Cathcart; and Agnes Murray married Sir David Carnegie, Bart., represen-

THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA TO THE OFFICERS OF THE CUSTOMS.

WILLIAMSBURG, NOV. 2, 1765.

GENTLEMEN:—

I have been sworn in Council to use my utmost endeavors to put in Execution an Act passed in the Session of the Parliament of Great Britain directing what Stamps are to be used in your offices in carrying on the Business thereof from the first Instant. That Act, therefore, is to be your guide, and I have no advice to give you but that you act in conformity thereto, every deviation from it must be at your peril.

FRANCIS FAUQUIER.¹

TO THE NAVAL OFFICERS OF THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA.

THE SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF THE CUSTOMS FOR THE SOUTHERN
DISTRICT TO THE COLLECTOR OF THE PORT AT NORFOLK.

SIR:—

Almost every Officer within my district having applied for my directions how they were to act in case stamped Paper

tative of the attainted Earldom of Southesk, to which a grandson has been recently restored. Mrs. Deborah Logan, in her recollections of the British occupation of Philadelphia [The Burlington Smiths, p. 186], says, "Mr. Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), and his young wife, a daughter of Andrew Elliot, and whose mother was a lady of the Plumstead family of Philadelphia." This statement, although so minute, is incorrect. William Eden married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3d Bart., and niece of Andrew Elliot. Her mother was Agnes Murray Kynynmound, a wealthy Scotch heiress.

Lambert Moore was a son of John Moore, Member of the Provincial Council of New York, who died Nov. 1. 1749, and grandson of John Moore, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia from 1702 to 1732. He was Comptroller of the Customs before 1766, and held this position until the end of the Revolutionary War. He was Clerk of the Corporation of Trinity Church in 1771. His wife, a daughter of Edward Holland, Mayor of New York City, and Member of the Provincial Council, died June 14, 1767, in the 37th year of her age. Sabine has confounded him with Thomas Moore, who died at Norwich, Conn., June 19, 1784, and whose son, Richard C. Moore, was Bishop of Virginia. For an account of Charles Stewart, to whom the letter of Elliot and Moore is addressed, see *Sabine's Loyalists*, 2d edition.

¹ Fauquier was Governor of Virginia from 1758 until his death in 1768.

could not be had, as the time for the Stamp Act's taking place approached, I delayed answering their respective Letters, hoping it might arrive in time. Agreeable to my hopes it is come in, but it seems Mr. Mercer is not allowed to distribute it. The difficulty still continuing, I made application to the Governor and Council for their advice on this occasion, which I am by my Instructions directed to do in all difficult Cases, but they were at a Loss how to advise, and, therefore, declined giving any opinion. In this situation I scarce know how to conduct myself, as all Bonds taken otherwise than on stamped paper, are by the Act of Parliament declared void. However, being desirous of contributing everything in my power to the relief of the Trade, I hope I may venture to advise you clear the Vessels as usual, at the same time granting a Certificate to the Commander of any Vessel as cleared, that you have not, nor can by any means procure stamped paper. You will at the same time, for your own justification, take from under the Master's hands that he is satisfied to risk such Entry and Clearance, being fully persuaded of the Case you represent, and that he will not recur to you for Damages, if for want of a proper Clearance his Vessel in any other Port should be seized and condemned. I flatter myself impossibilities will not be expected of us, and that from the Nature of the Case our Conduct will stand justified.

PETER RANDOLPH,
Surveyor-General.

WILLIAMSBURG, Nov. 2, 1765.

ACCOUNT OF COL. GEORGE MERCER'S ARRIVAL IN VIRGINIA, AND HIS
RESIGNATION OF THE OFFICE OF STAMP DISTRIBUTOR.¹

WILLIAMSBURG (in Virginia), Oct. 31.

This week arrived in York river, the ship *Leeds*, Capt. Anderson, in 9 weeks from London, on board of which came passenger George Mercer, Esq., Chief Distributor of Stamps for this colony. Yesterday in the evening he arrived in this city, and upon his walking up streets as far as the Capitol, in

¹ *Pennsylvania Journal*, No. 1197.

His way to the Governor's, was accosted by a concourse of gentlemen assembled from all parts of the colony, the General court sitting at this time. They insisted he should immediately satisfy the company (which constantly increased) whether he intended to act as a commissioner under the Stamp Act; Mr. Mercer told them that any answer to so important a question that he should make, under such circumstances, would be attributed to fear; though he believed none of his countrymen, as he had never injured them, could have any design against his person; insisted that he ought to be allowed to wait on the Governor and Council, and to receive a true information of the sentiments of the colony (whose benefit and prosperity he had as much at heart as any man in it) and that he would, for the satisfaction of the company then assembled, give them his answer on Friday at ten o'clock. This seemed to satisfy them, and they attended him up as far as the Coffee-House, where the Governor, most of the Council, and a great number of gentlemen were assembled; but soon after many more people got together, and insisted on a more speedy and satisfactory answer, declaring they would not depart without one. In some time, upon Mr. Mercer's promising them an answer by five o'clock this evening, they departed well pleased; and he met with no further molestation.

And accordingly he was met this evening at the capitol, and addressed himself to the company as follows:

I now have met you agreeable to yesterday's promise, to give my country some assurances which I would have been glad I could with any tolerable propriety have done sooner.

I flatter myself no judicious man can blame me for accepting an office under an authority that was never disputed by any from whom I could be advised of the propriety or weight of the objections. I do acknowledge that some little time before I left England I heard of, and saw, some resolves which were said to be made by the House of Burgesses of Virginia; but as the authenticity of them was disputed, they never appearing but in private hands, and so often and differently represented and explained to me, I determined to know the real sentiments of my countrymen from themselves: And I

am concerned to say that those sentiments were so suddenly and unexpectedly communicated to me, that I was altogether unprepared to give an immediate answer upon so important a point; for in however unpopular a light I may lately have been viewed, and notwithstanding the many insults I have from this day's conversation been informed were offered me in effigy in many parts of the colony; yet I still flatter myself that time will justify me; and that my conduct may not be condemned after being coolly inquired into.

The commission so very disagreeable to my countrymen was solely obtained by the genteel recommendation of their representatives in General Assembly, unasked for; and though this is contradictory to public report, which I am told charges me with assisting the passage of the Stamp Act, upon the promise of the commission in this colony, yet I hope it will meet with credit, when I assure you I was so far from assisting it, or having any previous promise from the Ministry, that I did not know of my appointment until some time after my return from Ireland, where I was at the commencement of the session of Parliament, and for a long time after the act had passed.

Thus, gentlemen, am I circumstanced. I should be glad to act now in such a manner as would justify me to my friends and countrymen here, and the authority which appointed me; but the time you have allotted me for my answer is so very short that I have not yet been able to discover that happy medium, therefore must intreat you to be referred to my future conduct, with this assurance in the mean time that I will not, directly or indirectly, by myself or deputies, proceed in the execution of the act until I receive further orders from England, and not then without the assent of the General Assembly of this colony; and that no man can more ardently and sincerely wish the prosperity thereof, or is more desirous of securing all its just rights and privileges, than

Gentlemen, Yours &c.,

GEORGE MERCER.

This declaration gave such general satisfaction that he was immediately borne out of the Capitol gate, amidst the repeated acclamations of all present. As soon as night set in the whole town was illuminated, the bells set a ringing, and every mark of joy shown at this gentleman's declining, in such a genteel manner, to act in an office so odious to his country.

DRAUGHT OF GOVERNOR FAUQUIER'S CERTIFICATE OF COL.
MERCER'S¹ RESIGNATION.

VIRGINIA, ss. :—

I do hereby certify that George Mercer, Esq., appointed distributor of the Stamps for this Colony, having declined acting in that character until further orders, declared before me, in Council, that he did not bring with him, or was ever charged by the Commissioners of the Customs in England with the care of any Stamps, particularly for the use of the officers of the customs in this Colony; and that he saw some forms of bonds at the stamp office in England, which he was informed the Commissioners of the customs had ordered to be prepared to be sent by them to their several officers in America.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the Colony, this
day of in the year of the reign
of His Majesty King George the third.

¹ George Mercer was a lieutenant in the Virginia line in 1753; in Jan. 1754 he "will worthily succeed to a captaincy" wrote Washington, who seems to have entertained friendly feelings towards him, making him his aide-de-camp in October, 1755, and selecting him to accompany him to Boston. In 1757, he had risen to the rank of Lt.-Col. in the new Virginia Regt. In 1763, he was sent to England to press a settlement of the claim of the Ohio Company, and while there was appointed Stamp Master for Virginia. He does not seem to have looked upon his forced resignation as binding; for just before his return to England, Nov. 1765, he made James Mercer his deputy; the power-of-attorney to that effect, and his commission as agent of the Ohio Company are printed in the *Historical Record*, vol. iii. p. 587. He was in London in 1775.

AN EARLY RECORD OF PITTSBURGH.

[The following is the earliest contribution we have come across respecting the statistics of the population of Pittsburgh. On the 25th of Nov. 1758, the ground on which Fort Duquesne stood was taken possession of by the British. The late Neville B. Craig in his History of Pittsburgh, says: "We do not know precisely when the first Fort Pitt was completed, but it was probably about the 1st of January, 1759." Later in the same year the threatened hostilities of the French and Indians caused the post to be strengthened, as is shown in a letter written from there on the 24th of Sep., from which we extract the following: "It is now near a month since the army has been employed in erecting a most formidable fortification: such a one as will, to latest posterity, secure the British Empire on the Ohio." It is, therefore, evident that the document we print relates to a time within a year of the permanent establishment of the present city of Pittsburgh, and as such cannot, we think, be without interest to her citizens.—Ed.]

A LIST OF THE NUMBER OF MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN NOT BELONGING TO
THE ARMY. ALSO THE NUMBER OF HOUSES AND HUTS AT FORT
PITT 22d JULY, 1760.

MEN'S NAMES.

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. John Langdale, | 18. Edward Cook, |
| 2. John Barklit, | 19. William Bryan, |
| 3. Hugh McSwine, | 20. James Harris, |
| 4. James Braden, | 21. Jno. M'Kee—[Imperfect], |
| 5. Philip Boyle, | 22. Wm. Work, |
| 6. Jno. Greenfield, | 23. Wm. Downy, |
| 7. Edward Graham, | 24. James Milligan, |
| 8. Lewis Bernard, | 25. John Lindsay, |
| 9. Samuel Hyden, | 26. Alex. Ewing, |
| 10. William Splane, | 27. Andrew Biarly, |
| 11. Robt. Hook, | 28. Isaac Hall, |
| 12. Jno. Pierce, | 29. Lazarus Lowry, |
| 13. William McAllister, | 30. Uriah Hill, |
| 14. James St. Clair, | 31. Edward Ward, |
| 15. Erasmus Bokias, | 32. Wm. Trent, |
| 16. John Everlow, | 33. Jno. Finly, |
| 17. George Carr, | 34. Hugh Crawford, |

MEN'S NAMES.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 35. Joseph Spear, | 62. France Ferdinanders |
| 36. Jno. McCluer, | Harnider, |
| 37. Thomas Welsh, | 63. Nicholas Phillips, |
| 38. James Cahoon, | 64. Conrad Crone, |
| 39. Patrick Cuning'm, | 65. [Imperfect],—alesby, |
| 40. Sam'l Heyden, | 66. [Imperfect],—dor, |
| 41. James Reed, | 67. [Imperfect], |
| 42. Jno. Daily, | 68. [Imp.] Sinnott, |
| 43. Charles Boyle, | 69. Jacob Sinnott, |
| 44. Wm. Jacobs, | 70. Jno. Coleman, |
| 45. Robert Paris, | 71. Abram Lingenfelder, |
| 46. Wm. Fowler, | 72. Charles Hays, |
| 47. John Judy, | 73. James Sampson, |
| 48. Thomas Small, | 74. Matthias Doberick, |
| 49. Cornelius Atkinson, | 75. Peter Mumaw, |
| 50. Robert Reed, | 76. Jno. Snider, |
| 51. Neil McCollum, | 77. Windle Creamer, |
| 52. Jno. Work, | 78. Peter Smith, |
| 53. George Tomb, | 79. Henry Wumbock, |
| 54. George Sly, | 80. Adam Overwinter, |
| 55. Patrick McCarty, | 81. Paul Sharp, |
| 56. Chris. Millar, | 82. Tincas Smith, |
| 57. Wm. Heath, | 83. Philip Byarly, |
| 58. Wm. Winsor, | 84. Anthony Baker, |
| 59. Jno. Graham, | 85. Chris. Rorabunck, |
| 60. John Robinson, | 86. Thomas Bretton, |
| 61. John Duncastle, | 87. Joseph George, |
| | 88. Ephraim Blane. |

WOMEN'S NAMES.

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Susannah McSwine, | 8. Mary Reed, |
| 2. Mary Wallen, | 9. Anna Thomas, |
| 3. Mary Atkinson, | 10. Sarah Daily, |
| 4. Martha Reed, | 11. Heneritta Price, |
| 5. Elizabeth Randal, | 12. Elizabeth Boyle, |
| 6. Phebe Byarly, | 13. Elizabeth Jacobs, |
| 7. Judah Crawford, | 14. Mary Judy, |

WOMEN'S NAMES.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 15. Mary Reed, | 23. Bridget Winsor, |
| 16. Marget Pomry, | 24. Marget Crone, |
| 17. Chris'm. McCollum, | 25. Susannah Sinnott, |
| 18. Agnus Tomb, | 26. Mary Hays, |
| 19. Marget Sly, | 27. Marget Sampson, |
| 20. Lydia McCarty, | 28. Cate Creamer, |
| 21. Lenora Rogers, | 29. Chris. Smith. |
| 22. Elenor Millar, | |

MALE CHILDREN.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. George McSwine, | 8. Godfrey Christian, |
| 2. Jacob Byarly, | 9. Henry Millar, |
| 3. Jno. Reed, | 10. Chris. Phillips, |
| 4. Robt. Atkinson, | 11. John Sinnott, |
| 5. George Reed, | 12. Philip Sinnott, |
| 6. Thomas McCollum, | 13. Patrick Feagan, |
| 7. Jno. Work, | 14. George Creamer. |

FEMALE CHILDREN.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mary McSwine, | 10. Elizabeth Judy, |
| 2. Elizabeth Otter, | 11. Elizabeth Pomry, |
| 3. Marget Coghran, | 12. Elizabeth Work, |
| 4. Nelly Thomas, | 13. Elizabeth Sly, |
| 5. Susan Daily, | 14. Susanna Sly, |
| 6. Rebekah Boyle, | 15. Rachel Sly, |
| 7. Marget Boyle, | 16. Nancy Ba—[Imperfect], |
| 8. Marget Jacobs, | 17. Mary Sinn—[Imperfect], |
| 9. Mary Judy, | 18. Marget Cro—[Imperfect]. |

Houses	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	146
No. of Hutts	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	36
No. of Unfinished Houses	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	201

THOMAS FITZSIMMONS.

BY HENRY FLANDERS.

(Centennial Collection.)

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:—

The duty assigned to me this evening, is to describe, in a few brief words, the career of a gentleman, distinguished in his day and generation for valuable public services, and whose life, both in public and private, was marked by those qualities of judgment, integrity, and practical ability which deserve and win the respect and esteem of mankind.

And yet so fugitive is the memory of civic virtue, that this man, who was a central figure in Philadelphia during and after the Revolutionary war, who was repeatedly honored by his fellow-citizens with high positions, and who acquitted himself with distinction in them all, is well-nigh forgotten, even here, in the city of his adoption, and the scene of his labors.

The soldier's fate is different. He plays his part in a more conspicuous arena. His career engages the hopes, the fears, the passions of his countrymen. His skill and valor, at a critical moment, may avert his country's ruin, or establish its power. His deeds constitute a striking part of his country's history, and history, poetry, painting, and sculpture conspire to emblazon and perpetuate his name.

Thomas Fitzsimmons was connected with the family of the soldier whose sculptured lineaments are hereafter to grace this hall, and the soldier's fame may serve to recall from the fast-gathering oblivion the career of the merchant and civilian.¹

Mr. Fitzsimmons was an Irishman and a Catholic, and was

¹ This paper, originally prepared for the celebration held at Independence Hall on the 2d of July, 1876, was read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on the occasion of the presentation to the Society of the bust of General Meade.

born in the year 1741. Oppressed, like all his countrymen, by the proscriptive laws of England, which were directed to the subjection of his race, and the subversion of his religion, he sought scope for his energies and ambition in the fresher scenes of the New World.¹ The precise date of his emigration from Ireland I have been unable to ascertain, but it was somewhere between the years 1762 and 1765, probably in the latter year. He settled in Philadelphia, and engaged in mercantile pursuits. Not long after his arrival here, he married a daughter of Mr. Robert Meade, the great-grandfather of Gen. Meade, who, like himself was an Irishman, and as a merchant carried on an extensive trade with Barbadoes, and other West India islands. This marriage, no doubt, led, in part, to his forming a partnership with George Meade, a son of Robert, and who was one of the prominent merchants and shipowners of Philadelphia. The house was known as George Meade & Co.

The interval between the arrival of Mr. Fitzsimmons in America and the Declaration of Independence was a season of great political excitement. The pretension of the British Parliament that it could directly impose taxes on the American Colonies opened the fountain of discontent and controversy, and led to that resistance on the one hand, and those attempts at coercion on the other, which at last resulted in open war, and the dismemberment of the British Empire.

Naturally enough, Mr. Fitzsimmons warmly espoused the cause of the Colonies in their contest with the mother country, and when hostilities actually began he raised and commanded a military company, and was engaged in active service. He was with General Cadwalader at Bristol and Burlington, in those movements contemporary with the battles of Trenton and Princeton; and he was also a member of the Council of Safety, and of the Navy Board, whose duty it was to take under their care the vessels of war, fire-ships, etc., constructed for the defence of Philadelphia, and to provide for attacking

¹ Later investigations lead to the belief that Mr. Fitzsimmons was born in Philadelphia, his father having emigrated from the old country, and settled in that city.

and defending against attacks of the enemy's ships in the river.

Not only was he personally active in the cause of his adopted country, but it appears from the records of the time. that his house in the year 1780 subscribed £5000 to supply the necessities of the army.

Such was the impression made by the character and services of Mr. Fitzsimmons, that, in 1782, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress. An examination of the Madison papers shows that during the sessions in which he served, he took a leading part in the debates, and that on the pressing question of the hour, the financial situation, his opinions commanded great respect. He had a strong sense of solvency and honesty, and on the floor of Congress he reprobated the conduct of that body for their facility in contracting debts they had not the means of paying. His feelings were strongly enlisted on behalf of that army to whose toils, dangers, labors, and sacrifices the country was, in great measure, indebted for its independence, and he could not contemplate, without indignation, its disbandment until means had first been provided to pay the arrearages due to it. He openly said in Congress, that he concurred with those who hoped the army would not disband unless provision should be made for doing it justice.

In connection with this sentiment I will take the liberty to read from the Madison papers an interesting incident, which bears upon this part of Mr. Fitzsimmons's career. Under date of Feb. 20, 1783, Mr. Madison says:¹—

“The evening of this day was spent at Mr. Fitzsimmons's by Mr. Gorham, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Peters, Mr. Carroll, and Mr. Madison. The conversation turned on the subject of revenue, under the consideration of Congress, and on the situation of the army. The conversation on the first subject ended in a general concurrence (Mr. Hamilton excepted) in the impossibility of adding to the impost on trade any taxes that would operate equally throughout the United States, or be adopted

¹ Vol. i. p. 350.

by them. On the second subject, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Peters, who had the best knowledge of the temper, transactions, and views of the army, informed the company, that it was certain that the army had secretly determined not to lay down their arms until due provision, and a satisfactory prospect had been afforded on the subject of their pay ; that there was reason to expect that a public declaration to this effect would soon be made ; that plans had been agitated, if not formed, for subsisting themselves after such declaration ; that, as a proof of their earnestness on this subject, the Commander was already become extremely unpopular, among almost all ranks, from his known dislike to every unlawful proceeding ; that this unpopularity was daily increasing, and industriously promoted by many leading characters ; that his choice of unfit and indiscreet persons into his family was the pretext, and with some the real motive ; but the substantial one, a desire to displace him from the respect and confidence of the army, in order to substitute General * * * * * as the conductor of their efforts to obtain justice. Mr. Hamilton said, that he knew General Washington intimately and perfectly ; that his extreme reserve, mixed sometimes with a degree of asperity of temper, both of which were said to have increased of late, had contributed to the decline of his popularity ; but that his virtue, his patriotism, and firmness would, it might be depended upon, never yield to any dishonorable or disloyal plans into which he might be called ; that he would sooner suffer himself to be cut to pieces ; that he (Mr. Hamilton), knowing this to be his true character, wished him to be the conductor of the army in their plans for redress, in order that they might be moderate, and directed to proper objects, and exclude some other leader who might foment and misguide their councils ; that with this view he had taken the liberty to write to the General on this subject, and to recommend such a policy to him.”¹

¹ In Hamilton's works, vol. i. p. 327, a letter to Washington will be found dated Feb. 7th. It was doubtless the one referred to by Hamilton in the conversation given, and should be consulted, as it expresses the opinions of the writer in his own language.

After the peace, Mr. Fitzsimmons was for several years a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and, in 1787, he sat as a member of the Federal Convention, and his name appears as one of the signers of the Federal Constitution. From the brief debates of that body, which have been preserved, it appears that Mr. Fitzsimmons was opposed to universal suffrage, and would restrain the privilege of voting to freeholders. He was in favor of giving Congress the power to tax exports as well as imports, and he contended that the House of Representatives should be united with the President, as well as the Senate, in making treaties.

At the time the Federal Convention met, the government of the Confederation possessed neither respect abroad, nor credit and confidence at home. The Congress, under that system, could contract debts, but had no power to lay and collect taxes to pay them. They could call on the several States for their respective proportions of the public obligations, but whether the several States would respond to this call at all, or at what time, or in what manner, depended wholly upon themselves. The result was natural: the measures of the Congress were not executed, and that body was unsupplied with the means to pay debts, which, with a fatal facility, they had gone on contracting.

In a letter to General Irvine, under date of Jan. 30, 1788, Mr. Fitzsimmons says: "If at the close of the war Congress had shown a proper spirit, our affairs now must have worn a different aspect. All that has since happened was foretold, and they should have stopped. The Superintendent of Finance in a letter he wrote them had this sentiment, 'I do not hold it honest to contract debts I see no probability of being able to pay.' They could not but acknowledge the truth and force of the observation, yet they would have dismissed him for using it had they not been afraid, and they have gone on in doing what he reprobated. However, that resource is at an end. When no person will trust, there can be no debt contracted."

The adoption of the Federal Constitution changed the aspect of affairs. A government was now brought into exist-

ence which could execute the powers with which it was clothed. It could lay and collect taxes, and it could pay the public creditor, even though it might have to print paper, or coin silver to do it!

It will be remembered that the Federal Convention concluded its labors in September, 1787. The instrument which it had framed was then submitted to the conventions of the several States for their ratification. By the 4th of July, 1788, ten States had already ratified it, and thus secured its adoption. This happy event, as well as the Declaration of Independence, was celebrated in Philadelphia with great pomp. The procession, including the military, represented eighty-eight different trades, occupations, and professions. Mr. Fitzsimmons, mounted on a horse formerly belonging to Count Rochambeau, and carrying a flag of white silk emblazoned with the ensigns of France and the United States, represented the French Alliance.

International law, and the general code of the sea, were represented in that procession by the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, Judge of Admiralty, wearing in his hat a gold anchor, pendant on a green ribbon, preceded by the Register's clerk, carrying a green bag filled with rolls and parchment, and having the word *Admiralty* in large letters on the front of the bag. He was accompanied by James Read, wearing a silver pen in his hat, and by Clement Biddle, Marshal, carrying a silver car, adorned with green ribbons.

The Constitution ratified, and the government under it organized, Mr. Fitzsimmons was elected by the city of Philadelphia a member of the House of Representatives; and by successive elections was continued a member until 1795. On all practical questions, such as commerce, finance, and exchange, he was regarded as one of the most able and efficient members of the National Legislature.

It should delight the heart of a true-born Pennsylvanian to know that Mr. Fitzsimmons was in favor of such a tariff as would encourage the productions of our country, and protect that infant manufacturer, who, after more than three-quarters of a century, has not yet attained to adolescence, and who

still cries for that protective lacteal which was found so useful at his birth.

Nevertheless, the fact is significant, and in the troublous days of nullification, both Mr. Madison and Mr. Webster, in vindication of the constitutionality of a tariff affording protection, regarded it as important historical evidence, that Mr. Thomas Fitzsimmons, a member of the Federal Convention, and a member of the first Congress under the Constitution, was the first to suggest as the clear duty of Congress the so laying of imposts as to encourage manufacturers.

With the organization of the Federal Government, there sprang into existence two parties, and those parties, under whatever change of names, purposes, or objects, have, in some of their essential lineaments, continued down to the present day. I mean the Federal party, and the Democratic, or, as it was then called, the Republican party. In their origin, they were both, in the main, pure and patriotic. They were composed of men who had gone through the fire and distresses of a seven years' war, who had put to hazard everything they held dear to assert their liberties, and maintain their independence; but politically they differed, and differed fundamentally.

The Federal party, in its leadership composed of the choice and master spirits of the time, men of grace and renown, while willing, and with the utmost good faith, to give the republican system a trial, were, nevertheless, doubtful of its success. They saw that republican forms of government had everywhere disappeared from the face of the earth, and that everywhere mankind were held in subjection by the force of armies and navies. They distrusted the people, and they feared that political liberty would degenerate into license and anarchy. They sought, therefore, to make the government strong and powerful. They construed the Constitution so as to enlarge and consolidate its powers; and in all doubtful cases they leaned to the side that gave power to the government. As has been pithily said, they believed the object of government was to govern.

The Democratic party, on the other hand, were equally dis-

trustful of a powerful and splendid centralized authority; they saw in it the likeness of a Kingly Crown, and they feared that after having thrown off the yoke of the British connection, the Federal leaders would impose on them the semblance, if not the substance of the British Monarchy. Read the political discussions of those days, and you will find that, on the one hand, the Federalists were in dread of anarchy, and the Democrats, on the other, were in dread of monarchy.

It was very evident at the close of Washington's second term, that in the conflict between these opposing fears, the Democrats were rapidly gaining ground. In the elections of 1794, the rising tide of Democracy submerged and subverted many of the landmarks and headlands of the Federal power. Mr. Fitzsimmons went down before it; being defeated in that year by Mr. Swanwick, his Democratic competitor. Madison, then in Philadelphia, communicated the news to Jefferson in a letter bearing date Nov. 16, 1794. "In this State," he says, "the election, notwithstanding its inauspicious circumstances, is more Republican than the last. Nine, at least, out of thirteen, are counted on the right side; among them, Swanwick in the room of Fitzsimmons—a stunning change for the aristocracy."

In a subsequent letter, dated Dec. 4, '94, Madison writes to Jefferson that "the election of Swanwick as a Republican, by the commercial and political metropolis of the United States, in preference to Fitzsimmons, is, of itself, of material consequence, and is so felt by the party to which the latter belongs."

With Mr. Fitzsimmons's retirement from Congress his political career closed. He retired with the regrets of his political friends, and with the respect of his political foes. Henceforward, in a private station, as heretofore in a public one, he commanded the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens. He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania; a founder and director of the Bank of North America; a director and subsequently President of the Insurance Co. of North America.

He is described as a man of commanding figure, and of

agreeable manners, though somewhat stately and reserved. He died August 26, 1811, and was buried beside his wife, who had died the previous year, in St. Mary's church-yard, in 4th St., below Walnut. He left behind him no child, no descendant to be the chronicler of his worth, and it is, therefore, eminently fit and proper, that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania should seek to revive his memory, and to lay a garland upon his tomb.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Centennial Collection.)

Thomas Hopkinson, the father of Francis Hopkinson, a gentleman of good family, was a native of London. He received a liberal education, and applying himself diligently to the advantages within his reach, became a man of fine scholarly attainments and of large and varied scientific knowledge. After completing his education he studied law, and on being admitted to the bar decided upon the rather unusual course, for men of his profession, of seeking a field for himself in the New World. In consequence he came at once to this country, where he arrived about 1731, certainly before November, 1732, when we find his name as counsel in an important suit before the Court of Chancery.¹ In September, 1736, he was married by the Rev. Dr. Jenney, Rector of Christ Church, to Miss Mary Johnson, the only daughter of Baldwin Johnson, by his wife Mary, widow of Col. William Dyer, of New Castle Co.

In 1741 he succeeded Andrew Hamilton as Judge of Vice-Admiralty for Pennsylvania, and some years later was called to a seat in the Provincial Council. While faithfully discharging his official duties he yet found time to seize upon many opportunities for showing his interest in the welfare of

¹ Rawle's Equity in Penna., Appendix, p. 33.



Francis Hopkinson

Sc. Vanhous Sculp.

his adopted country, especially in all that pertained to the advancement of science and education. He interested himself actively in the success of the newly-formed Library Company, and when the Junto developed into the American Philosophical Society in 1743 was chosen its first president. Dr. William Smith, in his "Account of the College and Academy of Philadelphia," refers to its formation as follows: "Many gentlemen of the first rank in the province gave their countenance to this design, and afterwards became Trustees for it; but those on whom the chief care of digesting and preparing matters rested, were—Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, Richard Peters, and Benjamin Franklin, Esqs."

The active part which he took in these enterprises and his natural inclination towards scientific pursuits brought him into close friendship with Benjamin Franklin, who thus acknowledges one instance of the aid rendered him by Mr. Hopkinson: "The power of points to throw off the electric fire was first communicated to me by my ingenious friend Mr. Thomas Hopkinson, since deceased, whose virtues and integrity, in every situation of life, public and private, will ever make his memory dear to those who knew him, and knew how to value him." He was unfortunately cut off in the prime of life on the 5th of November, 1751, leaving his family to the care of his widow, who nobly discharged the trust.

Francis Hopkinson was born in Philadelphia on the 21st of September, O. S., or according to the present calendar the 2d of October, 1737.¹ His mother clearly discerning his talents determined that he should have the advantage of as liberal an education as the Province could afford, and accordingly placed him at the College and Academy of Philadelphia, the germ of the present University of Pennsylvania. Here he graduated in 1757, the Master's degree following in 1760.

After leaving college he began the study of law under Benjamin Chew, Attorney-General of the Province, and in 1761 was admitted to the Bar. In that year he was called upon

¹ The year of his birth is generally given 1738; this is not correct, as he was baptized at Christ Church, Nov. 12, 1737.

to perform his first public service, in the capacity of Secretary to a conference, held on the banks of the Lehigh, between the Governor and the Indians of that region; his poem "The Treaty" was suggested by this event. In 1759 he accepted the position of Secretary of the Library Company, and from Feb. 1764, to May, 1765, fulfilled, as well, the duties of Librarian. He was also Secretary of the Vestry of Christ Church and St. Peters, and turned his talent for music to the benefit of the United Churches, by instructing the children of the two congregations in "the art of psalmody," receiving for his efforts in this direction the special thanks of the Vestry. These positions, with the practice of his profession, occupied a large portion of his time, yet he found leisure for the cultivation of Belles Lettres and the higher branches of science.

In October, 1765, he established himself for a brief period as a conveyancer, in an office at the corner of Market Street and Lætitia Court.

In the spring of the ensuing year an opportunity of gratifying his long-felt desire to visit England, presented itself. Mr. Redmond Conyngham, being about to return to his native land, where he had a considerable estate, offered Hopkinson a passage on board his ship, the "Hayfield," which was to convey himself and family to Ireland. They sailed from New Castle¹ on the 26th of May, and reached Londonderry on the 27th of June. Writing to his mother, on the 2d of July, he says:—

"It was remarkable that the night we left New Castle that

¹ A few hours before his departure he received a copy of the resolutions passed by the Trustees of his Alma Mater, on the 20th of May. So marked an expression of esteem has hardly ever again issued from the same source. and, although published in the *National Portrait Gallery*, they must find a place here:—

"It was resolved that as Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who was the first scholar in this seminary at its opening, and likewise one of the first who received a degree, was about to embark for England, and has done honor to the place of his education by his abilities and good morals, as well as rendered it many substantial services on all public occasions, the thanks of this institution ought to be delivered to him in the most affectionate and respectful manner."

Town was illuminated on the joyful occasion of the Stamp Acts being repealed, and the first night we entered our Harbour in Ireland was Midsummer Night, at which time it is a never failing custom among the Irish to illuminate their whole country with large fires kindled here and there among the mountains. A few days after our arrival, Mrs. Conyngham went to Latterkenny, a little village about 15 miles from Derry, where Mr. Conyngham's mother lives and where his Estate lies. The day before yesterday I went to see her. All along the road are built the most miserable Huts you can imagine, of mud and straw, much worse than Indian Wigwams, and their wretched Inhabitants go scarce decently covered with rags."

A few days later he sailed for Dublin, and a couple of weeks afterwards pushed on to London, where he expected to meet Franklin, whose friendship he enjoyed by inheritance and had cultivated by a correspondence of some years' standing. In this, however, he was disappointed, as the Philosopher was then in Germany, and after a few days' sight-seeing he set out for Hartlebury Castle, the Episcopal residence of his relative the Bishop of Worcester, which he reached on the 9th of August, and the next day wrote home:—

"The Bishop received me with the greatest cordiality and affection, as also did our cousin, his sister. His Lordship is a very sedate, sensible Gentleman—is very highly esteemed for his piety and learning—is a Bachelor and seems to be about your age, or rather older. The Palace of Hartlebury is magnificent—superb! I cannot pretend to describe it now. The Halls and Apartments are very spacious and princely, ornamented with masterly paintings, Engravings, and most beautiful Stucco work."

In September, he mentions going to Greenwich with Benjamin West and his family to a Whitebait dinner, and early in the ensuing year dining with John Penn and Lord North; he remained in London until June, 1767, when he made another visit of some length to Hartlebury Castle. Meanwhile he suffered a great disappointment in not being made one of the newly established Board of Commissioners of the

Customs for North America, which his friends had endeavored to procure for him; "but, to no purpose," he writes, "for it had long since been agreed that the first American Posts should be given as a recompense to those who had suffered and been obliged to resign their offices as Stamp Masters in the late troubles. I confess I retained all along some hopes of having one of these Commissions, but as it hath turned out otherwise, I do think it is much better for me."

He sailed for home about the beginning of August, and in due time reached his native city, where he resumed his profession, and engaged to some extent in mercantile pursuits, having his office and store at his house in Race Street above Third.

On the first of September, 1768, he married, at Bordentown, Ann Borden, daughter of Joseph Borden, Jr., and granddaughter of Joseph Borden, the founder of the town. From this time onward we find him taking an active part in the social and public life of his day. A Warden of Christ Church, 1770 and 1771; a Director of the Library Company, 1771 to 1773; and in March, 1772, through the influence of Lord North, made Collector of the Customs at New Castle, with permission to perform the duties of the post by deputy.

Half the year was spent at Bordentown, and gradually Hopkinson became more and more connected with New Jersey, and in 1774, received another mark of esteem from the Royal Government by an appointment to a seat in the Provincial Council. He fixed his residence at Bordentown, which became his home for several years.

In the middle of June, 1776, a new constitution was adopted in New Jersey, and a change made in its representatives in Congress, Hopkinson—having resigned his other offices the moment they became incompatible with his feelings as an American—was one of the new members, and on the 28th presented the credentials of the delegation to Congress, and was at once added to the Committee for preparing a plan of Confederation. On the 2d of July he voted in favor of the Resolution of Independency, and two days later for the Declaration, to which when engrossed he affixed his signature.

A few days after entering Congress he writes to Dr. Coale, of Baltimore:—

“If my poor abilities can be of the least service to my country in her day of trial I shall not complain of the hardship of the task. . . . We are anxious but have lively hopes of success. Our troops are hearty and eager for action and full of spirits, animated I really believe by the spirit of patriotism. When men of fortune turn common soldiers to fight for their liberties against the hand of oppression, success, I think, must attend their honest efforts, the tool of tyrannic power must shrink from before them.”

At the recommendation of the Marine Committee, Congress, on the 18th of November, appointed him “to execute the business of the Navy under their direction.”¹

When the British found their movement on Philadelphia, through the Jerseys, to be a failure and began to draw in their lines, orders were issued to destroy the property of the most prominent Whigs; in Bordentown, among the houses burned was the Borden Mansion. It was spacious and elegantly furnished. The large French mirrors, the numerous articles of vertu and art scattered through the rooms were objects of admiration and wonder to visitors, as well as a matter of pride to the town. The old lady, Mrs. Borden, seated herself in a large chair placed on the opposite side of the street, and there witnessed the destruction of her home and its treasures. A British officer, struck by her appearance, came to her, and expressed his sympathy by saying that he had a venerated mother of his own of whom she reminded him, and therefore felt deeply grieved for the sad sight before them. Mrs. Borden replied, “This is the happiest day of my life, Sir.” “Indeed, Madam, how can that be?” “Because the very fact of your burning the chief houses convinces me that you find it impossible to conquer our people, or you would not so ruthlessly destroy such property.” Francis Hopkinson’s house was fired at the same time, but escaped in a very curious manner. Captain J. Ewald, one of the best known Hessian

¹ *Journal of Congress*, vol. ii., p. 462.

officers engaged in the war, was in command of the detachment to which the British had committed the work of destruction, and happening to enter Hopkinson's library was amazed to find it filled with scientific apparatus, in addition to the books that lined its walls. Picking up a volume of Provost Smith's Discourses, he wrote in his mother-tongue, under the coat of arms, "This man was one of the greatest rebels, nevertheless, if we dare to conclude from the Library, and Mechanical and Mathematical instruments, he must have been a very learned man," and in recognizing the philosopher, he forgot the rebel and allowed the neighbors to extinguish the flames before any great damage had been done.

All through the war Hopkinson's fertile brain was busy devising arguments in prose and verse to strengthen and cheer the hearts of his countrymen,¹ and by the able discharge of his duties in the administration of naval affairs and as treasurer of loans he rendered special service to the good cause. And here we must quote Dr. Rush's opinion of the great importance of his public services as an author—"that the various causes which contributed to the establishment of the Independence and federal government of the United States, will not be fully traced, unless much is ascribed to the irresistible influence of the ridicule which he (Francis Hopkinson) poured forth, from time to time, upon the enemies of those great political events."

Whilst Hopkinson was at Bordentown, whither he had retired on the entry of the British into Philadelphia, he received the first intimation of his brother-in-law Dr. Duché's defection from the American cause. Enough has been said elsewhere of Duché's letter to Washington, and of Hopkinson's scathing rebuke to the recreant, but the following from Hopkinson to Washington has not, it is believed, been published:—

¹ The Battle of the Kegs, one of the best known of all the ballads of the Revolutionary period, was written in January, 1778, and instantly achieved a wide-spread popularity. Possessing just enough of the spirit of true poetry to please the mass, while the rather doggerel versification rendered it easy to recite, it presented the most ridiculous side of the subject in the wittiest possible manner.

BORDEN TOWN, 14th Nov'r, 1777.

SIR:—

The Intimacy of my Connection with Mr. Duché renders all assurances unnecessary that the Letter addressed by him to your Excellency on the 8th of Oct. last gives me the greatest concern. I flatter myself some undue means have been tried to induce him to write such a Letter so incompatible with the amiable character he has ever maintained and so fatal to his Reputation. I could not forbear communicating some of my sentiments to him on the occasion. These I might probably have been able to convey to him by secret means, but did not chuse to incur the imputation of a clandestine correspondence. I have therefore taken the liberty to send the enclosed letter to you unsealed for your perusal. Resting it entirely on your judgement to cause it to [be] forwarded or not. I hope your Excellency will pardon my giving you the Trouble. The occasion is a very interesting one to me. My friendship for Mr. Duché calls upon me to do all I can to warn him against the fatal consequences of his ill advised step, that he may if possible do something to avert them before it is too late.

I am, Sir,

With the warmes wishes of my Heart for your welfare,
Your sincere friend & very humble servant,

F. H.

His Excellency GEN'L WASHINGTON.

The letter to Duché, however, seems not to have reached its destination, as a letter from Washington to Hopkinson, dated "Valley Forge, Jan. 27, 1778," concludes:—

"Having never found an opportunity of conveying the Letter which you sometime ago sent me for Mr. Duché, by such a channel as I thought would reach him, I return it to you again. The contents have not been made public."

In September, 1776, Governor Livingston appointed him Third Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. From the first he was disinclined to accept the position, and so wrote to his colleague, John Hart, who replied:—

PRINCE TOWN, Sept 12th, 1776.

DEAR SIR:—

I have now before me your Favour of the 7th instant. I am sorry that you intend to Resign the appointment of such

an important office as one of the Judges of the Supream Court of this State, at this critical crisis when the assistance of every Good man is wanted to add treuth to our New Constitution to which I Know you to be a stanch friend, notwithstanding yours to me is to be considered as a private letter, I thought the Publick so much Intrested in the affair that I could not Refrain Leting some of your and my Particular friends know some thing of your intention, they are no more at a Loss to guess than myselfe what is the Reason that you Decline to accept. But as it is now out of our power to make any alteration they are Desirous that you will Please to Ree Consider the matter and are of oppinion with me that it is Best for you as well as the Publick to Take upon yourself the office, I wish it was in my power to have a personel Conferance with you on this important affair but as it is not at present, I must conclude with Leaving these few broken hints to your serious consideration and am with

Great Regard your Sincere friend
and Humble Servant,
JOHN HART.

Gordon¹ says he accepted the position and held it until President Reed offered him the Court of Admiralty in Pennsylvania, but this seems to rest on no other basis than the fact of his appointment in 1776, and during the three following years I can find no reference to his holding a judicial position, nor does Reed seem to have considered him as other than a citizen of Pennsylvania, holding an office under Congress.

A few days after the death of Judge Ross, Hopkinson received the following letter:—

DEAR SIR:—

Allow me to ask you whether the office of Judge of the Admiralty in succession to Mr. Ross will be consistent with your present Post under Congress, and otherwise agreeable. The Appointment is £500 per Ann. and £15 in every Cause, besides small Motions, &c.

You may write me in confidence, and believe me,
Sir, Your most Obed't & very Humble Ser't,

JOSEPH REED.

WALNUT STREET, July 14, 1779.

¹ History of New Jersey

The office alluded to by President Reed was that of Treasurer of the Continental Loan Office to which he had been appointed sometime previously. He at once accepted the Admiralty, and on the 16th of July, 1779,¹ was commissioned to the post which had years before been ably filled by his father. He presided over the Court until, under the Federal Constitution, Admiralty Jurisdiction became vested solely in the United States. On the organization of the General Government—in spite of a vigorous effort to secure the appointment of Edward Shippen, the last Judge of the Court of Admiralty under the Crown—Washington transferred him to the new Court, accompanying the commission with the following letter:—

UNITED STATES, September 30th, 1789.

SIR:—

I have the pleasure to enclose to you a commission as Judge of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, to which office I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have appointed you.

In my nomination of Persons to fill offices in the Judicial Department, I have been guided by the importance of the object—considering it as of the first magnitude, and as the Pillar upon which our political fabric must rest. I have endeavored to bring into the high offices of its administration such characters as will give stability and dignity to our national Government,—and I persuade myself they will discover a due desire to promote the happiness of our Country by a ready acceptance of their several appointments.

The laws which have passed, relative to your office, accompany the commission.

I am, Sir, with very great esteem,

Your most obedient Servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

The honorable FRANCIS HOPKINSON, Esquire.

¹ This commission was without a tenure of office clause, and was superseded by another, dated April 6, 1780, by which seven years was fixed as the length of his term. A third commission was issued on the 6th of April, 1787, for a like period.

His admiralty decisions exhibit the extent and breadth of his research, to which was added much astuteness in bringing to light a clear equity view of the cause upon which he gave judgment, and for this reason, the opinions of Judge Hopkinson the second are still held in high esteem by the profession.

Francis Hopkinson was an active participator in the debates of the convention of 1787, which formed the present Constitution of the United States. He threw his whole soul into the matter; his early and unwavering patriotism had long established him in the confidence of his countrymen, and at this important crisis he materially helped to bring about the adoption of the Constitution, not only by his able and statesman-like discussions, but also by producing a very timely work of humor in his best vein, published under the name of the "History of a New Roof." To this brochure the highest meed of praise was accorded, and men of great distinction at the time have left their testimony as to its influence on the public mind.

On Monday morning, May 9, 1791, he was suddenly struck down by an attack of apoplexy, which in two hours terminated his existence in the 54th year of his age.

His character is thus analyzed by Thomas I. Wharton, in his Notes on the Provincial Literature of Pennsylvania:—

"A poet, a wit, a patriot, a chemist, a mathematician, and a Judge of the Admiralty: his character was composed of a happy union of qualities and endowments, commonly supposed to be discordant; and with the humor of Swift and Rabelais, he was always on the side of virtue and social order."

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

JÖRAN KYN,* one of the earliest European residents upon the river Delaware, and for more than a quarter of a century the chief proprietor of land at Upland, New Sweden, afterwards Chester, Pennsylvania, was born in Sweden about A. D. 1620.† He came to America in company with Governor John Printz, in the ship *Fama*, which "sailed from Stockholm," narrates Magister John Campanius Holm,‡ a fellow-passenger in the same vessel, "on the 16th of August, 1642," and, after stopping at Dahlehamn, Copenhagen, and Helsingör, left Gottenburg Castle for the "Spanish Sea" (as the Atlantic Ocean was at one time called) "on the 1st of November, at noon." The route pursued by them upon their

* This (under the Dutch form of *Kijn*) is the earliest spelling of the surname met with, and dates from 1663. The older generations of the West New Jersey branches of the family employed the form of *Kijhn*. Other methods, numbering a dozen, Dutch and English, are mere attempts to render in those languages the sound of the Swedish original. *Keen* is the first English spelling of the name recorded, occurring as early as 1665, and is the mode adopted by the family to-day. It has the merit of representing a close approach to the ancient sound, besides being of cognate derivation, and yielding a translation of the obsolete old Swedish word. This is more nearly reproduced in sound and meaning by the German *Kühn*. The Christian name of *Jöran* was frequently written after the Dutch style of *Jurian*: it was sometimes strangely corrupted, but was never properly anglicized as *George*.

† Probably not earlier than 1617, or his name should not appear in the list of "Tydable Persons" residing at Upland in 1677 (which excluded those over sixty years of age), nor later than 1623, considering the date of his eldest grandchild's birth.

‡ See Thomas Campanius Holm's "Description of New Sweden," translated by Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL.D., and published by the Historical Society, Chapter VI., where quite a detailed account of the voyage is given. The *Fama* was accompanied by another ship named *Svanen*, the Swan.

journey was a long one, adopted, says Acrelius, when "the watery way to the West was not yet well discovered, for fear of the sand banks off Newfoundland." They coasted along Portugal and Barbary, and, passing far to the south of the Canary Islands, landed at Antigua, inhabited at that time "by Englishmen and negroes, with some Indians," where they "spent their Christmas holydays, and were well entertained," says Mr. Holm, "at the Governor's house." After quitting this seat of "perpetual summer" (as the same gentleman depicts it) they encountered "a severe storm," accompanied at the last "with snow," which "continued above fourteen days," by which they "lost three large anchors, a spritsail, and their mainmast, and the ship was run aground; but on the 15th of February, 1643, by God's grace, came up to Fort Christina, in New Sweden, Virginia," in the precise phrases of the historian, "at two o'clock in the afternoon." Here the first three Swedish expeditions had established their chief settlement under Minuit and Hollender,* and here remained a short time, also, this fourth and greatest of the colonies, enjoying friendly intercourse with fellow-countrymen most glad to welcome them, and happily reposing from the dis-

* Peter Minuit and the first colony sailed from Gottenburg on the ship-of-war *Kalmar Nyckel*, accompanied by a smaller vessel called *Gripen*, the Griffin, towards the close of December, 1637, and reached the river Delaware in March, or, at the latest, the beginning of April, 1638. The second colony, under Peter Hollender, sailed from Gottenburg in the same *Kalmar Nyckel*, or Key of Kalmar, leaving the Texel on the 7th of February, 1640, and, after a quick passage for those days, landed at Christina on the 17th of April following. And the third colony sailed from Gottenburg in the same well-tried vessel, accompanied by the ship *Charitas*, fitted out at Stockholm, and leaving that place for Gottenburg May 3, 1641. Besides these one other expedition had preceded Governor Printz in settling on the Delaware, a colony of Dutchmen with Jost van Bogardt, who emigrated under the auspices of the Swedish Crown in the ship *Freedenburg*, arriving in New Sweden on the 2d of November, 1640, and who occupied land three or four Swedish miles below Christina. (Statements based, in great part, on the authority of MSS. Records relating to New Sweden in the Royal Archives at Stockholm. Acrelius, who is, in general, remarkably trustworthy and accurate, confounds the colony of 1641 with Printz's expedition, and makes but cursory mention of that of Hollender.)

tresses of their long and perilous voyage. The encroachments of the neighbouring Dutch and the recent repairing of their little Fort Nassau determined the new Governor to remove, however, to the more commanding post of Tutæænungh or Tinicum, where he erected a "new fort provided with considerable armament," named by him *Nya Götheborg*, and "also caused to be built a mansion, for himself and family, which was very handsome," says Campanius, surrounded by "a fine orchard, a pleasure house, and other conveniences," and called by the proprietor *Printzhof*. At this place, likewise, according to the same authority, "the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations," and here resided Jöran Kyn. In a "*Rulla*" dated by Printz at "Kihrstina, June 20, 1644," preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm,* he is mentioned (under his appellation of *Snöhuitt*)† as a soldier in the Governor's life-guard,‡ and in a "List of Persons living in New Sweden, March 1, 1648," is once more similarly described. It was not long before the small island in the Delaware, where these early colonists had their first homes in the New World, had ceased to offer sufficient scope for their fast growing families, and was abandoned by many of them for other residences on the main river shore. The site which proved attractive to the eyes of Jöran Kyn was Upland, and we cannot wonder at his choice of this abode. Not only did the place enjoy the privilege of close proximity to the seat of government (which still remained at Tinicum), but it was also favoured in the pos-

* Printed (together with Governor Printz's second official report of the condition of the young Swedish colony, of the same date) at the end of an interesting little sketch of this earliest period of our annals, entitled "*Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning, 1637-1642*," written by the learned historian Professor C. T. Odhner on the occasion of the Centennial Exhibition recently held in Philadelphia.

† In the "List" referred to immediately afterwards (written in German) the name is given as *Schneeweiss*, which means the same, of course, *snow-white*, and was applied to him, possibly, in consequence of some physical peculiarity, such as the lightness of his complexion. Designations of the sort were very common in the early Swedish colony.

‡ Among "*soldaterne som dageligen följa förresa, och achta pa Gouverneuren*," soldiers who daily attend and travel with the Governor.

session of great natural advantages (among the rest in being at the mouth of a navigable stream), and was, moreover, already in a good state of cultivation, having been occupied by farm-servants, in the employment of the Swedish Company who organized the colony, as a tobacco-plantation, as early as 1644.* The tract of land which he acquired was unusually large, even for those days of liberal grants, extending along a great part of the eastern bank of Upland Kill, now Chester Creek, for a mile and a half above its mouth—at the north-western portion, upon which the Crozer Theological Seminary is situated at present, three-quarters of a mile in width—and reaching to the east along the Delaware as far as Ridley Creek.† It was about the period, probably, of the departure for “old Sweden”‡ of his friend and fellow-soldier§ Governor Printz that he resigned his military functions, and gave himself more unreservedly to the pursuits of agriculture; and

* See the “*Relation*” and “*Rulla*” already referred to. These contain the first mention of the name of Upland as yet discovered, preceding by four years that presumed to be the earliest at the time of the publication, by the Historical Society, of the “Record of Upland Court.” “The name might seem rather English than Swedish,” says Mr. Edward Armstrong, “were it not known that many of the emigrants came from Upland, a province in Middle Sweden on the Baltic, to which the natural features of the new region bore some resemblance.” The Indian name of the country bordering on Upland Creek was, according to the Royal Swedish Engineer, Peter Lindström, *Meschkopenachan*.

† The boundaries of this estate may, in a measure, be discerned even in the remnants of it still accredited to him in a drawing of Chester, without date, but made some time after the arrival of the English settlers, inserted in Dr. George Smith’s well-known “History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania.” The identification of them in the text has been confirmed for me, very kindly, by John Hill Martin, Esq., author of the interesting book on “Chester” recently published.

‡ “*Gambla Sverige*” is a term already applied to his native country by Governor Printz in his “*Relation*” of 1644.

§ It will be remembered that Printz was himself a soldier, and before his appointment to the Governorship of New Sweden Lieutenant-Colonel of the West Götha Cavalry, and after his return to his native country promoted to the rank of General. Whether the intimacy of his relations with Jöran Kyn can best be accounted for by the supposition of a companionship in arms on European battle-fields is matter for conjecture.

these, with the care of his youthful family, continued to be his chief engagements, and detained him ever at Upland, during the rest of his long life. It is to be regretted that we can glean so little information, comparatively, about the settlers on our river at this remotest period of our history, but that they were men of more than ordinary energy, savouring of the spirit of bold Viking ancestry, seems plainly indicated by the fact of their so early embarkation for our wild and distant shores. That Jöran Kyn was likewise noted for singular gentleness of disposition, and great excellence of character—qualities not always accompanying the former trait—we have more positive testimony. The Dutch Commissary Huygen, in a letter to his "cousin," Vice-Director Beekman, dated "Tinnackunk, 29th M'ch, 1663," alluding to a violent assault upon him by a certain "miscreant" of Upland a few days before, speaks of him as "the pious Jurriaen Snewit, a man who has never irritated a child even."* And the very full

* "*Den vromen Jurriaen Snewit, een mensch die geen kind oijt heft vertoornt.*" I am indebted for the expressions (in the very language in which they were written by Commissary Huygen) to the kind courtesy of the accomplished Mr. B. Fernow, late Keeper of the Historical Records in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany, and editor of the last volume of "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," comprising "Documents relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River." He says that the original letter is still in existence at Albany, having been kept by Vice-Director Beekman among his official correspondence, or sent by him to Governor Peter Stuyvesant. Mr. Samuel Hazard refers to the circumstance related in it in his "Annals of Pennsylvania," p. 345, copying from the translation of the learned, but unfortunately dim-sighted, and, therefore, frequently inaccurate, Dr. Adriaen van der Kemp. The latter gives both names of *Kyn* and *Snewit*, writing the first, by reason of his infirmity, *Kuyp* (printed by Mr. Hazard *Kuys*), and the second *Sneart*. The marginal account of the matter given in the "Annals" seems to indicate that the excellent author of that work was not aware of Jöran Kyn's having survived the dastardly assault, and having brought the criminal to punishment. Both the trial of the scoundrel, and the letter quoted from, are to be seen at large in Mr. Fernow's invaluable contribution to our early history, on pages 424-6. The letter, at least, though not the trial, has been reprinted from this work in the VIIth Volume of the Second Series of "Pennsylvania Archives" (published last August), at page 699.

report in the "Court Minutes kept at Fort Altena" of the trial of the offender on the 7th and 16th of April, following, quite corroborates his judgment.* In conformity with the order of the Court of Assizes at New York, he obtained, August 1, 1665, a renewal, by the English authorities, of his patent for land at Upland, and again, August 4, 1668, a confirmation to him of "three lots of land in his possession," described in the Abstract of Patents still preserved in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany.† He was one of the seventeen "Tydable Persons" residing at Upland in 1677, and one of "the responsible housekeepers" named in the "Census" of 1680. At a court held at Chester the "3d day in the 1st week of the 10th month, 1686," he reclaimed a fugitive servant. At another, held the "3d day in the 2d week of the 2d month, 1687," he "made over a deed for a parcell of land lying and being in Chester with all the appurtenances and lotts, dated the 18th day of the 11th month, 1686, to James Saunderlaine and his Heirs forever"—the estate referred to, probably, in the action of the Court on the "3d day in the 1st week of the 10th month" following, when "James Saunderlaine was attested constable for the township

* The process is headed "Jurriaen Kijn, plaint., against Evert Hendrickson, the Finn, deft." It appears from Jöran Kyn's "remonstrance" that the man had once before assaulted him, threatening his life, the previous autumn. "This, however, was settled, but it was under the condition that if he made trouble afterwards, the complaint about it should be repeated. The plaintiff said further, that defendant was an unruly man, who troubled the place at Upland's Kil." Judging from the rest of the testimony elicited, the Finn seems, indeed, to have been a sort of desperado: he was banished from Upland for his ill behaviour, and removed to the vicinity of New Castle. The trial is of special interest to the antiquarian, as indicating the names of several residents of Upland not elsewhere mentioned as living there. Among others occurs that of Dr. Tymen Stidden, the surgeon appointed for the colony by the City of Amsterdam, and the original grantee of a great part of the land upon which the city of Wilmington, Delaware, is situated. Of all the persons who then dwelt there Jöran Kyn was the only one who remained at Upland to connect the history of these very early inhabitants with the times of William Penn.

† A copy of this patent is also to be seen in the Surveyor-General's Office at Harrisburg.

and Liberty of Chester, or that he see the office duly executed until another be attested in his Roome, which service is upon the account of his father-in-law Urin Keens farme which the said James purchased"—a curious entry, certainly, and one seeming to indicate the recognition in those days of an obligation on the part of large proprietors to maintain the peace of their respective neighbourhoods. Finally, at a court held the 6th day of the 1st month, 1687,* he made over a deed dated "the 1st day" of the same month, conveying a lot in Chester, adjoining his "lot or Garding" (and where, probably, his so-called "town-house" was situated†), to certain persons, in trust, "to the use and behoof of the said Chester—the people of God called Quakers and their successors forever," upon which ground the First Meeting-house of Friends at Chester was built. This is the latest mention, it is believed, of Jöran Kyn, as living, and since his name does not appear in Charles Springer's list of Swedes who were residing on the Delaware in May, 1693, it seems reasonable to infer that he died during the interval of time. He was, of course, a Swedish Lutheran in religion, and, no doubt, was buried either in the cemetery of his fellow-countrymen at Chester or in the older one at Tinicum.‡ He was married, but his wife's name has not come down to us. And he is the ancestor of ten generations of

* This and the immediately preceding statements are obtained from Records preserved in the Office of the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions at West Chester, Pa. Neither here, nor elsewhere in this genealogy, has any attempt been made to reduce Old Style to New.

† For the position of this property (along the creek, just above the present Graham Street) see "Draft of the First Settled Part of Chester," in the Appendix to Dr. Smith's History, before referred to.

‡ The church at Tinicum (where, naturally, religious rites were celebrated on behalf of the early generations of the family of Jöran Kyn) was the first erected on the river Delaware, and was built by Governor Printz, and "adorned after Swedish fashion," and consecrated for divine service, with its burying place, by Dr. John Campanius Holm, on the fourth of September, 1646. "The site of the burying place, and doubtless that of the church also," says Dr. Smith, "was close on the margin of the river, and is now occupied by a part of its bed between the Lazaretto and Tinicum Hotel, but nearer the latter. It is not many years since human bones were seen protruding from the undermined and receding bank of the river."

descendants born on American soil—a number probably not surpassed, and, rather curiously, as far as known, not equalled by other European colonists of our continent. He had at least three children, bearing the following names:

2. HANS, m. Willemka.

3. JONAS, m.

4. ANNIKA, m. 1st, James Sandelands; and 2dly, Peter Baynton.

2. HANS KYN or KEEN,² son of Jöran Kyn, born, it may be, in America, was brought up by his father at Upland, and endowed, at least as early as 1668, with two hundred acres of laud, a part of the original paternal grant. Here he resided for several years, having his estate confirmed to him as “one of ye six* Inhabitants of Upland Towne.” In the list of “Tydables” of 1677 he appears among the persons living at “Taokanink,”† and at a court at Upland, March 12, 1677–8, we find him acknowledging a deed of sale of the Upland property. He seems to have shared the impulse which led so many of the Swedish settlers, about this time, to move higher up the Delaware, to the neighbourhood of the “Sissowokissinck” (now called Wissinoming) and the Pennipack. On both of these creeks he purchased land, as well as in the intermediate region. With two‡ of the tracts he is accredited

* The others were, probably, his father, Jöran Kyn, his brother-in-law, James Sandelands, the Rev. Lawrence Charles Lock, Capt. Israel Helm (a native of Sweden, formerly Collector of the Customs at “Passayung,” member of Capt. Carre’s Council, and Justice of Upland Court, frequently interpreter with the Indians), and either Jost Danielsen or Niels Matson (whose wife Margaret is noted as the only person ever tried for witchcraft in Pennsylvania), or else a certain Villus Lacie or the person to whom he seems to have sold a portion of his land, Niels Laerson, at whose house—a kind of hostelry—the early courts of Upland held their sessions. Some of the residents at Upland at this time may have been tenants of, or purchasers from, the six principal proprietors.

† In this list his name is given patronymically merely, as Hans Jurian, and his brother’s similarly, as Jonas Juriaensen.—a primitive practice of Scandinavian and all ancient races, which not seldom renders the identification of persons a difficult task.

‡ The third, that situated on the Pennipack, embraced “a Certayne peece of meadow or marsh Lying and being on the westsyde within Pemi-

on Thomas Holme's and John Harris's Maps of Pennsylvania, and the deed for them, dated April 26, 1679, entered on the back of a grant from Governor Andros, March 25, 1676, has been in the possession of his descendants ever since.* In it he is described as "husbandman." He was married and his wife's Christian name was Willemka: her surname we are not acquainted with. Her name occurs, instead of his, among the chief subscribers to the salary of the Lutheran pastor Jacobus Fabritius, August 10, 1684, indicating, apparently, that he had died before that date. In May, 1693, she is mentioned as his relict, living with her four younger sons, with whom she continued to reside at least until the close of 1697. After so long a widowhood she became the second wife of Caspar Fisk, of Gloucester Co., West New Jersey,† one of the more prominent of the early colonists upon the Delaware, and trustee, vestryman, and warden of the Lutheran congregation at Wicacoa. She was alive at the time he made his will, January 5, 1707-8, and may have survived him also. She had five children by her first husband, all of them sons:

5. MATTHIAS, b. 1667; m. 1st, Henricka Claassen; 2dly, Sarah.
6. ERICK, m. 1st, Catharine Claassen; 2dly, Brigitta.
7. JONAS lived after his father's death with his mother and older brother Erick at Tacony at least until 1697. About this time he m. Frances, "sole daughter and heir of Francis Walker," whose name occurs in the list of "Tydables" residing at Taokanink in 1677, and who owned a plantation at "Passayuncke" as well as one, indicated on Holme's Map, situated on the west bank of Neshaminy Creek,

backes Creeke & wthin a halfe a myle of ye mouth thereof, oppositt ouer against ye house & plantation of Pieter Rambo" (to whom Hans Keen sold it, acknowledging the conveyance in a Court held at Upland, October 13, 1680), purchased by him of "Erik Mullica, one of the Intressants of Taokanink." This ground, "bounded wth Pemibackes Creeke, & ye fast Land of Taokanink," now belongs to the City of Philadelphia, and is occupied, at present, by the "House of Correction." "*Pimypacka*" is spoken of by Campanius as an "Indian settlement, very rich and fruitful."

* Although paper merely, not parchment, it is still in good condition. A copy of the patent is preserved in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany; and one of both grant and deed, in the Surveyor-General's Office at Harrisburg. The last of the land passed out of the ownership of the family April 10, 1855: a mortgage on a portion of it is alone retained.

† Margaret Fisk, his former wife, died November 14, 1697.

rather more than a mile above its mouth, granted to him by a patent from Governor Andros, dated March 25, 1676. To the latter tract, containing about 225 acres, "called Point Pleasant," in Bensalem Township, Bucks Co., Pa., (his wife's heritage,) Jonas Keen had already removed by 1699, and he resided on it, at least until October, 1716, when he purchased a farm of 68 acres, in the same Township, where he probably dwelt until his sale of it in February, 1739-40. This is the last notice of him met with: his wife was still alive. He is described as "yeoman" in legal documents. He is mentioned as contributing to the salary of the Swedish pastor Andrew Rudman in 1697, and as subscribing towards the erection, in 1700, of the Lutheran Church at Wicacoa (his name also occurring in the first list of pewholders), besides making a similar donation to the congregation in 1704, and aiding in rebuilding the parsonage at Passyunk in 1717. A child of his was baptized by Mr. Rudman in 1699 (the name not given), but nothing more is known of his posterity.

8. PETER, living with his mother and brother Erick at Tacony in 1697. From the absence of his name from a deed signed by the rest of the family, Jan. 25, 1706-7, it may be presumed that he had d. probably unm. or s. p.
9. GEORGE, living Jan. 25, 1706-7, when he is described as "yeoman, of the Province of Pennsylvania."

3. JONAS KYN OR KEEN,² son of Jöran Kyn, was born in New Sweden* and lived at Upland with his father. After his marriage he occupied for a time his brother's land, on which he built a "new Blocq house,"† but by 1677 abandoned this home and followed Hans Keen to "Taokanink." We find no trace of him then upon the west bank of the Delaware, but in 1680 his name occurs among those of "y^e freeholders & Inhabitants within [the jurisdiction] of the Court at Burlington," entered in a book of "Burlington Records" in the Office of the Secretary of State at Trenton. The same book also records, and gives a drawing of, the "ear-mark" by which he used to designate his cattle. It likewise mentions, under date of a

* At least he was not born in Sweden, if we may trust the accuracy of Charles Springer's list of the natives of that country who resided on the Delaware in May, 1693.

† "Neare ye water syde of ye Creeke"—"higher up the Creek," says Dr. Smith, "than the House of Defence." For the position of the latter see the "Draft of the First Settled Part of Chester," before referred to, as well as the note, by Edward Armstrong, Esq., to the "Record of Upland Court," p. 202.

Court, September 6, 1680, from whom he claimed to hold his land. "Revel's Book of Survey," preserved in the same Office, contains surveys to him, August 4, 1682, of two "plantations," one of a hundred acres, in the second tenth of Samuel Jennings, "at or near a place called Pempissineck," conveyed to him November 2, of that year, and another, of five hundred acres, adjoining it and to the south, "within ye second Tenn proprieties," purchased by him (jointly with two neighbours) of Thomas Budd and Thomas Gardner, December 20, 1683. The former of these was situated on the Delaware at the mouth of Pompeession Creek, extending up the southwest side of the stream and down the river from that point, within the limits of what was afterwards called Chester Township, Burlington Co., and is now occupied by the village of Riverton. It was here, nearly opposite to the home of his brother Hans, that Jonas Keen had his "dwelling-house." At a Court held "at Peter Rambo's," May 17, 1675,* he was appointed by Governor Andros Ensign of a Company of Militia, composed of the residents of Upland and the vicinity, commanded by Captain Hans Jurian of Calkoons Hook, distinguished for its conversion, two years later, of the "House of Defence" into the First Court-house of Upland. And November 12, 1678, he served on the first Jury which appears upon the Record of Upland Court, "doubtless the first," says Dr. Smith, "that was empaneled within the limits of Pennsylvania." He was one of the larger contributors to the support of the pastor Jacob Fabritius, August 10, 1684, and a member of the Swedish Lutheran congregation at Wicacoa, February 2, 1689. He probably had several children, since his household is known to have comprised eight persons in May, 1693. From the circumstance that only one of his offspring can be identified with certainty, it seems likely that the rest died young, or, being daughters, married, and thus lost the family name. He died before March, 1702-3.

10. MANS, b. October, 1664; m. 1st, Magdalen Hoppman; 2dly, Elizabeth Laican.

* See "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York," vol. xii., p. 527.

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 222.)

Jan. 8, 1752.	Coates,	Thomas, son of John.
Oct. 1, 1736.	Coats,	Thomas, son of Daniel.
Dec. 14, 1739.	"	Mary, wife of Daniel.
Jan. 16, 1739-40.	"	Mary, dau. of John.
Nov. 11, 1745.	"	John, son of John.
Nov. 20, 1745.	"	Isaak. An orphan.
July 12, 1747.	"	John, son of John, Jr.
Nov. 15, 1747.	"	Bentley.
Mar. 30, 1748-9.	"	Hannah, wife of Thomas, Jr.
Dec. 3, 1750.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Warwick.
Nov. 2, 1758.	"	—— son of Warwick.
Aug. 20, 1727.	Cobourn,	Edward.
July 20, 1744.	"	James, son of Robert.
Sept. 2, 1744.	Coburn,	Jane, dau. of James. Poor.
Aug. 6, 1717.	Cockerill,	Mary, wife of Samuel.
Aug. 18, 1717.	"	—— child of Samuel.
Mar. 17, 1735-6.	Cockrane,	William, son of Abigail.
July 10, 1734.	Codman,	Thomas, son of Anthony.
Aug. 21, 1752.	Coffe,	Mary, dau. of Lewis.
Sept. 8, 1734.	Coffey,	Elizabeth, dau. of Cornelius.
July 27, 1729.	Cole,	Patience.
May 8, 1744.	"	Philip. Poor.
Nov. 22, 1744.	"	Walter.
Aug. 19, 1746.	"	Philip, son of Mary, widow.
Aug. 18, 1746.	Colins,	Elinor, dau. of Jeremiah.
April 4, 1748.	"	James.
Sept. 17, 1759.	Collar,	Thomas.
April 20, 1749.	Collier,	Alice.
Jan. 5, 1757.	Collings,	Ralph.
Dec. 20, 1757.	"	Edward.
Nov. 19, 1733.	Collins,	Isabel.
Jan. 11, 1729-30.	"	John, son of Edward.
Aug. 1, 1735.	"	John, son of Edward.
Sept. 19, 1736.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
Oct. 4, 1737.	"	Thomas, son of Edward.

May 22, 1739.	Collins,	William, son of Wm. Poor.
Aug. 22, 1739.	"	Anne, dau. of Edward.
Nov. 22, 1739.	"	Mary, dau. of Edward.
Mar. 15, 1742-3.	"	James, Jr.
Nov. 20, 1744.	"	Catherine, wife of William.
Oct. 6, 1746.	"	Sarah, wife of James.
Sept. 13, 1747.	"	William, son of Ralph.
Nov. 24, 1750.	"	John, son of Ralph.
June 20, 1752.	"	Edward, son of Edward.
June 20, 1758.	Collohan,	Mary.
Sept. 8, 1734.	Colman,	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
Feb. 7, 1753.	Colson,	Edward.
Sept. 6, 1749.	Coltis,	—— mother of Capt.
Dec. 9, 1750.	Colton,	Thomas, son of Thomas.
Sept. 8, 1747.	Combes,	Anne, dau. of Thomas.
Nov. 3, 1728.	Combs,	John.
Sept. 19, 1731.	"	Henry, son of Henry.
April 18, 1748.	"	Henry.
Aug. 23, 1754.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Nov. 28, 1712.	Comedar,	Nathaniel.
Oct. 16, 1759.	Cameron,	—— son of Abraham.
April 12, 1749.	Comly,	William.
April 22, 1741.	Commons,	The Reverend Archibald.
Nov. 6, 1747.	Condrel,	Thomas, son of Honora.
June 2, 1731.	Conduit,	Anne.
Dec. 23, 1736.	Connally,	William.
May 8, 1748.	Connely,	William, son of Patrick.
April 18, 1756.	Connolly,	Bryan.
Sept. 30, 1758.	"	William.
Mar. 31, 1729-30.	Connor.	Nicholas, son of John.
May 24, 1752.	"	John.
May 16, 1758.	"	Michael.
Dec. 4, 1727.	Conoway,	Margaret.
May 14, 1741.	Conrahy,	Bradford.
Mar. 16, 1729-30.	Conry,	Margaret.
Feb. 5, 1722-3.	Conway,	Martha.
Aug. 4, 1752.	Conyer,	Lydia, dau. of Joseph.
Nov. 11, 1756.	Conyers,	Middleton.
Mar. 2, 1759.	"	—— son of William.
Aug. 31, 1716.	Cook,	Mary, wife of Joseph.
July 20, 1721.	"	James, son of Bartho. and Rebecca.
Aug. 9, 1722.	"	Francis, son of Richard and
Sept. 25, 1723.	"	Richard, Jr. [Mary.
Feb. 21, 1726-7.	"	Francis, son of Richard.

Dec. 14, 1730.	Cook,	Anne, dau. of Richard.
June 24, 1735.	"	Mary, wife of Richard.
May 2, 1739.	"	George, son of John.
May 2, 1746.	"	Henry, son of Zebulon.
Jan. 28, 1749-50	"	Priscilla, wife of Zebulon.
Feb. 4, 1756.	"	Richard.
May 11, 1758.	"	Adam.
Sept. 12, 1759.	Cooke,	Ainsworth.
Sept. 8, 1720.	Cookson,	James.
Sept. 2, 1741.	Cooley,	Matthew.
April 13, 1748.	"	George, son of George.
July 7, 1758.	"	Priscilla.
July 29, 1745.	Coombe,	Henry, son of Thomas.
Nov. 3, 1757.	"	—— child of Thomas.
Jan. 4, 1719-20.	Coombs,	Jane, dau. of Henry and Ann.
July 8, 1734.	"	Henry, son of Henry.
Oct. 22, 1750.	"	Rees, son of Thomas.
Sept. 27, 1717.	Cooper,	Thomas, son of Peter and
Oct. 25, 1717.	"	Peter. [Mary.
Aug. 27, 1718.	"	Thomas, son of Peter and
Sept. 26, 1730.	"	Francis. [Mary.
Dec. 2, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, wife of Joseph.
		Strangers' Ground.
June 21, 1749.	Coorn,	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Nov. 11, 1757.	Cope,	Mary, dau. of Nathaniel.
May 18, 1759.	"	William, son of Nathan.
Nov. 28, 1715.	Corbett,	William.
Oct. 18, 1716.	"	Joseph.
Aug. 3, 1749.	Corn,	Nicholas, son of William.
Aug. 2, 1757.	Cornish,	Robert.
June 13, 1759.	"	William, son of Robert.
May 4, 1755.	Cornwall,	James.
Nov. 10, 1754.	Corporal,	John.
June 17, 1756.	Corrin,	Isaac.
Jan. 2, 1757.	"	Thomas.
Nov. 16, 1756.	Corrins,	—— dau. of Jeremiah.
April 4, 1731.	Cosins,	Anne, dau. of George.
Aug. 22, 1741.	Cotes,	Daniel.
Aug. 12, 1758.	Cotton,	William, son of John.
June 16, 1731.	Couch,	Esther.
Nov. 29, 1731.	"	Sarah, dau. of Robert.
April 12, 1738.	"	Samuel, son of William.
Nov. 27, 1739.	"	Margaret, wife of William.
Nov. 29, 1757.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Daniel.
July 11, 1758.	"	Robert.

Aug. 25, 1759.	Couch,	Margaret, dau. of Daniel.
May 18, 1717.	Couer,	Charley, son of Cornelius and Abigail.
Oct. 14, 1716.	Cousins,	Elizabeth, dau. of Elizabeth.
May 22, 1744.	"	William, son of Wm.
July 12, 1759.	Cowman,	Mary, wife of Attwood.
July 29, 1759.	"	William, son of Attwood.
Aug. 2, 1713.	Cox,	Theodosia, dau. of Robert and Sarah.
Nov. 9, 1736.	"	—— dau. of William.
May 8, 1740.	"	Thomas, son of Mary.
Aug. 8, 1745.	"	William.
Mar. 29, 1746-7.	"	Benjamin.
Nov. 13, 1747.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Jane.
Nov. 21, 1748.	"	Samuel.
April 3, 1749.	"	John.
Nov. 6, 1749.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of John.
April 13, 1750.	"	Martha, dau. of John.
July 17, 1750.	"	Samuel.
Aug. 24, 1750.	"	Rebeccah.
Nov. 17, 1750.	"	Samuel.
April 14, 1752.	"	John.
May 24, 1759.	"	William.
Nov. 27, 1728.	Coxe,	Samuel. Buried in Jersey.
July 31, 1757.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Sept. 29, 1740.	Coyle,	Margaret, wife of Michael.
Sept. 7, 1747.	"	Peter, son of Seth.
Dec. 10, 1742.	Cozens,	Ann. Widow. Poor.
June 4, 1759.	Craddock,	William.
Feb. 23, 1725-6.	Crafford,	Mary, dau. of James and Mary.
June 26, 1712.	Craft,	Thomas.
Mar. 17, 1728-9.	Crafts,	James.
Sept. 9, 1756.	"	—— wife of Henry.
Sept. 2, 1741.	Craig,	Thomas. Mariner.
Dec. 29, 1732.	Craig,	Henry.
Nov. 26, 1758.	Cramer,	Richard.
Aug. 27, 1713.	Cramton,	Rychard, wife of Frances. (<i>sic.</i>)
April 7, 1722.	Crane,	Samuel.
July 1, 1732.	"	Robert.
Nov. 12, 1732.	"	Elinor.
Aug. 24, 1733.	"	Mary, wife of Robert.
May 31, 1748.	Cranfield,	Patrick.
Sept. 10, 1734.	Crap,	John.
Sept. 6, 1734.	Crapp,	Mary, dau. of John.
Mar. 15, 1730-1.	Cratho,	John, son of John.

APRIL AND MAY MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A meeting of the Society was held on the 8th of April, 1878, the President (Mr. Wallace) in the chair.

Mr. Solomon W. Roberts, Civil Engineer, read a paper entitled "Reminiscence of the first Railroad over the Allegheny Mountains," in the construction of which work Mr. Roberts was engaged.

On motion of Mr. Du Barry the thanks of the Society were given to him for his interesting paper.

The President announced the names of the following persons as the tellers at the election of officers on the 6th of May next: Messrs. J. P. Nicholson, Charles Roberts, Charles P. Keith, R. Patterson Robins, W. J. Buck, Charles R. Hildeburn; any two to act, and in the absence of all of them, Messrs. Frederick D. Stone and Spencer Bonsall.

The annual meeting of the Society was held pursuant to public notice, on the evening of Monday, May 6th, Vice-President Biddle in the chair.

Mr. Morris, President of the Council, read the annual report of that body.

Mr. William M. Darlington, of Pittsburg, a Vice-President of the Society, read an address upon "Early Explorations in the Middle Colonies westward towards the Ohio River."

On motion the thanks of the Society were unanimously given to Mr. Darlington for the address, and a copy of the same requested for preservation in the archives.

Mr. F. D. Stone, on behalf of the tellers appointed to take the votes for officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, reported the following gentlemen unanimously elected:—

<i>President.</i>	<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>	<i>Treasurer.</i>
John William Wallace.	John W. Jordan.	J. Edward Carpenter.
<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	<i>Council.</i>	
William M. Darlington.	Richard L. Nicholson,	
John Jordan, Jr.	Edwin T. Eisenbrey.	
	Philip Sing Phisic Connor.	

Trustee of the Publication and Binding Fund.

Fairman Rogers.

A special meeting was held on the evening of May 28th, Vice-President Kum in the chair.

The Rev. William G. Andrews, of New Haven, Conn., delivered an address entitled "The Moravians in the Housatonic Valley."

On motion the thanks of the Society were unanimously given to Mr. Andrews, and a copy of the discourse requested for preservation.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

EARLY SWEDISH RECORDS—EXTRACTS FROM PARISH RECORDS OF GLORIA DEI CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.—PAPER IN THE HANDWRITING OF THE REV. NICHOLAS COLLIN, D.D.

Claes Johanson died December, 1723, above 60, probably 65 years old.

Nils Laican died December, 1723, probably above 60 years old.

Gunnar Rambo died January, 1724, 75 years old. (Of Pennypack.)

Peter Rambo, vestryman (*kyrkorad*), died December, 1729, 77 years of age.

Walborg Janson (Shaminy) died April, 1732, aged about 68 or 70 years.

Nils Johnson died January, 1735, aged 79 years and 8 months.

Old widow Cock (Elizabeth, Eric's widow, from Jersey) died April, 1735; must have been 80 years old or more. (Had a son Peter, 25 or 26 years of age in 1700, who was drowned near Matson, and buried in Mr. Rudman's time.)

Gertru Stille, widow of Johan, died January, 1744, 79 or 80 years of age.

Morten Garret (Sculkil) died January, 1751, aged 75 years.

Peter Cock (Passajung) died January, 1751, aged 63 years.

Hance Lycon (Pennipack) died September, 1751, above 83 years old.

James Lacony (Senamensing) died May, 1752, aged 73 years.

Andrew Giurgen (Kalkonhuk) died January, 1753, aged 65 years.

John Rambo (Kensington) died July, 1753, aged 60 years.

Susana Keen (Pennipack) died November, 1753, aged 65 years. [Evidently taken like the rest of these statements from the record of burials: to be corrected, from the Rev. Andrew Rudman's List of the Congregation in 1697-8, to 59 years.]

Andrew Rambo (Passajung) died November, 1753, aged 64 years.

Brigitta Gerts (Sculkil) died December, 1753, aged 75 years.

Andrew Rambo (Pennypack) died February, 1755, aged 64 years.

Margaret Morton (Amasland) died February, 1755, aged 76 years.

Alumkie Scute (probably Armgot, widow of old Scute, from Sculkil) died March, 1755, aged 91 years.

Hans Gales (Amasland) died March, 1751, aged 59 years.

Gustavus Hesselius died May, 1755, aged 73 years.

Andrew Rambo (Mazong) died July, 1755, aged 71 years.

Mary Hughes died March, 1757, aged 74 years.

Andrew Justis died June, 1756, aged 66 years.

Elizabeth Hill (wife of Edward Hill) died January, 1758, aged 82 years.

Cathrine Rambo (widow of Andrew, from Pennypack) died February, 1758, aged 70 years.

Elizabeth Longaker (widow of Andrew, of Kalk-huk), died February, 1758, aged 78 years.

John Keen (Pennypack) died February, 1758, aged 63 years.

Sven Jokum died August, 1758, aged (if he be the one mentioned by Mr. Rudman) 73 years.

Stephen Evans died October, 1758, aged 67 years.

Anders Haman, born in Sweden, December, 1626, buried at Chester (Up-land) September, 1700, about, 74 years of age.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST.—We, the undersigned churchwardens¹ of the Wicacoa congregation, salute our brethren, and notify them that the Rev. Mr. Jacob Fabritius has now accomplished his official service promised for a year; and, therefore, make a friendly request to each individual by our agent, Jacob Yongh, that they discharge their just debts to him without refusal, so that we may not be obliged to employ other means, and incur useless expenses, which must fall on those who occasion them. We are also solicitous to procure a further continuance of his service; and, therefore, request all who are desirous of this to subscribe their voluntary contributions for his support, respectively, with their names or marks. Given at Wickakau on the 10th of August, 1684.

Swen Swensson,	Guilders 25	John Mattson,	Guilders 15
Capt. Lorentz Cock,	" 35	And. Weehler,	" 20
Anders Bengtsson,	" 25	John Cock,	" 25
Otto Ernest Cock,	" 25	Petter Cock, Sr.,	" 20
Petter Rambo, Jr.,	" 25	Mats Holsteen,	" 20
Caspar Fisk,	" 25	Gabr. Cock,	" 25
Petter Nilsson Laij-		And. Rambo,	" 25
kan,	" 30	Niels Jonason,	" 20
Gunnar Rambo,	" 30	And. Persson,	" 16
Petter Yochem,	" 30	Jonas Nilsson,	2 bushels of wheat
Olle Nillson Jerst-		John Skute,	Guilders 25
berg,	" 25	Petter Dahlboe,	" 20
Lasse Bonde,	" 20	Mons Jonsson,	" 12
Niels Jestenberg,	" 20	And. Jonsson,	" 12
Erick Jestenberg,	" 15	Petter Cock, Jr.,	" 12
Christian Classon,	" 20	Bengt Bengtson,	" 12
Herman Enock,	" 25	John Jonsson,	" 12
Willamke Kühn,	" 20	Mons Jöstasson,	" 12
Capt. Hans Mons-		Staffan Jonsson	" 12
son,	" 25	Swen Bonde,	" 12
Jonas Kuijhn,	" 25	Jösta Jöstsson,	" 16
Fredrick König,	" 25	John Polsson,	
Erick Mollock,	" 20	Elias Tay,	" 12
Matthias Kuijhn, ²	" 15	John Tanck,	" 20
Mons Cock,	" 25	Nils Laykan,	" 15
Erick Cock,	" 30	Brita Jöstes,	2 bushels of wheat
Michael Laykan,	" 25	And. Bonde,	Guilders 25
Olle Swensson,	" 20	Claes Jansson,	" 12
Anders Swensson,	" 25	John Claesson,	" 12
John Stille,	" 20		
Total		Guilders 1077, and 4 bushels of wheat.	

These 1077 guilders, at the rate of 2 guilders for a shilling, and 4 bushels of wheat, at a half-crown, made, in the money of this country, 27 pounds 8 shillings and 6 pence. This salary was at that time pretty good, with aid of perquisites for baptisms, etc., which Mr. Fabritius received, not only here, but in the lower parish after the death of Mr. Lock, and in Maryland. (*Note by the Rev. Andrew Rudman.*)

CORRECTIONS.—In Mr. Rudman's list of his congregation, printed among the Notes in the last number of the Magazine, page 225, 24th line from the

¹ [The first six subscribers, it is presumed. These were the persons chosen "Trustees" for the Church, February 2, 1689.]

² [At this time only seventeen years of age. Others, who contributed smaller sums, were not yet heads of families.]

foot, for "Pacquessung" read *Pocquessung*; 13th line from the foot omit "23 ys."; page 226, line 25, for "Amngott" read *Armngott*; 4th line from the foot, omit "[or his]"; page 227, line 30, for "Ross" read *Roos*; page 228, line 18, for "Anau" read *Arian*; 15th line from the foot, for "Feb. 95" read *Feb. 25*.

G. B. KEEN.

INDIAN NOMENCLATURE.—In the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, April 18, 1768, is an article on the Pyramids in Tioga County, in which the county is spelled Tiaogo; and the Indian name given for "Standing Stones" is Assennissing.

While many of the tributaries of the *Susquehanna* seem to be of the same dialect, as *Tobyhanna*, *Tunkhanna*, *Lackawanna*, and others, we find in the same stream the *Chemung*, the *Kawanishoning*, the *Popometang*, the *Mahoning*, and on up within the forks, the *Lycoming*, the *Sinnamahoning*, and others.

It has seemed to me that all the names ending in "ng" could be traced to a common family, dialect, or tribe; and those ending in "na," "sa," or "a" to some other system of nomenclature. There are a few names not at present resolvable into any of the above, but they are all now undergoing examination, and I hope some day to give you a tolerably complete list of the Indian names of streams, places, and persons within the forks of the *Susquehanna*.

JOHN G. FREEZE.

Bloomsburg, May, 1873.

LOSS OF THE SHIP MORRIS.—A correspondent sends us the following extract from a letter of Mrs. Robert Morris to her mother, mentioning the loss of the ship *Morris*, on which Armand, Marquis de la Rouerie came to America. (See PENN. MAG. Vol. II. p. 4.) The letter is dated April 14, 1777. "There are now three men-of-war in our bay, which looks as if they inclined this way. Mr. Morris has met with a great loss, as well as the Continent, by them, the ship *Morris* with a most valuable cargo of arms, ammunition, and dry goods. She had provided herself with guns, to keep off any common attack, but was most unfortunately beset by three, the *Roebuck*, one of them, at our capes. She defended herself bravely as long as it was possible, and then the captain run her on shore, and very bravely blew her up, and, poor fellow, perished himself in his over anxiety to do it effectually."

GEN. WOODFORD.—From the *Penna. Packet* of Dec. 16, 1780, we take the following: We are sorry to announce to the public that a paragraph which appeared in a New York paper a few days ago, mentioning the death of the brave and worthy General Woodford turns out to be but too true. He departed from this city in January last, at the head of a number of Virginia troops, and by persevering and rapid marches in that uncommonly cold and inclement season, so far accomplished his design as to get into Charlestown with the detachment under his command a few days before that place was closely invested. The fatigues of the siege, in which he bore a very active part, together with the mortification of becoming a prisoner, and the rigorous confinement he suffered, proved too much for his delicate constitution. In the last decline of his health, he was removed from Charlestown to New York, where he in a short time paid the debt of nature, and fell a cheerful sacrifice to his country's glorious cause.

WELSH SETTLERS OF PENCADER, DELAWARE.—The Rev. Rees C. Evans, M. A., of Gloucester, N. J., has translated for us two articles, contributed by him to "Y. Wasg." of Nov. 3d and 10th, 1877, regarding the Welsh settlers of Pencader. The two contributions are here given as one.

We find from registers in this county that many Welsh people came to

Philadelphia in the year 1701, and settled first at Pennypack, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Several left Pennypack and settled in the Great Valley, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in which place they built a church, which was called "Trediffryn Meeting House." At the time of writing this, it is called "The Great Valley Church." In the year 1703, a Welsh Colony went thence to land called "The Welsh Tract," in the State of Delaware. At present it is called Glasgow. It lies between Delaware City and Newark, and is about ten miles distant from Wilmington, Delaware. The first Welsh settlers received from Penn. the proprietary, 30,000 acres of land. On this they began to build a church, and in the year 1706 they finished the building in which they worshipped God. The first minister of the "little flock" was the Rev. David Evans, a native of Wales. Mr. Evans not having been an ordained minister in Wales, and not possessing the required qualifications for the ministry, it was necessary for him to go to Yale College. There, after laborious study, he graduated in the years 1713-14. He returned to preach to the churches of Pencader and Tredyffryn. On account of some difference of opinion between him and a Samuel James, he resigned his office at Pencader, but continued to engage in his ministerial duties at the church at Tredyffryn. In this latter church he remained twenty years, when he left to officiate in New Jersey, where he remained until his death in 1750. It is reported of him that he was a very learned man, and possessed high attainments. During his ministerial labors he published a book, entitled "Law and Gospel," showing the fall of man and his restoration by the gospel. We find that the successor of Rev. David Evans in Pencader, was Rev. Thomas Evans, the son of Nathanael Evans, and a relative of the former minister. He came to this country from Carmarthenshire, and settled in Pencader in 1720. After preaching on trial, he was ordained to the work of the ministry in the year 1721, and continued to labor there until his death, which took place in 1742. A few months ago, I was astonished to see the epitaph in the Welsh language, of Rev. Thomas Evans, in Pencader Churchyard. Mr. Evans was remarkable for his zeal in the cause of Education. In Pencader he established an academy. One of his scholars was the late Abel Morgan, who became a Baptist minister in New Jersey; and another was one of the teachers of Mr. Davies, President of Princeton College. Mr. Evans had a valuable library. His books are, without doubt, scattered here and there. The Church in that early period was not left without experiencing the cold winds of religious contention. In the times of Rev. George Whitefield, there was much trouble, and when Mr. Evans was about to "sleep in Jesus," many united with the new body called the "New Light."

Some Welsh, who at that time (1742) spoke the Welsh language, built a church at Pigeon's Run, Red Lion Hundred, Delaware. Unhappily, this building was burnt down, and the congregation was scattered between Newcastle and St. George's. To this day, the burial grounds are to be seen, and the epitaphs are still legible.

Oh, how forcibly came to busy memory a sweet verse whilst walking near the graves of my kindred, and beneath the willows that overshadowed their resting places in Pigeon's Run and Pencader! (Here follows a verse which cannot well be rendered into English rhyme without impairing the sweetness of the original.)

We will now give to the readers of "*the Press*" (Y. Wasg) an account of the Welsh ministers of Pencader, and other places in the State of Delaware, from the year 1773 to the present century. Notwithstanding the religious contentions that took place in the times of Whitefield, and the scattering of many of the flock, the Rev. Timothy Gryffydd, the third minister of Pencader Church, extended his duties to a place called Drawyers and Tredyffryn. In the last mentioned place he preached in the Welsh

language. When the country was threatened with the attacks of the Indians, Mr. Gryffydd was appointed commander of the military companies of the State of Delaware. After diligently preaching the word of God, and serving his country faithfully, this soldier was called to his heavenly home, to receive his reward, in 1754, having ministered for twelve years. Valuable aid was rendered Rev. Mr. Gryffydd by an excellent scholar and minister named McDonald, who was the head master of a school established by John Penn. This school (now Newark College) is situated half way between Philadelphia and Baltimore, is at present open, and has many students.

The next period that left its severe impress upon the Welsh settlers in these parts, as well as upon the whole country at large, was the Revolutionary war.

On the 22d of May, 1776, Rev. Samuel Eakin was the Minister. He was the first minister who preached in English in Pencader. From that time to the present, the services have been in the English tongue; though for the space of twenty years after, Welsh preaching was kept up among the Baptists. The services of religion have been observed in Pencader for nearly 170 years, and conducted by eighteen ministers.

The following are their names: Dafydd Evans, Thomas Evans, Timothy Gryffydd, Elihu Spencer, A. McDonald, Samuel Eakin, Thomas Smith, William Chealy, John Burton, John Collins, Samuel Bell, Hugh Hammill, James McIntyre, H. S. Howell, T. B. Jervis, George Foote, Edward Webb, and Jason Rogers.

Now, concerning the church buildings in Pencader:

The *first* church was built by the first Welsh settlers in 1706. It stood near where the sexton's house is at present, and a little to the right of the burial ground. It was an unpretending wooden building, small when compared with the present one, and was removed to a place on which Mr. John Thornton now resides.

The *second* church building was erected by the Welsh in Pencader in the year 1782, on the spot where the present church stands. It was composed of better material than the first, the walls and floor being made of bricks. The bricks were burnt upon a farm now occupied by David Brainerd Faris. This church was built by Jacob Faris, William Whann, Peter Williams, Joseph Thomas, and others. The church had no facilities for warming. The efforts made by the people showed their love to Christ. They rode on horseback several miles to, hear the word of Life spoken, when sometimes the snow would be three, and even four feet in depth.

The *third* church, the present one, is large and commodious. In it worship the inhabitants of Pencader, who possess much of the 30,000 acres of land owned by the early Welsh settlers.

GENERAL JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS.—The following matter is little more than a collection of "*Notes*" made at different times and places, and they are here presented with the hope that they may be fitted in with those from other sources, and thus assist the future biographer. Much of the data here given is new, and is derived from original and unpublished letters and papers which have lately fallen under the observation of the writer.

Drake, in his "*American Biography*," says, "De Haas was born in Holland about 1735, and came to America with his father in 1750, and settled in Lancaster County, Pa." He did live in the town of Lebanon, Pa., which, until 1813, was in Lancaster County, and was then made the county seat of a new county, called Lebanon, formed out of portions of the old counties of Lancaster and Berks.

The subject of this sketch first appears in military life as an Ensign in the

1st Batt. Pa. Provincial Troops.¹ John Armstrong, Colonel commanding. His service seems continuous and his promotion steady. He was Ensign, January 3, 1758; Adjutant, April 3, 1758; Captain, April 28, 1760; and Major, June 9, 1764—serving under Colonels Armstrong, Jas. Burd, and Henry Bouquet.

Judging merely from the date of service and the commanders under whom he acted, De Haas very probably took part in the expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne, in September, 1758; and he certainly was with General Bouquet while on his march to the relief of Fort Pitt, in August, 1763, for he obtained lands from the Proprietors for that very service. In June, 1764, he was stationed nearer home, being then in command at "Fort Henry,"² an important post, guarding a pass through the Kittochinny Hills. This fort was on the east side of the Susquehanna River, near where the Swatara Creek passes through the "Hills," in what is now Bethel Town, Berks County, and was one of the chain of forts protecting the frontiers of Lancaster, Berks, and Northampton Counties.

From 1765 to 1775 De Haas appears to have led a peaceful life in "Lebanon town," signing documents as "one of his majesty's justices of the peace for y^e county of Lancaster," and engaged in some business connected with the iron interest of that region, for among the papers mentioned are orders for "bar iron" by the ton from the neighboring forge at "Speedwell," then owned by Peter and Curtis Grubb.

He evidently was among the first of those to answer the call to arms in 1775, and in December of that year he returned from Canada, a survivor of the ill-starred expedition of Arnold and Montgomery.

From an autograph letter, dated Lebanon, January 6, 1776, we learn that he was busily engaged in recruiting the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion, of which he was commissioned colonel, January 22, 1776. In this letter he tells us that the gunsmiths of Lebanon are at work upon his muskets; but they complain that, though twice sent for, they cannot obtain the gun-barrels needed from Lancaster. Returning to Canada with his command early in 1776, he took part in the campaign under General Sullivan.

On August 19, 1776,³ Colonel De Haas was a member of a court-martial, held at Ticonderoga, on Colonel Moses Hazen, De Haas being here again under Arnold. At Long Island he appears among the Pennsylvania troops under General Lord Stirling, and did good service side by side with the brave Samuel John Atlee, who, like De Haas, was from Lancaster County.

On February 21, 1777, Congress commissioned De Haas a brigadier-general, but his movements after and immediately before this date are uncertain.

A deposition of General De Haas, made in August, 1779, throws some light upon his whereabouts in 1777, and from it we glean the following. He says: On his return from Canada, in December, 1775, he recommended to the commander-in-chief the establishment of depots in different sections of the country for the purpose of securing and storing of beef, etc., for the armies. In February, 1777, De Haas came back to Lebanon upon this service, bringing with him "a Lieut., 2 Sergt's, a Drum & Fife, and 40 Rank and file," and "bought, killed, and salted large quantity of horn Cattle." The occasion of the trial—of which this deposition forms a part—was a charge of "illegal imprisonment," made by one John Patton, of Lebanon, against De Haas. It seems the general had seized this man's dwelling as a storehouse for army beef, and naturally Patton and his wife were indignant and spoke their minds very freely to the neighbors. De Haas finally

¹ Penna. Archives, New Series, vol. ii.

² Called by the Indians Tolheo. See Moravian Memorials, p. 80.

³ Lossing's "Amer. Hist. Record," vol. iii. p. 445.

arrested Patton and put him in irons, "to save him from the soldiers," says the general; but the suspicion is a very strong one, from the evidence, that personal motives of revenge had quite as much to do with it, especially as the general testifies that Patton called him "a d— bullock driver general," and further, "d— those who made him to a general." The general's testimony is a curious piece of Dutch-English, unfortunately too long for insertion here.

In other legal papers among the MSS. mentioned is the testimony of a tenant of De Haas, in a suit for an arrearage of rent, which fixes the date of the removal of the general from Lebanon to the city of Philadelphia in these words: "Mr. John Philip De Haas, late of Lebanon, removed to Philadelphia in the month of Oct., 1779, &c."

In several letters, in very bad English and worse chirography, De Haas complains bitterly of the gout "in hands and feet;" and on May 10, 1783, Dr. George Glentworth, of Philadelphia, certifies to the Supreme Court, in session at Lancaster, that from this cause the general is unable to leave his room to attend Court.

General John Philip De Haas' died in Philadelphia on June 3, 1786—the date being established by a direct reference to the event in a letter of his son, John Philip De Haas, to his attorney, Jasper Yeates, of Lancaster, and by a subpoena issued by the Court to "Elenor and John Philip De Haas, executors of the late John Philip De Haas," dated September 8, 1786.

The similarity of names of father and son has been a cause of trouble with biographers—one being mistaken for the other. This son was an Ensign during the Revolution in his father's regiment, and in the early part of the present century left Philadelphia and settled upon land on the west branch of the Susquehanna, granted to his father—then Major De Haas—by the Proprietors, Thomas and Richard Penn, in 1763: this land being a portion of the 24,000 acres taken up by the officers of Colonel Bouquet's command.

The letters of the general and his son are all sealed with an imposing "coat of arms," which may be important in proving his ancestry. Unfortunately none of the impressions are perfect. All that can be made out is the crest, which is "Between two wings displayed, a stag springing," and at the bottom of the shield, "a stag courant."

September, 1878.

D. McN. STAUFFER.

INSCRIPTIONS IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH-YARD, PHILADELPHIA.—We are happy to inform our readers that a volume will shortly be issued containing the inscriptions from the stones in the yard of St. Peter's Church in this city. The manuscript was prepared several years ago by the Rev. William White Bronson. Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn is superintending the passage of the volume through the press, and has added many valuable notes to the work of the reverend compiler. Two-thirds of the book has been printed. It will contain upwards of 600 pages, and will be uniform in style with Clark's *Inscriptions in Christ Church-yard, Phila.* The edition will be less than two hundred and fifty copies, and the price \$5.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.—The letter of Alexander Hamilton describing the battle of Monmouth, published in the last number of the Magazine, was printed from the original, addressed to Mr. Boudinot, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It was given to the readers under the impression that it had never before appeared in print, and it was not until the number was ready for delivery that the editor was aware that the letter was included in the Lee Papers, collected by Dr. George H. Moore,

¹ The name does not appear in White's Directory for 1785.

and published by the N. Y. Historical Society. To that society therefore belongs the credit of having first given this interesting document to the public; an acknowledgment which is cheerfully made.

PROFESSOR ALLEN'S CHESS LIBRARY.—We take the following from the *Librarian*: "A catalogue of the Chess Collection of the late Professor George Allen, of the University, has been prepared by his executors, Professors F. A. Jackson and G. B. Keen. The library is the finest on the subject in America, and ranks with the three or four best similar ones in Europe. It comprises about a thousand printed volumes in more than a dozen languages, besides two hundred and fifty autograph letters, and fifty engravings and photographs. All departments of Chess lore are represented in it: many of the works are of the greatest rarity, some of them not included in any other private collection, some altogether unique. Three books as valuable as any, are the copy of Damiano, in the first edition of 1512, Ruy Lopez of 1561, and the Italian Carrera. There are copies of Tarsia, Gianutio, Selenus, Salvio, Lolli, Ponziani, Cozio, and all ancient and modern classics of the game. There are forty-six copies of Philidor, only two or three of them duplicates, as well as nineteen reproductions of his treatise under other names. The collections of works relating to Chess Problems, the Knight's Leap, and the Automaton Chess Player, are remarkably copious, the Chess Journals extremely numerous, and the Belles-Lettres of the subject rich beyond all hope of rivalry. The bindings of the books have been described with great precision by Colonel John P. Nicholson, of the well-known firm of Pawson & Nicholson, Philadelphia, and correspond in solidity and beauty with the volumes they protect." We understand that efforts are being made to secure this collection for one of the libraries of this city, an end which we earnestly hope our liberal citizens will see is accomplished. The mere bringing together of such a number of volumes on a special subject is the result of an expenditure of time and money which few, unacquainted with library management, can appreciate, and its separation would destroy what should be an enduring monument to a citizen of whom Philadelphia may well be proud.

THE AMERICAN PRINTER.—A Manual of Typography, containing practical directions for managing all departments of a printing office, etc., by Thomas McKellar, in twelve years has run through eleven large editions. It requires, for the practical man, no eulogy by the reviewer. We therefore need not commend Mr. McKellar's book to printers by profession. First published in 1866, and containing complete instructions for apprentices, with several useful tables and numerous schemes for imposing forms in every variety, it is as familiar as household words in every printing office of the United States. We may speak of it, however, as very useful to authors who write for the press; as interesting to every one who desires information as to life prevailing in the little world of the printing house, and as entertaining to almost any class of intelligent readers. Years ago we used to read Mr. McKellar's poetry with pleasure. We are now surprised to see with what facility he devotes himself to matters far enough removed from the muses.

Coming from the office of a professional letter-founder, we need not say that the type of this volume has virgin freshness, the ink perfection of color, and that the volume generally is rich with original designs. In parts we detect, as we fancy, the experienced eye of Mr. Comly, an important person in the foundry, now representing the ancient house of Binney & Ronaldson

Queries.

FOREMAN—HERMAN—HOW—WESTON—KEEN—RAMBO—GUSTAFSON.—Is it known whether George Foreman, of Marcus Hook, afterwards Chichester, on the river Delaware, Pa., left descendants by his wife Eleanor, daughter of James and Ann (Keen) Sandelands? They were married about 1690, and were both living in 1698. Similar information desired with regard to Ephraim Augustine Herman, of Cecil County, Maryland, son of Casparus and Anna (Reyniers) Hermans, and grandson of Augustyn Hermans, of Bohemia Manor, and his wife Jannetje, daughter of Casper and Judith Varleth, of New Netherland, who married, about 1712, Isabella, daughter of Maurice and Mary (Sandelands) Trent, of Pennsylvania. As well as in the case of John How, a merchant of New Castle, on the Delaware, in 1724, and his wife Eleanor, sister of Isabella (Trent) Herman. And in that of Thomas Weston, who was married at St. Paul's Church, Chester, Dec. 21, 1713, to Rebeckah, daughter of Peter and Ann (Keen) Baynton. Who married (by 1714) Christina, daughter of Matthias and Henrietta (Claassen) Keen, who was born in Oxford Tp., Philadelphia Co., in 1694, and died, leaving issue, about 1754? Was it George Shoemaker, of Cheltenham Tp., whose first wife was Sarah, daughter of Richard Waln, of Fair Hill? Of what family was Susan Kean, who married Anthony Burton, of Bristol, Pa., in 1725? What is known of the descendants of Mans. Mounce, or Moses Keen, who died at Pilesgrove, in West New Jersey, June 3, 1770, aged 105 years? Was one of his daughters Christine Keen, who married, Dec. 2, 1724, Peter Rambo, son of John Rambo, of West New Jersey, by his wife Brigitta, daughter of Peter Cox? Was another Annika Keen, who married, Dec. 7, 1726, Gustaf Gustafson, of West New Jersey? K.

BOWLES.—Can any of your readers give me any information as to who were "Mrs. Margaret Bowles" (1738), and "Mr. Humphrey Bowles" (1767), of New Jersey? In the preface (p. xxi.) to "An. Anal. Ind. to the Col. Doc. of New Jersey," published by the New Jersey Historical Society in 1858, reference is made to each of these persons as having in their respective possessions certain public records of the Colony. I want the information as an aid in my investigations relative to Sarah Bowles, who became the wife of Richard Nixon Jan. 7, 1727-28 (O. S.). I have reason to believe that she was of New Jersey, as probably Richard Nixon was himself.

Phila. May 15, 1878.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

OCTORARA.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give me the meaning of the Indian name Octorara? C

MAJ. LATOUR.—A correspondent in New Orleans sends us the following queries regarding Maj Latour. Where educated? Whether he held commission in the French army? If so, what grade? When did he leave France? When did he arrive in St. Domingo, and in what capacity did he go there? When did he leave St. Domingo? Did he go thence to Havana? or did he come at once to the United States? How employed in civil life in Louisiana? Where did he go after the battle of N. O.? E. A. P.

COLONEL JOHN BUTLER.—Was Colonel John Butler, who commanded the British forces at Wyoming, July 3, 1778, a native of New England? If so, where was he born? Or was he a native of Old England? B. C. S.

PARIS, HENDRON, TILLINGHAST.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give any information regarding a family by the name of Paris, who came to Philadelphia from Dublin, Ireland, about the year 1700, or earlier? Mary Paris married for her first husband a man by the name of Hendron, and secondly Joseph Tillinghast, of Providence, R. I. The only data I have in connection with her is that of the birth of her third child by the second marriage—Nicholas Tillinghast, May 26, 1726—and the fact that she was brought from Dublin while very young. E. E. D.

BRUFF.—Major James Bruff, of the Revolutionary Army, was commandant at Fort Mifflin, near Philadelphia, in 1804. Any information regarding him or his family, will be thankfully received by CHARLES BRUFF.
40 Portland Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

GENERAL SMALLWOOD.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE furnish the undersigned with a list of the children of Governor Smallwood, of Maryland, and also refer him to some authentic account of General Smallwood's life and public services? R. P. ROBINS.

Replies.

EDWARD WHALLEY, THE REGICIDE (vol. i. 55, 230, 359; vol. ii. 115, 234).—I have read with interest the communication of Mr. Littledale in the last number of the Magazine, but I cannot see that he proves that I am "mistaken in supposing that the will of Edward Wale was made by the regicide," nor that his reports of the Chancery Court proceedings materially affect the Maryland theory. While any communication in No. 1 of vol. i. was purely tentative (and as such has been successful in calling out information which I should otherwise have been unable to obtain), I am unwilling to abandon the position I there took, until I am convinced by proof absolute that Edward Whalley of Maryland was other than tradition has always assumed him to be. While I am perfectly willing then to acknowledge any such evidence when it comes, I cannot without it adopt Mr. Littledale's view of the case as it now stands.

In the first place, Mr. Littledale assumes Edward *Wale* (as signed in the will) to be Edward *Wall*. Without proof this cannot be accepted, for not only by tradition, but also in public documents, this man, his sons, and his descendants have been called Whalley, and so do these descendants still call themselves. Since the last number of the Magazine appeared, I have received letters from a branch of the family descended from JOHN WHALEY, the eldest son, whose family removed to South Carolina as early as 1693 (now represented by William Whaley, Esq., of Charleston, S. C.), which letters confirm the family traditions on the subject as embodied in the Robins narrative of 1769, showing that the idea that the Whaley of Maryland was the veritable regicide is by no means a new one, dating back, of course, beyond 1693, as there had been no communication between the families of Maryland and South Carolina since the removal of the latter, until I opened (in August, 1878, at a venture) a correspondence with Mr. William Whaley of Charleston. The descendants of NATHANIEL WHALLEY, seated at Whaleyville, Maryland, and now represented by Messrs. Peter and James Whaley, of that place, have spelled their name always in this way; and finally, the descendants of Walter Whalley (a younger son of Nathaniel and grandson of

Edward), now represented by J. C. C. Whalley, Esq., of Lock Haven, Pennsylvania—this Walter having settled in Fairfax County, Virginia—also have been *Whalley* from the beginning. These different branches of the family have never, to my knowledge, been in communication with each other.

In the second place, Mr. Littledale argues that Edward Whalley, of England, being an educated man, and the will of Edward Wale, of Maryland, being the production of an evidently unlettered pen, Edward Whalley and Edward Wale could not manifestly have been the same. This is the same criticism, in other words, that has been made by the "Nation" and various historical writers who have not carefully weighed all the circumstances of the case. Is it not manifest that the will must have been the composition of another, owing to the age and infirmities of the testator? And can any one expect a feeble and decrepit man of 103 years, and a blind man of twenty years' standing to boot, to do more than sign with his mark, and thus give assent to sentiments which were his own, although in the language and handwriting of another?

The Court of Chancery proceedings, as quoted by Mr. Littledale, throw no light upon the American side of the question, beyond tending to show that while the regicide deemed himself safe in reassuming his own name in Maryland, he still feared the result of discovering himself to any one in England, and that Whalley in his will leaves his American property only to those of his children who followed him into exile. In this connection I will once more call attention to the statement of Frances (Whalley) Goffe, in her letter to her husband in 1662, where she says: "My brother John is gone across the sea, I know not whither." (See Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, p. 534.) This JOHN, who accompanied his stepmother and the younger portion of his brothers and sisters to meet his father in America, also settled in Worcester County (then a part of Somerset), Maryland. He had married in England; his wife had died, leaving him one son, Herbert, and this son had grown to man's estate and was independent. Shortly after his arrival, John Whalley again married, this time to Mary Radcliffe, and in 1685 removed to Delaware. Here, about 1693, he died, and in a few months his widow and children removed to South Carolina. His oldest son (by the second marriage), Thomas Whaley, bought land and settled on Edisto Island. This property has remained ever since in the possession of the Whalleys, and is now in the hands of William Whaley, of Charleston, who is the representative of the family in South Carolina. Sir Herbert Whalley, Knt., eldest son of John Whalley and grandson of the regicide, remained, as has been said, in England, came into possession of some of the family property, and married there. He is now represented by George Hammond Whalley, Esq., of Plas Madoc, Denbighshire, Wales. The late Sir John Whalley Smythe Gardiner was also, I believe, a descendant of this Sir Herbert Whalley.

Of Edward Whalley's daughters there were three who followed him to this country, and who are therefore mentioned in the Robins narrative of 1769. They were: Rachel, who married John Reckliffe (or Ratcliffe); Elizabeth, who married John Turvale; and Bridget, who married Ebenezer Franklin. From Ebenezer and Bridget (Whalley) Franklin was descended the late Judge John R. Franklin, of Worcester County, Maryland.

Edward Whalley's youngest son, ELIAS, married Sarah, daughter of Colonel Thomas and Sarah (Irving) Peel; he died in 1720, two years after his father, leaving an infant daughter, Leah, who was married in 1738 to Thomas Robins, Jr., of Northampton County, Virginia. She died in 1740, leaving one son, Thomas Robins third, the author of the Robins narrative of 1769. (See PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, vol. i., No. 1, p. 60.) Through this marriage, South Point and the house which Whalley built, and in which he passed his last years, came in the possession of the Robins family. It is now

the property of William Bowdoin Robins, Esq., of Berlin, Worcester County, Maryland.

ROBERT P. ROBINS.

Philadelphia, Sept. 13, 1878.

MARSHALL (ii. 230).—The ancestors of Chief-Justice John Marshall were not of the Pennsylvania family of Marshalls. In Stiles's "History of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut," page 692 (note), will be found a letter from Edward Carrington Marshall, son of the Chief-Justice, giving some facts as to his ancestry. The compiler of the Marshall family genealogy of Windsor, Connecticut, had written Mr. E. C. Marshall to trace, if possible, a connection between the Virginia and the Connecticut families. The following paragraphs occur in Mr. E. C. Marshall's reply:—

"You were correct in your impression that I am the son—the youngest—of the late Chief-Justice Marshall. I regret, however, that I cannot give you the genealogy of my father's family at its earliest sources. All I can learn is, that some six generations from me, making the time probably coincident with the immigration of your ancestor, mine came from England to Westmoreland County, Virginia. He came as agent in the employment of a Mr. Markham, who had considerable property in the 'Northern Neck,' and whose family estate in England was large. . . .

"I infer that our family was, at the beginning, a highly respectable one, because at an early period it became connected with some of the best families in the State. The family names most common are John, Thomas, and William. The names of John and Thomas have alternated with the oldest sons throughout three generations.

"I will end this communication with a statement of the history of the family of Virginia at its later period, which I think very remarkable. My grandfather, Colonel Thomas Marshall, highly distinguished at the battle of Brandywine, had fifteen children—eight daughters and seven sons. Every one but one was highly distinguished for talents, and every daughter but two married men of high distinction for talents. The oldest son was Chief-Justice of the United States; three others, that is, one son and two sons-in-law, were made Federal Judges by the elder John Adams; another son was president of two colleges; another son-in-law was a Senator of the United States."

I doubt not Bishop Meade's "Churches and Families of Virginia" can throw some light on the matter; so also can Mr. R. A. Brock, the very accommodating Secretary of the Historical Society of Virginia. I have some data for a history of Hon. Humphrey Marshall's family, but cannot place my hand on it just now.

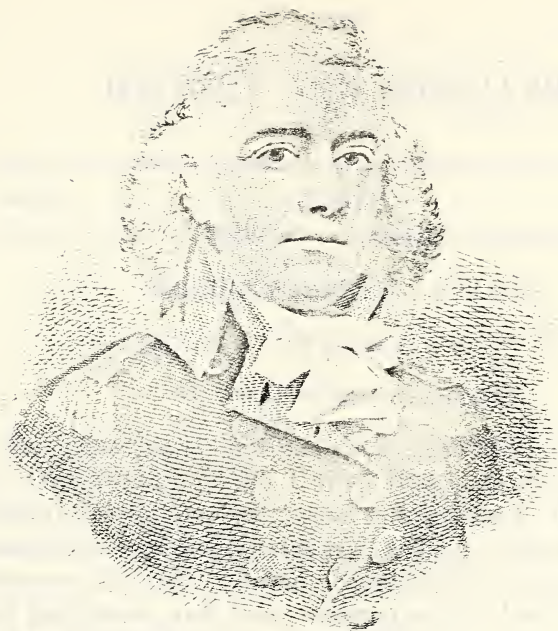
HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

CLAIM TO NEW JERSEY IN 1784 (vol. ii. p. 228).—Your Camden correspondent will find his inquiries answered in Whitehead's "East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments," 2d edition, in notes to pages 8 to 10. The book he refers to was probably a copy of the one Mr. Whitehead mentions as being very rare, only three copies having come to his knowledge; having been prepared by one Charles Valle, who came to America in 1784, claiming to be part owner of New Jersey, as well as agent for the then Earl of Ployden, who claimed it under a grant to his ancestor, Sir Edward Ployden.

The papers of the day contained "A Caution to the Good People of the Province of New ALBION, *alias* corruptedly called at present *The Jerseys*," not to buy any land in the province, as they might see "true copies in Latin and English of the original charter, registered in Dublin," by applying to Captain Cope at the State Arms Tavern, New York.

A reference to the same subject will be found in the "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society," vol. iv., part 1, by the late John Penington of Philadelphia.

G. P.



W. Jackson.

Member of the Federal Convention

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No. 4.

MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON.

SECRETARY OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

BY CHARLES WILLING LITTELL.

The signature of William Jackson to the original draft of the Constitution of the United States, as Secretary of the Federal Convention, will preserve his name in the respectful remembrance of his countrymen, so long as they retain their reverence for this sublime achievement of inspired wisdom and patriotism, and their determination that its principles and its authority shall be perpetual.

The services of Major Jackson during the struggle for American Independence well merit the grateful recognition of Americans, while his character as a gentleman and a soldier, his chivalric devotion to every cause which he espoused, and to his friends, the reciprocal confidence and regard of those with whom he was most intimately associated,—among whom were his immediate commander General Lincoln, and his venerated Chief George Washington,—give a pure and refreshing fragrance to his memory.

That so few records are left to us, of one so enduringly identified with our country's history, is much to be regretted.

Most of the information contained in this sketch is derived from a memoir of Major Jackson, prepared and read by my father, the late John S. Littell, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and from original letters of Washington, Lincoln, and others to Major Jackson, left to the Historical Society, together with a liberal bequest, by his eldest daughter the late Ann Willing Jackson.

From a letter of Miss Jackson, we learn that her father "was born in Cumberland, England, March 9, 1759. On the paternal side he was of English, and on the maternal side of Scotch descent—of an ancestry, the gentry of those countries, and received the rudiments of an excellent education in Scotland. Early deprived of his parents, he subsequently from the patrimony bequeathed him by his father, under the guardianship of the brave and good Colonel Roberts, continued his studies under private tuition."

Having immigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, he obtained in 1775, before he had completed his seventeenth year, a commission in the First Regiment of South Carolina Infantry. His colonel was Christopher Gadsden, and his major, his guardian, Owen Roberts.

In 1778, Lieutenant Jackson took part in the expedition against St. Augustine, Florida, commanded by General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, with whom, among other distinguished officers, was Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, between whom and this young subaltern, a friendship, which proved lifelong, had already begun. The movement ended with the capture of Fort Mifflin, on the St. Mary's River, when an epidemic, which swept away nearly one-quarter of Howe's force, the exhaustion of their stores and provisions, and the movement of a British reinforcement, compelled a retreat, which was effected with much hardship.

When Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, during the same year, took command of the Southern Department of the Continental Army, Lieutenant Jackson was, on the recommendation of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, made one of the aides-de-camp, upon the staff of the commanding general, under whom he was destined to see service, as severe as it was disastrous in

its results. This appointment, with that of captain in his own regiment, which he afterwards received, he held until the close of the war. The acquaintance, thus begun, with Gen. Lincoln soon ripened into a mutual attachment, of which we shall see proofs in the story of their intercourse.

Jackson was engaged in the skirmish of Tullifiny Bridge, in May, 1779, and on the 24th of June following, in the battle of Stono Ferry, in which his friend, Colonel Owen Roberts, who had been promoted to the command of a regiment of artillery, was killed; and on the 9th of October, 1779, he was raised to the grade of captain, his staff appointment allowing him to rank as major. On the very day on which his commission was signed by Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, he took part in the assault on Savannah, made by the combined forces of Gen. Lincoln and Count D'Estaing, in which the gallant Pulaski lost his life, which cost the assailants nine hundred men, killed and wounded, and ended in their repulse.

The dark "prospects" which, in the gloomy spring of 1780, gathered over the troops ordered to the defence of Charleston, and which preceded the bursting of the "storm" foreseen by Washington, were brightened by their gallantry and fortitude. Well did Lincoln justify the "greatest reliance" of Washington on his judgment, and his assurance "that no exertion, prudence, or perseverance" would "be wanting to defeat the attempts of the enemy;" and his aspiration "may the issue be equally conducive to your personal glory, and to the advantage of these States."² Well was he in whom this trust was placed supported by his subordinates.

The successful passage of the British fleet over the bar of Charleston harbor, April 9th, 1780, rendered the position of the city and its garrison critical in the extreme. The besiegers were stoutly resisted, and by none, within his sphere of duty, more vigorously than by Captain Jackson, who was frequently engaged in the hottest of the fight. He was in the

¹ Washington to Steuben, Sparks, vol. vii. p. 10.

² Washington to Lincoln, Sparks, vol. vii. p. 19.

only sortie from the beleaguered city, made by three hundred South Carolina and Virginia troops, commanded by Lt.-Col. John Laurens and Lt.-Col. Henderson, who, with unloaded muskets, attacked the men stationed in the most advanced part of the British entrenchments, drove them back with the sword and bayonet alone, and returned, after a fierce conflict, with a few prisoners, having killed some twenty of the enemy.

Sir Henry Clinton steadily advanced, and pushed his lines so close to the defences of the city that, on one occasion, when Major Jackson was in the act of delivering a message from Gen. Lincoln to Col. Parker of Virginia, the latter officer was killed. After a most stubborn resistance of six weeks, the provisions were exhausted, and the defences having been pronounced untenable by General Du Portail, on the 12th of May the town surrendered.

Major Jackson, on account of this unfortunate issue of affairs, found himself a prisoner of war. It was not, however, his fate to suffer a captivity as long as that to which many others were obliged to submit. An "extensive exchange" took place in the fall of the year, and, on the 9th of November, Washington wrote to Lincoln, "I have now the pleasure to congratulate you on your exchange. The certificate of it will be transmitted to you by the commissary of prisoners; Majors Baylies and Jackson are also exchanged."¹

The intimacy, which he had formed with Colonel John Laurens during the days of trial in Charleston, doubtless led to his appointment as secretary to this officer, when, in the year following, 1781, he was chosen by Congress a special Minister to the Court of France. Laurens and his secretary sailed from Boston on the 9th of February, 1781, in the frigate *Alliance*, commanded by Captain John Barry. The young Envoy was then in his twenty-fifth year, and his secretary three years his junior. It is unnecessary to enter further into the details of this well-known mission, which the accomplishments and manly bearing of its chief rendered so successful, than to show

¹ Sparks's *Washington*, vol. vii. p. 290.

the part taken by Major Jackson.¹ Towards its close, he was sent to Amsterdam, to superintend the expenditure of a portion of a loan, which the French Minister, Necker, had authorized to be opened in Holland for the benefit of the United States, and to expedite the departure of munitions of war, so purchased, to America.

The confidence reposed in Jackson by Laurens is fully expressed in his letters to the President of Congress, one of which closes with the following paragraph: "These despatches will be delivered to your Excellency by Captain Jackson, of the First South Carolina Regiment, whose zeal for the service made him cheerfully undertake the journey to Holland, for the purpose of accelerating the departure of the *Indian*, and to whom I am much indebted for his assistance in this country."²

The vessel alluded to by Laurens had been sold, by the Chevalier de Luxembourg, to the State of South Carolina. Captain Alexander Gillon, who acted as agent for that State, had negotiated the purchase, and had partially loaded the vessel with stores. He had become involved in financial difficulties, and had ceded his cargo to Col. Laurens for the use of Congress. Jackson's instructions allowed him to complete the freighting of the vessel, and in doing so a difficulty occurred which occasioned some temporary embarrassment. Supplies sufficient to load more than two ships were procured, and, the Holland loan failing at first to meet with the anticipated success, Jackson was obliged to draw upon Dr. Franklin, then our resident Minister at Paris, for the means to settle the debts. This caused Franklin no little annoyance. The correspondence which ensued added to the misunderstanding which had occasioned the difficulty, and a visit to Passy on the part of Jackson became necessary. The following letter from John Adams, who was then at Amsterdam, to Congress bears directly on the history of the case, and is given in full:—

¹ An account of the proceedings of Col. Laurens while Minister to France, written by Major Jackson, can be found in the *American Review*, vol. i. p. 425. Philadelphia, 1827.

² *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, vol. ix. p. 233.

AMSTERDAM, June 27, 1781.

SIR: Major Jackson has been sometime here in pursuance of instructions from Col. Laurens, in order to despatch the purchase of the goods, and the shipping of the goods and cash for the United States, which are to go by the South Carolina. But when all things appeared to be ready, I received a letter from his Excellency, Dr. Franklin, informing me that he feared his funds would not admit of his accepting bills for more than fifteen thousand pounds sterling, the accounts of the *Indian*¹ and the goods amounted to more than fifty thousand pounds, which showed that there had not been an understanding sufficiently precise and explicit between the Doctor and the Colonel. There was, however, no remedy but a journey to Passy, which Major Jackson undertook, despatched the whole business, and returned to Amsterdam in seven days, so that I hope now there will be no more delays.

Major Jackson has conducted [himself], through the whole of his residence here, as far as I have been able to observe, with great activity and accuracy in business, and an exemplary zeal for the public service.

I have the honor to be, &c.,
JOHN ADAMS.²

"You may judge," wrote Franklin to Adams, on a subsequent occasion, in reference to this matter, that it was a "monstrous surprise to me, to have an account brought against me of fifty thousand pounds, instead of five thousand pounds. I agreed, however, to accept the bills, on Mr. Jackson's representation, that the goods were bought and shipped; that the relanding and returning, or selling them, would make a talk, and discredit us; that they were only such as were absolutely necessary, etc." "I do not think the least blame lies on you. Captain Jackson, too, might be ignorant of the bulk of the goods till they were assembled; but methinks Messrs. Neufville might have known it, and would have advised against so enormous a purchase, if augmenting their commissions, and the project of freighting their own ships had not blinded their eyes."³

¹ The vessel here alluded to is spoken of in the correspondence of the day as the *Indian*, the South Carolina, and the South Carolina Frigate.

² Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. vi. p. 75.

³ Franklin to Adams. Works of Adams, vol. vii. p. 478.

The interview with Franklin did not hasten the departure of the store-ship, so much wished for in the letter of Adams. On Jackson's return to Amsterdam, he suffered from a fever contracted on his journey; then occurred a correspondence with Franklin, regarding the money for America mentioned in the above letter, and, finally, it was discovered that the vessel was overloaded, and two others had to be engaged to carry the cargo.

The funds mentioned in the letter of John Adams were a portion of the six millions of livres, a free gift of Louis XVI. to the United States, which Franklin had influenced, and a part of which, he was not aware, had been deposited at Amsterdam, by the French Ministers Necker and Vergennes, subject to the order of Major Jackson, to be conveyed to America as cash. Not feeling entire confidence in Captain Gillon, who was to command the vessel, in which Jackson was to return home, and having need of all the money he could command, to discharge the debts incurred by that officer, Franklin declined to allow him the pleasure of carrying, what would have been a very welcome present, to the Treasury of the American Congress. Under the impression that the money at Amsterdam had been obtained through the mediations of Col. Laurens, and wishing to discharge the trust committed to him, in exact compliance with the tenor of his instructions, Jackson, with some warmth, protested against the interference of Franklin. This called from the latter an explanation, expressed with his usual clearness and vigor, in which he pointed out to Jackson, how prejudicial to their country the course proposed by him would be, and how necessary the money under dispute was, to insure the departure of the vessel he had freighted.¹ The course insisted upon by Dr. Franklin at first occasioned Jackson some chagrin, but, as will be seen, he had no occasion subsequently to regret it. To relieve him of all responsibility in the matter, Franklin wrote to the President of Congress, and gave the reasons for

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. iii. pp. 216, 224; vol. iv. pp. 233-4.

his action, adding: "Captain Jackson, who is truly zealous for the service, has been exceedingly solicitous and earnest with me, to induce me to permit the money to go in this ship, but for the reasons above mentioned, I find it absolutely necessary to retain it for the present."¹

The month of August had nearly passed, before Captain Gillon got his vessel under way, his departure at the last being so hurried, that, to the mortification of all concerned, the two vessels to which the stores had been transferred were left behind. The *Indian* had the dimensions of a seventy-four gun-ship, and was fully armed. Her crew consisted of five hundred and fifty men. "Three hundred and fifty of these were marines, who were called 'Volontaires de Luxembourg,' and who had been engaged by the king's permission in France for the State of South Carolina." At that time the associations of France and South Carolina were of a peculiarly intimate character. That large portion of the population of the latter, which was of French, especially Huguenot descent, retained with fondness the customs of the country of their ancestors, and to a great degree the use of their language. There existed societies at whose meetings the English language was prohibited. Their minutes, in French, are still preserved.

After cruising four weeks in the North Seas, and near the British Channel, possibly with the hope of using his formidable force in the capture of a prize, as a partial compensation for the vessels left at Amsterdam, Gillon put into Coruña. A feeling of distrust, which had existed between Jackson and the commander of the vessel, had not improved in the narrowness of a ship's quarters, and at Coruña the former and several other passengers left the vessel. From that place Jackson wrote to Dr. Franklin: "I am sorry to inform you that the event has verified your prediction in every particular. Mr. Gillon has violated his contract with Col. Laurens in every instance. I beg leave to present you my most sincere and cordial thanks, as well for myself as my country, for your disposition of the money, which was to have been embarked

¹ Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. iii. p. 233.

on board this vessel, the event having fatally confirmed your opinion of this man. I conceive my country indebted to your prudence for the preservation of her property, as I do myself for my freedom at this instant; for I am assured, had not your precaution prevented the embarkation, I should at this hour been a prisoner, I need not say where."

The movements of Major Jackson in Europe, after he landed at Coruña, are not very easily traced, but he doubtless returned to France, and thence to America. Shortly after his arrival at home, he was made assistant to his old friend, General Lincoln, then Secretary at War. With what satisfaction to his chief, and fidelity to the country, he discharged the duties of his position, are best shown in the following letter, received on his retirement from office, after the conclusion of peace.

PRINCETON, October 30, 1783.

I was this morning honored, my dear friend, with the receipt of your letter of this date, purporting your wish to resign the office of Assistant Secretary at War.

While my own ease and convenience, in a tone loud and explicit, caution me against complying with your request, the more silent, but persuasive, voice of friendship and justice prevail, and tell me that I must sacrifice the former, to your interest and happiness, and that I must, however reluctantly, as your future prospects in life are involved in the measure, accept your resignation.

Permit me, my dear sir, before I take leave of you, to return you my warmest thanks for your meritorious services in the field, as my aid-de-camp, as well as for those you have rendered as my assistant in the war office. These services, I have the pleasure to assure you, have been seen, also acknowledged and approved by your country, besides I have enjoyed real satisfaction in your private friendship, your faithfulness and integrity, have hourly increased my affection, and esteem for you. Adieu, my dear friend; that the best of Heaven's blessings may encircle you, that your path in life may be smooth and prosperous, your course through it easy and happy, and that you may finally smile in unceasing bliss is the prayer of,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,
B. LINCOLN.

MAJOR JACKSON.

If anything could have added to the satisfaction of such a prompt and well-deserved acknowledgment of his services, from one under whose eye they had largely been rendered, it must have been the following, which reached him just prior to his departure for Europe, where he was going on private business.

PRINCETON, Nov. 1, 1783.

DEAR SIR: Your letter reached me yesterday, and informed me of your intention to embark next week for Europe.

Wishing, from the esteem I entertain for your character, to render you every service in my power, I could not avoid troubling you with the two enclosed letters, tho' your acquaintance in France made it almost unnecessary.¹

You will please to accept my thanks for your obliging offers, and my wishes for your safe, pleasant, and prosperous voyage.

With great esteem,

I am, Dr. Sir,

Yr. Most Obed. Ser.,

G^o. WASHINGTON.

MAJ. JACKSON.

On his return home in 1784, he was gratified by receiving, from one so much respected as Gen. Lincoln, a greeting, in which the warmth of the writer's heart is apparent, and whose generous congratulations on his worldly prospects lead us to suppose that the European trip was attended with some success; it is as follows:—

Boston, Aug. 10, 1784.

I had the pleasure, my dear Sir, of receiving, a few days since, your very kind and affectionate letter of the 16th ult., which was the first since you left Philadelphia for Europe.

I can, by words, but faintly express the agreeable sensations of my mind, on knowing that your prospects are now bright and flattering—that the same Providence which protected and succeeded [*sic*] you in life, may still guard and prosper you through it, is my most ardent prayer.

We live in a world where all men do not act on the most liberal principles. I am afraid you will not be enough guarded;

¹ One of the letters inclosed was to Dr. Franklin. See Letters and Papers relating to Provincial History of Penna. Phila. 1857.

suffer me, with all the sincerity and affection of a father and friend, to tell you that that generosity of temper, so conspicuous in you, must be kept within proper bounds. No one can relieve the necessities of all, and however we may feel for their distresses, yet we must remember what we owe to ourselves, and to those who have interested themselves in our interests. If you are not too generous you must prosper; few of us, however, need this hint.

With affection and esteem,
I am ever yours,
B. LINCOLN.

MAJOR JACKSON,
Late Assistant Secretary at War.

As this is the last allusion which will be made to the friendship which existed between Gen. Lincoln and Major Jackson, it may be well, here, to relate an anecdote illustrating how warmly the feeling of the former was reciprocated by the latter. A gentleman observing, in rather a derogatory manner, that "Gen. Lincoln was always falling asleep," Major Jackson, who was present, instantly replied with much warmth, "Sir, General Lincoln was never asleep when it was necessary for him to be awake."

In whatever business Major Jackson engaged after his return from Europe, it was soon abandoned for the study of the law. In the office of the celebrated and able jurist, William Lewis, whom Mr. Binney has named as one of the leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia, he prepared himself for that profession, and, on motion of his preceptor, was admitted to practice in the Court of Common Pleas on the 9th of June, 1788, and subsequently in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The education received in early life had been improved as occasion offered, and the almost constant use of a ready pen, as secretary and aid-de-camp, had added to the ease of expression in which his thoughts took form. In 1786, the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati requested Major Jackson to deliver an oration before that body, on the anniversary of Independence. A number of letters are extant, which show how fully he justified the choice of the committee who selected him as the orator of the occasion. Washington, to whom he sent a printed copy of his address, wrote:—

MOUNT VERNON, 28th Sept. 1786.

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 20th ult., together with the Pamphlets enclosed. I consider your sending the latter to me, as a mark of attention which deserves my warmest acknowledgments.

I cannot join with you, in thinking that the partiality of your friends, in assigning to you so honorable a task, prejudiced their discernment. The subject is noble, the field extensive; and I think it must be highly satisfactory, and indeed flattering to a man, that his performance, upon such an occasion, is approved of by men of taste and judgment. With sentiments of great esteem and regard

I am, Dear Sir,

Yr. Obedt. Hble. Servt.

G^o. WASHINGTON.

MAJOR JACKSON.

The confidence in Major Jackson, inspired by the faithful performance of duty, was now about to be proved. The Federal Convention assembled in Philadelphia in 1787, and on the recommendation of Washington and Hamilton, he was chosen its Secretary. The delicate nature of the Convention's work, and the difficulties that beset it, required that its business should be conducted with the greatest secrecy. It was important that whatever feeling was exhibited in the discussions which took place during its sessions should not be made public, as it would tend to inflame sectional or partisan prejudices, and prematurely array the people for or against the Constitution which was being formed.

How conscientiously Major Jackson preserved the secrecy imposed on him is evident from the fact, that no paper exists in his handwriting giving the least idea of the proceedings of the Convention, and that the same feeling which prompted him to destroy his memoranda forbade him from ever alluding to the subject.

After Washington had been chosen President, he made Major Jackson one of his secretaries, and for several years he was an inmate of the President's family. He accompanied Washington on his tours through the Eastern and Southern States, and witnessed at every step "the manifestations of a people's love" for one who had served them so well.

During the entire period in which he was one of the household of Washington, Major Jackson enjoyed to the fullest extent his confidence and esteem, and when, in the latter part of the year 1791, he informed the President of his wish to relinquish the office with which he had been honored, he received in reply the following letter.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 26, 1791.

DEAR SIR: At the same time that I acknowledge the receipt of your letter, notifying me of your intention to enter upon a professional pursuit—and, during the ensuing term, propose yourself for admittance as a practitioner of law in the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania—I beg you to be persuaded that my best wishes will accompany you, in that or in any other walk into which your interest or inclination may lead you.

That your determination is the result of the best view you have of your circumstances and expectations, I take for granted, and therefore shall say nothing which might embarrass the decision; but with pleasure equal to the justice of it, shall declare to you, that your deportment, so far as it has come under my observation, has been regulated by principles of integrity and honor, and that the duties of your station have been executed with abilities, and I embrace the occasion your address has afforded me, to thank you for all your attentions, and for the services which you have rendered me, since you have been a member of my family.

Let your departure from it be made *perfectly* convenient to yourself, and believe me to be with sincere esteem and regard,

Dear Sir,

Your Affect. Hble. Servt.

G^o. WASHINGTON.

MAJ. JACKSON.

There can be no doubt, that the wish of Major Jackson to resume the profession he had chosen led him to retire from the position he occupied in the family of Washington; but from the following answer to a letter from the President, offering him the office of Adjutant-General of the army, we may easily understand the true reason why he desired to establish himself at the Bar.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 5, '92.

SIR: While I acknowledge, with most grateful sensibility, the repeated obligations which your goodness has conferred upon me, I persuade myself that under the circumstances which compel me to decline the honor of your nomination to the important post of Adjutant-General of the Army of the United States, I shall not forfeit any part of that regard which it is my study and ambition to merit and preserve.

Implicit confidence in your delicacy has already induced me to declare to you, Sir, that no other consideration but an engagement of the heart, involving the happiness of a most amiable woman, who is, as she ought to be, peculiarly dear to me, would prevent a prompt and grateful acceptance of this additional, and highly respected mark of your esteem.

I cannot but flatter myself, Sir, that a long and faithful series of military service, during the late war, will assign to this refusal its true place in your estimation—and that I shall always be permitted to prove, by every possible demonstration, how ardently I wish to retain your kind regard, and how sincerely I am, Sir,

Your most respectful,
and affectionate servant,

W. JACKSON.

The PRESIDENT
of the UNITED STATES.

The lady alluded to in the above letter was Elizabeth, second daughter and youngest child of Thomas Willing, the well-known merchant, and at that time President of the Bank of North America, in Philadelphia. The marriage of Miss Willing and Major Jackson did not take place until several years after his retirement to private life, as he was induced to defer the practice of law, and visit Europe, as the agent for the sale of lands belonging to William Bingham, the husband of the elder sister of Miss Willing. After returning from Europe in 1795, Major Jackson was married on the 11th of November. The ceremony was performed by Bishop White, assisted by his associate, Dr. Blackwell. Among those present, were General and Mrs. Washington, Robert Morris and his wife, Hamilton, Lincoln, Knox, and Vicomte de Noailles, the brother-in-law of Lafayette, and many others who then added so much to the attraction of Philadelphia society.

Shortly after his marriage, Maj. Jackson was appointed by Washington (Jan. 14, 1796) Surveyor of Customs at the port of Philadelphia, a position he held until removed by Jefferson.

On the 22d of February, 1800, Major Jackson, who was then Secretary of the General Society of the Cincinnati, on invitation of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, delivered a eulogy on the character of Washington. Of the excellence of this well-known address, it is unnecessary to speak. How well Jackson acquitted himself, we gather from the letter of one who wrote: "I have read your Oration with a degree of pleasure, second only to that which I received when I heard you deliver it, with every advantage to this excellent performance which a manly, clear voice, graceful manner, and most appropriate action could possibly give." This eulogy was delivered in the Lutheran Church, on Fourth Street, Philadelphia, which was crowded. Among his audience were the President of the United States, the members of both Houses of Congress, and the British Minister.

Among other letters received by Major Jackson, on this subject, is the following :—

HEADQUARTERS, at SHEPHERD'S TOWN,

May 15, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I am exceedingly obliged to you for a copy of the very elegant, pathetic, and eloquent discourse you pronounced on our deceased Patron, Father, and Friend. You knew him nearly and well, and could best declare his worth. I was greatly pleased when I first heard the Cincinnati had entrusted his eulogy to your talents, but I was enthusiastically delighted and affected when I perused your admirable oration. Again and again I thank you for it

Yours truly,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Prior to the departure of Major Jackson for Europe, in 1793, he received, from Mr. Jefferson, a highly complimentary letter of introduction to Mr. Short, our Minister at Madrid. By 1802, however, party politics had grown so bitter, that Mr. Jefferson did not continue Major Jackson in office, differing as they did on the questions of the day, al-

though that gentleman was as deserving of his confidence, as when, nine years previously, he had sent him the unsought-for letter to Mr. Short. The pretext of Major Jackson's removal was on his alleged harshness to his subordinates, a charge which was refuted by the following paper, which was signed by those who, it was said, suffered from his partisanship.

PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 20, 1802.

SIR: Having understood that your Conduct towards the Inspectors has been represented as being marked with harshness, we feel it our duty to declare that your Conduct as Surveyor of the Customs for the District of Philadelphia has been uniformly marked with politeness, kindness, and impartiality, and that we know of no instance in which you have attempted to influence the political opinion of any one of us.

WILLIAM JACKSON, Esq.,
Surveyor.

For a number of years after his removal from office, Major Jackson edited *The Political and Commercial Register*, a paper devoted to the advocacy of the principles of the Federal party.

In the years 1818 and 1819, he was appointed, by the surviving officers of the army of the Revolution, their solicitor, to obtain from Congress an equitable adjustment of their half-pay for life. Although unsuccessful in his efforts to promote the interests of his associates, Major Jackson received their cordial thanks. One of his last public acts was his tender of the welcome of Philadelphia to Lafayette, in Independence Hall, a duty that was accepted on invitation from the citizens of Philadelphia, and the members of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, when that distinguished guest visited our city in 1824.

Major Jackson closed his life on the 17th of December, 1828, and lies buried in Christ Church-ground, at Fifth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. The Cincinnati Societies of the States of Pennsylvania and South Carolina passed resolutions appropriate to the event. His wife, with whom he lived in uninterrupted happiness for upwards of thirty-two years, died on the 5th of August, 1858, and lies buried with him.

Major Jackson left one son, his youngest child, William,

who married Martha, daughter of Dr. Thomas C. James;¹ a daughter Caroline, his third child, who married Philip Physick (both Mr. Jackson and Mrs. Physick died, leaving no surviving children); and two daughters, Mary Rigal, and Ann Willing. The latter, who was his eldest child, died February 11, 1876. All who bore his name, and shared his honors, have passed away; but, the memories of his associates, which he so proudly and so warmly cherished, linger, with his own guardian spirits, among the scenes which they immortalized, and the institutions which they established.

¹. The present Mr. Saunders Lewis married one of the daughters of Dr. James, whose only son, the late Thomas C. James, was captain of that veteran body, the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, of which his brother-in-law, William Jackson, was a lieutenant.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FIRST RAILROAD OVER
THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAIN.

Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 8, 1878.

BY SOLOMON W. ROBERTS,
CIVIL ENGINEER.

The following reminiscences of the First Railroad over the Allegheny Mountain, have been prepared at the request of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

They relate to the Portage Railroad; the building of which was begun by the State in the year 1831; which was opened for use as a public highway in 1834; and was an important thoroughfare for about twenty years, until it was superseded by the opening of a railroad without inclined planes.

As the Portage Railroad was considered for years to be a great triumph of civil engineering, and as it has ceased to exist, I embrace this opportunity to give my recollections of its construction, having been employed upon the line, in the service of the State.

The undertaking of an extensive system of internal improvements at the expense of the Commonwealth, was an event of no small importance in the history of Pennsylvania. An account of this great enterprise, which increased the State debt to about forty millions of dollars, has never been adequately written. The high hopes with which the work was begun; the large premiums at which the five per cent. loans of the State were for a time sold; the great revulsion of feeling, and the fall of prices, which caused the loans to sell at one time for about thirty-three cents on the dollar; the subsequent sale of the public works to corporations, and the complete recovery of the State credit, are facts well worthy of remembrance.

The geographical position of Pennsylvania, so often called "the Keystone State," is peculiar and remarkable. Washed

on its southeastern border by the Atlantic tides, it extends on the northwest to the shore of Lake Erie, and includes, in Allegheny County, the head of the Ohio River. Various lines of internal improvement were proposed in the early history of Pennsylvania, but the rugged topography of much of its territory delayed their execution.

The level character of the country between Albany and Buffalo, enabled New York to construct the Erie Canal, which was opened for use in October, 1825. This stimulated similar action on the part of the legislature of this State, and the Pennsylvania Canal was begun on the 4th of July, 1826.

In the following year I entered the service of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. A native of Philadelphia, and educated in Friends' Academy, I witnessed the construction and opening of the Mauch Chunk Railroad in 1827, and of the Lehigh Canal, which was opened from Mauch Chunk to Easton in 1829, having been employed as a rodman and leveller on fifteen miles of the canal. For more than two years I lived in the house of my uncle, Josiah White, who was then acting manager of the company, and had the advantage of receiving instruction from that able, practical engineer; and, in the engineer corps on the canal, I received scientific and technical training under those masters of the profession, Canvass White and Sylvester Welch, who had been employed on the Erie Canal.

When the work on the Lehigh was done, in the autumn of 1829, Sylvester Welch was employed by the State of Pennsylvania as principal engineer of the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Canal, and removed to Blairsville, on the Cone-maugh, to which place I accompanied him. The canal was then nearly completed from Pittsburgh to Blairsville, and was in progress from Blairsville to Johnstown. Much of the work was badly done, and was not strong enough to withstand the occasional floods to which it was exposed. The Canal Commissioners were politicians, there was great competition for contracts, and work contracted for at low prices often failed to endure the strains to which it was subjected; the laws of nature having no respect for political parties.

We struggled on with the work, and the canal was opened to Johnstown, at the western base of the Allegheny Mountain, in December, 1830. On my division, there was an aqueduct across the Conemaugh River at Lockport, having five arches, each of sixty feet span, built of cut stone.

My intimate friend and colleague in this arduous and thankless service, was the late Edward Miller, civil engineer, afterwards so well known for his great intelligence, and for his high character as a Christian gentleman. The pay that we received from the State was two dollars per day, for the time actually employed, and we paid our own expenses.

The canal being done from Pittsburgh to Johnstown, I returned to my father's house in Philadelphia, on the 23d of January, 1831, far from being pleased with the general results of my experience on the canal in the valley of the Conemaugh.

At that time there was much discussion as to the best mode of crossing the Allegheny Mountain, so as to form a connection between the canals on its eastern and western sides.

Some surveys had been made for a continuous canal, both by the Juniata route and by the West Branch of the Susquehanna; but the natural obstacles were too great, and the scheme was given up. Several lines for a railroad had also been run, and inclined planes of different kinds had been proposed.

On the 21st of March, 1831, the law was passed authorizing the Board of Canal Commissioners to commence the construction of a Portage Railroad over the Allegheny Mountain. The Board appointed Sylvester Welch, the principal engineer of the western division of the Pennsylvania Canal, to the same position in the building of the Portage Railroad, and he nominated me as his assistant. Mr. Welch was an elder brother of Ashbel Welch, the distinguished civil engineer of New Jersey. Sylvester Welch was a man of great ability and integrity, and of untiring industry, as I who was one of his assistants for more than eight years can testify. At his request I joined him at Blairsville, and on the 5th of April, by a resolution of the Board of Canal Commissioners, I was

appointed to my position, being then in the twentieth year of my age.

On the 8th of April, 1831, just 47 years ago, we began our explorations near the summit of the mountain. The weather was cold, stormy, and unfavorable; there was much snow on the mountain; and I remember particularly that on the evening of the first day, the wind was so high as to blow heavy pieces of bark from the bodies of dead hemlock trees.

On the 12th of April, our party of sixteen persons went into camp near the head of the mountain branch of the Cone-maugh, and began to locate the railroad. We had tents owned by the State, and four of us slept on buffalo robes, in what had been used as a surgeon's tent; and to my surprise I did not take cold. It had been intended that another engineer, older than myself, should lead the locating party; but his health failed before the work was begun, and he had to retire. The country was very rough, and the running of the line much obstructed by fallen timber.

The general character of the country had been ascertained from the results of former surveys, made by Mr. Moncure Robinson, Colonel Long, and other engineers. It was known that the distance over the Allegheny Mountain, from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown, was about thirty-six miles, and that the summit at Blair's Gap was about 1400 feet above Hollidaysburg, and 1200 feet above Johnstown. The eastern slope of the mountain is much steeper than the western. The slates and sandstones of the bituminous coal measures dip into the mountain on its eastern slope, and show the broken ends of the strata, as if an immense wedge had been driven, in a northwesterly direction, under that part of the earth's crust. At the head of one of the inclined planes on the eastern slope, a well was bored 712 feet deep, without finding water. The western slope of the mountain is comparatively gentle, and the stratification flattens out as it approaches Johnstown.

Modern railroads were in their infancy when this work was begun, and the powerful locomotives that now draw heavy loads up high grades had no existence. It was in October, 1829, about eighteen months before, that the little engine,

called "the Rocket," the first one built on the modern plan, was tried on the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad. The combination of the tubular boiler with the blast pipe in the chimney was the cause of its success.

The general design for the Portage Railroad was this: The principal part of the elevation was to be overcome by inclined planes, which were to be straight in plan and profile; to be on an average somewhat less than half a mile long; and to have an angle of elevation of about five degrees, or about the same as moderately steep hills on turnpike roads; so that the average height overcome by each plane might be about 200 feet. These planes were to be worked by stationary steam engines and endless ropes.

As ultimately constructed there were ten inclined planes, five on each side of the mountain; and their whole length was four miles and four-tenths, with an aggregate elevation of 2007 feet. Their angles of inclination ranged from four degrees and nine minutes to five degrees and fifty-one minutes. The railroad between the planes was located with very moderate grades, and the minimum radius of curvature was about 442 feet, but only a small proportion of the curvature had a less radius than 955 feet. The gauge, or width of the track, was four feet nine inches.

In locating the line, our levelling instruments were good, as perfect levelling had been required on the canals, where water tested the work; but our instruments for running curves were poor, and the work was mostly done with a surveyor's compass. At that time the importance of straightness on a railroad was not adequately appreciated.

When the weather became warmer we were annoyed by multitudes of gnats, and resorted to the smoke of burning leaves to mitigate the evil. We also tried greasing our faces to keep the insects from biting them. It occurred to me that this might be one of the reasons why Indians often paint their faces.

Rattlesnakes were numerous and of course dangerous, but none of us were bitten by them. They are usually sluggish reptiles, and will let men alone if they are not trodden on or

attacked. They also give warning with their rattles before they strike. Our axemen made a collection of live rattlesnakes, and kept them in a box. They were easily caught by an expert hand. To the end of a stick about four feet long, a short piece of strong twine was tied, so as to form a slip knot. The snake when defending itself, would lie partly coiled on the ground, or on a rock, with the rattles on its tail at the outside of the coil, and its head upraised in the middle. The man approaching with the stick would slip the loop of the twine over the snake's head, and round its neck; and, by giving a little jerk, would draw the slip knot tight, and lift the snake from the ground. The snake would then writhe in vain, and would be powerless to strike. To carry it to camp, it was put into a tube made of the bark of a sapling, or small tree, peeled off for the purpose, which was readily done by an expert woodman. Catching snakes was the amusement of our men, and eating maple sugar was our luxury. I remember that George Wolf, then Governor of Pennsylvania, visited our camp while we had the box of snakes.

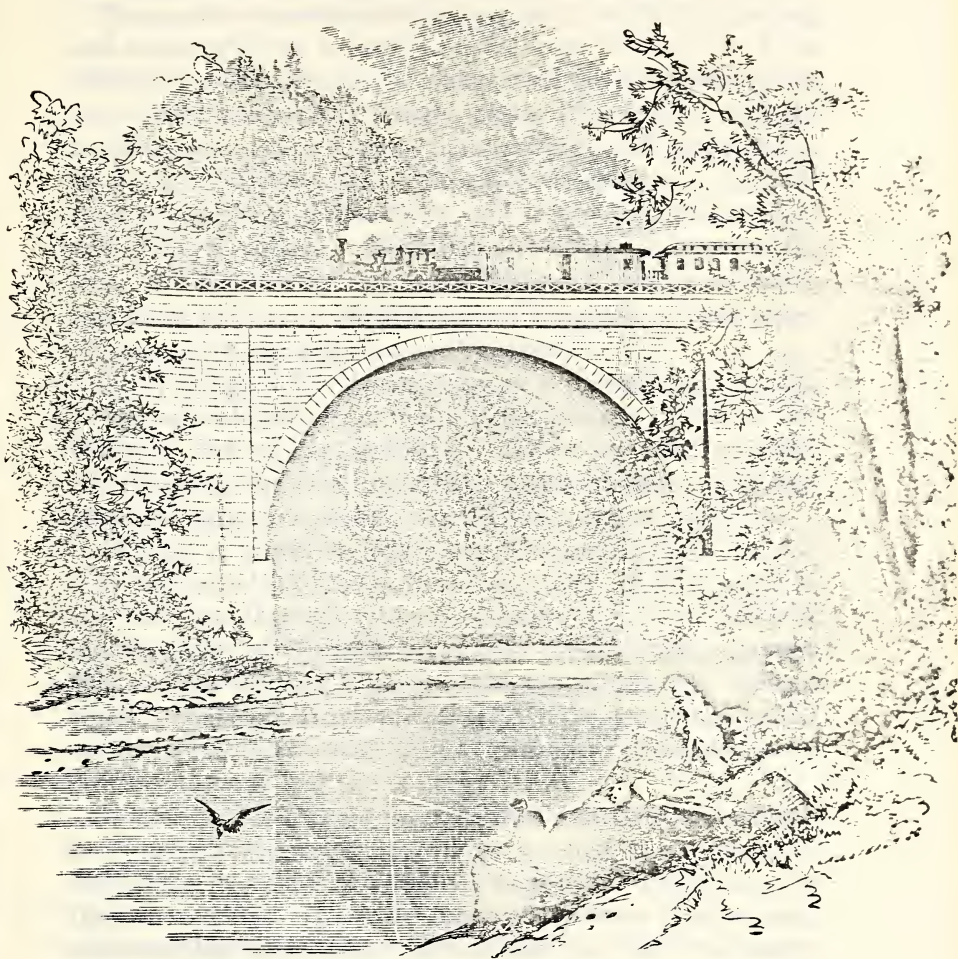
When we reached the Horse-shoe-bend of the Conemaugh, about eight miles from Johnstown, I was in charge of the locating party. The line was made to cross the stream, and cut across the bend, so as to save distance, which made a high bridge necessary. The Horse-shoe-bend, or Conemaugh viaduct, is still standing, and is used by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company as a part of its main line; and it is I believe almost the only structure of the old Portage Railroad now in use. It is a substantial and imposing piece of masonry, about seventy feet high, and with a semi-circular arch of eighty feet span. The chief engineer had prepared a plan for a bridge of two arches, each of fifty feet span, but afterwards adopted the plan of the present structure. It was designed, and its erection superintended by me, and the work was done by an honest Scotch stone-mason, named John Durno, who was afterwards killed by falling from another high bridge. The arch is three and a half feet thick at the springing line, and three feet at the crown; the arch stones are of light-colored sandstone, and the backing of silicious limestone, found near the spot. The

sandstone was split from erratic blocks, often of great size, which were found lying in the woods, on the surface of the ground. The contract price for the masonry was \$4.20 per perch of twenty-five cubic feet, and the work was remarkably well done. The face stones were laid in mortar from the silicious limestone, without the addition of any sand.

The cost of the viaduct was about fifty-five thousand dollars, and by building it a lateral bend of about two miles was avoided. The embankment at the end of the viaduct was sixty-four feet high. Since that work was done, iron bridges have taken the place of such structures. At the staple bend of the Conemaugh, four miles from Johnstown, a tunnel was made through a spur of the Allegheny, near which the stream makes a bend of two miles and a half. The length of the tunnel was 901 feet, and it was twenty feet wide, and 19 feet high within the arch; 150 feet at each end being arched with cut stone. Its cost was about \$37,500. This was the first railroad tunnel in the United States. Inclined plane No. 1, being the plane nearest to Johnstown, was located at the western end of the tunnel. The western terminus of the Portage Railroad, at the canal basin at Johnstown, 21 miles from the starting point, was located on the 14th of May.

Johnstown, in Cambria County, is now a large town, and the seat of the great Cambria iron works. When I first saw the place, it was a very quiet village, with tall elder bushes growing in the streets. It had been at first called Conemaugh, and I remember to have seen the original plan of the place, with its title marked: "The town of Conemaugh, the only port for boating on the western waters, east of the Laurel Hill." It had been practicable, at times of high water, to run rafts and small flat boats from there to Pittsburgh.

W. Milnor Roberts joined the engineer corps in the month of May, as principal assistant, and located the eastern portion of the Portage Railroad, from the point where we began, over the summit of the Allegheny Mountain, and down to Hollidaysburg, a distance of about sixteen miles; which included the steep eastern slope of the mountain, and most of the inclined planes. He has since distinguished himself as



CONEMAUGH VIADUCT.

the engineer of many important works, and continues to be one of my most intimate friends, as he has been since we were together in the engineer corps on the Lehigh in 1827.

Proposals from contractors having been invited, the grading and masonry of the twenty-six miles from the summit of the mountain to Johnstown, were contracted for at Ebensburg, the county seat of Cambria County, on the 25th of May, and the work on the eastern slope of the mountain, at Hollidaysburg, on the 29th of July, 1831. It was determined to grade the road at once for a double track, and to build all the bridges and culverts of stone. There was no wooden bridge upon the line. In the case of one small bridge of two spans, which had to be built at an oblique angle, I proposed an iron superstructure, but the plan was not approved.

The principal office was established at Ebensburg, although it was several miles from the railroad, because it was on the turnpike, and readily accessible. Before our office windows the Conestoga wagons loaded with emigrants, with their baggage and furniture, slowly wended their way to the West.

We had to travel on foot along the line of the work, and very bad travelling it was for a long time. A large part of the line ran through a forest of heavy spruce or hemlock timber, many of the trees being over 100 feet high; through this a space 120 feet wide was cleared, which was difficult work. Immense fires were made, but the green timber did not burn well, and many of the trees were rolled down the mountain slopes, and left to decay.

In looking back at the location that was thus made about forty-seven years ago, it appears to me that it was about as well done as could be expected, under the circumstances as they then existed. Railroad construction was a new business, and much had to be learned from actual trial; but it was known at the time, that the location was too much hurried, which arose from the great impatience of the public. A good deal of curvature might have been saved by a careful revision of the line; but the reduction of the height of the summit by a tunnel, as has since been done, the legislature had refused to permit.

After the grading and masonry of the Portage Railroad were put under contract, the line was divided; the western half being in my charge, and the eastern in charge of my friend, W. Milnor Roberts. The work was pushed forward with energy, a force of about two thousand men being at one time employed upon it.

Whilst our office was in Ebensburg, which was for about a year, the most noted person in the neighborhood was the Rev. Dr. Demetrius Augustine Gallitzen, whom I well remember. The summit station on the Pennsylvania Railroad is named after him. He called himself Parish Priest of Loretto and Vicar-General. He was a Russian nobleman, born in 1770; and he left the Greek Church, and became a zealous Roman Catholic Missionary. He founded the town of Loretto near Ebensburg, and died there in 1840. He is believed to have expended about \$150,000 at that place; but, having been deprived of his estate in Russia, he became poor. He was a small man, of an olive complexion, with very bright eyes, and I considered him to be the most perfect example of a religious enthusiast that I had ever seen. He was deservedly held in very high esteem for his self-denying earnestness. He spent much money in building a church at Loretto, and tried hard to make the rough people on the mountain behave as he wished, when they visited it. The country was very poor, and he became involved in debt, which troubled him much. It was currently reported, and I believe it to be true, that he had made a vow that he would not ride on horseback or in a carriage until his debts were paid, so that when his services were needed at a distance from home, he was sometimes hauled on a sled.

In 1831, my friend, Edward Miller, went to England to obtain the most recent information on the subject of railroads, and he returned about the close of that year. He was soon after appointed principal assistant engineer, in the service of the State, and was given the charge of the machinery of the inclined planes of the Portage Railroad.

The machinery was designed by him, and it worked well. At the head of each plane were two engines of about thirty-

five horse-power each; and each engine had two horizontal cylinders, the pistons of which were connected with cranks at right angles to each other, which gave motion to the large grooved wheels, around which the endless rope passed, and by which the rope was put in motion. The engines were built in Pittsburgh, and could be started and stopped very quickly. One engine only was used at a time, but two were provided for the greater security. Hemp ropes were at first used, and gave much trouble, as they varied greatly in length with changes in the weather, although sliding carriages were prepared to keep them stretched without too much strain; but wire ropes were afterwards substituted, and were a great improvement.

The laying of the first track and turnouts, with a double track on the inclined planes, was contracted for on the 11th of April, 1832. The rails used weighed about forty pounds per lineal yard, and they were rolled in Great Britain. The hauling of them in wagons from Huntingdon, on the Juniata, was a laborious work. The rails were supported by cast-iron chairs, weighing about thirteen pounds each; the chairs being placed three feet apart from centre to centre, with a wrought-iron wedge in each chair. In most cases, these chairs rested upon, and were bolted to blocks of sandstone, containing three and a half cubic feet each, and imbedded in broken stone. These stone blocks were required to be two feet long, 21 inches wide, and 12 inches deep. They cost about 53 cents each. On high embankments a timber foundation was used, with cross-ties, and mud sills, which stood much better than the stone blocks. On the inclined planes, which were to be worked by means of ropes, flat bar rails were laid upon string-pieces of timber.

Great care was taken in the drainage of the road-bed, and a large number of culverts and drains were built, there being 159 passages for water under the railroad. It was found by experience, that the track must be tied across with cross-ties, or it could not be kept from spreading, and many such ties were put in between the stone blocks. The attempt to construct a permanent railroad track, containing no perishable

material, was in this case a failure. We were striving to build a great public work to endure for generations, and, as it turned out, it was superseded by something better in about twenty years.

On the 26th of November, 1833, about two years and a half from the beginning of the work, the first car passed over the road, carrying a committee from Philadelphia, among whom were Josiah White and Thomas P. Hoopes, representing the Board of Trade. They were returning from Ohio, where they had been inspecting the proposed lines for connecting the Pennsylvania and Ohio Canals.

On the 18th of March, 1834, when canal navigation opened, the Portage Railroad was opened for use as a public highway, the State furnishing the motive power on the inclined planes only; and it continued in use until the end of the year, when the canals were closed for the winter. The railroad was again opened on the 20th of March, 1835; shortly after which the second track was completed.

The experiment of working the road as a public highway was very unsatisfactory. Individuals and firms employed their own drivers, with their own horses and cars. The cars were small, had four wheels, and each car would carry about 7000 lbs. of freight. Usually four cars made a train, and that number could be taken up, and as many let down, an inclined plane at one time, and from six to ten such trips could be made in an hour. The drivers were a rough set of fellows, and sometimes very stubborn and unmanageable. It was not practicable to make them work by a time-table, and the officers of the railroad had no power to discharge them. My memory recalls the case of one fellow, who would not go backward, and could not go forward, and so obstructed the road for a considerable time. It resembled the case of two wild waggoners of the Alleghenies, meeting in a narrow mountain pass, and both refusing to give way. Our nominal remedy was to have the man arrested, and taken before a magistrate, perhaps many miles off, to have him fined according to the law, a copy of which I used to carry in my pocket.

When the road had but a single track between the turnouts,

a large post, called a centre post, was set up half way between two turnouts, and the rule was made that when two drivers met on the single track, with their cars, the one that had gone beyond the centre post had the right to go on, and the other that had not reached it must go back to the turnout which he had left. The road was in many places very crooked, and a man could not see far ahead. The way the rule worked was this: When a man left a turnout, he would drive very slowly, fearing that he might have to turn back; and, as he approached the centre post, he would drive faster and faster, to try to get beyond it, and thus to drive back any cars that he might meet, and in this way cars have been driven together, and a man killed by being crushed between them. We had no electric telegraphs in those days.

The evils of this system were so great, that I resolved that, for one, I would not continue to be responsible for its administration; but to get it changed was no easy matter, as it required an act of the legislature. The State government was Democratic, and this was considered to be the popular way to work a railroad, every man for himself. The opposition party in the legislature was led by a very able man, the late Thaddeus Stevens, of Lancaster County; and they were opposed to increasing the power and patronage of the Democratic Board of Canal Commissioners, which would be done if locomotives were bought, and all the motive power furnished by the State. I went to Harrisburg, and obtained an introduction to Mr. Stevens. I tried to do my best to explain the matter to him; and it was a great satisfaction to me to find that he allowed the bill to pass without opposing it. The feeling of the people living on and near the lines of the two railroads owned by the State, the Portage, and the Philadelphia and Columbia, was very strong against the measure, for a reason which the following anecdote will show:—

Whilst I was advocating the change, I came to Philadelphia, and then returned to Harrisburg. On my return, I was riding in a horse car on the Columbia Railroad, near Downingtown, which was divided into small compartments, somewhat like the interior of an old-fashioned stage coach. Two

gentlemen were sitting opposite to me who were members of the legislature from Chester County, one being a Senator. The car stopped, and a man spoke to my travelling companions, saying that he hoped that they would oppose the bill to authorize the Canal Commissioners to put locomotives on the road, and control the motive power. The Senator said that it should never be done with his consent. Thereupon, as the car drove on, I proceeded to argue the matter, but with poor success; the reply being that the people were taxed to make the railroad, and that the farmers along the line should have the right to drive their own horses and cars on the railroad, as they did their wagons on the Lancaster turnpike, to go to market in Philadelphia; and that, if they were not permitted to do it, the railroad would be a nuisance to the people of Lancaster and Chester Counties. It required time to overcome this feeling; and, in 1834, that good man, and excellent mechanic, M. W. Baldwin, of Philadelphia, built three locomotives for use on the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad.

The law having been passed, locomotives were bought, and the State began to furnish motive power on the grade lines between the planes on the Portage Railroad. The first locomotive used on the mountain was called the "Boston," from its having been built in that city, in 1834. It was a light engine, with one pair of driving wheels, which were made of wood, with iron hubs and tires. The front end of the frame rested on a truck, having very elastic steel springs. The fuel used was wood, and the engine ran readily around short curves, and, although its power was not great, the machine worked well, and gave satisfaction. It ran on what was called the long level, thirteen miles in length, between planes numbers one and two, and it did not pass over the planes.

The number of locomotives was gradually increased, and that of horses diminished, and on the 11th of May, 1835, the State began to furnish the whole motive power. In that year I had the charge of the working of the Allegheny Portage Railroad, and acted as superintendent of motive power, although called principal assistant engineer.

In October, 1835, Joseph Ritner was elected Governor of

Pennsylvania, having been nominated by the Anti-Masonic party; and with his inauguration the control of the State government passed out of the hands of the Democratic party, which had long held it. At that time the feeling against secret societies was very strong, and to be connected with them was very unpopular. It is remarkable that such a change should have taken place in this respect, as secret societies are now so numerous, and their membership so very large; which seems to me to be a curious instance of the strange fluctuations of popular feeling.

The Portage Railroad was a great thoroughfare in 1835; and towards the close of the year Joseph Ritner passed over it on his way to Harrisburg as Governor-elect. He was attended by Joseph Lawrence, of Washington County, who was his confidential adviser. In the same train were Henry Clay and Felix Grundy, on their way to Washington, for the opening of Congress. There was a large party, and we dined together on the summit of the mountain. Joseph Ritner sat at the head of the table, with Henry Clay at his right hand. I remember saying that I had both masonry and anti-masonry entrusted to my care. After dinner, I walked down one of the inclined planes with Joseph Lawrence, and was gratified at being told by him, that the new administration wished me to remain in charge of the railroad; but I had already concluded to resign, and to sail for Liverpool as inspector of the manufacture of railroad iron, in South Wales, for the Reading and other railroads. I had taken no active part in politics, and was weary of the service of the State. The highest pay received by me had been four dollars per day, paying all my own expenses, and carefully abstaining from all speculative interests. It is true that living was cheap; in the best hotel in Johnstown, with a good table, fuel, and light, the price of board was only \$2.62½ per week. We had venison and wild turkeys in season. Venison was sometimes as low as three cents per pound, and bituminous coal for domestic use cost, I think, about one dollar per ton. Clothing was, however, comparatively dear, and its wear and tear on the mountain

was great; besides which it cost a good deal to keep a saddle horse.

My experience in the State service has convinced me, that our form of government is badly adapted to the successful management of public works. Civil service reform might make some improvement, but so long as the tenure of office depends upon frequently recurring popular elections, and the nominations are made by majorities in a party caucus, other considerations than those of honesty and fitness will very often determine the result. For the proper management of a railroad, strict discipline is necessary, and the power of discharging employes is needed to insure prompt obedience. In the service of a corporation this is understood, but in that of the State other considerations are apt to interfere.

It is my desire to record my belief, that James Clarke, the President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, was a man of good intentions, and of upright character, who occupied a very difficult position. His home was in Western Pennsylvania, and I knew him well. The Secretary of the Board was Francis R. Shunk, who was afterwards Governor of the State. He was noted for his quaint humor, was an admirable penman, and for a long time Clerk of the House at Harrisburg.

In the official history of the Pennsylvania Railroad, published by the Passenger Department of that Company in 1875, it is stated that, "The Portage Railroad over the Allegheny Mountain was, during all the time it remained in operation, one of the wonders of America."

In 1838 was published in London a book called "A Sketch of the Civil Engineering of North America," by David Stevenson, civil engineer. The author was a son of the distinguished engineer of the Bell Rock Lighthouse. In his sixth chapter, when speaking of the Portage Railroad, he says that America "now numbers among its many wonderful artificial lines of communication, a mountain railway, which, in boldness of design, and difficulty of execution, I can compare to no modern work I have ever seen, excepting perhaps the passes of the Simplon, and Mont Cenis, in Sardinia; but even these remarkable passes, viewed as engineering works, did not

strike me as being more wonderful than the Allegheny Railway in the United States." In another part of the book, he gives an account of his passage over the road.

Michel Chevalier, the distinguished French engineer, and political economist, visited the railroad, and gave a description of it in his book on the public works of the United States, which was published in Paris in 1840. He is now a leader in the project for a railway tunnel under the sea from France to England.

One thing that was considered to be a great curiosity, was the carriage of canal boats over the mountain, which was done to a considerable extent. The road being, as its name implied, a Portage Railroad, a transhipment of some sort was required at both ends of the line, which caused expense and delay. Different firms, engaged in the transportation business, tried different plans to diminish the evil. One plan was the use of boats built in sections, and carried on trucks over the railroad. Another mode of carrying freight was in cars, having movable bodies, which could be lifted off the wheels, and transferred to canal boats fitted to receive them. The wear and tear of the sectional boats, and movable car bodies, and the amount of dead weight that had to be carried, were found to be serious objections to both these plans.

For the prevention of accidents, safety cars were used upon the inclined planes. They were devised by Mr. Welch, the chief engineer, and they worked well. The cars were attached to the endless ropes by small ones called stopper ropes. In case of the failure of any of the fastenings, or the breaking or giving way of a splice in the main rope, the safety car prevented any serious accident, by acting as a brake-shoe or drag, so as to stop the cars, and prevent them from running down the plane.

Thus the communication was kept up between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, until the time came for something better to be provided. The time required for passenger cars to pass over the road was reduced to about four hours. Many distinguished persons visited the line, the travel was very safe,

and the business of 1835 amounted to about fifty thousand tons of freight, and twenty thousand passengers.

The Portage Railroad crossed the Allegheny Mountain at Blair's Gap, a point nearly due east from Pittsburgh; and the excavation or cut made to reduce the summit was only about twelve feet deep, the natural summit being somewhat flat and wet. This summit, as ascertained by recent railroad surveys, was 2322 feet above mean tide, or 161 feet higher than Galitzin Station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, which is at the western end of the summit tunnel, at Sugar Run Gap, about two miles from Blairs' Gap.

There were eleven levels, so called, or rather grade lines, and ten inclined planes on the Portage; the whole length of the road being 36.69 miles. The planes were numbered eastwardly from Johnstown; and the ascent from that place to the summit was 1171.58 feet in 26.59 miles, and the descent from the summit to Hollidaysburg was 1398.71 feet in 10.10 miles.

The planes were all straight, and their lengths and elevations are given in the note at the conclusion of the paper.

The descent on each plane was regular from the top to a point 200 feet from the bottom; the last 200 feet having a gradually diminishing inclination, equal to that of 100 feet of the upper portion. Part of the track, generally 300 feet long, adjoining the head and foot of each plane, was made exactly level. The object of this was to facilitate the handling of the cars.

The cost of the road at the close of the year 1835 was \$1,634,357.69, at the contract prices. This did not include office expenses, engineering, or some extra allowances made to contractors, in a few instances, by the legislature, after the work was completed; nor did it include the cost of locomotives and cars. The cost of the rails for the second track, imported from Great Britain, was \$48.51 per ton, when landed in Philadelphia. Acting for the State, I audited the accounts of the importers at the time. Many of the final estimates of the work were made out by me, but I will not encumber this paper with their details.

I may here mention the fact that in 1851, the State began the construction of a road to avoid the inclined planes, with a maximum grade of 75 feet per mile, and a summit tunnel about 2000 feet long. Parts of the old line were used, and the road was lengthened about six miles. A single track was laid down, and was in use in 1856; but in the following year the whole work, as a part of the main line, was sold by the State to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

Antes Snyder, the youngest son of Governor Simon Snyder of Pennsylvania, had been inspector of railroad iron in Wales for the State. He was an engineer of good abilities, and of excellent character, and a graduate of the West Point Military Academy. After his return from Wales, he was employed in the State service in Western Pennsylvania. He was offered an engagement to go abroad again, to inspect rails for the Reading Railroad, and other lines, but was unwilling to accept it, so I took his place. He was afterwards in the service of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company on the Lebanon Valley line. He has been dead for some years, and it gives me pleasure to record my high respect for his memory, and for the Christian graces that adorned his character. As the State works were not directly profitable, it has been too much the fashion to assume that the management was utterly corrupt and bad. That such was the case in many instances cannot be denied, but there were many bright exceptions.

Having retired from my position on the Portage Railroad in January, 1836, I sailed soon after from New York for Liverpool. To show the great changes which have occurred in travelling since then, I may mention, that on the 14th of February, 1836, I left Philadelphia at 5 P. M., and was fourteen hours going to New York, with the great Southern mail, although the sleighing was good. We rode in an open sled, or box on runners, and the four passengers sat on the mail bags. The fare from Philadelphia to New York was six dollars. It is now two dollars and a half, and the time is reduced to less than two hours and a half, being less than one-fifth of the time, and less than one-half of the price. My recollection is

that we rode fourteen miles in a railroad car, from Elizabethtown to Jersey City.

Having remained abroad until October, 1837, I examined many public works, and superintended the manufacture of a large amount of railroad iron, and railroad equipments. At the time of my going abroad, anthracite coal was nowhere used for smelting iron ore; but in May, 1837, I saw the problem successfully solved by means of the hot blast, by the late George Crane, of the Ynisedwin Iron Works, near Swansea, in South Wales. About the same time, at Bristol, England, I walked over the keel of the steamship Great Western, which had been laid not long before. Her success as a transatlantic steamer was then a question keenly contested, but it turned out to be complete. The length of my return voyage from Liverpool to Philadelphia, in a packet ship, was forty-one days.

The competition which existed between Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore for the trade of the West, led to the passage of an Act to incorporate the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, on the 13th of April, 1846; but the conditions contained in the Act were so stringent, that the Charter was not issued by the Governor until the 25th of February, 1847. A joint special committee of the City Councils of Philadelphia made a report in July, 1846, recommending a subscription to the stock on the part of the city. The committee submitted letters on the subject from a number of engineers, which were printed with the report. In one of these letters written by me, I urged the adoption of the Juniata route, and the use of the Portage Railroad, temporarily, as part of the line. The Charter, however, did not authorize the use of the Portage Railroad, as the legislature was afraid of the competition of the Pennsylvania Railroad with the main line of the public works. There was also a tonnage tax imposed, to protect the business of the main line, during the season of canal navigation, which was at the rate of five mills, or half a cent, per ton per mile, between the 10th of March and the 1st of December in every year, but the railroad was to be free from the tonnage tax in what was considered to be the winter sea-

son. Although this tax was modified, it was not abolished until after the purchase of the main line by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

On the organization of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1847, Samuel V. Merrick was chosen President; John Edgar Thomson, chief engineer; William B. Foster, Jr., associate engineer of the eastern division; and Edward Miller, associate engineer of the western division. These gentlemen, so eminently fitted for their positions, as I know from personal knowledge, they having been my intimate friends, are all dead.

In my opinion, the location of the Pennsylvania Railroad deserves great praise; and, as now constructed, it is an admirable road. It has become the main artery of the trade and travel of the Commonwealth, and the population of Philadelphia is about three times as great as when it was begun.

On the 17th of September, 1850, the Pennsylvania Railroad was opened from Harrisburg to a point of connection with the Portage Railroad, at Duncansville, near Hollidaysburg, portions of the line having been opened previously. About that time, Thomas A. Scott, who is now the distinguished President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, entered the service of the company as station agent at Duncansville; where he had charge of the transfer of the cars between the road of the company and that of the State. He was soon after transferred to the western division as its superintendent, where he distinguished himself by his remarkable energy, and great executive ability.

On the 15th of February, 1854, the mountain division of the Pennsylvania Railroad was opened for use, with a summit tunnel, and no inclined planes, and the company ceased to make use of the Portage Railroad. There had been much difficulty in obtaining the legislation to authorize the use of the Portage Railroad by the company. The original act of incorporation, passed in 1846, was very defective, and the efforts made to amend it, in the following year, were not successful. The necessary legislation was not obtained until 1848. In that year I was a member of the House of Repre-

representatives of Pennsylvania, having been elected from the city of Philadelphia, as one of the five members chosen to represent the old city proper, on a general ticket. The railroad bills in which the city was interested were placed in my hands. A supplement to the Charter of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was obtained, which conferred many valuable privileges. It provided a more just and equitable mode of assessing land damages; it confirmed the city subscription to the stock; it authorized the county of Allegheny to subscribe for stock to the amount of a million dollars, which was afterwards done; and it authorized the connection with the Portage Railroad. It also made some reduction in the tonnage tax. Legislation was obtained in another bill for the survey of a line to avoid the inclined plane near Philadelphia.

At the same session a charter was obtained for a railroad from Pittsburgh westward, on the line towards Fort Wayne and Chicago. I was afterwards the chief engineer of it, from Pittsburgh to Crestline, a distance of 188 miles. I had charge of the location, construction, and working of the road as far west as Crestline, from 1848 to 1856, and the towns of Alliance and Crestline were located, and their names selected by me. This line was originally called the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad, as it was chartered by both of those States, and was the first line to connect their railroad systems. It has become a most important feeder to the Pennsylvania Railroad. On the 6th of January, 1852, the road was opened from Pittsburgh to Alliance, 82 miles, where it connected with a railroad to Cleveland; and, very shortly after, I took Louis Kossuth and his party of Hungarians over it, which was the occasion of a great ovation. The road was opened to Crestline on the 11th of April, 1853, where it connected with a direct railroad to Columbus and Cincinnati. This road thus opened has now been in use for about twenty-five years, and has been of great public utility.

The completion of the line between Crestline and Chicago was delayed by financial difficulties for some years; but it was opened throughout in December, 1858, mainly by the efforts of John Edgar Thomson.

The competition which was for some time carried on between the Pennsylvania Railroad and the main line, owned by the State, was found to be injurious to both; and, after protracted negotiations, the State sold its line to the company. On the 20th of July, 1857, a meeting of the stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was held at Sansom Street Hall, to act upon the purchase of the main line, of canals, and railroads between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Having been selected for the purpose, I offered the resolutions, and spoke in their favor. The measure was adopted with but little opposition, and on the first of the following month, August 1st, 1857, the Governor, by proclamation, transferred the main line to the railroad company. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company thus became the owner of the Portage Railroad, and, as it was not the interest of the company to keep it up and work it, it soon went out of use. It had had its day, and something better had taken its place; and, instead of lasting for many generations, the time of its existence was but about twenty-five years.

The great improvements made in locomotive engines have enabled them to work to advantage on steep grades, so as to supersede stationary power, and to draw long and heavy trains continuously for many miles, without stopping for any change. Railroad tracks have also been greatly improved. The foundations are better; the rails are longer and stronger; the joints are fewer and much safer; and the switches and signals are much better than they were. Steel rails, and steel tires on locomotive driving-wheels, have come into extensive use, and add much to the durability and safety of the roads. Switch rails were at first of cast iron; and afterwards of rolled iron, with a pivot, or hinge, welded on at the heel of the switch. On the Portage Railroad I introduced the plan of holding the switch rail fast in a chair, and bending the rail by the switch lever, as is now done in the common stub switch. Improved safety switches have since been invented, and are now extensively used.

When I went to the iron works in Wales in 1836, the rails were allowed to get cold, after coming from the rolls, and the

ends were afterwards reheated, and the fag ends cut off by hand. While I was there, the circular saws were brought into use, by which the ends of the rails are now cut off when hot from the rolls. The iron rails made under my direction, at the Ebbw Vale Iron Works, for the Reading Railroad, were unusually good for that time; but good steel rails of American manufacture can now be bought for less than those cost in Wales.

Fifty years have passed since I rode on the Mauch Chunk Railroad, on the first train of cars that ever ran in Pennsylvania, and during that long period my interest in the growth of our railroad system has never ceased. Four years later, when I led the locating party on the Allegheny Portage Railroad, it was with a feeling of enthusiasm for my professional employment, which it gives me pleasure to recall. To be useful to my native State and city, and to help to promote the prosperity of Pennsylvania, were my lively hope and strong desire, for it is a State of which we may well be proud. The strong foundations of her history were laid by William Penn, in principles of truth and justice which must endure forever. Although the railroad of which I have spoken has ceased to exist, yet I need not say,

"So fades, so perishes, grows dim, and dies,
All that this world is proud of."

Or, "What profit hath a man of all his labor, which he taketh under the sun?"

The present is the child of the past, and will be the parent of the future, and to keep the past from being forgotten, and to preserve its lessons for our instruction, is the highly useful office of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which I trust it will continue to fill, for the benefit of those who may come after us, for many generations.

NOTE.

The following Table gives the profile of the Portage Railroad. The grade lines between the inclined planes, and between the planes and the terminal stations, which were worked by horse power, or by locomotives, were called "levels." There were some minor variations in the grades on the levels,

made to suit the ground, which are omitted from the Table ; but from the lengths and heights here given, the average grade of each "level" may be obtained correctly.

	Length.	Rise.
Level No. 1. From Johnstown to		
Plane No. 1.	4.13 miles.	101.46 ft.
Plane No. 1. Ascending eastward	1607.74 feet.	150.00 ft.
Level No. 2. " " Long		
Level	13.06 miles.	189.58 ft.
Plane No. 2. "	1760.43 feet.	132.40 ft.
Level No. 3. "	1.49 miles.	14.50 ft.
Plane No. 3. "	1480.25 feet.	130.50 ft.
Level No. 4. "	1.90 miles.	18.80 ft.
Plane No. 4. "	2195.94 feet.	187.86 ft.
Level No. 5. "	2.56 miles.	25.80 ft.
Plane No. 5. "	2628.60 feet.	201.64 ft.
Level No. 6. " Summit		
Level at Blair's Gap	1.62 miles.	19.04 ft.
		<hr/> 1171.58
		Fall.
Plane No. 6. Descending eastw'd	2713.85 feet.	266.50 ft.
Level No. 7. " . . . .	.15 miles.	0.00 ft.
Plane No. 7. "	2655.01 feet.	260.50 ft.
Level No. 8. " . . . .	.66 miles.	5 80 ft.
Plane No. 8. "	3116.92 feet.	307.60 ft.
Level No. 9. "	1.25 miles.	12.00 ft.
Plane No. 9. "	2720.80 feet.	189.50 ft.
Level No. 10. "	1.76 miles.	29.58 ft.
Plane No. 10. "	2295.61 feet.	180.52 ft.
Level No. 11. " to Holli-		
daysburg	3.72 miles.	146.71 ft.
		<hr/> 1398.71 ft.

COMPUTATION OF TIME, AND CHANGES OF STYLE
IN THE CALENDAR.

ADDRESSED TO STUDENTS OF HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

BY SPENCER BONSALE.

JULIAN AND GREGORIAN CALENDAR.

More than one hundred and twenty-five years have elapsed since the British Government ordained that a change should be made in the calendar, in order to prevent further errors in the chronological record of events, by the adoption of the Gregorian, or "New Style," of computing the length of the year, in place of the Julian, or "Old Style," then in use. This law applied to the American and all other colonies of the English Crown; yet there are but few persons, at the present time, who have a clear conception of the meaning of the above terms; and, as the subject has seldom been treated, in the works of reference commonly used, in the manner it deserves, mistakes are frequently made, even by literary men, when writing of past events.

It is unnecessary to enter into an examination of the various calendars that have been in vogue from time immemorial; therefore, I will confine myself to the two now in use by Christian nations.

The solar or tropical year is that period which corresponds to the sun's revolution in the ecliptic from any equinox or solstice to the same again. If the civil year corresponds with the solar, the seasons of the year will always occur at the same period. But prior to the Christian era, the Roman pontiffs, from self-interested motives, added to or took from the year capriciously, so as to lengthen or shorten the period during which a magistrate remained in office, and by this means created such irregularity, that in the days of Julius Cæsar the spring season occurred in what the calendar called summer.

According to Censorinus, quoted by Dr. Smith in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, the confusion was at last carried so far that Caius Julius Cæsar, the Pontifex Maximus, in his third Consulate, with Lepidus for his colleague, inserted between the months of November and December two intercalary months, consisting, together, of 67 days, and to the month of February an intercalation of 23 days, which, added to the length of the previous year, 355 days, made the whole of *that* year 445 days, thus bringing the calendar to conform with the seasons. This year was called by Macrobius "the last year of confusion."

Cæsar now undertook the formation of a new calendar. With the assistance of Sosigenes, a famous Egyptian mathematician, he calculated the solar year, which he fixed at 365 days and 6 hours; and, to make allowance for the hours, he determined on the intercalation of one day in every four years, which, being a duplication of the 6th, before the Calends of March, was called the *Bissextile*, or *twice sixth*. That is, the day answering to the 24th of February was counted twice, both days having the same name, which also gives us our term of leap-year, which leaps over, as it were, one day more than there are days in a common year.

This was the Julian method of computing time, the reckoning by which commenced in the 45th year B. C., and introduced our present arrangement of having three years of 365 days, followed by one of 366, dividing the year into months nearly as at present.

In A. D. 325, the first Ecumenical or General Council assembled at Nice, in Asia Minor, to deliberate and act on ecclesiastical matters. They composed the *Nicene Creed*, etc. etc., and fixed the days on which Easter and other movable feasts should be celebrated. At that date, the Vernal Equinox, the precise time when the days and nights are equal, fell on the 21st of March, although in the time of Julius Cæsar that event happened on the 25th. Not knowing that the error was in the calendar, but supposing the former date to be correct, and that there would be no variation from it, the Council decreed that Easter day should be "the first

Sunday after the first full moon which happened next after the 21st of March. And if the full moon happens upon a Sunday, Easter day is the Sunday after." This rule is still in force.

The calendar of Julius Cæsar was found to be defective, for in the year 1582, the vernal equinox fell on the 11th, instead of the 21st of March. Pope Gregory XIII, assisted by several learned men, made a complete reformation of it. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the name of the author of the system adopted as Aloysius Lilius, or Luigi Lilio Ghiraldi, a learned astronomer and physician of Naples.

The solar or tropical year is found by observation to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 46.14912¹ seconds, which not being equal to the year of 365 days, 6 hours, upon which Julius Cæsar established the leap-year (the difference, 11 minutes, 14 seconds, amounting in about 128 years to a whole day), Gregory, assuming his fixed point of departure, not A. D. 1, but the year of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, decreed that *that* year, 1582, should consist of 355 days only (October 5th became October 15th), thus dropping 10 days. And to prevent further irregularity, it was determined that a year, ending a century, should not be a leap-year, with the exception of that ending each fourth century. Thus 1700 and 1800 have not been leap-years, nor will 1900 be so, but the year 2000 will be. That is, when a centesimal year is divisible by 400, without a remainder, it is a leap-year, and when there is a remainder, the year consists of 365 days only. In this manner, three days are retrenched in 400 years, because the lapse of 11 minutes and 14 seconds makes three days in about that period. All other years in the century divisible by 4, without a remainder, are likewise leap-years. The Bull which effected this change was issued February 24, 1582.

¹ I am indebted to Professors Nourse and Hall, of the United States Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C., for the exact length of the solar or tropical year, which is given, from the most reliable data, as 365.2422008 days = 365 d. 5 h. 48 min. 46.14912 sec. This varies a few seconds from previous calculations, affecting only the length of time when the difference will amount to a day.

The year of the calendar is thus made, as nearly as possible, to correspond with the true solar year, and future errors in chronology will be avoided, as the difference will not amount to much more than a day in 3342 years, or until A. D. 3667, counting from the Council of Nice.

The Catholic nations, in general, adopted the *style* ordained by their sovereign pontiff,¹ but the greater part of the Protestants, with the exception of a portion of the Netherlands, were then too much inflamed against Catholicism, in all its relations, to receive even a purely scientific improvement from such a source. The Lutherans of Germany, Switzerland, and the remaining parts of the Low Countries at length gave way in 1700, when it had become necessary to omit *eleven* instead of ten days, in consequence of their having made that year a leap-year.

It was not until 1751, and after great inconvenience had been experienced for nearly two centuries from the difference of reckoning, that an act was passed (24 Geo. II. c. 23, 1751) for equalizing the style in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies with that used in other countries of Europe. It was then enacted that eleven nominal days should be omitted; the last day of *Old Style* being Wednesday the 2d, and the first of *New Style* (the next day) Thursday the 14th, instead of the 3d of September, 1752, and the legal year, which had previously been held to begin with the 25th of March, was made to begin on the 1st of January. The Gregorian regulation of dropping one day in every hundredth year, except the fourth hundred, was also included.

The alteration was for a long time opposed by the prejudices of individuals; and even now, in some instances, in England, the old style is so pertinaciously adhered to, that rents are made payable on the old quarter days, instead of the new.

Assuming the Calendar to have been correct at the time of the Council of Nice, the first centesimal year, A. D. 400, which occurred only seventy-five years later, should not have been made a leap-year, but as it was, the first excess of one day

¹ Chambers's Encyclopædia.

took place. The following table, omitting the centuries 800, 1200, and 1600, which were properly leap-years, will show the difference which must be allowed in the respective periods, for changing *Old Style* to *New Style*:—

From March 1st, A. D.	400 to March 1st, A. D.	500, omit	1 day
" " " "	500 to " " "	600, "	2 days
" " " "	600 to " " "	700, "	3 "
" " " "	700 to " " "	900, "	4 "
" " " "	900 to " " "	1000, "	5 "
" " " "	1000 to " " "	1100, "	6 "
" " " "	1100 to " " "	1300, "	7 "
" " " "	1300 to " " "	1400, "	8 "
" " " "	1400 to " " "	1500, "	9 "
" " " "	1500 to " " "	1700, "	10 "
" " " "	1700 to Sept. 2d, "	1752, "	11 "

The change of *eleven* days in the last century, required to reduce old style to new, has been the cause of many mistakes, made by thoughtless persons, who apply that difference to all past time. All events require a correction, respective of the *time* of their occurrence. For example: Columbus discovered America on Friday, the 12th day of October, 1492, O. S., by the New Style this event happened on Friday, October 21, 1492, a difference of *nine* days only being made, as will be observed by reference to the table. Again, William Penn "arrived before the town of New Castle, in Delaware," on Friday, October 27, 1682, O. S., which reduced to N. S. is Friday, November 6th, *ten* days being then the difference, and in the next century, to take a familiar example, Washington was born on Friday, the 11th of February, 1732, and, as all the world knows, we celebrate the anniversary of his birth on the 22d of February, in this case properly omitting *eleven* days, as required by the act of Parliament.

Russia,¹ and the countries following the communion of the

¹ As this article was being prepared, the following appeared in the papers of the day:—

Associated Press Despatch.

LONDON, June 21, 1878.—According to a Warsaw letter, the Gregorian Calendar is likely to be adopted in Russia. The Council of State and the Ministers have, for some time, been using both the old and new styles.

Greek Church, are now the only ones which adhere to the Old Style, an adherence which renders it necessary, when a letter is thence addressed to a person in another country, that the date should be given thus: April 1st or $\frac{\text{June } 27}{\text{July } 9}$, for it will be observed that the year 1800, not being a Gregorian leap-year, has interjected another (or twelfth) day between old and new style. Earlier examples of double-dating may be found in the "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," vol. III., thus 1st 9th of 9^{ber}, and $\frac{12\text{th}}{23\text{d}}$ 10^{ber}, 1665, etc. etc. The months September, October, November, and December, were frequently written 7^{ber}, 8^{ber}, 9^{ber}, and 10^{ber}, or in Roman numerals. Also in "Macaulay's History of England," in the foot-notes to Chapter IV., thus: Feb. 3 (13), April 18 (28), May 28 (June 7), 1685, etc. etc.

CALENDAR OF THE "SOCIETY OF FRIENDS."

The numerical designation of the months used by the Society of Friends did not originate with them. In the calendar of Julius Cæsar the months were not only named, but were also numbered, thus:—

1. March.	4. June.	7. September.	10. December.
2. April.	5. July.	8. October.	11. January.
3. May.	6. August.	9. November.	12. February.

We find in early records, long before the advent of the Society of Friends, that dates were frequently given, in which the number of the month only was used, in accordance with the above arrangement.¹

¹ In the distribution of the days through the several months, Julius Cæsar adopted a simpler and more convenient arrangement than that which has since prevailed. He had ordered that the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh months, that is March, May, July, September, November, and January should each have 31 days, and the other months 30, excepting the twelfth month, February, which in common years should have only 29, but every fourth year 30 days. This order was broken to gratify the vanity of Augustus, by giving the sixth month, bearing his name, as many days as July, which was named after the first Cæsar. A day was accordingly taken from February and given to August; and in order that three months

Soon after the arrival of William Penn in this country, numerous laws were enacted for the government of the Province. Among them was one relating to the days of the week, and the months of the year, which is here given *verbatim* from the original MS. document, in possession of "The Historical Society of Pennsylvania," and which is entitled:—

"The great Law or the Body of Lawes of the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories thereunto belonging Past at an Assembly held at Chester (alias upland) the 7th day of y^e 10th month, called December 1682."

The 35th section is as follows:—

"35. And Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that the dayes of the Week and y^e months of the year shall be called as in Scripture, & not by Heathen names (as are vulgarly used) as the first Second and third days of y^e Week and first second and third months of y^e year and beginning with y^e Day called Sunday and the month called March."¹

At the time the English Government passed the act requiring a change from *old style* to new, it became necessary for the Society of Friends to take action on the subject, which they did in this manner:—

"Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia for Pennsylvania & New Jersey from the 14th to the 18th day of the Seventh Month (inclusive), 1751.

"Began Business on the 17th, being the third day of the Week.

"Israel Pemberton, Caleb Cowpland, Ennion Williams, Daniel Smith, Ebenezer Hopkins, & Joseph Parker are appointed to adjust the Accounts, and report the state thereof to-morrow.

of 31 days each might not come together, September and November were reduced to 30 days, and 31 given to October and December.

¹ It would appear from this, as though the year was to have commenced on the 1st day of March, and it is so stated by Hazard, in a foot-note on page 58, vol. 1, of the "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Penna." That this was not the case, may be seen by reference to "Votes of the Assembly of Penna.," to the Journal of George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, and to the writings of William Penn, where double-dating is always used until the 25th of March, the commencement of another year.

“On the 18th

“The Clerk is directed with the Extracts of the Minutes of this Meeting to send Copies of the written Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of London, this year, directed to the Quarterly & Monthly Meetings of Friends in general.

“Agreed, that Friends within the Compass of this Yearly Meeting should concur with the Minute of the Yearly Meeting in London concerning the Method of computing time as prescribed by a late Act of Parliament, which minute is as follows, Viz:—

“Agreed, that, as by the late Act of Parliament for regulating the Commencement of the Year, it is ordered, that the first day of the Eleventh Month next, shall be deemed the first day of the Year 1752, and that the month called January shall be successively accounted the first month of the Year, and not the Month called March, as heretofore hath been our Method of Computing.

“That from and after the time above mentioned, the Eleventh month called January, shall thenceforward be deemed & reckoned the First month of every year, & to be so styled in all the Records & Writings of Friends, instead of computing from the month called March, according to our present Practice: And Friends are recommended to go on with the Names of the following months numerically according to our Practice from the beginning, so that the Months may be called & written as follows, That named January to be called and written the first month, and February to be called and written the Second Month, & so on. All other Methods of computing or calling the months unavoidably leading into Contradiction.

“And Whereas for the more regular computation of Time the same Act directs, that in the Month now called September, which will be in the year 1752 after the second day of the said month, Eleven nominal Days shall be omitted and that which would have been the third shall be reckoned & Esteemed the fourteenth day of the said month, & that which would otherwise have been the fourth day of the said month must be deemed the Fifteenth, & so on. It appears

“likewise necessary that Friends should conform themselves to this direction and omitt the Eleven nominal days accordingly.”

“Business being Ended, The Meeting adjourned to Burlington on the 24th day of the Ninth Month in the next Year according to this new Method of Computing of Time, which will be on the Second First day of the Week, in the month by Law called September.

Extracted & Examined

by

ISR. PEMBERTON,

Junr Clk.”

According to both the Julian and Gregorian calendars, January has always been January, but to change the eleventh month to the first, and the twelfth to the second is making “confusion worse confounded,” particularly to genealogists who wish to reduce dates of births and deaths from old style to new.

It may be difficult for some persons to understand the last paragraph of the preceding “Extracts,” how the 24th of the Ninth Month (September) could be the Second First day of the week (Sunday) occurring in the month. It must be remembered, that the last day of Old Style was Wednesday, the 2d, and the first day of New Style, the next day, Thursday, the 14th of September (or Ninth Month), the change only affecting the numerical order of the days of the month, the names of the days of the week continuing as though no alteration had been made; consequently the first Sunday (or first day of the week) in the month happened on the 17th, and the second on the 24th; the month, by the dropping of 11 days, consisting of 19 days only.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND HISTORICAL YEAR.

In England, as early as the 7th century, the year began on the 25th of December, or Christmas day, and this date was used by most persons until the 13th century. But in the 12th century, the Anglican Church required that their year should commence on the 25th of March (Annunciation, or Lady-Day). This rule was adopted by the Civilians in the 14th century,

and was adhered to until 1752. It was known as the Ecclesiastical, Legal, or Civil year. The 1st of January, however, had been considered as the beginning of the Historical year from the time of the Conquest, A. D. 1066, and in Scotland from A. D. 1600. This difference caused great practical inconvenience, and consequently double-dating was usually resorted to, for time between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, thus: February, or 12th mo. 6th 168 $\frac{1}{2}$, or 1684-5, as we often find in old records. This date in New Style would correspond to February, or 2d month, 16th, 1685, the lower or last figure representing the Historical year, according to our present mode of computation, commencing with the 1st of January; and the upper or first figure the Ecclesiastical or civil year, beginning with the 25th of March. Without this method of double-dating it would be difficult to know which year was intended, particularly for time between the 1st and 25th of March. There are instances, however, in which double-dating for the above months was not used; in such cases the year, as given, must be taken as commencing on the 1st of January. This system was adopted, occasionally, in each country earlier than the Gregorian or New Style.

In changing the days of the month from old style to new, add to them the figures 9, 10, 11, or as the case may be in the respective periods of the preceding table; always remembering that in the numerical arrangement of the months, the First month represented March, and so on, previous to the year 1752 in Great Britain and her colonies.¹

It is, however, particularly recommended, that dates should not be changed, in any case, but that the letters O. S. be added, when necessary. This will relieve Historians, and others, from much perplexity, as they can make their own calculations.²

¹ For the date of change in other countries, see next number of the Magazine.

² A work entitled "*Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall*," Philadelphia, 1849, furnishes a case in point. It is devoted almost exclusively to a correspondence between members of the Society of Friends, in the early part of the last century, who used the numerical method of dating,

DOMINICAL LETTERS.

It is sometimes of the greatest importance that we should know on what day of the week a certain event took place (or may happen in the future), or, having the day of the week, what day of the month will correspond to it. Numerous intricate methods of calculation have been suggested at various times for solving this difficulty. The use of the following table will save all that trouble and waste of time, and a few minutes' attention will make any person perfectly familiar with it.

The first seven letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, have been employed by chronologists to designate the several days of the week, the first letter standing for the first day of January, and so on, and since one of these letters must necessarily stand opposite to Sunday, it is called the Dominical or Sunday letter. When January begins on Sunday, the dominical letter for that year is A, and, as the common year consists of 52 weeks and 1 day, the year must begin and end on the same day of the week; and the next year must begin on Monday, therefore Sunday will be the seventh day, and the letter G will be the dominical letter. The third year will begin on Tuesday, and, as Sunday falls on the sixth day, F will be the dominical letter. Hence it follows that the dominical letters will succeed each other in a retrograde order, viz., G, F, E, D, C, B, A, and if there was no leap-year, the same day of the week would, in the course of seven years, return to the same days of the month. But since a leap-year contains 52 weeks and 2 days, any leap-year beginning on Sunday will end on Monday, and the following year will begin on Tuesday, the first Sunday of which must fall on the sixth day of January, to which the dominical letter F corresponds, and not G, as in common years. As the leap-year returns

beginning the year with the 1st month, or March. The editor has changed this, by naming the first month January, and consequently has dated a greater part of the letters two months before they were written, and births and deaths two months before they occurred. This is certainly a new style, and not uncommon among our younger genealogists.

every fourth year, the regular succession of the dominical letter is interrupted. Its next recurrence can be found by dividing the year by 4 (see example below, with the dominical letter F; the lower figures representing the remainders), if there be no remainder, the interval to the next year will be 6 years; if 2 remain it will be 11 years; if 1 remain it will be 6 years, and if 3 remain the interval will be 5 years.

GF.	F.	F.	F.	GF.	F.	F.	F.
$\frac{1844}{0} + 6 = \frac{1850}{2} + 11 = \frac{1861}{1} + 6 = \frac{1867}{3} + 5 = \frac{1872}{0} + 6 = \frac{1878}{2} + 11 = \frac{1889}{1} + 6 = \frac{1895}{3} + 5$							

The cycle of recurrence is, therefore, 6, 11, 6, 5, except as modified by the centesimal years.

I have been thus explicit, as I cannot find that any writer has mentioned the above fact. They all appear to be unanimous in the statement, that the Solar Cycle, a period of 28 years, is the *only* time when the same days of the week will correspond to the same days of the month. Previous to the change of style in 1752, 28 years always elapsed between any two leap-years having the same dominical letters, but since that time the rule will answer only for the leap-years of each century separately.

Immediately above, or preceding every leap-year in the table, there is a blank space, and in a line with it, under the century; will be found the dominical letter that must be used for the months of January and February, and in a line with the year, the letter to be used for the remainder of the leap-year; thus 1876 has B and A, 1880 D and C, 1884 F and E, etc. This, with the explanation at the top of the table, should enable any one to prove its accuracy by comparison with almanacs, either in the old or new style, or with books and newspapers.¹

The year 1752, on account of the change of style, had three dominical letters. E from Wednesday, January 1st, to Saturday, February 29th; D from Sunday, March 1st, to Wednesday, September 2d; and A from Thursday, September 14th (when New Style was adopted), to the close of the year.

¹ A table similar to this, but not so extended, appeared in the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xx. 1866. It was communicated by Isaac J. Greenwood, of New York.

CENTURIES.													Then in the Calendar, in the lower part of the table, find the day of the month, and in a line with it, under the given Dominical Letter, you have the day of the week; or <i>vice versa</i> .																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		
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(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE IROQUOIS AND DELAWARE INDIANS.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CONRAD WEISER TO CHRISTOPHER SAUR,
1746-1749.

COMPILED BY ABRAHAM CASSELL.

TRANSLATED BY MISS HELEN BELL.

(Concluded from vol. i. page 323.)

Concerning their Allies and Friends, we have heard from a trustworthy Indian, who has travelled a great deal, that of them there are as follows:—

(1st) The Zis-a-gech-Roonu, who live in three great cities on the eastern side of Huron's Lake, have of warriors about 2400

(2nd) The Unich-Kalliagon have of warriors . . . 3000

These live on the west side of Lake Erie, and onward to the strait of Huron's Lake.

(3rd) The Runada-Wadeeny are the next mentioned neighbors. Their warriors are about 400

(4th) The Oyjachdanich-Roonu live near the Black River, and have of warriors about 1000

(5th) The Towwichtowich-Roonu, on the Thunackgi River have 300

(6th) The Gechdagech-Roonu, on the great River Mississippi 500

(7th) The Ofkuniagis, on an arm of the Ohio towards the west 1000

(8th) The Karbaguch-Roonu (in German wild people) dwell and are to the north of Huron's Lake; they do not sow, but journey from one place to another; their number is uncertain. It is said they are more numerous than all the rest in alliance with the Iroquois.

(9th) The Schawanös, on the River Ohio, have of warriors 200

(10th) The Dellewar, in Pennsylvania and Ohio . . 200

(11th) The Mohickander, which are scattered along Hudson River and in New England, not fewer than 300

Thus in all such as bear arms in war there are . 9300

The art of war they understand extremely well, particularly in the wilderness, for it is their occupation from their youth up. Indeed, they seek no other honor or happiness than to be good warriors. The parents do everything in their power to make their sons brave heroes; they frequently send them into battle when they are only 12 or 15 years old, but under the control of good officers. They are light on their feet, can endure hunger three to four days, indeed, if it is necessary, even longer, and at the same time march every day thirty, forty, to fifty English miles and attack their enemy. In war they are a crafty, cruel, and daring people. A European who wishes to stand well with them, must practise well the three following virtues: They are—

- (1) Speak the truth;
- (2) Give the best that he has;
- (3) Show himself not a coward, but courageous in all cases.

They believe that when the soul of a person leaves the body, it takes a long journey to a happy land, where there are quantities of fat game, and everything grows luxuriantly. There the huckleberries are as large as a man's fist, and the strawberries are equally as large, and their taste is much better than ours. There a man can lie in the shade the whole day, and the most beautiful maidens wait upon him. There no one grows old. Those who have been the best and most heroic warriors here, there have the pre-eminence, and rule over the good women. No bad people come to this place, but if a common man got there, he must be the servant of the others for many a year.

The children inherit no property from their parents; when the old people die, they leave their property to others, it generally remains with the friends; the oldest man of the family makes presents out of it at his pleasure, the children very seldom receive any of it, even though they desire it; if they are grown up they must take care of themselves.

If a young man is a good hunter, he is in no want, his wife, or her mother, or his mother, if he is not married, is master of his deerskins; but he is well clothed, and everything neces-

sary is given to him that he may live like a gentleman of his kind.

What are here noticed are the universal manners and customs, but some differ from the others in their customs. I have been at their burials; there we see everything that the dead man owned brought to the burying place, and as soon as he is buried, everything is divided; among others, everything is put in the box with the dead; but they always give him bows and arrows, hatchets, kettles, and a dressed skin for shoes, so that he is provided for in the long journey until he reaches the pleasant land of souls, where they hope to meet with their fathers and grandfathers, and other good friends in a blissful life.

When a chaste wife has lost her husband, she is not married again until a winter and a summer have passed, and then she must be urged to it by her friends. During this time she should rather lose her life than do anything dishonorable. And so, too, with an honorable man; they mourn a long time, and at first go to the grave almost every morning, afterwards every month, and make their lamentations very mournfully and sorrowfully to inspire one with pity; they allow no grass to grow on the grave, but scrape the ground daily with their hands, so that it looks as if it had been made yesterday.

When the time of mourning is over, the friends come and bring gifts to wipe away the tears from the sorrowing eyes. In the mean time, the deceased has arrived in the land of souls, and the friends give a feast. No one dare mention the name of the dead person after he is buried; if any one does it ignorantly, he commits a misdeed; but if some one does it in defiance, they often avenge it with death to cool their anger, etc.

Of their chastity and marriage, perhaps, another time.

I am your devoted,
CONRAD WEISER.

If we consider the condition and manner of living of the Indians, whom we call savages and heathens, and compare them with the so-called Christian people, who think they are regenerate, there is very little difference, except that many

know the Lord's will and do it not, and, therefore, shall be beaten with many stripes, Luke xii. 47. The most sensible Indians complain of the Christians for bringing so much rum and brandy among them, by means of which their more frivolous people have been so corrupted and deceived as to resemble the Christians. He who writes this description, declares: He has been among them thirty years, and has never seen two sober Indians quarrel or fight. Ah! if an Indian could be only a year among the Christians, and say: He had seen no one get angry with another, quarrel, scold, fight, cheat, lie, slander, backbite, etc., what a glorious renown that would be! He could scarcely find, I will not say a whole nation, language, city, or village, but even a house that has that glory to perfection.

Since the Indians take their sons to war early, to train them up to it, and since in Europe the high-born, or noble Christians instruct their sons betimes in fighting and tilting, and such like sciences, by which one is sent to soar aloft, and the other to oppress, and to make away with his enemies; and since even among the rest there are so many who have this same love of a warlike life; and delight in going to war, therefore such Indians and such Christians are alike. Thus the whole art of war must have come from wicked Cain's manners and nature, and needs no regeneration, as men nowadays are born anew, because the heathenish nature brings it with itself.

It is a praiseworthy thing that the Indians hate lying as much as they do; but among the Christian people of to-day it is certainly somewhat rare to find any one communicating quite candidly with his neighbor, and it is no longer customary to hear the truth, we can often fancy beforehand that only half or nothing at all is true, and afterwards it turns out as we thought.

C. SAUR.

EARLY DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION
IN PHILADELPHIA.

CHARLES THOMSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE OPPOSITION TO THE BOSTON PORT BILL.

From the Sparks Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard College.

[The following letter from Charles Thomson to William Henry Drayton, of S. C., was written when that gentleman was preparing a history of the Revolution, to correct a statement which had been furnished him by Joseph Reed; and, as Thomson was one of the principal actors in the events of which his letter treats, his views are entitled to a careful consideration. The date of the letter is uncertain, but it was probably written after Drayton had become a member of Congress (1778-79), of which body Thomson was Secretary, as we have no evidence that they were acquainted prior to that time. While the narrative was prepared only to defend the conduct of John Dickinson, it furnishes an interesting chapter in the secret history of revolutionary politics. It shows the strenuous efforts that were made to enlist Pennsylvania in the cause of Independence, and, at the same time, preserve, as the Constitution of the State, the form of government under which, as a colony, she had attained prosperity and position. Had such a course been persevered in, there can be but little doubt that our State would have escaped one of the bitterest periods of her existence, and, undivided by local dissensions, would have given to the Revolutionary cause even greater support than that which she was enabled to render.

A portion of Thomson's letter is quoted in the *Life of President Reed*, and is the only part of it, we believe, that has ever appeared in print. From a copy in the collection of manuscripts made by Dr. Sparks, and deposited by his widow in the library of Harvard College, we are, through the courtesy of Mrs. Sparks, and of Mr. Justin Winsor, the Librarian, able to give in full this valuable addition to the records of the early history of the Revolution in Philadelphia. To Mr. Winsor we are also indebted for the careful comparison of the copy sent us, with the one obtained by Dr. Sparks.—Ed.]

*Observations on Mr. Reed's notes delivered to W. H. D.*¹

Sir: I have run over your manuscript, and as I perceive you must have had your information from some person who judged only from appearance, without being acquainted with the secret springs and reality of actions, I find myself obliged in justice to a character, which is not represented in a true

¹ The Hon. W. H. Drayton.

point of light, to unfold the scene, and give you a sketch of things as they really happened.

It is generally known what an early part Mr. D.¹ took in the American disputes. His first piece in favour of America was written in the year 1765, during the stamp act. The sudden repeal of the stamp act rendered a farther continuation of his labours at that time unnecessary. But the tea, paper, and glass act called him forth again in the year 1767 or 1768, when he published his farmer's letters, which had the effect to rouse America to a sense of its danger, and to adopt measures for preventing the evils threatened, and obtaining a redress of grievances. The partial repeal of this act in the year 1770, in a great measure put an end to the apprehensions of the Americans, and peace and good humour seemed to be again restored. During all this time, Mr. D. was considered as the first champion for American liberty. His abilities exercised in defence of the rights of his country raised his character high, not only in America, but in Europe, and his fortune and hospitality gave him great influence in his own state. When the controversy was again renewed between Great Britain and America in the year 1772, the merchants of Philad^a, who first took the alarm at the attempt of introducing tea to America through the medium of the East india Company, were anxious to engage him in the dispute. But from this he was dissuaded by one of his most intimate friends, who seemed to be persuaded that this new attempt of the Ministry would lead to most serious consequences, and terminate in blood, and who, therefore, wished him to reserve himself till matters became more serious.

For this reason he was not publicly concerned in the measures taken for sending back the tea. But in the spring of 1774, as soon as the news of the Boston port bill, &c. arrived, his friend, who had taken an active part in the measures for sending back the tea, immediately communicated to him the intelligence, and gave him his opinion that now was the time to step forward. The measures proper to be pursued on this occasion were secretly concerted between them.

¹ Mr. Dickinson.

And to prepare the minds of the people, D. undertook to address the public in a series of letters. The next day the letters arrived from Boston, and it was judged proper to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, to communicate to them the contents of the letter, and gain their concurrence in the measures that were necessary to be taken. As the quakers, who are principled against war, saw the storm gathering, and, therefore, wished to keep aloof from danger, were industriously employed to prevent anythings being done which might involve Pennsylvania farther in the dispute, and as it was apparent that for this purpose their whole force would be collected at the ensuing meeting, it was necessary to devise means so to counteract their designs as to carry the measures proposed, and yet prevent a disunion, and thus if possible bring Pennsylvania with its whole force undivided to make common cause with Boston. The line of conduct Mr. D. had lately pursued opened a prospect to this. His sentiments were not generally known; the quakers courted, and seemed to depend upon him. The other party, from his past conduct, hope for his assistance, but were not sure how far he would go if matters came to extremity, his sentiments on the present controversy not being generally known. It was, therefore, agreed that he should attend the meeting. And as it would be in vain for Philad^a, or even Pennsylvania, to enter into the dispute unless seconded and supported by the other colonies, the only point to be carried at [the] ensuing meeting was to return a friendly and affectionate answer to the people of Boston, to forward the news of their distress to the Southern colonies, and to consult them and the Eastern colonies on the propriety of calling a Congress to consult on the measures necessary to be taken. If divisions ran high at the meeting, it was agreed to propose the calling together the assembly in order to gain time. To accomplish this, it was agreed that his friend, who was represented as a rash man, should press for an immediate declaration in favour of Boston, and get some of his friends to support him in the measure, that Mr. D. should oppose, and press for moderate measures, and thus, by an apparent dispute, prevent a further opposition, and

carry the point agreed on. For this purpose R.¹ and M.² were sounded, and an invitation given to dine with Mr. D. on the day of the meeting. After dinner the four had a private conference, at which D. was pressed to attend the meeting which was to be in the evening.³ D. offered sundry excuses, but at last seemed to consent, provided matters were so conducted that he might be allowed to propose and carry moderate measures. T.,⁴ who was on the watch, and who thought he saw some reluctance in one of the gentlemen to be brought to act a second part, prevented a farther explanation by proposing that R. should open the meeting, M. second him, T. should then speak, and after him D., and that afterwards they should speak as occasion offered. After this the conversation was more reserved, and soon after R. and M. returned to town. At parting they pressed T. to bring D. with him, and T. assured them he would not come without him. The carriage was ordered up, and after they had been some time gone, so that all might not seem to have been together, D. and T. stepped into the carriage, and drove down to the city tavern,⁵ the place of meeting. The meeting was held in the long Room. The company was large, and the rood [room?] exceedingly crowded [crowded?]

The letter rec'd from Boston was read, after which R. addressed the assembly with temper, moderation, but in pathetic terms. M. spoke next, and with more warmth and fire. T. succeeded, and pressed for an immediate declaration in favour of Boston, and making common cause with her. But being overcome with the heat of the room and fatigue, for he had scarce slept an hour two nights past, he fainted, and was carried

¹ Mr. Reed.

² Mr. Miffin.

³ It is obvious that the friend alluded to was Thomson himself. To the more moderate, he no doubt seemed a rash man, as John Adams tells us he was called "the Sam. Adams of Phila.," and was "the life of the cause of liberty."

⁴ Thomson.

⁵ Smith's City Tavern, on the west side of Second Street north of Walnut; at the south corner of the present Gold Street. The meeting was held on the evening of May 20th.

out into an adjoining room, great clamour was raised against the violence of the measures proposed.

D. then addressed the company. In what manner he acquitted himself I cannot say. After he had finished, the clamour was renewed. Voices were heard in different parts of the room, and all was in confusion, a chairman was called for to moderate the meeting and regulate debates. Still the confusion continued. As soon as T. recovered, he returned into the room. The tumult and disorder was past description. He had not strength to attempt opposing the gust of passion, or to allay the heat by any thing he could say. He, therefore, simply moved a question. That an answer should be returned to the letter from Boston. This was put and carried. He then moved for a Committee to write the answer, this was agreed to, and two lists were immediately made out and handed to the chair. The clamour was then renewed on which list a vote should be taken, at length it was proposed that both lists should be considered as one, and compose the Com^{ee}. This was agreed to, and the company broke up in tolerable good humour, both thinking they had in part carried their point. At what time D. left the room I cannot say, as a great many withdrew, when the tumult raged.

Next day the Com^{ee} met, and not only prepared and sent back an answer to Boston, but also forwarded the news to the Southern Colonies, accompanied with letters intimating the necessity of a Congress of delegates from all the Colonies to devise measures necessary to be taken for the common safety.¹ It was then proposed to call a general meeting of the inhabitants of the city at the State house.

This required great address. The quakers had a aversion to town meetings, and always opposed them. However, it was so managed that they gave their consent, and assisted in

¹ The authorship of this letter was long attributed to Dickinson, but later investigations show that it was written by Rev. William Smith, D. D. Although Dickinson was not present when it was written (see *American Archives*, vol. i. Series 4th, p. 340, where the letter will also be found), he did not hesitate to sign it (see *Baltimore during the Revolutionary War*, Purviance, p. 112, *Balto.* 1849). Mr. Bancroft says the letter "imbodied the system which, for the coming year, was to control the councils of America."

preparing the business for this public meeting, agreed on the persons who should preside, and those who should address the inhabitants. The presidents agreed on were Dickinson, Willing, and Penington,¹ and the speakers, Smith, Reed, and Thomson, who were obliged to write down what they intended to say, and submit their several speeches to the revision of the presidents.

The meeting was held, at which it was among other things resolved to make common cause with Boston. The resolutions passed at this meeting are published in the newspapers of the time, prefaced with Smith's speech at full length.² In the mean while it was judged proper to address the Governor to call the Assembly. Tho' it was hardly expected the Governor would comply, yet it was necessary to take this step in order to prevent farther divisions in the city, and to convince the pacific that it was not the intention of the warm spirits to involve the province in the dispute without the consent of the representatives of the people. The address was drawn up and signed by the leading men of both parties, and presented to the Governor. The answer was such as was expected. That he could not call the Assembly for the purpose mentioned. And he added That he was sure the gentlemen did not expect, considering his situation, that he would comply with their request. His answer was considered as calculated for the meridian of London. Whether the Governor wished to gratify the inhabitants, and favour the cause of America, by convening the Assembly, or whether thereby, from the sentiments supposed to prevail in the members of the house, he hoped to counteract the views of those who wished to bring Pennsylvania into the dispute is uncertain. But from whatever motives he acted, certain it is that he immediately summoned his council, and in a very few days took occasion from a report of indian disturbances to convene the Assembly. The

¹ Probably Edward Penington. From the report of the meeting, which was held on the 18th of June, 1774, printed in the papers of the day, it does not appear that Penington was one of the presiding officers. In 1777, he was one of the Friends exiled to Virginia.

² It will be found in American Archives, 4th Series, vol. i. p. 427.

refusal of the Governor to call the Assembly was far from being disagreeable to the advocates for America.¹

They had no confidence in the members of the Assembly, who were known to be under the influence of Galloway and his party, they, therefore, had another object in view. When the Merchants led the people into an opposition to the importation of the East India Company's tea, those who considered that matter only as a manœuvre of the Ministry to revive the dispute between G. B. and America, and who were firmly persuaded that the dispute would terminate in blood, immediately adopted measures to bring the whole body of the people into the dispute, and thereby put it out of the power of the Merchants as they had done before to drop the opposition, when interest dictated the measure. They, therefore, got committees established in every county throughout the province. And a constant communication was kept up between those Committees and that of Philad^a. Upon the Governor's refusal to call the Assembly, it was resolved to procure a Meeting of delegates from those committees. And when the Governor agreed to call [the] Assembly, still it was thought proper to convene a convention of the Committees in order to draw up instructions to their representatives in Assembly. In all these measures D. was consulted and heartily concurred, and so earnestly did he interest himself that he prepared the instructions, had them ready for publication previous to the meeting of the Convention.

After the meeting of the inhabitants of Philad^a, and the resolutions passed at the State house, D., M., and T., under colour of an excursion of pleasure, made a tour through two or three frontier counties in order to discover the sentiments of the inhabitants, and particularly of the Germans.

¹ The Governor was John Penn, grandson of the Founder, son of Richard. From better evidence than was at the command of Thomson we learn the real sentiments of Penn at this time. On the 31st of May, 1774, he wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "I am told a petition has been framed for that purpose [the convening of the Assembly], and is now handed about the town to be signed, and will be presented to me in a few days. Should so affrontive an application be made to me, your lordship may be assured I shall treat it as it deserves."

The Convention of committees met some days before the Assembly, and having agreed to the state of American grievances drawn up by D. presented them to the Assembly in the form of instructions, in order to engage them to pursue measures in concert with the other colonies for obtaining redress.¹ And as a Congress was now agreed on, they pressed the assembly to appoint delegates to represent this province in Congress, resolving at the same time in case the assembly refused to take upon themselves to appoint deputies. To prevent this the assembly agreed to appoint the delegates, but confined the choice to their own members, thereby excluding Mr. D. and Wilson,² whom the convention had in view.³ At the ensuing election on first Oct^r., Mr. D. was chosen a member of Assembly, and on the meeting of the assembly was added to the number of Delegates. His election was on Saturday the 15, and on Monday the 17 Oct^r. he took his seat in Congress, and immediately entered deeply into the business then under deliberation. He was appointed one of the Com^{ee} to prepare an address to the people of Canada. And the first draught of the petition to the King not meeting the approbation of Congress was recommitted, and he was added to the Com^{ee}, and had a principal hand in drawing up that which was sent.

¹ Mr. Bancroft says of these instructions, that Dickinson's "success in allaying the impassioned enthusiasm of patriotism went beyond his intention."

² James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence.

³ This choice was far from satisfactory to many of the citizens. In American Archives it is stated that the convention recommended the names of Thos. Willing, Jno. Dickinson, and James Wilson, as suitable persons to attend the Congress. The following extract from the letter of an eye-witness gives an interesting, but not highly complimentary picture of our Colonial Assembly: "I believe the Committees, and, indeed, people in general, are not well pleased at the Assembly's chusing the members of ye Congress out of their own house; indeed, I think it is a reflection on them that the *Farmer* was not one of the number. I assure [you] our Honorable House made but a scurvy appearance the day the memorial was presented to them by the Committees, it was enough to make one sweat to see a parcel of Countrymen sitting with their hats on, great Coarse Cloth Coats, Leather Breeches, and woollen Stockings, in the month of July; there was not a Speech made the whole time, whether their silence proceeded from their Modesty, or from their inability to speak I know not."—*MS. letter of John Young to his Aunt, Mrs. Ferguson of Græme Park.*

After Congress broke up he attended the Assembly, and there exerted himself to obtain an approbation of the proceedings of Congress, which was carried in spite of Galloway's efforts to the contrary.

During the winter sessions he frequently had occasion, which he always improved, to call the attention of the House to the danger that threatened, to rouse them to a sense of it, and to stimulate them to adopt measures for their defence and security, in which he was supported by Mifflin, Biddle,¹ Ross,² and Thomson, who were all in the Assembly. The part they had to act was arduous and delicate. A great majority of the Assembly was composed of men in the proprietary and quaker interest, who, though heretofore opposed to each other, were uniting, the one from motives of policy, the other from principles of religion. To press matters was the sure way of cementing that union, and thereby raising a powerful party in the State against the cause of America. Whereas by prudent management, and an improvement of occurrences as they happened, there was reason to hope that the Assembly, and consequently the whole province might be brought into the dispute without any considerable opposition. And from past experience it was evident that though the people of Pennsylvania are cautious and backward in entering into measures, yet when they engage, none are more firm, resolute, and persevering. A great body of the people was composed of Germans. The principal reliance was on them in case matters came to extremities. And it was well known they were much under the influence of the quakers. For this reason, therefore, it was necessary to act with more caution, and by every prudent means obtain their concurrence in the opposition to the desigus of Great Britain. And had the whigs in assembly been left to pursue their own measures, there is every reason to believe they would have effected their purpose, prevented that disunion which has unhappily taken place, and brought the whole province as one man, with all its force and weight of government into the common cause.

¹ Edward Biddle; see this *MAGAZINE*, vol. i. p. 100.

² George Ross of Lancaster, Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Danger was fast approaching. The storm which had been gathering began to burst. The battle of Lexington was fought. Many of the members then in Assembly had long held seats there, and were fond of continuing. They had hitherto joined, with very little opposition, in defensive measures, and it was evident that rather than give up their seats in Assembly, and the importance derived from thence, they would go still farther, and thus might be led on step by step till they had advanced too far to retreat. Their past and future conduct justified this conclusion, in the winter session they voted a sum of money to purchase Ammunition. And in the summer of 1770 following, though a majority of the Assembly were of the people called quakers, they agreed to arm the inhabitants, and ordered five thousand new muskets with bayonets, and other accoutrements to be made. And as they had not money in treasury, and could not have the concurrence of the Governor in raising money to pay for them, they, by a resolve of their own, to which there was only three dissenting voices, ordered 35,000 pounds to be struck in bills of credit, and pledged the faith of the province for the redemption of it. Thus virtually declaring themselves independent, and assuming to themselves the whole power of government. The original Constitution of Pennsylvania was very favorable and well adopted to the present American genicils [exigencies?]. The assembly was annual. The election fixed to a certain day, on which the freemen who were worth fifty pounds met, or had a right to meet without summons at their respective county towns, and by ballot chose not only representatives for Assembly, but also Sheriffs, coroners, commissioners for managing the affairs of the county, and assessors to rate the tax imposed by law upon the estates real and personal of the several inhabitants of their County.

The members of the House of Assembly when chosen met according to law on a certain day, and chose their speaker, provincial treasurer, and sundry other officers. The house sat on its own adjournments; nor was it in the power of the governor to prorogue or dissolve it. Hence it is apparent that Pennsylvania had a great advantage over the other colonies, which by being deprived by their Governor of their

legal assemblies or houses of representatives constitutionally chosen were forced into conventions.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania, if they could be brought to take a part, supplied the place of a convention with this advantage, that being a part of the legislature they preserved the legal forms of government, and had consequently more weight and authority among the people. No man could refuse to attend the election of Assembly men without taking upon himself the consequence of what might follow by his not attending and giving his vote. On the other hand, if he attended and the men of his choice were not elected he had no right to complain, as the majority of votes decided.

The cause of America was every day gaining ground, and the people growing more and more determined.

The timid were acquiring courage, and the wavering confirmed in the opposition. Hence it was apparent the elections would soon be wholly in the power of the patriots and whig party. For these reasons the whigs who were then members wished to temporise, and make use of Assembly rather than a convention. But unhappily for the province they were thwarted in their measures by a body of men from whom they expected to derive the firmest support.

The Committee of Philadelphia, which was elected for the purpose of superintending and carrying into execution the non-importation agreement, recommended by the Congress in 1774, of which Mr. Reed was president, was for the purpose of giving them more weight and influence, increased to the number of one hundred.

Many members of this body who were suddenly raised to power, and who exercised an uncontrouled authority over their fellow-citizens, were impatient of any kind of opposition.

The cautious conduct of the patriots in Assembly the [*sic*] attributed to lukewarmness, and the backwardness of others which was owing partly to a natural timidity of temper, partly to the influence of religious principles and old prejudices, they constructed into disaffection.

Instead, therefore, of co-operating to keep down parties, they were labouring to raise and foment them. And at the very

moment when the Assembly were giving the most solid proofs of their attachment to the cause, and gradually entrenching on the powers of the governor in order to arm and put the province into a state of defence, the Com^{ee} were adopting measures to dissolve them and substitute a convention in their stead. And proceeded so far as to vote a convention necessary, and appointed a special meeting in order to devise the means of bringing the other county committees to a like determination. D., M., and T., who were of the assembly, and who were also members of the committee, attended the special meeting, and by pointing out the ill-timed policy of the measure, and the fatal consequence that might and would inevitably ensue, prevailed upon them to desist. And thus for a time the province was saved from being rent to pieces by parties.

D. and M. were also members of Congress. The battle of Lexington had drawn together a tumultuous army round Boston, and that had brought on the battle of Bunker's Hill. Much blood was now shed. And it was evident that the sword must decide the contest. It was necessary, therefore, to organise the army, and appoint a Continental Commander-in-chief, and other general officers. A declaration was deemed necessary to justify the Americans in taking up arms. D., who still retained a fond hope [*sic*] reconsiliation with Great Britain, was strenuous for trying the effects of another petition to the King, and being warmly seconded the measure was agreed to, and D. had a considerable hand in drawing up both the petition and declaration, which were both sent at the same time to England. The subject of the petition, as well as the declaration, occasioned long and warm debates in Congress, in which D. took a distinguished part, which was circulated about in whispers to his disadvantage. However, he maintained his ground among the generality of the people of his own province, and particularly among those who still wished and hoped to see a reconsiliation take place, and it must be allowed that if his judgment had not quite approved the measure, yet on account of the people of Pennsylvania, it was both prudent and politic to adopt it. Without making an experiment, it would have been impossible

ever to have persuaded the bulk of Pennsylvania, but that an humble petition drawn up without those clauses against which the ministers and parliament of Great Britain took exceptions in the former petitions, would have met with a favourable reception, and produced the desired effect. But this petition, which was drawn up in the most submissive and unexceptionable terms, meeting with the same fate as others, obviated objections that would have been raised, and had a powerful effect in suppressing opposition, preserving unanimity, and bringing the province in a united body into the contest. Whatever hand, therefore, D. had in promoting it ought to have redounded to his credit as a politician.

At the annual election in Oct. 1775, some change was made in Assembly, some old members were left out and some new ones chosen, among the latter Mr. Reed, as the Governor had withdrawn himself in a great degree from the affairs of government, the Assembly at their first meeting appointed a council or committee of safety, and invested them with the executive powers of government, reserving to themselves the legislative authority, which they exercised by resolves.

In November the assembly returned among other delegates to represent the province of Pennsylvania in Congress Mr. Willing,¹ one of the judges of the Supreme court, and Mr. Allen,² the attorney-general of the province, and brother-in-law of the Governor. So that there was yet no appearance of disunion in the province, except among some few of the most rigid quakers, who kept aloof and refused to be concerned in the election for assembly men, under pretence that their religious principles forbad their countenancing war. But neither influence, persuasion, or church discipline could restrain a considerable number of their young men from taking an active part. A distinction was taken between offensive and defensive war, which might easily have been improved to divide the society in such a manner, as to have rendered every opposition from that quarter weak and contemptible.

¹ Thomas Willing.

² Andrew, son of Chief-Justice Allen; see this *MAGAZINE*, vol. i. p. 208.

SPANGENBERG'S NOTES OF TRAVEL TO ONONDAGA
IN 1745.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[When, in 1745, it became evident that the Moravian Mission among the Mohegans of Shecomeko, in Dutchess Co., N. Y., would have to be abandoned unless its members could be induced to migrate to some locality in the then Indian country, where they would suffer no molestation from the whites, Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, David Zeisberger, and John Jacob Shebosch, on behalf of the Mission Board, set out from Bethlehem in May for Onondaga, to treat with the Six Nations for permission for the Moravian Indians to remove to Wyoming. This consent was obtained, but the Indian converts objected, stating, among other reasons, "that Wyoming lay on the road of the Six Nations on their marauds southwards in the country of the Catawbas; furthermore, in a country abounding in savages, where the women were so wanton as to seduce all the men. They therefore removed to Bethlehem and in 1746 to Gnadenhuetten.

Spangenberg and Zeisberger are too well known to require notice. Shebosch, whose English name was Joseph Bull, was born of Quaker parents at Skippack, Pa., 27th May, 1721, receiving in baptism the name of John Joseph. By the Indians he was called Shebosch (running water). In 1746 he married Christiana, a Mohegan convert. He died in Ohio, 4th Sept., 1788.

It will be noticed that a number of the names of places used by Spangenberg were figurative, and have not been retained.]

May 24. We set out from Bethlehem. Bro. Huber¹ accompanied us to our first night's encampment, which was in the woods under a tree.

May 25. Arrived in Heidelberg,² where we spent the day.

May 26. Reached Tulpehocken.³ As Conrad Weiser⁴ was

¹ John Michael Huber, from the Tyrol, immigrated with the first organized Moravian colony sent to America, in June of 1742.

² In Berks Co. The route taken from Bethlehem to Heidelberg was by the way of Macungy, past Daniel Levan's, and through Maxetawny.

³ Corrupted from the Delaware word *Tulpewi-hacki*, signifying *the land of turtles*. Tulpehocken was one of the rural districts of the Province, in Berks Co., in which the Moravians labored in the Gospel with marked success. Zinzendorf preached there frequently.

⁴ Bishop Spangenberg first became acquainted with Weiser while visiting

not yet prepared for the Journey, we called on friends. We lodged at Michael Schaeffer's.¹

May 27. Bro. Spangenberg having determined to advise the Governor of his journey, wrote him a letter to which Conrad Weiser added a few lines, and dispatched it by Bro. John Joseph.

May 28. Bro. Spangenberg called on Pastor Wagner, who is in charge of the Lutherans. Spent the night with George Loesch.² His wife assisted us in completing our tent.

May 30. At Michael Schaeffer's, Bro. Spangenberg found Bro. John Joseph, who had returned with letters from Philadelphia and Fredericktown; he had travelled one hundred and forty miles in three days. Gov. Thomas sent greetings through Bro. Brockden,³ and that he approved of my journey to the Six Nations. Our company met at Christopher Weiser's, Conrad's brother. In the afternoon we set out from Tulpehocken with Conrad Weiser, and his two sons.⁴ Michael Schaeffer accompanied us for a few miles, and Philip Meurer⁵ and Bro. Nieke⁶ to our first night's encampment. After travelling ten miles we came to the Kittatiny Hills,⁷ which are high and

among the Schwenkfelders of Towamensing Township, Montgomery County, in 1736. The information he then gave him of the degraded condition of the Indians led the Bishop to present their case to his church in Europe, as one deserving of special consideration. The result of this appeal was the appointment of Christian Henry Rauch, the first missionary of the Moravians to the Indians of America.

¹ Michael Schaeffer and his wife came from Weisersdorf, Schoharie, N. Y., in 1725.

² George Loesch (now Lash) immigrated with other Palatines, under the auspices of Queen Anne in 1710, and settled in Schoharie. In 1723 removed to Tulpehocken, and united with the Moravians.

³ Charles Brockden's name and autograph are familiar to every student of the early deed history of Pennsylvania, between 1715 and 1767.

⁴ Philip J., Frederick Weiser.

⁵ John Philip Meurer, from Alsace, immigrated to Pennsylvania in June, 1742.

⁶ George Nieke, from Herrnhut, immigrated to Pennsylvania in November of 1743.

⁷ Written also *Kechkachtany*, *Kittochtinnny*, Delaware, signifying *endless hills*.

rocky, and difficult for horses to climb. On reaching the top we came to "Pilger Ruh,"¹ where we dismounted and rested. After descending, we entered Anton's Wilderness,² where we pitched our first tent, built a fire, pastured our horses, partook of a light supper, and retired to rest. Our course to-day was N. W. *Observations:* Noticed certain plants and roots, *e. g.*, 1. A certain plant, which, with its root, is used for snake bites—has blossoms like "geese flowers."³ 2. Steer's root, as the English call it, good for colic.⁴ 3. Hypocacooana, for vomiting.⁵ 4. Mountain tea.⁶

May 31. Arose early, looked up our horses, took a little breakfast, and then continued our journey in the name of God our Saviour. Bro. Meurer and Nieke returned to Tulpehocken, with letters to Mary Spangenberg at Bethlehem. After passing the Great Swatara,⁷ we climbed the Thörnstein,⁸ a high mountain, rocky, and almost impassable for horses. On the summit we refreshed ourselves at Erdmuth's Spring,⁹ which flows through the valleys until it empties into the Susquehanna. We were four hours in crossing the mountain. At "Ludwig's Ruh,"¹⁰ at the foot of the mountain, we nooned. Here Laurel Creek¹¹ flows past. After dinner our course was

¹ "Pilgrim's Rest," a plain on the top of the mountain. The passage of the mountain was effected at the Great Swatara Gap, called *Toleheo* by the Indians, corrupted into "The Hole."

² Noted on Lewis Evan's map of 1759. Named for Anton Seyffert, one of the nine colonists whom Spangenberg led to Georgia in 1735, where the Moravians proposed establishing themselves with a view of commencing missions among the Creeks and Cherokees.

³ Quere, black snake root or cohosh?

⁴ Quere, colic root or star grass?

⁵ Ipecacuanha.

⁶ Gaultheria.

⁷ Pine Grove Township, Schuylkill County.

⁸ Peter's Mountain. Conrad Weiser gave it this name in honor of Zinzendorf when guiding him to Shamokin, in 1742. Zinzendorf was Count and Lord of Pottendorf, and Lord of the Baronies of Freydeck, Schœneck, and Thörnstein.

⁹ The headwaters of Wiconisco Creek, named in honor of the Countess Erdmuth, the first wife of Zinzendorf.

¹⁰ "Lewis's Rest," in Wiconisco Township, Dauphin County. Zinzendorf was often familiarly called Brother Ludwig by the Moravians.

¹¹ A branch of the Mahantango, noted on Lewis Evans's map of 1749.

N. W. We passed through Anna's Valley,¹ beautiful and pleasing to the eyes, which lies in among the hills. At the Double Eagle,² on Benigna's Creek,³ we passed the night.

June 1. We set out early, crossed the Leimback,⁴ and came to Jacob's Heights,⁵ the place where Bro. Jacob Kohn lost Bro. Ludwig's Hebrew Bible, and subsequently found it. At noon we reached "Cool Bank" on the Susquehanna, where we dined on a mess of fish caught by Bro. Zeisberger. Hence we passed through Joseph's⁶ Valley. Here four large snakes, stretched on a fallen tree, opposed the brethren who were leading the horses, and for a long time would not budge. At "Marienborn"⁷ we rested, and afterwards reached the "Spangenberg."⁸ The descent was perilous to limb and life; came to Eva Creek,⁹ and thence to Shamokin¹⁰ to Shikellmy's house. We found neither him nor Andrew Montour¹¹ at home. The

¹ Named in honor of Anna Nitschman, who accompanied Zinzendorf to Shamokin in 1742. Probably Lykens Valley in Lykens Township, Dauphin County.

² The Spread Eagle is noted on Scull's map of 1759.

³ The Mahantango, or Kind Creek. Zinzendorf, on his way to Shamokin in Sept. of 1742, gave it this name in honor of his daughter, the Countess Benigna.

⁴ The Mahanoy Creek, in Jackson Township, Northumberland County. Zinzendorf on the same journey gave it this name for *Henry Leimback*, of Oley, one of his fellow travellers.

⁵ A spur of Line Mountain, in Lower Augusta Township, Northumberland County.

⁶ Named after Bishop Spangenberg, who was familiarly called Brother Joseph by his brethren.

⁷ Named after the Castle of Marienborn, near Frankfort on the Main, belonging to Zinzendorf, and for some time used by the church for the education of her theological students.

⁸ "Riding along its bank (Susquehanna) we came to the boundary of Shamokin, a precipitous hill, such as I scarce ever saw."—*Zinzendorf*, Sept. 1742.

⁹ The Shamokin Creek in Upper Augusta Township, Northumberland County. Named after Eve May, the wife of Bishop Spangenberg. The Delawares called it the *Schachamekhau*, i. e., *eel stream*.

¹⁰ Written *Schahamóki* or *Schahamókin* by the Delawares; by the Iroquois *Otzinúchse*. Sunbury occupies the site of the old Indian town.

¹¹ Andrew Montour, alias *Sättelihu*, son of Madam Montour, was for many years in the service of the proprietaries as assistant interpreter. At the

former had gone to the mill,' a ride of forty miles, and the latter was out hunting. We were told that two ministers and an Indian had been lately here—probably it was the Presbyterian Brainerd,² and his interpreter Tatami.³ He had assembled the Delawares in Shikellmy's house, and (as Shikellmy's people told us) informed them that on Sundays they should assemble as the whites do, and pray as they do. Hence he would build a house for that purpose, and stay with them two years. That the Governor had given him orders to that effect, and he would be glad to see the Indians hearken to him. To this Shikellmy said: "We are Indians, and don't wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are. As little as we desire the preacher to become Indian, so little ought he to desire the Indians to become preachers. He should *not* build a house here; they don't want one." They departed for Philadelphia the next day.⁴

time of the visit of Zinzendorf to Shamokin, in the autumn of 1742, he met Andrew for the first time, and thus describes him: "His cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly have taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappel-waistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckkerchief decked with silver bugles, shoes and stockings, and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together like the handle of a basket. He was very cordial, but on addressing him in French, he, to my surprise, replied in English." In April of 1752, Governor Hamilton furnished him with a commission under the Lesser Seal, "to go and reside in Cumberland Co., over the Blue Hills, on unpurchased lands, to prevent others from settling there or from trading with the Indians." In 1755 he was still living on his grant, ten miles northwest of Carlisle, and was a captain of a company of Indians in the English service; rose to be a major. Andrew acted as interpreter for the Governor of Virginia in several important treaties. The French in 1753 set a price of £100 upon his head. In May of 1762 he was his Majesty's Interpreter to the United Nations.

¹ Chambers's Mill, erected at the mouth of Fishing Creek, Dauphin County, between 1730-35.

² The well-known David Brainerd.

³ Moses Fonda Tatemy was baptized by Brainerd July 21, 1745. He had been acting interpreter for the latter since his advent among the Fork Indians.

⁴ Shikellimy, alias *Swatane*, an Oneida chief, was, in 1728, acting repre-

June 2. This morning Conrad Weiser despatched a messenger per horse to Shikellmy, for him to return without delay, as we were waiting for him to guide us to Onondaga. Bro. Spangenberg called to see Shikellmy's daughter's child, a girl of fifteen years, who has had the fever and ague over two weeks. He gave her some fever powders, and soon the fever left her. They are fine people. Bro. Joseph also went over to the island, to visit Madam Montour from Canada,¹ who lately with her family had become Indianized. Sättelihi's sister had a boil on her neck, on which Spangenberg laid a plaster to soften it. Bro. Joseph wrote to his wife. In a conversation with Conrad Weiser, he proposed that the Moravians should send a good blacksmith to live in Shamokin,² to serve the Indians. "These," said he, "would be glad, and agree to all reasonable conditions; the Governor, also, would not object." We will take the matter into consideration. In regard to Wyoming—Weiser yesterday expressed himself thus: "That he deemed the exile of the Indian converts from Sheshecon necessary for the salvation of the other Indians from their misery." We must await developments at Onondaga.

June 3. Joseph and Conrad crossed the river to visit the Indian King³ who lives there, and had the honor to smoke a

representative of the Five Nations in business affairs with the Proprietary government. About the date of this narrative he was appointed their vicegerent, and in this capacity administered their tributaries within the province, with Shamokin for his seat. He was succeeded in the vicegerency by his oldest son, *Tachnachdoarus*, i. e., "a spreading oak," alias *John Shikellimy*. See *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, edited by the Rev. W. C. Reichel, Phila., 1870.

¹ A sketch of Madam Montour has been prepared for the Magazine by John G. Frieze, Esq., of Bloomsburg.

² "The town [about this time 1749] lies partly on the east and the west shore of the river, and partly on an island. It contains upwards of fifty houses and 300 inhabitants. About one-half are Delawares, the others Senecas and Tutelars." The Moravian blacksmiths who resided in Shamokin from 1747 to 1755, were named Schmid, Wesa, Kieffer, and Hagen—the latter deceased there shortly after his arrival.

³ *Allummapees*, or *Sassoonan*, was King of the Delawares as early as 1718, and in that year headed the deputation of Indian chieftains at Philadelphia, who signed an absolute release to the Proprietaries for the land

pipe with him. Spangenberg also visited Andrew Sättelihi's sister, and bled her, and bound up the boil which had discharged freely. Shikellmy's grandchild has had a relapse, having eaten bear's meat and fish. The Indians have no regard for advice as to diet. A runner was sent after Andrew Sättelihi, who is hunting on the West Branch, to return at once, to go with us to Onondaga. Philip and Frederic Weiser returned home to-day, and took our letters to Michael Schaeffer for delivery. Visited John Hickman, an intelligent Indian, and also his neighbor Daniel, who formerly lived in Tulpehocken. A number of the Indians who reside here, had removed from Tulpehocken when their lands were sold.¹ Conrad Weiser stated, that the Proprietor had recently written to him, that he should associate some one with him who was conversant with Indian affairs, who would in time be competent to succeed him. *Query.* Whether not some of the Moravians—say David Zeisberger—to go and spend some time in the Six Nations to acquire the language, with also the recommendation of Governor Thomas?²

June 4. Andrew Sättelihi returned this morning, and at once came to see us. Bro. Spangenberg and Zeisberger went over to the Island to visit his sister, and found her better. The runner who had been sent after Shikellmy returned at noon, and brought us word that he would return to-morrow. We also visited Allummapees, the hereditary King of the Indians. His sister's sons are either dead or worthless, hence it is not known on whom the Kingdom will descend.³ He is

situated between Delaware and Susquehanna, from Duck Creek to the mountains on this side Lechay, which lands had been granted by their ancestors to William Penn. In 1728 he had removed "from on Delaware to Shamokin."

¹ In March of 1705 the Conoys requested permission of Gov. Evans to remove from their towns on the Susquehanna to Tulpehocken. In July of 1707 the Governor visited the Indian town of Tulpehocken, which tradition locates near the site of Womelsdorf, in Berks County. Subsequently, in 1733, the Indian claim was purchased by Thomas Penn.

² Zeisberger, in 1752, visited Onondaga to perfect himself in the Iroquois dialects.

³ Allummapees, in 1731, killed his nephew, Sam Shakatawein, in a drunken brawl in Shamokin.

very old, almost blind, and very poor; but withal has still power over, and is beloved by his people; and is a friend of the English. *Observations:* A certain plant which has leaves like hyssop, and a very aromatic odor. Another root, which has a very pleasant taste, blossoms with violet flowers, has two leaves above, four in the middle, and two below.

June 5. Shikellmy returned to-day. We made the acquaintance of one Patrick, an Indian Doctor.

June 6. Prepared for our journey. Bro. John Joseph and Andrew Sätteliu went to hunt horses on the other side of the Susquehanna, and were successful.

June 7. Began our journey to Onondaga. Our company is composed of Spangenberg, Conrad Weiser, John Joseph, David Zeisberger, Shikellmy, Andrew, his son, and Andrew Sätteliu; seven in all. Crossed the river, and traveled up the West Branch. Passed Shawane Creek,¹ and the site of the town that formerly stood there.² Next came to the place where Shikellmy formerly lived—it is now deserted.³ The land is excellent in this vicinity, the equal of which is seldom found. Our course has been several miles W., and then N.W., until we reached Warrior's Camp,⁴ where we passed the night. Two Indian warriors overtook us, one belonging to Otstonwaken, and the other to Onondaga. The latter had neither shoes, stockings, blanket, gun, hatchet, steel, or knife, and was almost naked; yet was determined in this condition to undertake a journey of 300 miles through the wilderness. Conrad asked him how he expected to continue his journey in his present condition. He replied: "God, who was in the Heavens, had created the earth and all creatures; he kept so many creatures alive in the wilderness, that he was able and

¹ The Chillisquaque, emptying into the Susquehanna from the northeast, in Northumberland County.

² Scull's Map locates an Indian village of the same name at the mouth of the creek.

³ Near the site of the present borough of Milton.

⁴ Probably in Delaware Township, Northumberland County. So named by Spangenberg, from their meeting two Indian warriors on their return from a maraud.

would provide for him."¹ Both warriors had returned from a maraud against the Flatheads, and had lost all save their lives.

June 8. Our course was N. W. We crossed a creek near the Susquehanna, called Canachrirage.² On the way we found half a deer, which an Indian from Otstonwaken had shot, and being unable to carry all of it home, had hung the rest of it up in a tree, so that whoever needed it might take it—which we did. At noon we reached Otstonwaken.³ The Indians here treated us very well; boiled meat, and placed it before us in a large kettle. In the afternoon we proceeded on our journey, and at dusk came to the "Limping Messenger," or Diadachton Creek,⁴ and encamped for the night.⁵ *Observations:* On our route we passed the Shawanese town, and the place where two years ago, when Conrad was travelling to Onondaga, he was met by twenty Shawanese, each with a rifle, two pistols, and a sabre.⁶

¹ Weiser relates this incident in his communications to Christopher Saur. See this Magazine, Vol. I., p 164.

² Muncy Creek. Called *Ocochpocheny* on Scull's map.

³ Otstonwaken, or "French Town." Written also *Olstuago*, *Otsnehage*, *Otstuacky*, by Weiser, who visited the town for the first time in February of 1737. "It is so called," he writes in his journal, "from a 'high rock' which lies opposite." The village lay on both sides of the mouth of the Loyalsock (the Olstuago). Weiser's last visit to the town was in June of 1755, when he found it almost deserted. It is not noted on Scull's map of 1759. Zinzendorf visited the town in 1742. In 1743 David Bruce and his wife were sent there as missionaries by the Moravians. Meginnes, in the History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna, spells the name *Otzinachson*. Montoursville commenced in 1769, perpetuates the name of Madam Montour, who at one time resided there.

⁴ Lycoming Creek, written Lycaumick on Scull's map.

⁵ Probably Eldred Township, Lycoming County.

⁶ See Colonial Records, Vol. IV., p. 660.

(To be continued.)

WILLIAM ELLERY.**SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.****BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.****(Centennial Collection.)**

William Ellery was born Dec. 22, 1727, at Newport, R. I. He was the son of William Ellery, Esq., a wealthy merchant of Newport, who was successively a judge, and deputy-governor of the Colony. The father had graduated at Harvard College in 1722, and in due time sent his son thither; and William Ellery, Jr., with his elder brother Benjamin, took their first degrees in 1747. The college traditions of the younger brother represent him as overflowing with fun and humor; but he acquired in that institution a taste for knowledge, and especially for the ancient languages, that lasted his life long. After leaving College, he engaged in mercantile business at his birthplace. Three years later, he married a young lady whose acquaintance he had made in Cambridge, Ann Remington, daughter of Judge Remington of the Massachusetts Superior Court. His marriage was uncommonly happy, and he used to tell with satisfaction that he was recalled from the bachelor habit of spending his evenings at a tavern, by discovering a memorandum in his wife's almanac of her delight at his having staid home for a single evening.

For several years after his marriage, he was engaged in commerce, and was at one time Naval Officer of the Colony. In 1764 his wife died; three years after he married again, and in 1770 began the practice of the law, having previously served two years as clerk of a Court. He was a "Son of Liberty," served on several important patriotic Committees, and gave more than once his legal services gratuitously in cases involving popular rights. He took his seat in the Continental Congress, as Delegate from Rhode Island, in May, 1776; and, within two months afterwards, put his name to the great

Declaration. He fully appreciated the important results likely to follow this event, and delighted to describe it to his grandchildren. He said that he took his place beside the Secretary, and observed the manner and expression of each member as he came up to sign his name. He was in Congress from 1776 to 1786, except during 1780 and 1782. He did much service on the Marine Committee, and on the Board of Admiralty, afterwards appointed; also on a Committee to hear appeals from the Admiralty Courts. He was in public, as in private, a man of courage, judgment, shrewdness, and wit. He unfortunately yielded to a bad habit, too prevalent in that day, of destroying private correspondence, asking his friends to do the same; but there fortunately remain a few letters, books, and some lively diaries of his annual journeys on horseback, between his home and Philadelphia. Extracts from these diaries are shortly to be published, and will fully indicate his claim to the above-named qualities.

On leaving Congress at the end of 1785, he found his house burned by the British soldiers, his business destroyed, and his native town almost ruined. He was sixty years of age, and had to begin life anew. During the following year, Congress appointed him Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office for Rhode Island; and, on the adoption of the Federal Constitution by that State in 1790, he became Collector of Customs for the Newport District. This office he held until his death, which took place Feb. 15, 1820, at the age of 92.

There may be found in Mr. Ellery's papers ample evidence to confirm, what tradition also reports, that he was a model officer. One of his grandsons (Rev. George G. Channing) remembers to have ventured, in early youth, to take a sheet of paper off a desk at the Custom House, in order to write a letter. Mr. Ellery stopped him, and said: "My boy, if you want paper I will give you some; but that is Government paper." It is pleasant to know that a standard of morality so rigid once prevailed in our public offices. It is no wonder that he wrote: "A Collector's office is a very troublesome one, and if it did not furnish me and my children with the necessaries of life, I would resign it at once."

He adds in the same letter, I have business enough to take up much of my time; the rest I give to reading. Indeed, my almost only time, if the time of sleep can be called so, is in bed. To that I repair about nine, and leave it about five. So goes away my time; but not without thoughts of my existence, when time shall be swallowed up by eternity. "*Vive et floresce.*"

Mr. Ellery left several children, and his descendants of the same name still reside in Newport. One of his daughters married William Chauning, Esq., a prominent lawyer of Newport, and was the mother of a large family of sons, one of whom was the celebrated divine. Another of Mr. Ellery's daughters married Francis Dana, Esq., afterwards Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, and was the mother of Richard H. Dana, the poet. William Ellery's Latin motto, just quoted, might well be taken to apply to his descendants: "*Vive et floresce.*"

NATHANIEL FOLSOM.

BY CHARLES H. BELL.

(Centennial Collection.)

Nathaniel Folsom was born in the year 1726, in Exeter, New Hampshire, the home of his ancestors for three generations. He enjoyed no advantages of early instruction beyond those afforded by the schools of his native town. Nature gave him a robust constitution of body and mind, and from his youth he is said to have manifested an inclination for military pursuits. His first active service was in 1755, as a captain in the regiment furnished by New Hampshire for the expedition against Crown Point, under the command of Gen. William Johnson. On the 8th of September, while the French army of Dieskau were retiring from an unsuccessful assault upon Johnson's position, Capt. Folsom attacked them, at the head of little more than a company, and in an obstinate engagement inflicted upon them a severe loss of men and supplies. By this gallant exploit, as well as by his conduct throughout the campaign, he acquired the reputation of an energetic, brave, and skilful officer.

He engaged afterwards in mercantile business with success, and his military talents were recognized by the command of a regiment of militia, conferred upon him by the last royal Governor of New Hampshire. Gov. Wentworth distinguished him also by other marks of his confidence, and would gladly have attached him to the cause of the Crown, in the rupture which was evidently approaching, but Folsom's sympathies were steadfastly with his countrymen. He was early recognized as a leader in the popular cause.

In the spring of 1774, he was elected to the Provincial Assembly, which was dissolved by the Governor for presuming to choose a Committee of Correspondence. The members, however, did not disperse until they had issued a call for a

popular convention, to select Delegates to the general Congress at Philadelphia. In the deliberations of that historic body, Col. Folsom had the honor of taking part, as one of the representatives of New Hampshire. This circumstance, together with his public advocacy of the cause of the sufferers by the Boston Port Bill, and his participation in the raid which stripped Fort William and Mary, in Portsmouth harbor, of its arms and munitions, cost him his commission under the Crown, but gained him advancement from the people. Again returned to the Assembly in 1775, he was by the popular administration created Major-General of all the troops of New Hampshire, three regiments of which were then encamped around Boston. Of these he assumed the command, until they were adopted into the Continental service. Circumstances in no way discreditable to Gen. Folsom, prevented his appointment as a general officer by Congress, and he cheerfully retained the humbler, but not less important, command of the militia of the State, detachments of which were frequently summoned to the field during the war.

In January, 1776, on the adoption of the first Constitution of the State, he was elected a Councillor, a Judge of the Inferior Court, and a member of the Committee of Safety, a body clothed with almost dictatorial powers. In April, 1777, he was re-elected to Congress for a year, and attended its sessions; and in November, 1779, he was again returned, and took his seat for a time. But on being chosen for the fourth time, in February, 1783, it does not appear that he accepted the position. The same year he was a member, and temporary President, of the Convention for framing a new Constitution for his State.

The life of this true patriot, and honest and able man, was happily so prolonged that he was enabled to witness not only the independence of his country, but also the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the election of the first President. He died in his native town on the 26th of May, 1790, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. A contemporary notice justly commends him as exemplary in all the relations of life, a faithful public servant, and a sincere Christian

JONATHAN DICKINSON SERGEANT.

BY EDWIN F. HALFIELD, D.D.

(Centennial Collection.)

The subject of this sketch was one of the illustrious Founders of the Great Republic. Young as he was, when the Revolution was inaugurated, no one more ardently espoused the cause of Independence, or labored with a more genuine and zealous patriotism throughout the struggle, than Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant.

He was a descendant of Jonathan Sergeant, one of the founders of Branford, Ct., who died in 1652, and whose son Jonathan was one of the founders of Newark, N. J., in 1667. His father, Jonathan (brother of Rev. John Sergeant, Missionary to the Stockbridge Indians), married Hannah, daughter of the Rev. John Nutman, of Hanover, N. J. She died in 1743, leaving two daughters, Hannah (who married Rev. John Ewing, D.D.), and Sarah (who married Jonathan Baldwin, a graduate of the College of New Jersey). In 1745, Mr. Sergeant became the happy husband of Abigail, the second child and eldest daughter (born 1711) of the Rev. Jonathan and Joanna (Melyn) Dickinson, of Elizabethtown, N. J. Mr. Dickinson had long ranked as among the most eminent divines of America. He was the principal founder, and the first President of the College of New Jersey.

The first fruit of this second marriage received the name of the honored grandfather. The child was born in 1746, at Newark, N. J. Soon after his birth, his parents removed to Princeton, N. J., where he resided until the War of the Revolution. He was educated for the law, having graduated when only sixteen (1762) at the College of New Jersey. His legal studies were prosecuted in the office of the Hon. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, N. J. Having been duly admitted to the bar, he entered on the practice of his profession with high promise of distinction.

In the excitement consequent on the passage (Mar. 22, 1765) of the Stamp Act, young Sergeant, not yet twenty years of age, took an active and determined part. When the first Provincial Convention of New Jersey, chosen to elect Delegates to the Continental Congress, met at New Brunswick, N. J., July 21, 1774, Sergeant was chosen the Clerk of the Convention. On a visit to Princeton, August, 1774, John Adams (afterwards President of the United States) became quite interested in the "young lawyer," and spoke of him as "a cordial friend of American liberty."

The second Provincial Convention of the Colony met at Trenton, N. J., May 23, 1775, when Sergeant was chosen the principal Secretary. Subsequently, at their meeting in August of the same year, he was appointed Treasurer, and a member of the Committee of Safety. February 14, 1776, he was chosen to represent the Province in the Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. Of this body he continued an active and useful member, until having been duly elected on the fourth Monday of May, 1776, a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, and believing that he could thus better subserve the noble cause of American Independence, to which he had devoted all his energies, he resigned his seat in the Continental Congress. It thus appears that the very fervor of his patriotism, and not a want of it, deprived him of the honor of being enrolled among "the Signers of the Declaration of Independence."

In the Provincial Congress that met June 10, 1776, at Burlington, N. J., he distinguished himself from the first as an advocate of Liberty. Writing from Burlington, June 15th, to his friend, John Adams, he says: "*Jacta est alea!* We are passing the Rubicon, and our Delegates in Congress on the first of July will vote plump. The bearer is a staunch Whig, and will answer any questions you may need to ask. I have been very busy here, and have stolen a minute from business to write this." On the 24th of June, he was appointed one of a Committee to prepare a Constitution for the new State. The Committee reported on the 26th, and the Constitution was adopted July 2d, the very day of the

adoption, at Philadelphia, of the Declaration of Independence. On the 21st, he wrote again to Adams, as follows: "We want wisdom here—Raw, young, and inexperienced as your humble servant is, I am really forced to bear a principal part. Would to Heaven that I could look round here, as when with you, and see a number in whose understanding I could confide." "We are mending very fast here. East Jersey was always firm. West Jersey will now move with vigor. The tories in some parts disturbed us; but they have hurt us more by impeding the business of the Convention, and harassing with an infinity of hearings. But for this we have provided a remedy, by an ordinance for trying treasons, seditions, and counterfeitings." "However, we have formally ratified Independence, and assumed the style of the Convention of *The State of New Jersey*. This very unanimously."

He was chosen Nov. 30, 1776, by the Legislature of the new State, with Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Abraham Clark, and Jonathan Elmer, to represent them for one year in the Congress of the United States. In the course of the following year, he became a resident of Pennsylvania, and was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, July 28, 1777, the Attorney-General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, with a salary of £2000, a high mark of distinction and confidence. As such, he was appointed by the Congress of the United States, Feb. 8, 1778, with William Patterson, Attorney-General of New Jersey, as Counsellor, to co-operate with the Judge Advocate, in conducting the trial of several general officers of the Northern Army, for evacuating Ticonderoga. He resigned the office Nov. 20, 1780.

Through all the trying period of the Revolution, Mr. Sergeant proved himself the inflexible patriot, and the devoted friend of his country. "Declining after the peace, like many of the patriots of '76, to accept of any office, his acquaintance was courted, and his advice and aid were constantly sought by the republicans who took part in the important transactions of those days." His zeal for republican principles led him to espouse, with characteristic ardor, the cause of the

French Revolution, and to hail it as the harbinger of a glorious era for the Old World.

In the summer of 1793, Philadelphia was visited with that desolating scourge—"The Yellow Fever." In concert with a few other philanthropic citizens, Mr. Sergeant devoted himself, as a member of the Committee of Health, to the care of the sick and the dying, and of the widows and orphans of the victims of the pestilence. In the faithful and indefatigable discharge of these self-imposed duties, he became himself a subject of the fatal disease, and died October 8, 1793, in the 48th year of his age.

"As a *lawyer*, he was distinguished for integrity, learning, and industry, for great promptness, and an uncommonly fine natural elocution. As a *man*, he was kind, generous, and actively benevolent; free from selfishness and timidity, and, at the same time, prudent and just, maintaining in his house a liberal hospitality, without ostentation or display. As a *citizen* and a *public man*, he was ardent, sincere, and indefatigable; fearless of every consequence of the honest discharge of his duty."

He was remembered by his son, the late Hon. John Sergeant, as "of a cheerful, and, at times, even playful disposition." "From other sources," says the son, "I know that he had attained the highest professional eminence, that he took an earnest and decided part in public affairs, was a public-spirited citizen, an excellent husband and father, a good neighbour, and cordial friend."

He married, March 14, 1775, Margaret, the sixth child of the Rev. Elihu Spencer, D.D., and Joanna, daughter of John and Joanna Eatton, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey. Dr. Spencer was then of Trenton, N. J., and previously the successor of President Dickinson, at Elizabethtown, N. J. She was born January 5, 1759, and died June 17, 1787. Their children were—

1. *William*, born January 1, 1776; member of the Phila. bar. Married, Sept. 3, 1801, Elizabeth Morgan, and had issue one daughter, Mary Valeria, who intermarried with George W. Blight, and had issue. He died March 7, 1807.

2. *Sarah*, born January 1, 1778, and married October, 1801, to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D., one of the pastors of the Presbyterian Church of the city of New York, and subsequently Prof. in the Theo. Sem. at Princeton. She was the mother of eleven children.

3. *John*, born December 5, 1779, and a graduate (1795) of the College of New Jersey; an eminent lawyer, and a distinguished statesman. Married June 23, 1813, Margaretta Watmough. He died November 25, 1852, at Philadelphia, Pa.; had ten children.

4 and 5. *Thomas* and *Henry* (twins), born January 14, 1782, both grads. of the Col. of N. J., 1798. Thomas became an honored member of the bar, and a Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Married Sept. 14, 1812, Sarah Bache, granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. He died May 8, 1860; had issue three sons and one daughter. *Henry* died March 24, 1824. S. p.

6. *Elizabeth*, born January 3, 1784; died December 31, 1845. S. p.

7. *Jonathan*, born January 4, 1786; died July 4, 1786.

8. *Elihu Spencer*, born May 29, 1787, a grad. of the Col. of N. J., 1804; member of the Phila. bar. Married July 1, 1819, Elizabeth Fox Norris; died August 4, 1824. Had three children.

Mr. Sergeant married, as his second wife, Dec. 20, 1788, Elizabeth Rittenhouse, daughter of David Rittenhouse. They had three children:—

1. *Esther*, born October 16, 1789; died June 4, 1870. Married, 1814, William P. C. Barton, M. D., a grad. of the Col. of N. J., 1805, who organized the Bureau of Med. and Surg. U. S. Navy, and became its first Chief. He was Prof. of Botany Univ. Pa., and Prof. of Mat. Med. and Bot. Jefferson Med. Coll., Phila. They had fourteen children.

2. *David Rittenhouse*, born July 1, 1791; died August 8, 1872. S. p.

3. *Frances*, born November 17, 1793, and married to Mr. John C. Lowber, member of the Phila. bar, 10th Nov. 1819, and died November 3, 1847. Had five children.

THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN, THE FOUNDER
OF UPLAND.

BY GREGORY B. KEEN.

(Continued from page 335.)

4. ANNA or ANNIKA KYN or KEEN,² daughter of Jöran Kyn, was born in New Sweden, and resided with her father at Upland. She was married to James Sandelands, of that place, whose mother* still lived there in February, 1683-4, and whose father† was a native of Scotland. Her husband is mentioned for the first time August 6, 1665, when he received a patent for land, probably the same as that dated, according to another authority, August 6, 1668, "for two lots of land in Upland at Delaware, upon the North side of the creek or kill." He afterwards, June 13, 1670, procured a grant of two others, similarly situated, adjoining the property of his father-in-law.‡ His name occurs in a List of Discharged Soldiers

* She is mentioned in the course of the trial of Margaret Matson for witchcraft before William Penn and the Provincial Council, sitting at Philadelphia "y^e 27th of y^e 12th mo. 1683."

† He may possibly have been a certain Jacob Evertsen Sandelyn (unless, of course, as his name may indicate, that person was a Hollander), master of the ship "Scotch Dutchman," who visited the Delaware, and sold the Swedish Governor "duffel cloth and other goods" to the value of "2500 Guilders," in 1646, the year of the younger Sandelands's birth. The coat of arms engraved upon James Sandelands's memorial tablet by the direction of his eldest son does not display the illustrious Douglas quartering of the Baron Torpichen, but is the simple *argent, a bend azure* of Sandilands. The family, according to Burke, "driven from England by the Conqueror, settled in Scotland in the reign of Malcolm III." The authoritative "*Inquisitionum ad Cap. Dom. R. Retornatarum, quæ in Pub. Arch. Scotiæ adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio*" exhibits the name in several places in Scotland at the time of Sandelands's emigration to this continent, but does not enable us to determine to what portion of the family the colonist belonged.

‡ Both of these grants are entered in the "Abstract of Patents" preserved in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany.

for 1669, preserved in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany, indicating, apparently, an early taste for the military career, and as late as May 17, 1675, we find him occupying the position of Captain of a Company of Militia, composed of his friends and neighbours within the jurisdiction of Upland Court. While in the latter post he was accused of "being the cause of the death of an Indyan" (as the record rather vaguely makes the statement), to which charge he pleaded "not guilty," and was "cleared by proclamation." Either this judgment was subsequently reviewed by Governor Andros, or an offence committed the nature of which is not set down in the Court Minutes, for a few days after he was convicted of some misdemeanor, and "it was ordered that he pay the sume of 300 Guilders . . . the one halfe to bee towards the building of the new Church at Weckakoe, and the other to the sheriffe," and was "put off from being Captain"—an office which he never afterwards resumed. As early as 1680, in a deed conveying to him a few acres of land at Upland owned by Israel Helm, he is described by his distinctive occupation as "merchant"—a calling which might almost be said to characterize him among the peculiarly agricultural Swedes by whom he was surrounded. What kind of merchandise he chiefly dealt in does not appear; the only record of his traffic still preserved relates to a purchase of tobacco in Maryland, not delivered according to agreement, on which account "a Certayne great Boate or siallop," belonging to the delinquent, was "attached," and "publicly sould." He continued to add to his real estate at Upland, acquiring about five hundred acres of land on the west side of Ridley Creek, and also obtained tracts of land at Marcus Hook or Chichester, on Neshaminy Creek, above the "Paequessink," and in West New Jersey, and was one of twenty-four "Petitioners" for the right to "settle together in a Towne att the west syde of the River, Just below" Trenton "faalls"—a privilege not conceded to them, however, as far as known. Of his success in the majority of his enterprises we are sufficiently assured, and the fact of his wealth and prominence of position among the early residents on the

Delaware does not stand in need of the testimony of antiquarian research. During the prevalence of the Swedish and Dutch influences at Upland he often practised as Attorney in the Court which held its sessions at that place, and on one occasion, at least, represented a client before the more remote tribunal at New Castle. In the "Record" of the former Court he is mentioned with marked frequency. In one instance "In behalfe of y^e Rest of y^e Inhabitants of Upland" he obtains an injunction on an encroachment of one of the townspeople upon a right of way common to all. In another it is rather curiously decreed "to bee paid To James Sanderlins for payment of the Indians that whipt etc." a certain sum of money—explained as referring to the punishment of a criminal at a primitive whipping-post. He was one of the "Tydables" residing at Upland in 1677, and was at that time the only person who owned a slave upon the river Delaware from Upland northwards. He was also one of the "responsible housekeepers" of that place returned in the "Census" of 1680. On the coming hither, in 1681, of Colonel William Markham, the representative and precursor of the great Founder of Pennsylvania, Sandelands's abilities and experience in the affairs of the older colony received immediate recognition, and he was appointed by the Deputy-Governor one of the nine members of the "Council" which that gentleman's commission authorized. Unfortunately no part of the record of their doings has come down to us, except the attestation, which is "Dated at Vpland, y^e third day of August, 1681."* Sandelands was at the same time constituted by Governor Markham a Justice of the newly-organized Upland Court. William Penn visited him on arriving in the Delaware, and it was "talkt among the people" of that day "that it was with Intent to have built a City" at Upland, "but that he and Sanderlin could not agree."† Sandelands's interest in public affairs did not abate under the Quaker

* See "Pennsylvania Archives," vol. i. p. 37. At page 46 of the same volume occurs a note addressed by Sandelands and Robert Wade to Governor Markham, dated "Vpland, June 12th, 1682."

† The Breviate, Penn v. Lord Baltimore, f. 105.

Government, and in 1686 we find him promising the Court "a Convenient peese of Land in the town of Chester, where they may erect a Court house and Prison," and the latter building, at least, was put up on his ground. From 1688 to 1690 he represented Chester County in the General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania. As late as 1690 he acted as Justice, and in 1691, the want of a new prison having been presented by the Grand Jury, he and another gentleman of the neighbourhood were "intrusted and empowered to complete the charges and make return of the same at the next County Court." As contrasted with these exhibitions of the graver aspect of his character, we meet with an amusing intimation of his native gayety of temperament and the festive manners of the time in the presentation of him by another Grand Jury "for keeping an ordinary att Chester without Lysence, as also for keeping disorders in his house upon the 1st day of the week. The Court dispences with his keeping the ordinary until the Provincial Council shall sit, & remits the other on his promising not to do so any more." Whereupon at a Meeting of the Council "y^e 18th of y^e 3^d Mo., 1686, upon y^e Petition of James Sanderling for a Lycence to keep an Ordinary, it was granted him." The house alluded to in the indictment is, without doubt, the "large dwelling-house" mentioned by Mrs. Deborah Logan in one of her notes to the "Penn and Logan Correspondence," published by the Historical Society (vol. i. p. 46), "called by the inhabitants 'the double house,' the property of the Sanderlins, in which the first Assembly for the province and territories was held, and which, being built with lime made of oyster-shells, became ruinous, and fell down many years since."* James Sandelands died at Chester on the 12th of April, 1692, aged fifty-six years. His friend, Patrick Robinson,† and his

* In some MS. "remarks" intended to be subjoined to Mr. John F. Watson's account of his visit to Chester in 1827, given in the "Annals of Philadelphia," Mrs. Logan says: "James Sandeland built himself a large brick House near the Creek and road leading from Philadelphia. It was called 'The Double House' by the way of distinction. My mother well remembered it."

† A gentleman of considerable prominence in the early colony, merchant and lawyer, at one time Clerk of the Court for the County of Philadelphia,

son-in-law, George Foreman, were appointed overseers of his last will and testament—a writing which existed until recently, but, unfortunately, cannot now be found. Anne Sandelands survived her husband, and after a comparatively brief period of widowhood married Peter Baynton, indifferently described as “shopkeeper” and “merchant,” who came, it is said, from England. He is known to have been residing on the Delaware as early as June, 1686, when he served on a petty jury at Chester Court; and in October, 1689, when he made an assignment of interest in land at Chichester, was living in the County of New Castle, which he represented during that year in the General Assembly. In 1693 he was appointed a Justice of the Court at Chester, and presided at its sittings, which were sometimes held at his house. He was tenacious of his privileges as “successor” of Sandelands, and “denied to give security” for the administration of his step-children’s estate, and very soon developed traits of character, the existence of which had not been suspected by his friends. In 1694 he abandoned his wife and only child, and “removed himself and the most of his estate to England, promising in some short time to return,” but delayed to keep his word, until Mrs. Baynton was obliged, May 19, 1698, to obtain from the Provincial Council the right to appropriate the residue of his property in Chester for her support. He afterwards came back to America, and, if confidence may be placed in the unusual phrases of Christian piety which adorn his will, must have repented of his misdeeds. He bequeathed all his possessions, both real and personal, to his young daughter, and constituted her sole executrix of his

and from 1693 to 1700 Member of the Provincial Council and Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, being succeeded in the latter office by James Logan. His widow, Elizabeth Robinson, m., 2dly, Griffith Jones, Member of the General Assembly of the Province from Philadelphia County from 1706 to 1709, and third Mayor of the City of Philadelphia (d. October, 1712); and 3dly, John Swift, constantly Member of the General Assembly from County Bucks from 1689 to 1719, and from Philadelphia County from 1721 to 1730, and the ancestor of branches of the family of Jöran Kyn.

last testament,* appointing as Trustees for her during her minority "his friends, Thomas Powell, Senior,† and Thomas Powell, Junior," two eminently respectable "yeomen" of Chester County. He styles himself in the instrument referred to "now resident in y^e City of Philadelphia, Chirurgion." He must have died between the date of it, June 1, 1710, and the proving of it, during October following. The death of his wife preceded his, and she was buried by the side of her first husband, October 5, 1704. In "An Account of the Building of St. Paul's Church in Chester," rendered to the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," June 25, 1714,‡ occur the following interesting statements: "The ground on which this small but compact fabrick of Brick is built was formerly a burying place belonging to a Colony of Swedes, the first Inhabitants of this Province from Europe. . . . In this Swedish Dormitory James Sandelands of Chester (or, as it was first called, Uplands), Merchant, a man of good reputation in the Country, was on account of affinity interred to keep up the memory of this founder of a growing family; 'twas agreed on amongst his relations that his grave, as also that of his kindred and family, who were or might be buried there, should be distinguished & set a part from the rest of the burying ground by an enclosure or

* He also names in it his "sister Rebecca," married to "John Budd" (son of Thomas and Susanna Budd, of West New Jersey and Philadelphia, and grandson of the Reverend Thomas Budd, of the parish of Martock, Somersetshire, England), Sheriff of Philadelphia County, 1706-7, his "sister Sarah Morrey" (wife of Humphrey Morrey, from New York, sometime Member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania), and his "kinsman, Peter Baynton, son of his nephew, Benjamin Baynton," the former of whom was born in 1696, m. in 1723 his cousin Mary, daughter of John and Rebecca (Baynton) Budd (d. in 1739), was for many years Vestryman and Warden of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and was drowned in the river Delaware in 1746.

† A gentleman who is spoken of in the "Account of the Building of St. Paul's Church in Chester," soon to be referred to, as "y^e principal supporter of the Ministry here, for y^e further encouraging of which in the place he has of late given a valuable piece of ground for a Minister's house, garden, & other conveniences too long to be inserted in this paper."

‡ Contained in "Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, edited by William Stevens Perry, D. D.," vol. ii. pp. 78, *et seq.*

wall of stone. This design was no sooner formed & noised abroad, but 'twas happily suggested by a projecting fellow in Town, that, if it seemed good to Mr. Sandeland's relations, the intended stone wall about the place of his interment might be wth some what more charges carried up, & formed into a small chapel or Church. This new motion was well liked of by y^e s^d relations & encouraged by every body in the neighbourhood that wished well to the Church of England, but they who put life into this proposal & prosperously brought it to pass were Jasper Yeates, Merchant in Chester, and James Sandelands, son to the abovenamed Mr Sandelands, the latter of which two Gentlemen, besides other gifts, gave some land to enlarge the Church Yard, but the former, to wit, Mr Yeates, a zealous assertor of our constitution in Church & State, must be allowed to have been the main promoter of the founding of St. Paul's upon Delaware." The ancient tablet indicating the burial place of James and Ann Sandelands still exists, and may be seen in the new Church at Chester to-day. It is "massive, and of gray sandstone, and is interesting from the excellence of its execution, and as a specimen of early art." A description of it is to be found in the "Record of Upland Court," published by the Historical Society, and a fine Engraving of it forms the Frontispiece to that book.

By her first husband, James Sandelands, Ann Keen had seven children:

11. ELEANOR, m. George Foreman, a prosperous merchant of the colony, mentioned as early as November 30, 1681 (when he served as juror, described as "gentleman," at a Court at Upland), and one of the witnesses, October 28, 1682, to the delivery of New Castle by the representatives of the Duke of York to William Penn. After residing a few years at Passyunk, on the east bank of the Schuylkill, in Philadelphia County, he removed, in 1686, to Marcus Hook, or Chichester, in Chester County, and was commissioned May 13, 1693, "Justice of peace for the Countie of Chester," and May 16 "had the oaths and Test and oath of a privie Councillor for this province administred to him, & by his Excellency was appointed to take place at the Councill board"—a position which he occupied until the close of Governor Fletcher's administration and the "end of the Second Sessions of Councill and Assembly," June 9, 1694.

He assisted in the settlement of his father-in-law's valuable estate, and was chosen as guardian by Christian, Mary, and James Sandelands, who were minors at the time of their father's death. On the 23d of June, 1796, he granted powers of attorney to his wife and brother-in-law, Jasper Yeates, enabling them to convey away his property in the Province, and shortly after went to Great Britain, where he is described June 3, 1698, and July 12, 1699, as "of Caln, in the County of Wilts, in the Kingdom of England, Gentleman." This is the last mention of him met with. Mrs. Foreman sold her husband's land during these years, and may have followed him across the sea, since nothing more is heard of her here. It is not known whether they left posterity.

- 12 CATHARINE, b. January 26, 1671; m. Jasper Yeates.
13. CHRISTIAN, living January, 1693-4.
14. MARY, m., 1st, Maurice Trent; 2dly, Robert French; and 3dly, Robert Gordon.
15. JAMES was born and lived at Upland, where he followed the occupation of merchant. He was a member of the Church of England, and a Vestryman of St. Paul's Congregation at Chester, his liberality to which parish has been commemorated. He was married, his wife's Christian name being Prudence. He d. s. p., and was buried in the Church at Chester, December 26, 1707. His wife survived him, and afterwards married Henry Munday, and was buried at Chester, March 10, 1731-2.
16. JONAS, m. Mary Taylor.
17. LYDIA, living February, 1693-4.

By her second husband, Peter Baynton, she had one child:

18. REBECCA, b. 1693-4; m. (Records of St. Paul's Church, Chester), December 21, 1713, Thomas Weston.

5. MATTHIAS KEEN,³ eldest son of Hans and Willemka Keen, was born at Upland in 1667, and in boyhood removed with his parents up the Delaware towards Wissinoming and Pen-nipack Creeks. He inherited his father's estate before attaining his majority, and resided on that property throughout his life. His dwelling stood on the upper of the two tracts ascribed to "Enock & Keene" upon Holme's Map, not far from the site, at present, of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Tacony, Philadelphia. To this land, of which he, in time, obtained exclusive ownership, he added the triangular tract to the rear of it, exhibited in the Map referred to as belonging to "Ha Salter," as well as valuable "meadow lots" along the river

bank ; so that the "plantation" at last embraced at least four hundred acres, with a front of half a mile upon the Delaware, and a depth by the northeastern boundary, the Township Line, of a mile and a half, and a breadth of nearly a mile at the Bristol Turnpike.* He was, like his forefathers, chiefly occupied with the pursuits of agriculture, and is described as "husbandman" and "yeoman" in legal documents. He is named in Charles Springer's list of Swedes residing on the Delaware in May, 1693, his household consisting of three persons—himself, his wife, and eldest child. Among the hundred heads of families comprised in the Swedish congregation of Wicacoa in 1697 he was one of only five possessors of negro servants, probably slaves. The piety which so distinguished his grandsire Jöran seems to have descended upon Matthias Keen in double portion, and, with the fact of his temporal prosperity, constitutes the best-attested feature of his life. His name appears at the early age of seventeen years among those of his seniors as a contributor to the support of the Lutheran pastor, Jacobus Fabritius, and again, on occasion of appointing Trustees for the congregation, immediately on reaching his majority. His donations to the clergy at subsequent periods were conspicuously liberal, and at the erection in 1700 of the existing structure known as the Church of Gloria Dei, Philadelphia, he was a subscriber to the largest individual amount. He was chosen a Vestryman of the Parish, and was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Building, in which capacity he recommended the addition to the edifice of the two wings or porches, still standing, used as a vestibule and sacristy. The first list of pewholders contains his name, with the position of his sitting. There is this further evidence of his interest in ecclesiastical affairs: "At a general meeting, May the 1st, 1705," says the Reverend Andrew Sandel in the Parish Record preserved at Gloria Dei Church, "Matthias Keen presented to the whole congregation a petition from the upper inhabitants for occasional divine

* Conjointly with his brothers Erick and George, he appears, also, to have owned at least fifty acres of land in Byberry, Philadelphia Co. See will of John Hiberd, registered at Philadelphia, January 29, 1718-9. |

worship in the winter, because of their distance from the Church, as myself and the congregation may deem proper. We agreed," continues the pastor, "that I should officiate there twice in the winter season." These services, so originated, says General W. W. H. Davis, in his "History of Bucks County, Pa.," were one of the beginnings of what many years afterwards came to be known as the Bensalem Presbyterian Church. In the spring of 1707 Mr. Keen, with other Swedes residing on the Delaware, received a present from King Charles XII., of Sweden, of a parcel of books (bibles, prayer-books, primers, and spiritual meditations), which he, in company with the chief members of the congregation at Wicacoa, acknowledged by a gift of American fur, the following year, to Mr. Peringer Lilljeblad, Secretary to his Majesty, through whom they were sent out. The instances in which Mr. Keen appears in personal relationship with the Government of Pennsylvania are not numerous. On one occasion he signed an appeal to Lieutenant-Governor John Evans and Council, praying them to disallow a wrongful election of Sheriff for the County of Philadelphia effected by the "Townsparty" as it was called, and identifying himself with the opposite interest of the so-called "Country party."* And again, in fellow-

* The original of this petition still exists, and is in the possession of the Historical Society. It is entitled "The humble Petition of severall freeholders of the County of Philadelphia on behalfe of themselves and divers others," and is curious from the lively picture it presents of the method of "stuffing the ballot box" of usage with the early colony. "Having spent the whole day in the Election of Representatives, The Sherriffe would and did adjourn till y^e next morning, w^{ch} not being condescended to, the Election of Sherriffe came on, and upon a view a Candidate was Chosen, and then two more put up, one whereof was also very fairly and undoubtedly Elected, and so generally cry'd out, Whereupon the Country party (among whom lay the Interests of the last Elected), it being very late, withdrew for their severall habitations. After which the Townsparty began to be eager for the Box, knowing that then they were able to carry on their Clandestine Design (The Sherriffe having long before withdrawn), and accordingly amongst themselves they hatch'd it, permitting Serv^{ts} and all that went for their Cause to have their Vote, and objecting against and denying others y^t had Competent Estates to have any; besides, their method of Electing was contrary to the positive Agreem^t had, and the Practises used in such cases be-

ship with other Swedes, "antient settlers and first inhabitants of this Province," he presented a petition to the General Assembly, June 1, 1709, for redress of grievances experienced at the hands of "William Penn and his officers," especially "the collector James Logan," charged with fraudulently getting possession of their deeds, abstracting their lands, and increasing their quit-rents. The complaints in this case were deemed of sufficient consequence to be sent by the Representatives to Great Britain to the Proprietor, who "did not omit to communicate them," says Acrelius, "to Count Charles Gyllenborg, who was at the time the Swedish minister resident in London. Whereupon His Excellency, the Count, brought the affair to the notice of the Royal Swedish Council, from which an earnest admonition was despatched to the members generally of the Swedish congregations upon the Delaware in America, to conduct themselves in obedience to the laws of the country and of the English Court, as well as to Penn, the lord and proprietor of the country, if they expected hereafter from Sweden any services for their spiritual edification. This was taken very hard by our Swedes," pursues Acrelius, "that they should be represented in London as disorderly, and still more so with regard to the government in Sweden; as they believed that they were only demanding a manifest right. Wherefore, in order to bring their innocency to light before the whole world, they presented a petition to the Assembly of 1713, demanding their good testimony, that, during the whole time

fore on that day (viz^t) of nominating only one at a time, w^{ch} in this particular howev^r was rejected, together wth severall more partiall and unfair Proceedings w^{ch} can readily be made appear." The names appended to the paper are forty-two in number, headed by that of "Andreas Sandel, Swedish Minister at Wicaco." Among them occur those of Nils Laican, "Andris Langakr," John Stille, and John Cadwalader, ancestors of branches of the family of Jöran Kyn. Matthias Keen's signature is written in a clear and legible hand for a period marked by peculiarly crabbed chirography. The petition was presented at a meeting of the Provincial Council, October 4, 1705, by Peter Evans, the candidate of the "Country party," "together with severall Papers Subscribed by Sundry inhabitants of the County and City of Philadelphia in favour of his Election," but without satisfactory result, since Governor Evans commissioned his opponent, Benjamin Wright.

that the country had been under the English Government, and even to the present time, they had conducted themselves as quiet and loyal subjects; and also desired that this might be so represented to the Royal Swedish and English Courts, and that this testimony might be sent over to England and Sweden by Provost Björk. Herewith also followed a statement of the petitioners to the Resident Count Gyllenborg, in which they set forth their grievances at length, with various statements, which do not seem to be consistent with justice on the side of the Proprietor.* Matthias Keen was married to Henrieka or Henrietta, daughter of Jan Claassen, of Swedish or Dutch extraction, the original grantee, in 1666, of "Leasy Point," identified by Mr. Edward Armstrong (in his foot-note to the "Record of Upland Court," p. 140), as "the upper point of land at Burlington, formed at the junction of the Assiscunk with the Delaware," conveyed by him to Peter Jegou, two years afterwards, and possessing a certain interest as having been a lodging-place of "George Fox on his remarkable journey in 1672 from 'Middletown Harbour' to New Castle," described in that Friend's "Journal." Her father was owner of land at "Passayuncke" in 1676, and was numbered among the "Tydables" residing at "Taokanink" in 1677, and for several years previous to his death dwelt on a tract of 300 acres (increased by a grant from William Penn, July 31, 1684,

* For a tolerably full account of these transactions, and a clear explanation of the nature of the grievances inflicted by the Quakers on the early Swedish colonists, see Provost Israel Acrelius's "History of New Sweden," translated by the Reverend Dr. W. M. Reynolds, published by the Historical Society, pp. 125-9. Two of the papers referred to in the text are preserved among the Records of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, and appear in the second edition of the Rev. Dr. J. C. Clay's "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware." I have been told by a noble gentleman and illustrious lawyer of our city, not long since deceased, that a sentiment of distrust of civil officers, growing out of the remembrance of these ancient wrongs, still obtains among some living descendants of the first settlers on our river. Not many years ago he found it quite impossible, he said, to prevail upon a certain farmer of Swedish ancestry to record a deed for property which had been in the possession of his client's family for several generations, and, in order to secure the man from future inconvenience, was obliged to have the entry made at his own expense, and without informing the suspicious countryman of his act.

to 520 acres), "called Vianna," surveyed to him "by virtue of a Warrant from the Courte of Upland," by Richard Noble, "the 17th 4th mo. 1680,"* not indicated on Holme's (somewhat incomplete) Map of Pennsylvania, but situated (according to the plan of it preserved in the Surveyor-General's Office at Harrisburg) directly opposite to the land accredited to Francis Walker, on the east side of Neshaminy Creek, rather more than a mile above its mouth, in the subsequent Bristol Township, Bucks Co., Pa. His daughter Henrietta inherited an interest in his large property. She must have died before her husband, since letters of administration on his estate were granted to a widow named Sarah, who seems, therefore, to have been a second wife of Matthias Keen. Mr. Keen died in Oxford Township, July 13, 1714, and was buried in Gloria Dei Church-yard, where his tombstone, the oldest to the memory of an adult in that ancient cemetery, is still to be seen to-day.† He had six children, all born in Oxford Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., the first five of them, certainly, by his first wife:

* Recorded in an old Book of Surveys preserved in the Surveyor-General's Office at Harrisburg. The tract may reasonably be presumed to be the same as that granted to Mr. Claassen at Upland Court, Sept. 11, 1677, described as "three hundered acres of Land In nishammenies Creeke next unto y^e Land of James Sanderling, twoo myll up on y^e East syde of the s^d Creeke." Here, as well as, sometimes, elsewhere, he is called "*Paerde Cooper*," dealer in horses, animals with which he appears to have supplied the early colony. Acrelius refers to the fleetness of the horses owned by the Swedes upon the Delaware in his day; and the descendants of Matthias Keen were generally noted for the superiority of their stock of every kind, but especially for the excellence of their steeds. The horse which carried the news of peace with Great Britain in 1815 from Philadelphia to Baltimore was furnished by a great-great-grandson of Matthias and Henrietta Keen, Mr. John Keen, Jr., of Oxford Township: like Robert Browning's fictitious "Roland," he survived the furious ride, though ever after short of wind.

† The epitaph is remarkably legible for its age: a copy of it may be seen in the valuable contribution to Philadelphia antiquarian lore recently published—"The Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard, Philadelphia"—at page 314.

19. MARIA, b. 1692 ; d. young,* unm., or s. p.
20. CHRISTINA, b. 1693 ; m. during her father's lifetime a person whose name has not been ascertained, survived her husband, and d. about 1734, leaving issue of whom nothing further is known.
21. JOHN, b. 1695 ; m. Susannah Steelman.
22. ANNA, b. September 7, 1697 ; d. young, unm., or s. p.
23. JONAS, b. September 16, 1698 ; m. Sarah Dahlbo.
24. MATTHIAS m., 1st, Hannah, daughter of Daniel Jackson, "of Lamplugh, co. Cumberland, Great Britain, fuller," by his wife, Hannah, daughter of Joseph Bains, "of Strangerthwaite, co. Westmoreland, Great Britain, yeoman," the latter of whom obtained from William Penn, May 24-5, 1683, a grant of 500 acres of land, which he conveyed, Sept. 16, 1699, to his son-in-law, whose name appears upon the tract (surveyed May 20, 1702), situated in Buckingham Tp., Bucks Co., Pa., in Cutler's Map of Surveys, 1703. After her death, which occurred some time after August 17, 1739, he m., 2dly, before April 13, 1743, her sister Susannah, widow of Jonathan Bourne. He was a carpenter, and passed a portion of his life in Bristol Borough, where he served as Common Councilman in 1742 and 1743,† and as Second Burgess in 1747 and 1748. His name occurs in the first list of Vestrymen of the Church of St. James the Greater, at Bristol, in 1733, and for subsequent years till 1741, and as Church Warden in 1739 and 1740, the frequent mention of him in Minutes of Meetings also showing that he took a lively interest in the welfare of the parish. He lived for several years after 1754. It is not known whether he left posterity.

* Either she or her sister Anna is doubtless the child whose burial is mentioned (the name not given) in the Account Book of Gloria Dei Church for 1699.

† Probably also from 1754 to 1757, the name then being inaccurately given by Mr. William Bache ("Historical Sketches of Bristol Borough," p. 37), as Matthew Keen. He was, too, very likely, the Matthias Keen mentioned ("Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, vol. ii. p. 531) as Lieutenant of the first of the nine "Associated Companies, Bucks County, 1756," "some of which," says General Davis, "were called into service on the frontiers during the French and Indian War." Certain deeds, recorded in the Philadelphia and Doylestown Offices, seem to intimate that his second wife died during June, 1743, and that he m., 3dly, at the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, April 23, 1746, Mary Murray, and, with her, lived in that city, at intervals, at least till the 25th of October, 1762.

(To be continued.)

MEMORIAL NOTICE OF JOSEPH J. MICKLEY.

Read by WILLIAM H. RUDDIMAN before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
March 11, 1873.

Mr. Mickley was born March 24, 1799, in Whitehall Township, and in what was then known as Northampton County. His ancestors, according to tradition, were French Huguenots, and their name Michelet. What is known, upon more specific evidence, is that the great-grandfather—John Jacob Mickley—of the subject of our notice, was born in Europe, and came from Amsterdam to Philadelphia, in 1733; arriving there August 23d.

The name (of the first settler)—John Jacob Mickley—is memorable in the history of our Indian troubles; two of his children having been massacred by the savages in 1763. Some account of this murder, and of others like it by the Indians, was made the subject of a narrative for a family meeting, in 1863, a century after the event, by our deceased friend, which was printed in 1875.

The subject of our notice, Joseph J. Mickley, received in boyhood such fair elementary education as was usually given to the youth, in the early part of this century in the region where he lived. He subsequently was at school for a short time in this city; and, showing a great fondness for music, united with a mechanical ingenuity above the common, he was taught the business of making piano-fortes. He established himself in our city in this branch of business on the 25th of August, 1822, and by his science in music, skill in mechanism, and excellent qualities as a man of business, was pecuniarily successful in his art.

Having acquired, in comparatively early years, a competence, he retired from the matter of music as a means of livelihood; but his love of music as a science, and as a source of enjoyment, remained with him a dominant affection of his life.

But his tastes and his attainments were manifold. He was one of the best numismatologists of our country; and an accomplished bibliopolist. His collections of coins and medals at one time of his life were very large. For some years he was President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society in this city, and a member of many similar societies in this country and in Europe.

A few years before his death—being then past his seventieth year—he went to Europe, and spent a considerable time in travelling over its principal countries. In Sweden, the nation whose people first settled on our shores, he particularly enjoyed himself. He began with the ardor of youth the study of its language and the examination of its libraries, to see what they contained, as yet unpublished, which could minister to the history of our Province. Considering his much advanced years, and, indeed, irrespective of considerations as to his time of life, the attainments made by him in the Swedish language, and in knowledge of its unpublished manuscripts, were remarkable. Having watched with great interest, and, to a certain extent, having assisted in the excellent translation by Dr. Reynolds of the History of Swedish Colonial Settlements on the Delaware, by Acrelius, he procured, at his own expense, from the Royal Library at Stockholm, a copy of the “Narrative of Lindstrom,” giving much information on the same subject, and had already made for our Society a translation of two-thirds of it. He had caused other valuable manuscripts to be copied; some of which arrived in Philadelphia just before his death, which occurred on the evening of Friday, February 15, 1878. It adds poignancy to our grief for the sad event, that his labors should have been arrested by the hand of death, when so near to that completion of them which would have secured a knowledge of them by the public; a knowledge which would have been surely followed by a high estimate. .

RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BURIALS, 1709-1760.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 339.)

July 27, 1742.	Craven,	Sarah, wife of Thomas.
Oct. 3, 1728.	Crawford,	John. Poor.
May 31, 1733.	"	Mary.
Nov. 25, 1736.	"	Rebecca, dau. of Peter. Beg'd.
Dec. 7, 1736.	"	Anne, dau. of Peter. Beg'd.
April 23, 1740.	"	Thomas, son of Peter.
Aug. 10, 1745.	"	Sophia, wife of Daniel.
May 17, 1759.	"	Elizabeth.
Nov. 13, 1751.	Crawley,	William, son of John.
Nov. 15, 1756.	"	—— dau. of John.
Dec. 30, 1748.	Crear,	Rebekah, wife of Abraham.
Feb. 11, 1748-9.	"	Abraham, son of Abraham.
Sept. 12, 1751.	"	Abraham, son of Abraham.
Mar. 23, 1730-1.	Crew,	William.
Sept. 10, 1747.	"	Samuel.
June 23, 1746.	Crib,	Arthur.
Aug. 13, 1741.	Cribb,	James, son of Arthor.
Dec. 11, 1742.	"	Arthor, son of Arthor.
Nov. 29, 1751.	Crippin,	William.
Jan. 16, 1749-50.	Cristie,	Robert.
Aug. 29, 1746.	Cristy,	Franie, dau. of Robert. (sic.)
April 8, 1731.	Crocker,	Anne, dau. of Francis.
Aug. 13, 1751.	Croesdale,	Mary.
April 8, 1740.	Croker,	Francis, wife of John.
Mar. 1, 1726-7.	Croley,	William.
April 1, 1733.	Crookendon,	Thomas.
July 29, 1733.	"	Elizabeth.
Oct. 8, 1742.	Crookshanks,	Patrick.
Jan. 6, 1742-3.	Crosdale,	Susannah, wife of Thomas.
Dec. 14, 1721.	Cross,	Thomas. Drowned ye 13th.
July 19, 1743.	"	William, son of Thomas.
Mar. 30, 1730-1.	Crosswhite,	Thomas, son of William.
Sept. 26, 1711.	Croswhit,	Sarah, wife of John.
Dec. 10, 1728.	Crosswit,	Hannah, wife of William.
Jan. 4, 1715-6.	Crosswitts,	John.

Sept. 18, 1746.	Crosthwait,	Martha, wife of William. Not baptized, therefore without Christian burial.
Feb. 19, 1747-8.	Crosthewait,	William.
Feb. 15, 1734-5.	Croswaite,	Anne, wife of William.
June 29, 1711.	Croswit,	Richard, son of John and Thomas. [Sarah.
Oct. 30, 1737.	Crow,	Thomas.
Oct. 1, 1726.	Crusher,	Susannah.
Mar. 7, 1733-4.	Cuff,	Peter.
Jan. 31, 1736-7.	"	Elizabeth. Widow.
Dec. 22, 1738.	Cummings,	Mary, wife of Daniel.
Dec. 11, 1727.	Cummings,	Mrs. Anne.
Feb. 15, 1729-30.	"	Richard.
Oct. 22, 1739.	"	Sarah, dau. of John.
Oct. 22, 1740.	"	Sarah.
June 4, 1720.	Cummins,	Elizabeth, dau. of John and Edith. [Edith.
Nov. 2, 1722.	"	Edith.
Dec. 14, 1740.	"	John.
Oct. 14, 1748.	Cunningham,	Alexander.
Jan. 22, 1748-9.	"	Priscilla, wife of William.
Feb. 15, 1750-1.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 15, 1756.	Curders,	—— dau. of William.
Feb. 20, 1726-7.	Curtain,	Gilbert. Sailor.
June 16, 1753.	Cusack,	Susannah, dau. of James.
Sept. 5, 1747.	Cusick,	William, son of James.
Feb. 9, 1748-9.	Custos,	Catherine, dau. of Richard.
Dec. 9, 1746.	Cuthbert,	Catherine.
May 21, 1753.	"	Anne.
Jan. 24, 1756.	"	Thomas.
Sept. 26, 1723.	Cutts,	—— niece of William.
Nov. 21, 1741.	Dagg,	John.
Nov. 21, 1755.	Daily,	John.
June 12, 1741.	Dalbey,	Elizabeth, dau. of Abraham.
Feb. 10, 1741-2.	"	Abraham, son of Abraham.
July 30, 1742.	Dale,	William.
Jan. 1, 1736-7.	Dalmas,	Mark. Beg'd.
Sept. 12, 1747.	Dalton,	Margret, wife of Henry.
Sept. 30, 1744.	Daly,	Mary. Widow.
Sept. 3, 1750.	Danby,	Sarah.
Sept. 29, 1737.	Danford,	Susannah, wife of William.
June 18, 1759.	Darby,	William, son of John.
July 24, 1759.	"	Sarah, dau. of Letitia.
Aug. 2, 1750.	Darnel,	David, son of Thomas.
June 13, 1746.	Darrud,	Henry, son of Henry. Strangers' Ground.

Nov. 29, 1726.	Dart,	John. Sailor.
Sept. 18, 1741.	"	Mary. Strangers' Ground.
July 1, 1741.	Darvil,	Ann, dau. of William.
Mar. 28, 1747-8.	"	William.
July 31, 1749.	"	Peter, son of William.
May 29, 1750.	Darwel,	William, son of Joseph.
Oct. 27, 1756.	Darwil,	——— dau. of Joseph.
April 1, 1751.	Davenport,	Sarah, wife of Joseph.
Aug. 13, 1747.	Davey,	Joseph, son of Hugh.
July 12, 1743.	David,	Ann, dau. of Peter.
Oct. 1, 1752.	"	Jane, wife of Peter.
Oct. 21, 1755.	"	Peter.
Mar. 27, 1756.	"	——— dau. of the widow.
Dec. 19, 1756.	"	Hugh.
Jan. 3, 1732-3.	Davies,	William. P.
July 11, 1734.	"	Henry, son of Thomas.
Mar. 6, 1735-6.	"	Philip, son of Thomas.
Aug. 14, 1737.	"	Mary. Widow.
April 10, 1738.	"	Isaac, son of William.
Nov. 19, 1738.	"	Thomas, son of William.
Feb. 6, 1738-9.	"	David.
May 2, 1739.	"	John. Beg'd.
June 17, 1739.	"	Catharine.
Jan. 24, 1739-40.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of William.
Feb. 7, 1739-40.	"	Theodosia, dau. of Richard.
July 21, 1740.	"	Isabella. Widow. Beg'd.
Sept. 26, 1740.	"	Mary.
June 28, 1753.	"	Anne, dau. of William.
April 3, 1748.	Davil,	Anne. Widow.
Sept. 17, 1712.	Davis,	Hugh.
Feb. 1, 1729-30.	"	Samuel, son of William.
Nov. 17, 1730.	"	Mary, dau. of William.
Nov. 27, 1730.	"	Joseph, son of John.
Mar. 22, 1730-1.	"	Hugh, son of David.
July 21, 1731.	"	John, son of Thomas.
May 30, 1732.	"	Isaac, son of William.
July 16, 1732.	"	Hannah, dau. of Thomas.
July 15, 1734.	"	Rebecca, dau. of William.
Mar. 7, 1734-5.	"	George, son of William.
Aug. 11, 1742.	"	Lycetia, widow of Joseph.
April 12, 1743.	"	Jane, wife of Robert.
Oct. 2, 1743.	"	Elizabeth. Poor.
Oct. 28, 1743.	"	Hannah, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 13, 1743.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of James.
Aug. 6, 1744.	"	William, son of Richard.
Dec. 4, 1745.	"	James, son of Richard.

July 20, 1748.	Davis,	Deborah, dau. of Thomas.
Mar. 1, 1748-9.	"	Hugh.
June 1, 1749.	"	Mary.
Dec. 6, 1749.	"	John, son of Thomas.
Dec. 11, 1750.	"	Francis, son of Thomas.
July 3, 1751.	"	Mary, dau. of James.
Nov. 26, 1752.	"	Philip.
June 7, 1754.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Richard.
Nov. 10, 1754.	"	Mary, wife of Albin.
July 28, 1755.	"	— son of John.
June 15, 1756.	"	Elizabeth.
Oct. 4, 1756.	"	James.
June 14, 1757.	"	Margery.
July 31, 1757.	"	Ann, dau. of Thomas.
Oct. 4, 1750.	Davison,	Robert, son of Robert.
Mar. 14, 1754-5.	Daviss.	Mary. Widow.
June 9, 1747.	Davy,	Ballard, son of Hugh.
July 9, 1747.	"	Jenkin.
Oct. 4, 1753.	"	Anne, dau. of Hugh.
Aug. 7, 1758.	Daws,	John, son of William.
July 26, 1717.	Dawson,	Margaret.
Aug. 17, 1741.	"	Jane, dau. of Robert.
Nov. 20, 1750.	"	James, son of James.
Aug. 1, 1753.	"	William, son of James.
Nov. 1, 1756.	"	— son of James.
Sept. 23, 1734.	Day,	Richard.
Feb. 17, 1736-7.	"	Mary, dau. of Humphrey.
Feb. 21, 1736-7.	"	Elizabeth, dau. of Humphrey.
Sept. 13, 1738.	"	Jane, dau. of Humphrey.
Oct. 5, 1746.	"	Thomas, son of Humphrey.
Mar. 29, 1746-7.	"	Edward.
Mar. 14, 1750-1.	"	Humphrey, son of Humphrey.
Nov. 26, 1728.	Daye,	Humphrey, son of Humphrey.
April 19, 1746.	Daykin,	George, son of Gilbert.
May 22, 1746.	"	Sarah, dau. of Gilbert.
Aug. 15, 1734.	Deal,	Thomas, son of Solomon.
July 4, 1757.	Dean,	John.
Sept. 15, 1747.	Debitt,	Hannah.
July 5, 1746.	Delath,	Martha, wife of John.
Aug. 8, 1747.	"	John.
Oct. 26, 1749.	Deley,	Daniel.
Jan. 1, 1754.	Delintee,	James, son of Michael.
Jan. 1, 1743-4.	Denby,	John.

(To be continued.)

NOVEMBER MEETING OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

A meeting of the Society was held November 11, 1878, the President (Mr. Wallace) in the Chair.

Mr. Peter McCall, on behalf of seventy-one contributors, presented to the Society a handsome full-length portrait of Benjamin West, the artist, copied by Marchant from Leslie's copy (in the Boston Athenæum) of the original by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

The President accepted the gift on behalf of the Society, expressing its thanks for the liberality with which the portrait was presented.

The President then introduced the Reverend George Morgan Hills, D. D., Rector of St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J., who read an able and interesting sketch of the Reverend John Talbot, the First Bishop (A. D. 1722) of British America.

Mr. Joseph M. Wilson, of Washington, D. C., presented to the Society the quill pen (made from the wing of an American eagle, shot on Mount Hood, Oregon, by a member of one of the U. S. Surveying Expeditions, and obtained for the purpose from the Smithsonian Institute), with which the President of the U. S. signed in approval the Act of Congress of the 16th of February, 1876, in relation to the Centennial Celebration of our National Independence, accompanying the same with letters proving its authenticity.

Mr. Richard S. Smith, in the absence of Mr. Lars Westergaard, presented on behalf of Mr. David Fransiz, a water-color picture of the Old Draw Bridge, and Blue Anchor Tavern, as they appeared in 1750. The picture, which once belonged to Mr. John F. Watson, was framed with yellow pine, of the beam of the Blue Anchor Tavern, and with oak from the Chestnut St. bridge, over Dock Creek.

On motion of Mr. Richard S. Smith it was

Resolved. That the thanks of the Society are hereby given to the Rev. George Morgan Hills, D. D., for his instructive and interesting discourse on the Rev. John Talbot, and that a copy be requested for deposit among the Archives of the Society.

Adjourned.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776 AROUND NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.—The Long Island Historical Society have issued as a Centennial Contribution to the literature of the Revolution, a volume with the foregoing title, forming the third volume of the *Memoirs* of the Society. The care, industry, and ability of Mr. Henry P. Johnston, its author, are manifested on every page of the work, and the Directors of the Society are to be congratulated upon their judgment in selecting him for its preparation.

The first three hundred pages of the book are taken up with the description of the subject of which it treats, the last two hundred with illustrative documents. The significance of the campaign, the plans and preparations made for it, the fortification of New York and Brooklyn, the composition of the two armies, the battle of Long Island, the retreat to New York, the loss of that city, the affairs of Kipps-bay, Harlem Heights, White Plains, Fort Washington, Trenton, Princeton, and the situation at the close of the year, are all given.

The most elaborate chapter in Mr. Johnston's work is that treating of the Battle of Long Island, and in his conclusions regarding it he differs from Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Field, and Dr. Stiles, in not charging Gen. Putnam with the loss of the day. The true cause of disaster which befel the army of Washington on the 27th of August, '76, was, Mr. Johnston thinks, the quiet and secrecy attending the capture of five young American officers, who, in the absence of cavalry, were guarding Jamaica Pass, and allowed the British to gain the flank of the Americans before they were aware that the troops of Howe were in motion. Mr. Johnston has taken especial care to give the names, and note the services of all the officers he has found mentioned who took part in the campaign, an act of justice which it is impossible to render in a history of more general character and which should insure his volume a wide circulation among their descendants. Of Pennsylvania he writes: "Her troops participated in nearly every engagement, and had the opportunity in more than one instance of acquitting themselves with honor. Besides her large body of 'associators,' or home guards, many of whom marched into New Jersey, the State sent four Continental regiments under Colonels Wayne, St. Clair, Irvine, and De Haas to Canada, and eight other battalions, three of them Continental, to the army at New York. Of these, the oldest was commanded by Col. Edward Hand of Lancaster. It was the first of the Continental establishment, in which it was known as the 'rifle' corps. Enlisting in 1775, under Colonel Thompson, it joined the army at the siege of Boston, re-enlisted for the war under Colonel Hand in 1776, and fought all along the continent from Massachusetts to South Carolina, not disbanding until peace was signed in 1783. Hand, himself a native of Ireland, and, like many others in the service, a physician by profession, had served in the British army, was recognized as a superior officer, and we find him closing his career as Washington's adjutant-general, and personal friend. The two other regiments raised on the Continental basis were commanded by Colonels Robert Magaw, formerly Major of Thompson's regiment, and John Shee of Philadelphia. The remaining battalions were distinctively State troops, and formed part of the

State's quota for the Flying Camp. Colonel Samuel Miles, subsequently Mayor of Philadelphia, commanded what was known as the first regiment of Riflemen. Unlike any other corps, it was divided into two battalions, which under their enlistment in March aggregated five hundred men each. The Lieutenant-Colonel of the first was Piper; of the second, John Brodhead. The Majors were Paton and Williams. Another corps was known as the First Regiment of Pennsylvania Musketry, under Colonel Samuel John Atlee of Lancaster County, originally five hundred strong, and recruited in Chester and the Piqua Valleys. Atlee had been a soldier in his youth in the frontier service, afterwards studied law, and in 1775 was active in drilling companies for the war. Mercer, who knew a good soldier when he met him, wrote to Washington that Atlee was worthy of his regard as an officer of 'experience and attention,' and his fine conduct on Long Island proved his title to this word of commendation from his superior. How much of a man and a soldier he had in his Lieutenant-Colonel, Caleb Parry, the events of August 27th will bear witness. The three other battalions were incomplete. Two were composed of Berks County militia, under Lieutenant-Colonels Nicholas Lutz and Peter Kachlein. Lutz's major was Edward Burd, and their colonel was Henry Haller, of Reading, who did not join the army until after the opening of the campaign. Another detachment consisted of part of Colonel James Cunningham's Lancaster County Militiamen, under Major William Hay." In speaking of the death of Colonel Parry in the description of the battle, Mr. Johnston says: "The men shrunk and fell back, but Atlee rallied them, and Parry cheered them on, and they gained the hill. It was here, while engaged in an officer's highest duty, turning men to the enemy by his own example, that the fatal bullet pierced his brow. When some future monument rises from Greenwood to commemorate the struggle of this day, it can bear no more fitting line among its inscriptions than this tribute of Brodhead's, 'Parry died like a hero.'"

The volume can be had by applying to Mr. George Hannah, Librarian of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y. The price is \$4.

NEW SWEDEN.—We have received from the author, Carl K. S. Sprinchorn, Filosofie Licentiat, a pamphlet entitled *Kolonien Nya Sveriges Historia*, Stockholm, 1878. This valuable treatise is the best dissertation hitherto written on the history of the Colony of New Sweden during the supremacy of the Swedes. Besides comprising much that is pertinent to the subject in former authors, it contains a summary of the facts regarding the first four expeditions to the Delaware, embodied in the only satisfactory account of them heretofore published, the "*Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning 1637-1642*" of Professor C. T. Odhner, and imparts fresh information (drawn from official documents, and original MSS. in the Royal Archives at Stockholm), about the equipment and settlement of the six succeeding colonies which left Gottenburg for our river during the Governorships of Printz, Papegoya, and Rising. Among other papers in the Appendix occur the "Relation" of the last-named officer, dated Christina, July 13, 1654, and a contract signed by Governor Printz (discovered during the summer of 1877), mentioning the purchase of land on the Delaware from an Indian chief by Peter Minuit as early as March 29, 1638, more definitely determining the period of the arrival of the first Swedish Colony, as given in the foot-note on page 326 of this volume of the Magazine. The neat little Map of New Sweden accompanying the essay is worthy of notice, as indicating places of principal interest, together with variations of boundary lines.

CORRECTIONS IN "THE DESCENDANTS OF JÖRAN KYN."—On page 332, 10th and 11th lines from the foot, omit the words "a certain Villus Lacie, or the

person to whom he seems to have sold a portion of his land." He was undoubtedly the same individual as "Niels Laerson," the name having been incorrectly written by an English Scribe. On page 333, at the close of line 18, add this foot-note: The Reverend Dr. Nicholas Collin affirms her to be identical with a certain Williamkie Kijhn, who was buried in the Swedish Lutheran Cemetery on Raccoon Creek (now Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church Yard, Swedesboro), New Jersey, between January and March, 1722; this is not improbably the fact. G. B. K.

CORRECTIONS IN VOLUME II.—Several corrections in Black's Journal are noted on page 49. On page 111, "Niarian Wisheart" should read "Ninian Wisheart." On page 141, 3d line from foot, "charming delightfully" should read "charming delightful." The Col. Livingston mentioned on page 141 was "James," not "Henry Philip" as supposed. On page 147, the last line of large print should read "The enemy left about 300 dead on the field, we buried them yesterday, and about 40 of ours among whom were three field officers. The enemy left among their dead Col. Monckton, and 8 or 10 other officers. Thus the pride," etc. On page 148, 8th line from top, "sure and fast" should read "safe and fast." The word marked "*unintelligible*" on page 169, 18th line from top, is "Cochran." On p. 285, 7th line from foot, "1778" should be "1788." Col. Bayard was first chosen Speaker of the Assembly March 17, 1777. Gen. Wm. S. Stryker, of N. J., who has closely studied the history of the Battle of Trenton, thinks that the statement that Col. Bayard was present at that engagement is incorrect. The name of Thomas Fitzsimmons, page 306, should be Fitzsimons, and so all through the article. On page 340, Mr. Conner's name should read "Philip Syng Physick Conner." On same page "Vice-President Kurn" should be "Vice-President Keim."

MARYLAND DOCUMENTS, 1692 to 1800.—Mr. John R. Lee, Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society, has printed a small edition of "*A Hand List of Laws, Journals and Documents of Maryland to the Year 1800.*" A note on the reverse of the title informs us that it was prepared with a view of printing at some future date a full bibliography on the subject, and it is hoped that the list as printed will elicit information on publications not recorded in it. The Library of the Maryland Historical Society contains a larger proportion than any other collection of the publications of that State, and it is suggested to persons who have any mentioned in the list, or copies of those not recorded, to place them in the Society's Library. We shall be glad to show Mr. Lee's list to any person who desires to help along the good work.

FATHER MARQUETTE.—On the evening of the 15th of October last, Henry M. Hurlburt, Esq., read a paper before the Chicago Historical Society, questioning some of the views expressed by Rev. Dr. Duffield in an Oration delivered at Mackinaw in August. Mr. Hurlburt thinks that Louis Joliet was the true head of the expedition down the Mississippi in 1673, Marquette being an *ecclesiastical attache*. The address has been printed by the Chicago Historical Society.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN.—The effort that is being made by the Rev. Stephen D. Peet, of Unionville, Ohio, to establish this quarterly, devoted entirely to Early American History, Ethnology and Archæology, is deserving of all the support that can be given it, by those interested in the Antiquities of America. The numbers that have reached us are full of interesting and valuable articles. The price of the "Antiquarian" is \$2.00 per year.

BEATTY, EGLE, and THOMAS.—The undersigned has in preparation a Genealogy of the above Pennsylvania families, and would be under obliga-

tions to any one who may favor him with data concerning either of those named.

WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

Harrisburg.

ACRELIUS.—The following letter to the late Rev. Wm. M. Reynolds, D.D., the translator of the History of New Sweden by Israel Acrelius, issued by the HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, was received about a year ago.

SIR: Permit me to address a few lines to you concerning your translation of Acrelius. On page 86, note, you say: "Laus Deo. I am not sure whether this denotes a locality, or is only a religious expression." I myself am translating the Dutch records of this State, and have found this expression frequently used as superscription of letters, which were dated at end with name of locality, and day of the month; hence I must surmise it to be a religious formula, the more so as it reads also: *Laus Deo semper!*

In speaking of a letter or deed by Aringardt Printz, daughter of Gov. Printz, and wife of Lieut. John Papegaya, dated 1673 (I forgot to note the page), you say in a foot-note: "There is probably an error in this date, as it is not likely that she (A. P.) remained 19 years in this country after her husband's departure." The date must be correct, for I have here a letter from her to Samuel Edsal of New York, dated at Printzdorp, the 3d of March, 1676. She had been in Europe in the mean time (1662-3), but seems to have returned before 1671, in which year, on the 8th of March, she signed a petition to Capt. Carr at New Castle. (N. Y. Col. MSS. vol. xx. fol. 26 and 82; Ib. vol. xxi. fol. 51.)

Hoping you will excuse the liberty which I have taken in giving this information, I am, sir,

Very respectfully yours,

B. FERNOW,

Custodian of Hist. Records.

Albany, July 9, 1877.

PHILADELPHIA, 1818.—In the lately published *Crosby Family*, by Nathan Crosby, of Lowell, Mass., we find the following account of his visit to Philadelphia, in 1818. "After spending a few weeks with my Brother Asa, I made a trip from Philadelphia by stage to Bristol, and thence by boat. There were three grades of coaches on the line at different prices, at three, four, and five dollars. There were a dozen or more of them running together. Of course being a member of college, I entered the highest priced coach, expecting to go forward and to be treated with especial respect and favor, but I soon learned that the coaches run for luck, outstripping each other and trying to escape each other's dust as best they could. I found, too, that my companions were dashing young chaps, and flashy people, while the four-dollar coaches were filled with solid looking business men, so when I returned I took another grade. It took two days to get from New York to Philadelphia, but I stopped over a day to attend commencement at Princeton, where a little balloon was sent up in the evening, to the great admiration of everybody and to my great surprise. I had learned in New York that our ninenpence was a shilling there, and fourpence halfpenny was a sixpence, but when I came to pay for a dinner in New Jersey, and was required to pay 'two levies, a phipeny bit, and two cents.' I did not know what the fellow meant, so gave him a half-dollar and by the change returned. I cyphered out the value attached to the names; the York shilling had become an elevenpence, and the sixpence a fivepence, with fractions. I spent seven traveling days to get to Philadelphia then, but twelve hours will take me there now. I took the mail stage from New York to Boston, and thence to Concord, and then walked to Gilmanton, leaving my trunk for the mail carrier to bring. I do not remember how many days I was on

the road, but I do remember it was a horrible journey: the stages were crowded, the roads were rough, with cold mornings and evenings; and I was the bearer of \$700, which gave me anxiety enough. I was glad to get home again, however, and I spent the winter after in No. 12 upper story, in the great college building all alone, to make up my absent studies as best I could, after six or more weeks' absence.

When I returned to Hanover, my stories of travel by stage and steam, of Independence Hall, and the Franklin Library, shot tower, museums, public buildings, Princeton commencement, of Aaron Burr, and other great men I saw about the courts in New York—how nobody cared for me, but left me to look out for myself—how I looked for the *big lions*—for everything was a lion to me—and all about the wharves and vessels lying by them, the great heaps of merchandise, the great stores and the little chimney sweepers—all about the horse boats running everywhere, and about my going to the theatre (the only time in my life, as I never had faith in their usefulness) and circus, all were wonderful, and enough to entertain country college boys, and to give me a cordial reception."

Queries.

MARTIN, JOHN AND SARAH.—Can any of your readers give any information as to the address of John and Sarah Martin, late of Newton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, who left that place about the year 1817 to go West? Their father's name was John Martin, and they are mentioned in the will of their Aunt Jane Bartram of Newton. The purpose of this inquiry is to discover whether the said John or Sarah Martin, or any of their descendants, can inform the writer of the name of their father John Martin's wife, their mother, and the name of his second wife, and also the name of his John Martin's father, and also to what Friends' Meeting the said John and his parents belonged.

J. HILL MARTIN.

Philadelphia.

J. B. R.—Who was J. B. R., Washington, D. C., March, 1862, who communicated to the Historical Magazine, vol. vi., New York, 1862, extracts from the Journal of Aaron Wright of Capt. John Lowden, in Col. Thompson's regiment, 1775, and who has possession of the Journal?

Harrisburg, Pa.

JOHN B. LINN.

ISAAC BROWN.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give information regarding Isaac Brown, who was in Philadelphia in 1855, and made likenesses of persons in wax?

K.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH IMMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.—Great difficulty is experienced in tracing the genealogy of the Scotch-Irish families who settled in Pennsylvania between the years 1710 and 1760. By a law of the Province a record was kept of all German, Swiss, French, and other foreigners, and this Registry, most of which is embodied in Rupp's "30,000 Names" is of incalculable value in genealogical research, but can any one inform me if records were kept at the English port of sailing of the natives and subjects of Great Britain? If this was the case what a valuable acquisition it would be to our Pennsylvania genealogy!

W. H. E.

SUSQUEHANNOCKS.—I have been informed that there was a Dutch work on America, published in 1673, in which there was an engraving of "The Indian Fort of Susquehannocks." Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give me the title of the volume? SEVENTY-NINE.

ROBERT STOBO.—In the Historical Magazine of April, 1857, the late Nevil B. Craig, of Pittsburg, asked for any information regarding Robert Stobo, one of the hostages of the surrender of Fort Necessity, in 1754, not found in the Memoir of that officer (printed at Pittsburgh in 1854). This "Query" called forth a reply, which was given in the Magazine for the following May, in which the writer states that the whole proceedings in Stobo's case, and the account of his escape from Fort Du Quesne had been recently found in Canada, and that the Rev. J. B. Ferland, of Quebec, informed him that they were to be published by the Canadian Government. Can any of our Quebec readers tell us if the papers in question have ever been printed?
F. D. S.

Replies.

EARLY RECORDS OF PITTSBURGH (vol. ii. p. 303).—[We have received from Mr. Isaac Craig of Alleghany the following annotations to the list of early settlers at Pittsburgh printed in the last number of the Magazine. At the time of the publication of the document we forbore adding any notes regarding the settlers, not feeling competent to perform the work. We are glad that our omission to do so has called forth a communication from one so well informed on the subject as Mr. Craig, and hope that he will furnish us with any further data he may obtain.—ED.]

1. *John Langdale*—an Indian Trader; May 20, 1760, he and Josiah Davenport, and Robert Burchan were nominated and recommended to the Governor as suitable persons for Agents at Pittsburgh, by the commissioners under an Act for Preventing Abuses in the Indian Trade. In 1765 he married Alice Coates.
2. *John Barklet*; probably John Barkley, an Indian Trader as late as 1772.
5. *Philip Bayle* enlisted May 4, 1756, in Capt. Joseph Shippen's Company, in Col. William Clapham's Regt.; after the capture of Fort Du Quesne, he was employed by Col. Croghan in the Indian Trade.
12. *Jno. Pierce*, subsequently Paymaster-General of Penna. Militia.
13. *William McAllister* was living in Washington County during the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794.
15. *Erasmus Bokias*; a family named Bokius settled very early in that portion of Washington County on the Monongahela River above Redstone Old Fort.
18. *Edward Cook* was a man of great ability and influence; he held numerous offices, both civil and military. He was one of three persons who ordered the building of the Fort at Hannastown in 1776. He was a delegate from Westmoreland County to the Convention of 1776; County Lieutenant in 1782, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Washington and Fayette Counties in 1786.

20. *James Harris*, of Cumberland County; April 18, 1785, was appointed Deputy-Surveyor under Act 7th of April, 1785, and he was the Surveyor of Harris's District, No. 11. April 6, 1787, he was appointed one of three commissioners for laying out a road between Frankstown Branch and Conemaugh River. April 3, 1789, he was appointed one of three commissioners to run the boundary line of Huntingdon County.
22. *William Work* was a Paxton man, and one of the signers of a circular addressed "To all his Majesties' subjects in the Province of Pennsylvania or elsewhere," dated at "Paxton, October 31, 1755, from John Harris's at 12 o'clock at night." The address will be found in Pa. Colonial Records, vol. vi. 669. March 15, 1758, he was appointed an Ensign in Capt. Patrick Davis's Company, and stationed east of the Susquehanna. May 4, 1759, he was commissioned a Lieutenant in Col. Wm. Clapham's Regiment.
24. *James Milligan* was commissioned April 16, 1779, a Lieutenant in 7th Pa. Regiment, and by the arrangement Jan. 20, 1780, he was transferred to the 4th Pa. Regt., commanded by Lt.-Col. William Butler. I think he was a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January, 1775.
25. *John Lindsay*, a private in Capt. Wm. Butler's Company of St. Clair's Battalion in 1776.
26. *Alex. Ewing*, an Indian Trader as late as 1772.
29. *Lazarus Lowrey*, and his brother James, were licensed Indian Traders as early as July, 1744. They had great influence with the Indians, and the Governor of Canada authorized the commandant at Detroit to offer a very high price for their scalps, in order to get rid of them.
- 31 and 32. *Edward Ward* and *William Trent* are too well known to require any notice.
33. *Jno. Finly*—Indian Trader, licensed in 1774. Afterwards a Captain in Col. Richard Butler's Regt., and Assistant Quarter-Master in Wayne's Army.
34. *Hugh Crawford*, an Indian Trader. July 31, 1750, "Governor Hamilton laid before the Council at Philadelphia a Message from the Chiefs of the Four Nations of the Twightwees which was spoke to "Mr. Hugh Crawford, Indian Trader, in one of the Twightwees "Towns on the Owaback, where he was trading last winter, and which "he put down in writing." The message can be found in Pa. Col. Rec. v. 437. In 1756 he was a Lieutenant in Capt. James Patterson's Company of Col. Weiser's Battalion.
35. *Joseph Spear*, an Indian Trader as late as 1775; he then resided in Pittsburgh, near John Ormsby's House. Spear was also one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in Westmoreland County in 1774 and 1775. He appeared prominently in the controversy between Dr. John Connolly and the Pennsylvania authorities in regard to the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Virginia.
36. *John McClure* was Coroner of Cumberland County 1754-8. An uncle of Major Ebenezer Denny—mentioned in his Journal, page 321, as residing "nine miles above Pitt on the Monongahela," and ancestor of all the McClures in that neighborhood.
40. *Samuel Heyden*; a Captain in the King's Rangers in Revolution. In 1777, taken prisoner, violated his parole, and sent to the Council of Pennsylvania.
41. *James Reed* is doubtless Read of Reading; he afterwards held many offices, both civil and military.

42. *John Daily* resided in Rostraver Township, Westmoreland County. Nov. 25, 1794, he was accepted by Judge Addison as bail for the appearance of Moses Devore, who was charged with being concerned in the Whiskey Insurrection.
43. *Charles Boyle*, brother of No. 5.
45. *Robert Paris*; this is perhaps a mistake, and should be *Richard Paris*. Col. John Armstrong frequently mentions Paris as a Trader. In 1757, Paris brought a number of Cherokee and Catawba Indians to aid Pennsylvania. In a letter dated Carlisle, May 5, 1757. Col. Armstrong writes the Governor: "Besides the inclination which the Cherokees have expressed to be acquainted, and occasionally join with us, I am well acquainted with Paris the Trader, who is at the head of those people, and can, I am persuaded, get him to visit and assist us with more or less of his people, except when they may be put on some expedition, or particular service from Virginia, but have not taken the liberty even of writing to that gentleman on the subject, until I have your Honor's authority for so doing."
49. *Cornelius Atkinson* enlisted April 20, 1756, in Capt. Joseph Shippen's Company, and June 5th was sent with Cazarus and James Lowrey, and others on a scout, for an account of which see *Col. Rec.* vii. 155.
52. *Jno. Work*, subsequently a Justice of the Peace in Cumberland County. Jno. Work signed a petition from the inhabitants of Westmoreland County to Gov. Penn, dated Pittsburgh, June 14, 1774. See *Pa. Arch.* iv. 518.
53. *George Tomb*, probably Geo. *Tomp*, a militia man and spy during the Revolution.
56. *Chris. Millar* resided in or near Pittsburgh, he also signed the petition of the inhabitants of Westmoreland County to Gov. Penn, dated June 14, 1774.
57. *Wm. Heath*; this was probably Wm. Heth, afterwards Lt.-Colonel of the 3d Va. Regt. in the Revolutionary War. The name was quite commonly written Heath.
59. *John Graham* was in the Indian trade as late as 1772.
70. *Jno. Coleman*. Can this be the man whose case before the Presbytery April 15, 1788, is noticed in Smith's Old Redstone, page 355? There was a family of this name in Lancaster engaged in the manufacture of rifles and pack-saddles, and in the Indian trade. Robert and William are the best known of the family. I am under the impression that Gen. Hand became associated with them after the Revolution in the manufacture of rifles.
88. *Ephram Blane* was Commissary General for the Middle Department in the Revolution, and great-grandfather of Hon. James G. Blaine, U. S. Senator from Maine.

FIFTH STREET GRAVE-YARD (vol. i. p. 227).—"A" sends us the following reply to the Query in a former number about the grave-yard on Fifth Street above Chesnut Street.

In the beginning of the last century Richard Sparks of the city of Philadelphia was the owner of the piece of ground referred to, and by his will, dated Jan. 14, 1716, he devised "his lot of land containing 100 feet on 5th Street south of High Street for a burying place for the 7th day Baptists forever."

Mr. Sparks died in the same year, and was the first person interred therein. Subsequently a few other persons were also buried in this ground, being the bodies mainly of members of the denomination residing in Cumberland Co., New Jersey, which were brought here for that purpose. The burial

ground at a later period fell into disuse, and in 1828, the Society offered it for sale or lease. A proposition from Stephen Girard to purchase it for the sum of \$5000 was accepted, and the Hopewell Baptists of the County of Cumberland, N. J., and others, constituting the Society of 7th day Baptists, leased to him the lot for the period of 999 years for the above consideration, reserving, however, the right of burial on the northern half, or fifty feet.

In 1838 the same parties, in consideration of a further payment, released to the City, trustee of Stephen Girard, the southern half of the 50 feet from the restriction contained in the original lease, leaving the northern 25 feet still subject to be used for purposes of interment. The brick building which is now used as the office of the Board of City Trusts, and of the Girard Estates, was then erected upon the portion of the lot that was free from restriction.

The northern 25 feet have been carefully kept from all encroachment, and are separated from the street by the brick wall, which extends from the Girard Building to the Market House on the north. In this portion, still rest the remains of the few who were interred there, and on a marble Tablet against this wall may be read an inscription, the material part of which is as follows:—

“This monument erected 1829 by the Trustees of the 1st Congregation of 7th day Baptists residing in the township of Hopewell, in the County of Cumberland, West New Jersey, and the Trustees of the 7th day Baptist Church of Christ in Piscataway, East New Jersey, to perpetuate the memory of Richard Sparks, who was interred therein A. D. 1716, agreeably to his request in said will,” and several others, “ancestors and relatives of members of said Societies, who were laid within 25 feet of the north end of the same.”

OCTORARA (vol. ii. page 349).—“Indian (Iroquois) name Ottohohaho—signifying where money or presents were distributed,” *Campanius*. OTEBAROE, see Col. Rec. 2. p. 402. Modern name Octararo or Octorora. E.

TRANSLATOR OF CHASTELLUX'S TRAVELS (vol. i. p. 227 and 360).—As we have received another Query on this subject, we give the following abridgment of the Article in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, referred to by “S. H. G.” Our space will not allow us to do justice to the investigation Mr. Trumbull has given the question, but from what we publish we think our readers will accept his conclusions.

In a letter of March, 1869, to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society, informed him that he had met with a letter of one *George Greive*, which went far to prove, what Mr. Winthrop had been led to believe, from a memorandum of Eberling, that Greive was the translator of Chastellux's Travels. From the notes to the Dublin edition of Chastellux, Mr. Trumbull shows that the translator had probably resided in England near the Scottish border, as he had heard Dr. Witherspoon previous to that gentleman's coming to America; and in early life was acquainted with one Rumney, whose father had kept a school at *Alnwick*, in Northumberland. That the translator had spent some years in a counting-house in Switzerland, and was acquainted with Silas Deane; that he was in America in 1780, but returned to England in the autumn, or early winter of that year, and that he was in Holland in August, 1781. That he was in America again early in 1782, and in Dec. returned to France with several officers of Rochambeau's army, and after a seven weeks' voyage arrived at Bordeaux. The letter alluded to by Mr. Trumbull is written by Greive, from Bordeaux, Jan. 21st, 1783. to Silas Deane, and shows a friendship to have existed between them, and that the

writer had just returned from America. From other sources Mr. Trumbull informs us that Greive was an attorney at Northumberland, his father having followed the same profession at Alnwick. That George had been apprenticed to Peter Thellusson, a Swiss merchant residing in London; and that his character in many ways agrees with what is known of the translator of Chastellux. E. D.

THE SHOEMAKER PROPERTY, GERMANTOWN (vol. ii. p. 230).—The house mentioned by Watson (vol. ii. p. 23) in which William Penn preached in Germantown, is standing at the present day. It is on the north side of Shoemaker's Lane, immediately east of the railroad, and is known as the Rock-House. The property, subsequently Duval's, was the country residence of Samuel Shoemaker, the account of whose interview with George III. will be found in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE (vol. ii. p. 35). The plan of Germantown in 1714 shows that Isaac Shoemaker owned the entire lot of ground on the east side of the main street, between the present Shoemaker and Church Lanes, extending to the township line. On the same plan, Shoemaker's Lane, which name it undoubtedly received from that family, is called the road to Conrad Weaver's mill. The modern house stood, as mentioned by T. H. M., at the corner of the lane and the main street. A. W. S.

COL. JOHN BUTLER (vol. ii. p. 349).—Although we are not able to answer the question of B. C. S. in your last number, it may be interesting for him to know that Col. John Butler was settled in Tryon County, N. Y., as early as 1757. He owned a fine farm near Johnstown, and on this farm his son Walter was born; the latter studied law in the city of Albany. See Willetts's Narrative, p. 87. Stone's Life of Sir W. Johnson, vol. ii. p. 27.

R. M. T.

PAUL ALLEN (vol. ii. p. 111).—T. H. M. will find information regarding Paul Allen in *Allibone's Dictionary of Authors*, and in *Duyckinck's Cyclopaedia of American Literature*. Allen, according to Duyckinck, was an inordinately lazy man, and received considerable assistance in his literary labors from Nicholas Biddle, John Neal, and — Watkins. The former prepared the Travels of Lewis and Clark; the last two, a History of the American Revolution, both of which works appeared in the name of Allen. Griswold, in his review of Duyckinck, is very careful to state that Allen did not prepare the Journal of Lewis and Clark, which fact he could have learned from Duyckinck's volumes in the sketch of Biddle; and then fails to show what he could also have learned from the volumes he was reviewing that Allen did not issue a Life of Washington, as stated on vol. i. p. 643; but that the work to which allusion was made was the History of the Revolution. L. M.

CAPT. WILLIAM EVELYN (vol. i. p. 358).—In the lately published *Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn* by Henry P. Johnston (3d vol. of L. I. Historical Society's *Memoirs*), the following account is given of the capture of an American patrolling party of five officers, on the morning of the 27th of August, 1776, the day of the Battle of Long Island: "Captain William Evelyn, 'a gallant officer' of the Fourth Infantry, or King's Own, and a descendant of the eminent John Evelyn, of England, led the British advance this night, and it fell to his fortune to surround and capture all five American officers, and send them immediately to Clinton, who commanded the leading column." The authority for this statement is a letter from the Hon. Mrs. Boscawen to Mrs. Delany in the Autobiography of the latter, dated 17th Oct. 1776, which reads: "We have had a letter from Capt. Evelyn from the field of battle; he was in 5th brigade of light infantry, and took

5 officers prisoners, who were sent to observe our motions." Mr. Johnston attributes the overwhelming defeat of our army at Long Island to the capture of this party, to whom Putnam and Sullivan looked for information of the advance of the British through Jamaica Pass. Captain Evelyn was mortally wounded at the skirmish at Throg's Neck on the 18th of Oct. '76.

JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS (vol. ii. p. 345).—I notice two errors in Mr. Stauffer's valuable data relating to Gen. De Haas. Lebanon was *not* "in Lancaster County until 1813." From the formation of Dauphin in 1785 to 1813 the town of Lebanon was in the latter county. Col. De Haas was *not* at the battle of Long Island, but at that date was at Ticonderoga.

W. H. E.

REV. JOSEPH MONTGOMERY (vol. i. pp. 217, 356).—Owing to the meagre data at hand when the brief memoir of the Rev. Mr. Montgomery was written, a number of errors and omissions were made. After considerable research we have obtained the following additional information: Joseph Montgomery, the son of John and Martha Montgomery (natives of Ireland), was born Sept. 23, 1733, in Paytang Township, Lancaster (now Dauphin) County, and died at Harrisburg, Oct. 14, 1794. He married, 1st., Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Reed, of Trenton, and a sister of President Joseph Reed, of Pennsylvania. She died at Georgetown, Md., in March, 1769, the funeral discourse being delivered by the Rev. Elibu Spencer. He married, 2dly, Rachel Boyce, the widow of Angus Boyce, and sister of Dr. Benjamin Rush, born in 1741. She died at Harrisburg, July 23, 1798. By his first wife, he had one daughter, Sarah, born July, 1768. She married Col. Thomas Forster, and died July 27, 1808, at Erie. By his second wife he had (1), Elizabeth, born July 17, 1770, married Samuel Laird, and died Oct. 12, 1814, at Harrisburg; and (2) John, born Dec. 23, 1771. At the close of his term in Congress, Mr. Montgomery served in the Pennsylvania Assembly as a member from Lancaster County.

W. H. E.

REPORT OF COUNCIL

TO

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

MAY 6, 1878.

TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA:—

Your Council begs leave to report that, in the year 1877, the Hall was visited by a large number of persons, twelve hundred and eleven of whose names, as strangers, were entered on the Register.

The increase in the Library and Collections for the year was—

Books	1108
Pamphlets	1205
Maps	21
Manuscripts	50
Magazines	29
Miscellaneous	305

The accumulation by the Society during many years of a great body of original manuscripts, much increased a few years ago by those of the Penn Family, has resulted in a collection so large and valuable as to be justly ranked among the first in the country. Their proper arrangement could hardly be entrusted to any but those now living, who possess a knowledge of their character and value. Constant applications for an examination of these papers rendered it necessary, if the Society would faithfully perform its proper labor, that their arrangement should be undertaken at once. The same may also be said of the large and valuable collection of pamphlets owned by the Society. If the Council, some years ago, had had at its disposal the sum of ten thousand dollars for the arrangement and binding of these manuscripts and pamphlets, it would no doubt at once have been so used. Without such means, it was thought proper to depend upon the liberality of the members of the Society for special contributions for the purpose. This dependence has not been misplaced, the arrangement and

binding, now several years in progress, and to continue for three or four years to come, has involved an expenditure of about one thousand dollars a year. This has caused what we believe to have been a justifiable annual deficiency in the funds of the Society, met, however, by generous subscriptions in each succeeding year; and to be continued we hope, with the approbation of the members, until the desired work shall be completed.

The deficiencies of the years 1875 and 1876, amounting to \$1605, were met by such contributions. That of 1877, amounting to \$786, it is proposed to meet in the same manner.

No better evidence than this statement can be required to prove the wisdom of the commencement last year of the Endowment Fund, which it is hoped may be steadily increased, in order to avoid the necessity for special subscriptions.

The following is a summary of the financial reports of the year 1877.

Treasurer's Report.

Income from members	.	.	.	\$3200	00
Interest " investments	.	.	.	528	50
Contributions	.	.	.	436	00
Total receipts	.	.	.	\$4164	50
Expenditure	.	.	.	\$4951	38
Deficiency, Dec. 31, 1877	.	.	.	\$786	88

Publication Fund Trust.

Investments	.	.	.	.	\$24,250	00
Principal uninvested	.	.	.	.	1,452	25
Total	.	.	.	.	\$25,702	25
Receipts from interest and sales in 1877					\$2381	17
Expenditure				"	2564	69

The first volume of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, recently completed, has been received with a favor that insures success. It has already led to a largely increasing correspondence with students and authors in many parts of the territory of the State, as well as elsewhere, and proves to be the medium long and greatly desired.

The late Stephen Taylor, for many years an honored member of the Society, has bequeathed to this Fund the sum of one thousand dollars, to be paid on the final distribution of his estate.

Sixty new subscriptions, resulting in the receipt of \$1500, were received during the year.

Binding Fund Trust.

Investments \$3300 00

185 volumes were bound during the year, and 42 maps were mounted.

Library Fund Trust.

George Washington Smith's Donation . . .	\$1000
Jesse George's Bequest	4000
	<hr/>
Total	\$5000

The number of volumes purchased during the year was 176.

Building Fund Trust.

Investments and cash on deposit . . . \$14,361

Endowment Fund Trust.

This fund, the result of subscriptions, now amounts to \$2500.

The Society's Funds by Bequest, etc.

Paul Beck's Bequest	\$100
Athenian Institute Donation	350
Peter S. Du Ponceau's Bequest	200
Thomas Sergeant's Bequest	100
George Chambers's Bequest	100
Jesse George's Bequest	1000
Mrs. Eliza Gilpin's Bequest	5100
Life Membership Fund	1000
	<hr/>
Total	\$7950

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STATED MEETINGS.

January 13, 1879.	May 5, 1879.
March 10, “	November 10, 1879.
January 12, 1880.	

Annual membership	\$5.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25.00
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Payment may be made to the Librarian or Secretary, at the Hall, 820 Spruce Street, or to the Collector.

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†Coleman, G. Dawson, Lebanon

Mish, John Weidman, Lebanon

Hammond, D. S., Lebanon

Ross, George, Lebanon

Killinger, John W., Lebanon

Weidman, Grant, Lebanon

Lehigh County.

Jones, D. D., Slatington

Thomas, David, Catasauqua

†Longnecker, Henry C., Allentown

Wright, Robert E., Jr., Allentown

†McDowell, Robert, Slatington

Luzerne County.

Boies, Henry M., Scranton

†Miner, Charles, Wilkes-Barré

†Conyngham, John N., Wilkes-Barré

Pardee, Ario, Hazleton

Coxe, Eckly B., Drifton, Jeddo P. O.

Parrish, Charles, Wilkes-Barré

Darling, E. P., Wilkes-Barré

†Ross, William S., Wilkes-Barré

Dickson, Thomas, Scranton

Scott, E. Greenough, Wilkes-Barré

†Drake, Charles B., Wilkes-Barré

†Slocum, J. J., Wilkes-Barré

Laux, James B., Scranton

Welles, Edward, Wilkes-Barré

†Maxwell, Volney L., Wilkes-Barré

Lycoming County.

Allen, Robert P., Williamsport

McKean County.

Kane, Thomas L., Kane

Monroe County.

Brodhead, Luke W., Delaware Water Gap Croasdale, Miss Susan, Delaware Water Gap

Montgomery County.

Bines, William H., Pottstown	Jones, J. Aubrey, Wynnewood
Boyd, James, Norristown	Lambert, John, Aysgarth, Abington
Buck, William J., Jenkintown	Lardner, Richard Penn, Graydon
Bullock, George, West Conshohocken	Mellor, Thomas, Shoemakertown
Cassatt, Alexander J., Haverford	Morris, Wistar, Overbrook
Comly, Franklin A., Fort Washington	Shoemaker, Robert, Shoemakertown
Emory, John, Cheltenham Hills	Thomson, Frank, Merion
Fisher, Henry M., Alverthorpe	Tyson, James L., Penn Llyn
†Fisher, J. Francis, Alverthorpe	Union Library Company, Hatboro
Gumbes, Charles W., Oaks P. O.	†Witte, William H., White Marsh
Heacock, John, Jenkintown	Yeakle, W. A., Flourtown
Hunsicker, Henry A., Freeland	†Yost, J. S., Pottstown
Kent, Rodolphus, Gwynedd	

Montour County.

Maus, Philip F., Danville

Northampton County.

Bleck, Ernest F., Bethlehem	Library, Congregation of United Brethren, Bethlehem
†Firmstone, William, Easton	Library, Moravian Seminary, Bethlehem, renewed
Henry, Granville, Nazareth	Library, Nazareth Hall, Nazareth, renewed
Hutchinson, John N., Easton.	†Maxwell, Henry D., Easton
Jones, Maurice C., Bethlehem	†Michler, Peter S., Easton
†Leibert, James, Bethlehem	Roepper, William T., Bethlehem
Lerch, John, Bethlehem	
Library of Lafayette College, Easton	

Northumberland County.

Greenough, William J., Sunbury	Rockefeller, William, Sunbury
Packer, John B., Sunbury	Wolverton, S. P., Sunbury
†Priestley, Joseph R., Northumberland	

Potter County.

†Joerg, Edward, Kettle Creek

Schuylkill County.

Atkins, Charles M., Pottsville	Shippen, Samuel S., Pottsville
Brown, David P., Pottsville	Snyder, George W., Pottsville
Hughes, Francis W., Pottsville	Taylor, Charles K., Minersville
Kaercher, George R., Pottsville	Washburn, Daniel, Ashland
Keim, George de B., Pottsville	Wetherill, J. Macomb, Pottsville
Passmore, J. A. M., Pottsville	White, J. Claude, Swatara
†Repplier, George S., Pottsville	Zulich, Thomas C., Schuylkill Haven
Sheafer, Peter W., Pottsville	

Somerset County.

Ross, Moses A., Addison

Union County.

Linn, J. Merrill, Lewisburg

Warren County.

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Library Association, Warren

†Newbold, Thomas H., Irvine

Wayne County.

†Dickson, James R., Honesdale
Preston, Miss Ann, Stockport

†Preston, Paul S., Stockport

York County.

†Wagner, Samuel, York

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†Adams, Robert
Aertsen, James M., Germantown
Allen, Samuel
Allen, William H.
†Allibone, Thomas
Allison, Walter
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Altemus, S. T.
Anspach, John, Jr.
Archer, Pierce, Jr.
†Armstrong, Edward, Germantown
Armstrong, William G.
Arrott, William
†Ashbridge, William
Ashhurst, Henry
Ashhurst John
Ashhurst, John, Jr.
†Ashhurst, Richard
Ashhurst, Richard, Jr.
Ashhurst, Richard L.
†Ashmead, Samuel B.
Ashton, Samuel K., Germantown
†Atlee, Washington L.
Audenried, J. Thomas
†Audenried, Lewis
Austin, John B.
†Bache, Franklin
†Backus, F. R.
Bailey, E. Westcott
Baird, Alexander
Baird, Henry C.

Baird, John
†Baird, Matthew
†Baird, William M.
Baker, Alfred G.
Baker, John R.
Baker, William S.
†Balch, Thomas
Bald, J. Dorsey
†Balderston, Jonathan
†Baldwin, Matthias W.
Ball, George W.
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Bates, Joseph William
Bates, Jos. Wm., Jr.
†Beck, Charles F.
Bell, Miss Helen
Benness, William J., Germantown
†Benson, Alexander, Jr.
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Besson, Charles A.
Bettle, Samuel
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Biddle, Chapman
†Biddle, Charles J.
†Biddle, Clement
Biddle, Craig
Biddle, Edward C.
Biddle Henry D.
Biddle, James S.

- Biddle, Thomas A.
 Bines, Samuel M., Germantown
 †Blanchard, William A.
 Blight, Atherton
 Boardman, Henry A.
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 Bond, L. Montgomery
 Borie, Adolphe E.
 Borie, Charles L.
 Bowen, Ezra
 †Brady, Patrick
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 Brewster, Benjamin Harris
 Brick, Samuel R.
 Bringhurst, John H.
 Brock, John P.
 Brockie, William, Germantown
 Brotherhead, William
 †Brown, David S.
 †Brown, Frederick
 †Brown, John A.
 †Brown, Joseph D.
 †Brown, Washington, Chestnut Hill
 †Browne, N. B.
 †Browning, Edward
 †Buck, Francis N., Chestnut Hill
 Bullitt, John C.
 †Bunting, Jacob T.
 †Burgin, George H.
 Burgin, George H., Germantown
 Burgin, Herman, Germantown
 Burnham, George
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 †Busch, Edward
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 Cabeen, Francis von A., Germantown
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 †Cadwalader, William
 †Caldcleugh, William George
 Caldwell, James E.
 Caldwell, S. A.
 †Campbell, Archibald, Germantown
 †Cannell, S. Wilmer, Beechwood
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 †Hacker, Jeremiah
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 †Harmar, Charles, Harmar's Retreat
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 †Hood, Samuel, Mount Airy
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 †Horstmann, William J.
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 †Howard, N. G.
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 †Hunt, Benjamin P.
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 †Ingersoll, Joseph R.
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 †Ingram, Thomas R.
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 †Kuhn, J. Hamilton
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 †Lewis, Mordecai D.
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 †Mitchell, Thomas S.

- Mitchell, William A.
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 †Myers, Joseph B.
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 †Newbold, William H.
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 †Sergeant, William
 Sexton, John W.
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 Sharpless, Nathan H.
 Sharpless, Samuel J.
 Sharswood, George
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 Shipley, Augustus B., Germantown
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 †Shippen, William
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 †Thomas, Martin
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 Thompson, E. O.
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Tyndale, Hector
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 Vaux, Roberts
 Vaux, William S.
 Verree, John P.
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†Whitney, Asa
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 †Wilson, Oliver Howard
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 †Wistar, Richard
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 †Wood, George B.
 Wood, James F.
 Wood, Richard
 Wood, Robert
 Wood, R. Francis
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 Timmins, Samuel, Birmingham

FRANCE.

Camac, J. Burgess, Dinard, Ille et Vilaine

Stewart, William H., Paris
 Van der Kemp, John J., Paris

GERMANY.

†Freytag, Godfrey, Bremen
 Plate, Theophilus, Jr.

Weber, Paul, Munich
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HOLLAND.

†Alofsen, Solomon

ITALY.

Wickersham, Morris S., Piacenza.

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Acrelius's New Sweden. Translated by REYNOLDS.

An Historical Map of Pennsylvania.

Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. I.

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