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Vice Admiral of England during the Interregnum in the Victories obtained over the Dutch in 1653 & 1654; for which he was invested with a Gold Chain and Medal; took Jamaica and was chosen Member for Weymouth in 1655.

SIR  
WILLIAM PENN,  
K'  
b. 1621. d. 1670.

Vice Admiral of England in the Reign of King Charles II. Great Captain Commander under the Duke of York in the Victory obtained over the Dutch in 1665, Commissioner of Admiralty &c. &c. &c. chosen Member for Weymouth in 1660.





The

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# Pennsylvania

## Magazine

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Vol. XX.

PHILADELPHIA:

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,

No. 1300 LOCUST STREET.

1896.



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THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
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VOL. XX.

1896.

No. 1.

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THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

The facts concerning the family of William Penn are not, to my knowledge, collected in any one work. Some of them are not to be found in a satisfactory form at all; most of them must be laboriously sought in scattered and not easily consulted volumes. It has appeared to me that the whole subject deserved a fresh, orderly, and comprehensive restatement.

I have availed myself for this essay of all the authoritative printed matter concerning the Founder and his family with which I am acquainted, accessible in Philadelphia, and have consulted some unprinted manuscripts, and I think the result will be regarded as reasonably satisfactory in point of accuracy. If errors appear, it may be hoped that those better informed will supply the needed corrections, so that we may thus have a record both complete and correct. Perhaps I should add that in order to give unity to the narrative, and to make it clear to the reader, I have included in it many well-known facts concerning the Founder and

# PRELIMINARY REPORT

## THE STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE, JANUARY 1, 1887.

### THE STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE, JANUARY 1, 1887.

The first preliminary report of the State of New York, as required by the Constitution, is hereby presented to the Senate. It contains a summary of the condition of the State at the close of the year 1886, and a statement of the progress of the various departments of the Government during the year. It also contains a statement of the condition of the State at the close of the year 1885, and a statement of the progress of the various departments of the Government during the year.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the State of New York, as required by the Constitution, and to present it to the Senate. It contains a summary of the condition of the State at the close of the year 1886, and a statement of the progress of the various departments of the Government during the year. It also contains a statement of the condition of the State at the close of the year 1885, and a statement of the progress of the various departments of the Government during the year.

his father, the Admiral, as well as those gleaned from obscure sources, and therefore not generally familiar.

#### I. THE ORIGIN OF THE PENN FAMILY.

The ancestry of William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, has not been positively ascertained farther back than his great-great-grandfather, who bore the same name, and of whom I shall presently speak. But the evidence seems to me sufficient that his family was originally Welsh. The name itself is distinctly Welsh,—a word of common use in that language: *pen*, a head or highland. When a name was to be assigned to his newly granted province, in 1681, he himself chose, he says, “New Wales,” but the King gave it the name of PENN-SYLVANIA, and the Secretary, Sir Leolin Jenkins,<sup>1</sup> a Welshman, could not be prevailed on to change it. Mentioning this, Penn (in his well-known letter to Robert Turner, March 5, 1680–81) explains the meaning of his own name, it being, he says, “Welsh for a *head*, as Penmanmoire in Wales, Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire,” etc.

The story in Watson is also well known, that the Reverend Hugh David came over with William Penn “about 1700” (on the “Canterbury,” of course, in 1699, if the story is true), and that in conversation on the ship, Penn said, “Hugh, I am a Welshman myself,” adding the explanation that one of his ancestors had come from Wales into England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hepworth Dixon, in his “Life of Penn,” refers to the Secretary with whom Penn discussed this subject, as Blathwayte, but it is obvious it was Jenkins. Cf. the record in the “Breviate of the Boundary Case,” “Pennsylvania Archives,” Second Series, Vol. XVI. p. 355. There is a good sketch of Sir Leolin Jenkins in the “Dictionary of National Biography.”

<sup>2</sup> “Annals,” Vol. I. p. 219. While the account ascribed to Hugh David is obviously incorrect as to the point of William Penn’s *grandfather* being “named John Tudor,” other details in it are not incredible, and some of them are supported by independent testimony. The Founder is reported as saying that his ancestor, John Tudor, “lived upon the top of a hill or mountain in Wales,” and was generally called John Pen-





The arms borne by William Penn, the Founder, *Argent, on a fesse Sable three plates*, are the same as those of the Penns of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, according to the Heralds' Visitation of that county, 1575-1634. They are the same, also, as those of the Penne family of Shropshire, on the border of Wales, according to the Heralds' Visitation of that county, 1564-1620. This latter family, in a pedigree given in the Heralds' manuscript,<sup>1</sup> extending over fifteen generations, begins with Sir William Penne, Knight, Lord of the Bryn (hill), who married Joan, daughter of Ririd Voel of Lodfoll, and follows with his son, Sir Hugh Penne, Knight, who married Jane, daughter to Jer. Goch ap Bleddin ap Kinvan. The pedigree thus "bristles with Welsh names," and in the eighth generation from Sir Hugh, Richard Penne married Lowry, daughter of David Lloyd ap Sir Griffith Vaughan, and Sionett Penne married Ievan ap Llewelyn ap Griffith,—all of which record, it need hardly be said, is thoroughly Welsh.

Not only did the Penns of Penn, in Bucks, bear the same arms, *Argent, on a fesse Sable three plates*, as the Shropshire family and Penn the Founder, but they had among their family the names David and Griffith, distinctly Welsh. "How are we to account for the occurrence of these Welsh names in a family inhabiting a remote village in the heart of England, except by supposing it was of Welsh descent, and kept green the memory of its extraction?"<sup>2</sup>

An old manuscript, prepared in the middle of the seventeenth century, or John on the top of the hill; hence, ultimately, John Penn. This might have been. It is worth note that the Welsh Tudors, ancestors of Henry VII., are said to have come from Penrunydd, in Anglesea. And it is of record that Edward VI., grandson of Henry VII., in 1553 made a grant of land to David Penn, in consideration of the services of his wife, Sybil Penn, who was the nurse of Henry VIII.'s children, a near association of the Penns with the royal Tudors being thus suggested.

<sup>1</sup> Harleian MSS., British Museum, No. 1241, cited in *Quakeriana*, London, October, 1894. The Bucks Visitation in Harleian MSS. No. 1533.

<sup>2</sup> Article in *Quakeriana*, already cited, October, 1894.





teenth century by a member of the Penn family of Worcestershire, and preserved by Mr. Grazebook, a well-known English authority on heraldry, describes the arms, *Argent, on a fesse Sable three plates*, as belonging to the "main stem of the Penn family," and says,—

"As for our beginning I own it to proceed from the Britons, our estates lying amongst them, and in the Marches of the same, which anciently belonged to Penn-house, before that it was divided and scattered by many branches into several counties."<sup>1</sup>

On the tomb of Sir William Penn, father of the Founder, it is stated that he was son of Giles Penn, "of the Penns of Penns-Lodge in the county of Wilts, and those Penns of Penn, in the County of Bucks," and this inscription, it is fair to presume, was made with adequate knowledge. The author of it was doubtless William Penn, the Founder.<sup>2</sup> His intelligent acquaintance with his father's career, and devotion to his memory (shown afterwards in his "Vindication"), his ability in composition, and his right as eldest son, heir, and executor, make it unlikely that the work would be intrusted to any other hands.<sup>3</sup>

In the transcription of the monumental inscription to Admiral Penn, Mr. J. Henry Lea (*PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XIV. p. 172) differs from all other authorities as to the language used in it, by omitting the words "and those Penns of Penn in the County of Bucks." These appear in the full inscription given in Granville Penn's "Memorials" of the Admiral, in Burke's "Commoners of England," and in Maria Webb's "Penns and Peningtons;" and Mr. W. H. Summers, author of the interesting and valuable "Memories of Jordans and

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. The "Marches" were the partly Welsh counties bordering on England, geographically and politically counted as part of England.

<sup>2</sup> The expression on the tablet, that the Admiral, "With a gentle and Even Gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his Last and Best Port," strongly suggests the style of William Penn, the Founder.

<sup>3</sup> The Admiral's widow writes to her son (W. P., the Founder), October 9, 1670, "The man is returned from Bristol, and set up his monument very well," etc. (Foot-note to G. Penn's "Memorials," Vol. II. p. 568.)



the Chalfonts" (London, 1895), says, in a letter from Beaconsfield, October 3, 1895, to *Quakeriana*, London,—

"When in Bristol a few weeks ago, I entered St. Mary Redcliffe Church and examined Admiral Penn's monument. It certainly is very difficult to decipher the inscription, but I was able, even without a glass, to read the disputed words '*and those Penns of Penn in the County of Bucks.*'"

"Relation of kindred," says Granville Penn, in his "Memorials" of the Admiral (Vol. II. p. 575), "was always mutually claimed and acknowledged between the family of Sir William Penn and the Penns of Penn in Bucks, now represented by Earl Howe; but the genealogical connection does not appear on record." It is also true—though the fact may be of no great significance—that at Penn, in Bucks, in the parish church, where the Penn family of that place are buried, Thomas Penn, of Stoke Pogis (son of the Founder), constructed a large family vault, in which the remains of six of his children, who died in infancy, 1753–60, were deposited and now remain.<sup>1</sup>

From these several pieces of evidence it seems to me reasonable: (1) that the ancestry of William Penn was originally Welsh; (2) that families of the name in several southern and southwestern counties of England, bearing the same arms, were of a common stock, derived from Wales; (3) that the Penns of Wiltshire and Bucks were nearly related, and when the lines shall be traced will prove to be common ancestors of the Founder.

## II. ADMIRAL PENN'S PROGENITORS.

Coming now from the probable to the certain, we begin the line of William Penn, the Founder, with his great-great-grandfather, who died 1591. Records from that date make it plain. This ancestor was "William Penn, of Myntie, in the County of Gloucester, Yeoman," whose will is recorded in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and has been

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Rev. J. Grainger, M.A., vicar of Penn, to W. H. Summers, cited in *Quakeriana*, London, November, 1894.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the course of the preceding chapters.

These names are given in the order in which they are mentioned in the text, and are not arranged alphabetically. The names of the persons who have been mentioned in the course of the preceding chapters are given in the order in which they are mentioned in the text, and are not arranged alphabetically.

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#### THE NAMES OF THE PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN MENTIONED IN THE COURSE OF THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

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printed in full in the PENNA. MAGAZINE, by J. H. Lea (Vol. XIV. p. 58).<sup>1</sup>

"Minte, Minety, or Minty," says Britton's description of Wiltshire (London, 1814), "is a large parish, principally situated in a detached portion of the hundred of Crowthorne and Minety, which belongs politically to the County of Gloucester, though completely environed by Wiltshire." An earlier description (Atkyns's "Gloucestershire," pp. 346, 358) says, "Minchy, now Minety, was always accounted a member of the manor of Cirencester, and gave the name to the hundred of Minety, now united to the hundred of Crowthorn; it anciently was written the hundred of Cirencester. The parish church, the parsonage, the vicarage-house and a small hamlet called Wiltshire-row, lie in the hundred of Malmsbury, in Wiltshire; the rest, and far the greater part of the parish, lies in the hundred of Crowthorn and Minety," in Gloucester.

Penn's Lodge, Clarkson says ("Life of Penn," p. 1), was near Minety, "on the edge of Bradon Forest, in the north-west part of the county of Wilts, or rather in Gloucestershire, a small part of the latter being enclosed in the former county."<sup>2</sup> In Granville Penn's "Memorials" (Vol. II. p. 375) there is a letter from John Georges, a barrister-at-law, M.P. for Cirencester (then a man of seventy-three), dated at "Bawnton, near Cicester," January 27, 1665-66, to Sir William Penn, in which he urges him to repurchase the ancestral place at Minety. In this letter Mr. Georges says,—

"And now give me leave . . . to revive a former notion to you: that . . . you would redeem unto your name and family the lands in Myntie, which were your ancestors', the Penns, for many generations, worth about 100*l* per ann., with a genteel ancient house upon it. I have heretofore made an overture of this my desire to Mr. Nicholas Pleydell,

<sup>1</sup> Also by Coleman (London, 1871) in his "Pedigree of Penn."

<sup>2</sup> "A large tract of country lying to the south and southeast of Minty is still distinguished by the name of Bradon Forest, though it is now almost entirely denuded of trees, and a great part of it is enclosed for cultivation." (Britton's "Wiltshire," p. 633, London, 1814.)





the present owner of it, and never found him averse to part with it," etc.

We fix, therefore, William Penn, of Minety, as a yeoman, living at Penn's Lodge, a "genteel, ancient house," in Gloucestershire, adjoining Wiltshire. His will, dated May 1, 1590, shows that he had had one son, William, whose wife's name was Margaret; that William was dead at the time of making this will, but Margaret surviving, with six children, George (explicitly named as the eldest son), Giles, William, Marie, Sara, and Susanna.<sup>1</sup> He directs that his "body be buried in the parish church, chancel, or churchyard of Minetie." It appears that it was so buried, and that a monumental stone in the chancel near the south door of the church bore the inscription, "William Penn dyed the 12 of March in the year of our Lord 1591." The rector of Minety, Rev. Mr. Edwards, in 1890, reported that the stone had then—at the distance of three centuries—"quite disappeared."<sup>2</sup>

The yeoman of Minety, though a man of moderate estate, appears thus to have been a person of social distinction in his neighborhood, entitled to sepulture and a memorial tablet within the parish church. We pass now to his son William, who, as the will shows, had predeceased him. The will gives the name of the son's wife (Margaret) and the names of their six children (stated above), but discloses little more concerning him. But the letter, already partly cited, of the barrister Georges to Admiral Penn presents something

<sup>1</sup> The record of Marriage Bonds in the Diocesan Registry Office at Salisbury shows the bond of Richard Cusse, of Wooton Bassett, in Wilts, August 2, 1633, to marry Susan Penn, of the parish of Brinkworth, spinster. Mr. Lea says she "is unquestionably the daughter of William and Margaret (Rastall) Penn, and the aunt of Admiral Penn;" if so, she was at least forty-three years old, as she is named in her grandfather's will, 1590.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Henry Lea, *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XIV. p. 57, foot-note. Clarkson, in his "Life of Penn," says, "A flat grave-stone, which perpetuates this event, is still remaining [he wrote about 1812]. It stands in the passage between two pews in the chancel. It states, however, only that he died on the 12th of March, 1591."



further. He addresses the Admiral as "loving cousin," and claims a "share and interest" in him as one of his "kinsfolk and near allies," and in explanation says,—

"And to the end that you and yours may be truly informed . . . how I make my title to it, you may please to know that your grandfather, William Penn (whose name you bear) was by your great-grandfather (of the same name also) placed with my great uncle, Christopher Georges, then a counsellor-at-law, to be bred up by him, and with whom he lived many years as his chief clerk, till he married him to one of his sister Ann Georges' daughters by Mr. John Rastall, then one of the aldermen of Gloucester, . . . By which pedigree it may appear to you that your father and myself were cousin-germans but once removed."<sup>1</sup>

We pass now to the third generation. Of the six children of William, the law-clerk, we have little knowledge,<sup>2</sup> except as to Giles, the second son. He was "a captain in the navy, and for many years a consul for the English trade in the Mediterranean," Granville Penn says, and the Admiral's mural tablet uses nearly the same words. The "Calendar of English State Papers," in 1635-39, shows a long correspondence between Giles Penn and the government, in which he desires a commission to lead an expedition against the Sallee corsairs of Morocco, a commission which might or might not have been finally given him, except for the pressure of the then impending civil war. The Admiral's tablet says his mother, the wife of Giles, was of "the Gilberts in the County of Somerset, originally from Yorkshire," and the records of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, show the marriage of "Giles Penne and Joan Gilbeart," on the 5th of November, 1600. That this was our Captain Giles is fairly certain, and makes an alteration in the customary Penn pedigrees, which give the name of

<sup>1</sup> The list of lay subsidies for Wiltshire, 1587, has a reference to William Penn, of Malmesbury Borough, who Mr. Lea thinks was the law-clerk, the son of the yeoman.

<sup>2</sup> Susan's marriage is probably noted (see foot-note preceding), and George, by an allusion in Admiral Penn's will, lived at Bradon Forest, Wilts (in succession to his grandfather), and had a son William.





Giles's wife as Margaret.<sup>1</sup> Granville Penn says, "Giles had two sons, between whose ages was a difference of twenty years." These two were George and William, the Admiral, and as the latter was born in 1621, it fixes George's birth as 1601, and corresponds appropriately with the date 1600 as that of the parents' marriage.

As to Giles Penn's children other than George and William, the records of St. Mary Redcliffe show the baptism of "Rachell daughter to Gyles Penne," February 24, 1607, and the death of "Eleanor the daughter of Mr. Giles Penne," November 24, 1612. Two daughters of Giles Penn must have grown up and married and had issue, or one have married twice, for Admiral Penn, in his will, names his "nephews, James and John Bradshaw, and William and George Markham." He also names his "Cousin William Penn, son of George Penn late of the Forest of Braydon, Co. Wilts, Gentleman, deceased," which indicates that his uncle George, named executor in the will of the yeoman of Minety, dwelt in Wiltshire and closed his life there. The nephew William Markham is of course well known to us, the first cousin of the Founder, and many years Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania.

George Penn, the elder son of Captain Giles and brother of the Admiral, was "brought up to commerce," Granville Penn says, "became an opulent merchant in Spain, and resided many years at Seville." But this is a scanty and somewhat vague outline of the experiences of George, which appear to have been romantic and unfortunate to a degree not here suggested. Mr. Conner, in his "Sir William Penn, Knight," says that "the elder [son] having grown rich as a merchant in Spain, was pounced upon by

<sup>1</sup> This error occurs in the Penn Pedigree, by Coleman (London, 1871). Coleman also has other errors: he confuses George Penn, uncle of the Admiral, with George, the Admiral's elder brother, and gives the year of William Penn of Minety's death as 1592 and his will 1591,—both dates a year too late. He says William the Founder "treated with the Indians 1681 and 1682," he being in England the whole of 1681. He spells William Aubrey's name Aubury, and Gulielma he uniformly prints Gulima.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of rapid growth and change. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is one of the largest in the world. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, races, and religions, and this diversity has shaped its history. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. Many of its citizens are the descendants of people who came from other countries, and this has also shaped its history. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. Its history is filled with stories of people who went west to seek new opportunities, and this has shaped its identity. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of freedom. It is a country where people have the right to speak their minds, to worship as they please, and to live as they see fit. This freedom has been a central part of its history. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress. It has been at the forefront of many technological and social advances, and this has shaped its future. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace. It has fought many wars, but it has also been a champion of peace and diplomacy. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope. It is a country where people believe in a better future, and this hope has shaped its history. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of love. It is a country where people care for each other, and this love has shaped its history.



the Inquisition as heretic and sinner. Torn from wife and fortune, tortured and expelled, he regained his native land but to die." This affords us a fuller idea of the case, and the whole story is given in documents and comments which Granville Penn prints in the "Memorials." There are, first, the minutes of the Committee of the Admiralty, at London, in the time of the Commonwealth, when Captain (afterwards Sir) William Penn was cruising on the coast of Ireland in the 30-gun frigate "Assurance." Thus, the minutes :

"*Jan. 12, 1646-7.*—A Spanish gentleman, named Don Juan de Urbina, being taken by Captain Penn, on the coast of Munster, in a prize that came out of Waterford, did this day attend the Committee, (together with Sr. Bernardo, agent for the ambassador of his majesty of Spain . . .), and desire that he might be set at liberty, being a person of quality . . . he alleged that he came from Bilboa, was bound to Flanders, to be secretary to the governor thereof; that the ship wherein he was embarked was cast away about Waterford in Ireland, at the end of June last. That he had been at Kilkenny, Ross, and other parts of Ireland. . . . That . . . he had embarked himself for Bilboa in the *St. Patrick* of Waterford, which was after taken by Captain Penn, who did offer affronts to his person, stripping him naked, and putting him among the common mariners; for which he therefore desired satisfaction and reparation in his honor," etc.

The committee, after an examination into the case, decided that there was no reason for the Don's detention, and directed "that he be delivered to Mr. Bernardo," the agent for the Spanish ambassador.

In Captain Penn's journal he had made this entry of the Don's capture :

"*13th December, 1646, Sunday.*—About eight of the clock in the morning we spied a sail, to whom we gave chase; and about eleven we came up with her, and took her; she belonging to Waterford, and was called the *Patrick* thereof, of burthen about 60 tons, laden with hides, salmon, and several other commodities, bound for Bilboa; and had in her about 8 Spaniards, passengers."

No particular mention, however, is here made of the Don. Explanation of the case is plainly needed, and this



Granville Penn, after these quotations, proceeds to supply. At the time, he says, that Captain Penn took the "St. Patrick," his brother George was a prisoner in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, and had suffered the most cruel treatment; the captain therefore regarded Don Juan "as a representative of the Spanish nation," and proposed "to repay to him a mollified portion of the severities and indignities which his brother was suffering at Seville. But his object was not merely to make a Spaniard suffer for his brother; it was to do an act that should speak home to the Spanish government, and provoke a public notoriety of the outrage for which he could obtain no other redress; and for that purpose he selected from amongst the captured Spaniards him who was of the highest quality to endure a vicarious chastisement for his nation. He did not apprehend severity of censure from his employers, when the motive of his conduct should be fully exposed; nor does any record of censure appear in the minutes of the Council. . . . Shortly after this event, George Penn was dismissed from the Inquisition; and it is not unreasonable to assume, that Urbina's report, on his return to Bilboa, of the fraternal retaliation exercised upon his person by Penn determined the liberation of the brother."<sup>1</sup>

As to this last statement we must express some doubt. It seems unlikely that the Don was in such temper upon his return to Spain as to expedite the enlargement of the English heretic; he would have been more likely to urge the inquisitors to give another turn to their screw. It appears, too, by the further documents which Granville Penn gives, that George Penn was finally discharged and sent out of Spain, and that this must have taken place—without apparent interference from outside influences—fully as soon as the time of the Don's liberation at London. In an appendix (C) to his first volume, Granville Penn prints George Penn's own account of himself and his troubles, drawn up for presentation to Cromwell. This

<sup>1</sup> "Memorials," Vol. I. pp. 230-233.





describes the time of his arrest as in 1643, and the whole period of his detention as being three years, two months, and six days. It is obvious from this that his enlargement could have been little if any later than the date of Don Juan's appearance before the Admiralty Committee, January 12, 1646-47. In his petition and statement to the Protector, George Penn says that "after living many years in Spain, that is to say, chiefly in Seville, Malaga, Cales, and Sanlucar, in credit and estate," he was apprehended by officers of the Inquisition, at his house in Sanlucar, in the year 1643. They first executed the ceremony of excommunication, "body and soul," then broke open all his rooms and warehouses, and seized his property, "to a nail in the wall," and confiscated all debts due him, found by his "books, writings and accounts." Then they took him to Seville, where he was placed in a "dungeon some eight feet in diameter, as dark as a grave," and left alone. An allowance of bread and water was given him every Monday, to last a week. Once a month he was tied to the dungeon-door and received fifty lashes with knotted whip-cords, fresh stripes usually arriving before the previous month's wounds had healed. All this lasted, he says, three years without any formal charge being made, "they intending by it to make me be my own accuser;" finally he was accused before seven inquisitors and put upon the rack for four hours, when, the torture being beyond endurance, he confessed "all their false accusations" *en bloc*. The accusations, he explains, were that he was "a most damnable heretic, by birth, breeding and perseverance," that he had married a woman of the Catholic faith, a Spanish subject, born in Antwerp, had endeavored to pervert her and her sisters, and had intended to take them to England, "a land which of all others in the world overfloweth with all sorts of most damnable heresies and disobedience to the see of Rome," etc. Finally, upon his abjuring the Protestant faith, a public procession was formed in Seville, he was taken to the church, and his offences, confession, and sentence proclaimed "in the sight of thousands." His prop-





erty was confiscated,—about ten thousand pounds' value, he declares,—he was ordered to leave Spain within three months, on pain of death; he was sentenced to be burned if he should be again under arrest and found to have renounced the Roman faith; lastly, his wife was divorced from him, and she was ordered to be married to a Spaniard “for her better safeguard from me and securing of her soul from my heretical suggestions.”

The dates of this transaction, including the condemnation in the church of Seville, are wanting, and we can only infer them, but it seems to me most probable that the whole of the business was known to the young sea-captain, the brother of George Penn, when he caught the little ship with its “8 Spaniards” coming out of Waterford, in the winter of 1646, and that as he stripped and exposed the unhappy secretary of the governor of Flanders he was inflicting a retaliatory blow, and not expecting to propitiate the Inquisition at Seville, or hoping to secure the good offices of the humiliated Don Juan.

George Penn, at any rate, came back from Spain to England without his property, and presumably without his Flemish wife. He fortified his case with the deposition of twelve English traders who had known him in Spain, and who estimated his own loss at six thousand pounds, and the property seized in his hands belonging to others at “near as much more.” He applied, or prepared to do so, to the Protector (probably Richard Cromwell, not Oliver), and subsequently renewed his effort with Charles II. The latter, it appears, considered his case favorably, for a presentation of a claim for damages was made by his nephew, William Penn the Founder, to Queen Anne, during the negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht in 1712–13, and in it the statement is made that the king (evidently in 1663 or 1664), “out of compassion and justice to Mr. George Penn, appointed him envoy to reside at the King of Spain’s court in order to and with commands that he should, insist upon satisfaction from that king for his sufferings, loss, and damage. But Mr. George Penn,” the petition adds, “being then about sixty-



three years of age, was prevented of going thither by his sudden death."<sup>1</sup>

The veracious Samuel Pepys, in his Diary, says, August 1, 1664: "Last night I was waked with knocking at Sir W. Pen's door; and what was it but people's running up and down to bring him word that his brother, who hath been a good while, it seems, sick, is dead." This was obviously George Penn.

#### TABLE OF ADMIRAL PENN'S DESCENT.

- 1.—William Penn, of Minety, yeoman, *d.* 1591, =
- 2.—William Penn, law-clerk, = Margaret Rastall.
- 3.—(Six children, including) Giles Penn = Joan Gilbert.
- 4.—George, *b.* 1601,      WILLIAM      Four (?) daughters.  
                                          *d.* 1664.      (Admiral).

#### III. ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN.

Coming now to the Admiral, the great-grandson of the Yeoman, and father of the Founder, we may make selection among many personal details. Granville Penn, great-grandson of the Admiral, has gathered into his two volumes (London, 1833) the materials of a Memorial of his ancestor at once dignified and honorable. Contending with all the gibes and slurs of Mr. Samuel Pepys's Diary, and compelled to extract from that rich storehouse of history and spite the allusions to Sir William, he accomplishes the task with credit. We shall, in a moment, cite some of Pepys's paragraphs bearing upon the Admiral's family life and personal qualities. Many of them lie enfolded each in its own layer of backbiting, but this the reader can perhaps allow for. We present now the monumental inscription to the Admiral, placed in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, where his mother, Joan Gilbert, had been buried earlier, and where,

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C, No. 2, "Memorials" of Admiral Penn, I. 555. As to this petition, it is evident that it must have been prepared (if drawn by William Penn himself) very early in the negotiations for the Peace of Utrecht, for he had his apoplectic seizure July 24, 1712.





in pursuance of his will, he was himself buried, with full ceremony, September 30, 1670.<sup>1</sup>

We take the inscription as it is given by Granville Penn (Vol. II. p. 580), as follows:

To the just Memory of S<sup>r</sup> WILL<sup>m</sup> PENN, Kt., and sometimes  
Generall: Borne at Bristoll Au. 1621: Son of Captain Giles  
Penn, severall yeares Consul for y<sup>e</sup> English in y<sup>e</sup> Mediterranean;  
of the Penns of Penns Lodge in y<sup>e</sup> County of  
Wilts, and those Penns of Penn in y<sup>e</sup> C. of Bucks; and by  
his Mother from the Gilberts in y<sup>e</sup> County of Somerset,  
Originally from Yorkshire: Addicted from his  
Youth to Maritime Affaires; he was made Captain at  
the yeares of 21; Rear-Admiral of Ireland at 23; Vice-  
Admiral of Ireland at 25; Admiral to the Streights  
at 29; Vice-Admiral of England at 31, and General  
in the first Dutch Warres, at 32. Whence retiring,  
in A<sup>o</sup> 1655 he was chosen a Parliament man for the  
Town of Weymouth, 1660; made Commissioner of  
the Admiralty and Navy; Governor of the Town and Fort  
of King-sail; Vice-Admiral of Munster, and a Member of  
that Provincial Counseill; and in Anno 1664, was  
chosen Great Captain Commander under his  
Royall Highnesse in y<sup>e</sup> Signall and most  
evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.

Thus, He took leave of the Sea, his old Element; But  
continued still his other employs till 1669; at what  
time, through Bodely Infirmities (contracted by y<sup>e</sup>  
Care and fatigue of Publique Affairs),

He withdrew,

Prepared and made for his End; and with a gentle and  
Even Gale, in much peace, arrived and anchored in his  
Last and Best Port, at Wanstead in y<sup>e</sup> County of Essex,  
y<sup>e</sup> 16 Sept. 1670, Being then but 49 and 4 months old.  
To whose Name and merit his surviving Lady  
hath erected this remembrance.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. letter from R. Ellsworth, Bristol, to Captain Challoner, *Lancaster Herald*, "Memorials," Vol. II. p. 567, describing the ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription, as stated in the main text, is here taken from Granville Penn's "Memorials" of the Admiral. It is quite different (mainly by containing additional matter) from that given by J. Henry Lea in *PENNA. MAG.* (Vol. XIV. p. 172), as to which Mr. Lea says he "believes that the transcript [which he gives] is correct." It varies at





The Admiral, it has already been said, was born at Bristol in 1621, twenty years later than his brother George. He was "baptised in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, in that city, on the 23d day of April," in that year. His father educated him "with great care, under his own eye, for the sea-service; causing him to be well grounded in all its branches, practical and scientific, as is shown by sundry elementary and tabular documents, nautical journals, draughts of lands, observations and calculations, which still survive."<sup>1</sup> He served with his father, as a boy, "in various mercantile voyages to the northern seas, and to the Mediterranean, became a lieutenant in the royal navy," and "thenceforth passed the whole of his active life" in that service, under the Parliament, the Protector, and the Restoration. He married "very early in life," says Granville Penn, and the biography of him by Professor J. K. Laughton, in the "National Dictionary of Biography," says "about 1639." If in that year, he was only eighteen years old. But Hepworth Dixon has called attention<sup>2</sup> to an entry in Pepys's Diary which seems to fix the date in 1643-44. It says,—

"Jan 6, 1661-2.—To dinner at Sir W. Pen's, it being a solemn feast day with him,—his wedding day, and we had, besides a good chine of beef and other good cheer, eighteen mince pies in a dish, the number of years that he hath been married."

Subtracting the eighteen pies from the date of this feast would fix the marriage January 6, 1643-44; and as William Penn the Founder, who has always been described as the

several points, but not any essential one, from that given in Maria Webb's "Penns and Peningtons." In the latter the spelling is uniformly modernized: "King-sail," above, is contracted to "Kinsale;" the first Dutch "warres" is made "war;" "whence *retiring*" is made "*returning*," it makes him chosen "Great Captain Commander" in 1665, not 1664, as above; the word "evidently," before "successful," is omitted; "*thus* he took leave" becomes "*then* he took leave;" at "*what* time" is made "at *which* time;" the word "years" is inserted after "49" (as the sense demands); "to *whose* name" is made "to *his* name;" and "*merit*" is made "*memory*."

<sup>1</sup> Granville Penn, "Memorials," Vol. I. p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Penn," p. 16.



first child, was born October 14, 1644, this date thus receives a reasonable confirmation.

Captain Penn's wife was Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam, daughter of John Jasper. And this is all that seems to be known of her family, though why our information is so meagre is not easily explained. John Jasper is generally described as a merchant, sometimes as an "opulent" one; by one authority he is named a burgomaster, and the editor of Lord Braybrooke's edition of Pepys calls him Sir John. As to his daughter, we have little knowledge, except the pictures coarsely drawn by Pepys. This one is well known :

*"Aug. 19, 1664.—To Sir W. Pen's, to see his lady the first time, who is a well-looking, fat, short old Dutchwoman, but one that has been heretofore pretty handsome, and is now very discreet, and I believe hath more wit than her husband. Here we stayed talking a good while, and very well pleased I was with the old woman."*<sup>1</sup>

The further allusions to Lady Penn by Pepys are not all in the same vein as this, though there are one or two that are not appropriate for reproduction. If we were forced to judge of her discretion, or even her wit, by his stories, we should hardly place them high, at least not from our standpoint of manners. The rompings and roisterings, the blacking of faces and tumbling upon beds, which he describes,—how truly is a question,—do not sound nice, and it seems very evident that, after allowing for Pepys's own coarseness and habitual readiness to backbite, we must make a further large allowance for the times of the Restoration, within the influence of Charles II.'s court. A few passages from Pepys, alluding to Lady Penn, may be given; she is mentioned also in others, to be cited in a moment, relating more particularly to her husband and daughter :

<sup>1</sup> It appears rather odd that, as Pepys now records, this was his first sight of Lady Penn, for he had been closely associated with her husband for four years, and he records, earlier than this, numerous occasions when he and his wife were in company with Margaret, the daughter. What is still more odd is that he evidently did not see Lady Penn at her own house, at the time of the wedding-feast dinner, in 1661-62.





"June 8, 1665.— . . . then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father [in the naval battle with the Dutch, June 3]; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate. . . ."

"June 6, 1666.— . . . And so home to our church, it being the common Fast-day, and it was just before sermon; but . . . how all the people in the church stared upon me to see me whisper to Sir John Minnes and my Lady Pen."

"June 11, 1666.—I with my Lady Pen and her daughter to see Harmon [Captain, afterwards Rear-Admiral, wounded in the naval battle] whom we found lame in bed."

It would be pleasant to wash the ill taste of Pepys out of one's mouth with something better; but, as has been said, there is little information available concerning Lady Penn from other sources. The high regard of William Penn the Founder for his mother is generally asserted. Clarkson says<sup>1</sup> he had for her "the deepest filial affection. She had often interposed in his behalf when his father was angry with him for the dereliction of Church principles, and of the honors and fashions of the world, and she took him under her wing and supported him when he was turned out of doors for the same reason." In a letter written to a friend he speaks of "my sickness upon my mother's death." The biographical sketch prefixed to the collection of his "Select Works" says that at the time of his father's displeasure at his adoption of Quaker views he was "thus exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence, except what his mother privately sent him." Lady Penn died at the end of February or beginning of March, 1681-82, and was buried on the 4th of March, at Walthamstow, in Essex.

The will of Admiral Penn is printed nearly in full in Granville Penn's "Memorials," and an abstract of it is given in the PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 171. It is dated January 20, 1669, and was proved October 6, 1670. He mentions in it his wife, Dame Margaret Penn; son William Penn; younger son Richard Penn; daughter Margaret, wife of Anthony Lowther; and the nephews Bradshaw and Mark-

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Penn," p. 109.





ham, and cousin William Penn, previously referred to in these notes. He directs that the monument in the church at Bristol shall be for himself and his mother, but Mr. J. H. Lea says (1890) that, upon a visit there, he "found no trace" of any such memorial to the mother; probably none was erected.

The Admiral's public career cannot here be described. The abstract on the church tablet will sufficiently serve. His marriage has been mentioned. Some notices of him by Pepys may be here introduced; he is alluded to in the Diary many scores of times between 1660 and 1669:

"*Sept. 8, 1660.*—Drinking a glass of wine late, and discoursing with Sir W. Pen. I find him to be a very sociable man, and an able man, and very cunning."

"*Nov. 1, 1660.*—This morning Sir W. Pen and I were mounted early, [to ride to Sir William Batten's] and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company."

"*April 18, 1661.*— . . . Then, it raining hard, homewards again, [from visiting Lady Sandwich, at Walthamstow] and in our way met with two country fellows upon one horse, which I did, without much ado, give the way to, but Sir W. Pen would not, but struck them, and they him, and so passed away, but they, giving him some high words, he went back again, and struck them off their horse, in a simple fury, and without much honor, in my mind, and so come away."

These allusions have the air of truth. But the key-note of Pepys's dislike for Sir William appears in an entry in the summer of 1662. It seems that Pepys was interfered with in his enjoyment of some of the "pickings" of the office. His greediness could ill brook that:

"*June 3, 1662.*— . . . At the office, and Mr. Coventry brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. Upon our making a contract, I went, as I use to do, to draw the heads thereof, but Sir W. Pen most basely told me that the Comptroller is to do it, and so begun to employ Mr. Turner about it, at which I was much vexed, and begun to dispute; and what with the letter of the Duke's orders, and Mr. Barlow's letter, and the practice of our predecessors, which Sir G. Carteret knew best when he was Comptroller, it was ruled for me. What Sir J. Minnes will do, when he comes, I knowe not, but Sir W. Pen did it like a base raskall, and so I shall remember him while I live."



Probably this threat, entered in heat in Pepys's secret cipher, was actually kept. His malice is shown many times. Thus:

"*July 5, 1662.*—At noon had Sir W. Pen, who I hate with all my heart for his base treacherous tricks, but yet I think it not policy to declare it yet, and his son William, to my house to dinner . . ."

"*July 9, 1662.*—Sir W. Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and, desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me, and offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me! promise him all my services and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any; but as he dissembles with me so must I with him."

"*July 1, 1666.*—(Lord's day.) Comes Sir W. Pen to town, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me to-day; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them; and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearnesse, in getting out the fleete, being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke; . . . therefore, I think it is discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him."

"*Feb. 21, 1666-7.*—To the office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion, of no great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him."

"*April 20, 1668.*—Meeting with Sir William Hooker, the Alderman, he did cry out mighty high against Sir W. Pen for his getting such an estate, and giving £15,000 with his daughter, which is more, by half, than ever he did give; but this the world believes, and so let them."

A few other allusions, rather less unpleasing than these, may be added. The last, in June, 1668, approaches the end of the Admiral's active career.

"*April 18, 1666.*—To Mr. Lilly's, the painter's [Lely, afterwards Sir Peter]; and there saw the heads, some finished, and all begun, of the Flagmen in the late great fight with the Duke of York against the Dutch. The Duke of York hath them done to hang in his chamber, and very finely they are done indeed. Here are the Prince's [etc.] and will be my Lord Sandwich's, Sir W. Pen's" [etc.].

"*July 4, 1666.*— . . . In the evening Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain that the whole conduct of the late fight was ill" [etc., explaining at length its character, and his view of a proper system of naval attack].





"*May 27, 1668.*—To see Sir W. Pen, whom I find still very ill of the gout, sitting in his great chair, made on purpose for persons sick of that disease, for their ease; and this very chair, he tells me was made for my Lady Lambert" [wife of General Lambert, the Parliamentary commander]. "*June 4.*— . . . and besides my Lord Brouncker is at this time ill, and Sir W. Pen." "*June 17.*—Saw Sir W. Pen, who is well again."

Admiral Penn had three children: William the Founder, Richard, and Margaret. By the will of the Admiral, Richard was to have had one hundred and twenty pounds a year until he was twenty-one, and then four thousand pounds, but he survived his father only three years. He died in April, 1673, and was buried at Walthamstow. There is a letter in Granville Penn's "Memorials" (pp. 559-60), addressed to "the Hon. Sir W. Penn, Knt., etc., at his house at Wanstead, near London," dated at Livorno (Italy), June 2, 1670, from William Poole, commanding the ship "Jersey," to which letter there is this postscript:

"My cousin, Richard Penn, is very well, and goes to Florence with Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, to wait on the ambassador." <sup>1</sup>

This Richard Penn, Granville Penn says ("Memorials," foot-note, p. 560), was the younger son of whom we are speaking. It would seem that he had been on the "Jersey" with Captain Poole, and it is probable that he was designed by his father to be a seaman. Pepys makes one allusion to Richard, and not unkindly:

"*Feb. 14, 1664-5.*—This morning betimes comes Dicke Pen to be my wife's Valentine, and came to our bedside. By the same token, I had him brought to my side, thinking to make him kiss me, but he perceived me, and would not; so went to his Valentine: a notable stout, witty boy."

Margaret Penn, the daughter, married Anthony Lowther, of Mask (or Marske) in Yorkshire. She is mentioned many

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Poole and Sir Richard Rooth, commanders in the English navy, were both, as it seems from allusions in Granville Penn's "Memorials," kinsmen, perhaps cousins in some degree, of Admiral Penn.



times by Pepys, and often offensively. His dislike for her father he apparently conferred also upon her. Her husband is referred to more favorably. It would appear that he was a man of good character as well as good estate. In William Penn's "No Cross, no Crown," he quotes the dying expressions of "Anthony Lowther, of Mask, a person of good sense, of a sweet temper, a just mind, and of a sober education," whom I presume to have been the father of Margaret's husband. I cite here some of the earlier allusions of Pepys to Margaret Penn :

"*July 28, 1661.*—To church, and then came home with us Sir W. Pen, and drank with us, and then went away, and my wife after him, to see his daughter that is lately come out of Ireland; and whereas I expected she should have been a great beauty, she is a very plain girl."

"*Oct. 6, 1661.*—To church . . . There was also . . . Mrs. Margaret Pen, this day come to church, in a new flowered satin suit, that my wife helped her to buy the other day."

"*Dec. 11, 1661.*—My wife by coach to Clerkenwell, to see Mrs. Margaret Pen, who is at school there."

Margaret's school days appear to have been over by 1664, for then she seems to have devoted herself to fashionable occupations, and to have taken lessons in painting at her home. Pepys has these entries,—the last one characteristically spiteful :

"*Nov. 20, 1664.*—Up and with my wife to church, where Pegg Pen very fine in her new colored silk suit, laced with silver lace."

"*Jan. 13, 1664-5.*—To my Lady Batten's, where I find Pegg Pen, the first time that ever I saw her to wear spots."

"*Aug. 7, 1665.*—Talking with Mrs. Pegg Pen, and looking over her pictures, and commended them; but . . . so far short of my wife's as no comparison!"

"*Sept. 3, 1665.*—I took my Lady Pen home, and her daughter Pegg; and after dinner I made my wife show them her pictures, which did mad Pegg Pen, who learns of the same man."

The appearance of Mr. Lowther on the scene is recorded by Pepys :

"*Jan. 11, 1665-6.*—At noon to dinner all of us by invitation to Sir W. Pen's, and much company. Among others . . . his . . . [prospective] son-in-law Lowther, servant to Mrs. Margaret Pen."





"*April 12, 1666.*—My Lady Pen comes to me, and takes me into her house, where I find her daughter and a pretty lady of her acquaintance, one Mrs. Lowther, sister, I suppose, of her servant Lowther's. . . . Mrs. Margaret Pen grows mighty homely, and looks old."

"*Jan. 4, 1666-7.*—Comes our company to dinner; my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, his lady, and Pegg, and her servant Mr. Lowther. . . . Mr. Lowther a pretty gentleman, too good for Pegg."

The marriage seems to have been very quiet and decorous, and thus, sad to say, gave great offence to the virtuous Pepys:

"*Feb. 14, 1666-7.*—Pegg Pen is married this day privately; no friends, but two or three relations of his and hers. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding private is imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer; which is reason good enough. Mrs. Turner tells me she hears Sir W. Pen gives £4500 or £4000 with her."<sup>1</sup>

"*Feb. 20, 1666-7.*—To White Hall, by the way observing Sir W. Pen's carrying a favor to Sir W. Coventry, for his daughter's wedding, and saying there was others for us, when we will fetch them, which vexed me, and I am resolved not to wear it when he orders me one. His wedding hath been so poorly kept that I am ashamed of it; for a fellow that makes such a flutter as he does."

"*Feb. 22, 1666-7.*—All of us, that is to say my Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Batten, T. Harvy, and myself, to Sir Pen's house, where some other company. It is instead of a wedding dinner for his daughter, whom I saw in palterly clothes, nothing new but a bracelet that her servant [now her husband] had given her, and ugly she is as heart can wish. A sorry dinner, not anything handsome or clean, but some silver plates they had borrowed of me. My wife was here too. We had favors given us all, and we put them in our hats, I against my will, but that my Lord and the rest did."

"*Feb. 27, 1666-7.*—To Sir W. Pen's, and sat with my Lady, and the young couple (Sir William out of town) talking merrily; but they make a very sorry couple, methinks, though rich."

And not only did the marriage, the later dinner, and eke the wedding favors dissatisfy the diarist, but he was further offended by the fineness of her coach, and what he regarded

<sup>1</sup> See the reference by Pepys, April 20, 1668, to the report which greatly exaggerated this sum.





as the inadequacy of her wardrobe; while later he was disgusted at seeing her train borne by a page:

"*May 1, 1667.*—Thence [the King's playhouse] Sir W. Pen and I in his coach, Tiburne way, into the Park, where a horrid dust and a number of coaches. . . . But that which I did see and wonder at with reason was to find Pegg Pen in a new coach, with only her husband's pretty sister [Margaret Lowther, afterwards the wife of Sir John Holmes] with her, both patched and very fine, and in much the finest coach in the park, and I think that ever I did see one or other, for neatness and richness in gold and everything that is noble . . . but to live in the condition they do at home and be abroad in this coach astonishes me . . . then home; where we find the two young ladies come home and their patches off; I suppose Sir W. Pen do not allow of them in his sight. Sir W. Pen did give me an account of his design of buying Sir R. Brooke's fine house at Wansted" [etc. The purchase was not made].

"*June 28, 1667.*—To Sir W. Batten's, to see how he did. . . . He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up by a page, at his house in the country; which is ridiculous."

"*July 14, (Lord's day.)*— . . . and so towards Epsom [in a coach and four, Pepys, his wife, and Mrs. Turner] talking all the way presently and particularly of the pride and ignorance of Mrs. Lowther, in having of her train carried up."

"*Sept. 11, 1667.*—Come to dine with me Sir W. Batten and his lady, . . . and Sir W. Pen and his lady, and Mrs. Lowther, who is grown, either through pride or want of manners, a fool, having not a word to say; and, as a further mark of a beggarly, proud fool, hath a bracelet of diamonds and rubies about her wrist, and a sixpenny necklace about her neck, and not one good rag of clothes upon her back."

Anthony and Margaret Lowther had issue. The birth of their first child, a girl, is noted by Pepys as occurring February 8, 1667-68, and he reviles "Pegg," as usual; this time for the smallness of the company at the christening. Coleman's "Pedigree" names two children, Sir William Lowther, who married Catherine Preston, and Margaret Lowther, who married Benjamin Poole. Anthony Lowther was M.P. for Appleby in 1678 and 1679. He died in 1692, and was buried at Walthamstow. Margaret survived him many years. She is named in the will of her brother, William Penn the Founder, made in 1712, as one of the trustees to dispose of his proprietary rights in Pennsylvania. She died in 1718,



and was buried, Granville Penn notes, at Walthamstow.<sup>1</sup> Anthony and Margaret's son William was created a baronet in 1697. In the next generation Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart., of Holker, in Lancashire, married Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire, and their son William dying unmarried in 1756, the baronetcy became extinct, and the Lowther property passed to the Cavendish family,—“the noble house of Cavendish,” as Granville Penn, considerate always of aristocratic proprieties, is careful to say.

What property, if any, Admiral Penn received from his father, Captain Giles, is unknown. But in 1654, as he was preparing for the famous West India expedition with Venables, he prevailed upon Cromwell to make him a grant of forfeited lands in Ireland. An order of the Protector, dated December 4, 1654, is given in full in Granville Penn's “Memorials,” Vol. I. p. 19. It is addressed to the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland, and directs “that lands of the value of £300 a year, in Ireland, as they were let in the year 1640, be settled on General Penn and his heirs,” to be located in some place “where there is a castle or convenient house for habitation upon them, and near to some town or garrison.” The grant was partly made “in consideration of the great losses sustained by General Pen and his wife by the rebellion in Ireland,” and in the minute of Council upon which the Protector's order was based it is recited that the favor is extended “in consideration of his sufferings in an estate of his wife's in Ireland.” What estate she had, if any, or where it was situated, or how acquired, must remain, I presume, uncertain. But the grant now made by Oliver to his sea-commander is readily identified. It lay in County

<sup>1</sup> A letter from Hannah Penn, 9th of Third month (May), 1720, “to Rebecca Blackfan, at Pennsbury, or elsewhere in Pennsylvania,” says, “I find several of my Letters to thee and others have miscarried, and therefore know not whether thou had acc't of ye Death of my dear Sister Lowther, who Died of a Lingerin Fever & gradual decay about 5 months after her dear Brother,”—*i.e.*, in 1718, five months later than the Founder.—*MSS. in Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.*







Cork, "the castle and estate of Macromp," and "had been the ancient possession of Macarthy, Lord Muskerry," against whom Penn had been fighting a few years earlier (1646), Muskerry being then the commander of the royal (and Roman Catholic) forces in Ireland. Some other property in County Cork the Admiral seems to have bought, in 1657, of Lord Broghill, and in a letter to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy for Ireland, dated at Macromp, 9th November, 1657, Penn speaks of his property "in Macromp and Killcrea."

In Ireland, at Macromp, it would appear he spent much, if not most, of his time between 1655, when he was released from his confinement in the Tower, after the return from Jamaica, and 1660, when he was among the company that repaired to Holland to bring the king back to England. Meantime Lord Muskerry had become, in 1658, by the king's favor, Earl of Clancarty, and at the Restoration he naturally lost no time in claiming of his royal master the restitution of the lands taken from him by the Protector. A document printed by Granville Penn, in his "Memorials,"<sup>1</sup> states that "Sir William Penn, upon the king's ordering the Earl of Clancarty to be immediately possessed of his ancient estate, did surrender the castle, town, and manor of Macromp, being a garrison wherein was constantly and conveniently quartered a foot company and a troop of horse; with many thousand acres of land contiguous; and the castle, town, and manor of Killcreagh, with several lands thereunto belonging, the whole amounting to £848 per annum, [etc.] unto the said Earl of Clancarty." In lieu of this surrendered property the king gave the Admiral some other "forfeited lands . . . in Imokilly;<sup>2</sup> namely Rostillon, Shangarry, and Inchy, with the lands joining thereunto." This gift the Admiral was able to hold, though he had to contend for it, in the courts and elsewhere, for several years,—at least as late as 1666,—the favor of the king being of importance to him at more than one juncture. The property was in County Cork, and yielded then, it appears,

<sup>1</sup> Appendix N, Vol. II. p. 617.

<sup>2</sup> This is elsewhere referred to, in a letter of the Admiral, as Eniskelly.



about one thousand pounds a year. Shangarry, in course of time, became familiar as one of the places with which the Penn name is most intimately associated.

In London the Admiral had his home, during most of the last ten years of his life (1660-70), the period of his service as Commissioner, etc., of the navy, in one of the houses attached to the Navy Office, provided as an official residence. It was here that he was the near neighbor of Pepys, who also had an official house. Gibson, an old seaman who had served under the Admiral, and who wrote to William Penn the Founder in March, 1711-12, giving him reminiscences of his father, says,<sup>1</sup> "I remember your honour very well, when you newly came out of France, and wore pantaloon breeches, at which time your late honoured father dwelt in the Navy Office, in that apartment the Lord Viscount Brouncker died in afterwards, which was on the north part of the Navy Office garden." And in the same letter Gibson says, "Your late honoured father was appointed general of the fleet, in 1655, to take St. Domingo; at which time he dwelt upon Great Tower-hill, on the east side, within a court adjoining to London-wall. And he frequently came upon the hill next his dwelling, to be applied to by persons under the degree of commanders. One day of which, I was presented to your late honoured father by my late master Mr. John Carter, purser of the *Assurance* when your late honoured father commanded her," etc.

Pepys makes many allusions to the contiguity of his residence at the Navy Office with that of the Penns. The enlargement, under official authority, of their houses is repeatedly referred to, and an allusion to it may be noted in the paragraph, July 9, 1662, already cited, where, walking in the garden with Penn, "the care of his building" was considered. At the time of the Great Fire of London, in September, 1666, Pepys records that he and Sir William "did dig another [pit in the garden] and did put our wine in it, and I my Parmesan cheese," etc. And on two or three

<sup>1</sup>"Memorials," Appendix M, Vol. II. p. 612.





nights at this time, distressed and alarmed by the fire, he slept in the Admiral's house. It was at the house on Great Tower Hill, described by Gibson as occupied by the Admiral in 1655, that William Penn the Founder is presumed to have been born, in 1644.

The portrait of the Admiral, painted by Lely for the Duke of York, as recorded by Pepys (April 18, 1666), is now in the hospital at Greenwich. A copy of it forms the frontispiece to Granville Penn's "Memorials." There has been in recent years a portrait found at Blackwell Grange, in Durham, which has been thought by some to be that of William Penn the Founder, and a copy of it has been placed, under that supposition, in the National Museum collection at Independence Hall, Philadelphia. This, says the biographer of the Admiral in the "National Dictionary of Biography," Mr. J. M. Rigg, "is really the portrait of the Admiral." I have myself no doubt that Mr. Rigg is correct in this statement. The gold chain voted the Admiral by the Naval Council, in August, 1653, remains in the family of his descendants. In the Admiral's will he devised to his son William "my gold chain and medal, with the rest and residue of all my plate," etc. Of his personal appearance, the old seaman Gibson says, in the letter before cited, "Your late honoured father was fair-haired; of a comely round visage; a mild spoken man; no scoffer, nor flatterer; easy of access, so as no man went away from him discontented."

The Admiral's "letters to his son in Ireland," says Granville Penn, "of which many remain, are almost wholly filled with instructions respecting his estates; yet among these some few passages occur which tend to show his mind and disposition. . . . I have now by me letters he [the son] received from his father in the years 1666, '67, '68, and '69, in all which I find but one passage expressive of offence." This (October 6, 1669) evidently refers to the son's adoption of the views of the Friends and his renunciation of a courtly career.

The "dying words" of the Admiral are familiar, being





quoted by many writers. They come from William Penn the Founder's "No Cross, No Crown," originally written in 1668, while the Bishop of London had him imprisoned in the Tower for his tract, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," these portions being added in the second edition, published in 1681. They are of permanent interest in this connection, as showing the Admiral's reflections upon reviewing his career. "My father," says the son, "not long before his death, spoke to me in this manner :

" 'Son William, I am weary of the world; I would not live over my days again, if I could command them with a wish; for the snares of life are greater than the fear of death. This troubles me, that I have offended a gracious God, that hath followed me to this day. Oh, have a care of sin; that is the sting both of life and of death. Three things I commend unto you : First, let nothing in this world tempt you to wrong your conscience; so you will keep peace at home, which will be a feast to you in a day of trouble. Secondly, whatever you design to do, lay it justly, and time it seasonably, for that gives security and dispatch. Lastly, be not troubled at disappointments; for, if they may be recovered, do it; if they can't, trouble is vain. If you could not have helped it, be content; there is often peace and profit in submitting to Providence, for afflictions make wise. If you could have helped it, let not your trouble exceed your instruction for another time. These rules will carry you, with firmness and comfort, through this uncertain world. . . . '

" 'Wearied to live, as well as near to die, he took his leave of us; and of me, with this expression, and a most composed countenance: 'Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world. Bury me by my mother: live all in love; shun all manner of evil; and I pray God to bless you all, and he will bless you.' "

(To be continued.)



## BIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM LEWIS.

BY WILLIAM PRIMROSE, PHILADELPHIA, 1820.

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE C. LEWIS, WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

[The manuscript, of which this is a copy, was found by me among the papers relating to the estate of William Lewis, which were in the possession of William Rawle, the acting executor, and after the death of Mr. Rawle were turned over to Josiah Lewis, the surviving executor.—G. C. L.]

WILLIAM LEWIS, the son of a plain and respectable farmer in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was born on the 2nd day of February 1751 O. S. When of a proper age, he was put to a common country school at Edgemont in the neighborhood of his residence, from which he was afterwards removed to a Seminary of a higher order established by the Society of Friends at Willistown.

There his progress was so rapid, as to require tuition beyond the usual course; and the extraordinary trouble of his tutor was rewarded by a double compensation.

At a very early age he expressed a strong inclination for the profession of the law, which, though it received his father's sanction, was disapproved of by his mother—both of whom were members of the Society of Friends, and he continued on the farm assisting in the usual labors of agriculture till his seventeenth year.

It was probably about this time that the following incident occurred, which he related to the writer of this memoir.

Having driven his father's wagon to the County town, he found the Court in session. Curiosity led him to enter the Court Room for the first time, when he was so much captivated by the conduct of a trial and the oratory of the lawyers, that the domestic who accompanied him was unable to per-









suade him away. The latter was compelled to return with the wagon to the farm, leaving young Lewis on the spot who remained till the Court rose late in the evening, and early next morning appeared at his father's house, to which he had returned on foot, with a stronger resolution than before to study the law if the consent of his parents could be obtained. His mother having at length agreed, he was removed to the City, and placed under the tuition of Robert Proud, (who then had the care of the Friends' Public School) for the purpose of receiving instruction in the Latin language.

He continued about eighteen months with this venerable preceptor whose cautious and correct history of Pennsylvania forms the only literary attempt to do justice to a subject which ought, long ere this, to have more fully employed the philosopher and the historian.

After leaving Proud, he went for a few months to a German school, in which language it is not recollected that he made much proficiency. At this time the proportion of persons in Pennsylvania who made use of that language alone, was much greater than at present; and an acquaintance with it was found very useful to those who practised in the County Courts, which the most eminent members of the Philadelphia Bar were then in the habit of regularly attending.

Their quarterly journeys generally extended as far as Easton to the northward, and York to the westward.

In the year 1770, Mr. Lewis had the gratification of commencing the study of the law under Nicholas Waln, Esquire, who, although still a young man, had acquired a high degree of eminence at the bar.

Mr. Lewis' application was intense and unremitted, and assisted by a quick perception and tenacious memory, his qualifications for admission at the expiration of his time were seldom surpassed.

Before his admission he had more than the usual share of student's duties to perform. He had been in this office about a year, when Mr. Waln,—who had been one of the



most gay and animated as well as one of the most industrious members of the bar,—was suddenly struck with serious religious impressions, which he publicly evinced by unexpectedly kneeling down in meeting, and uttering a fervent and eloquent prayer. After recovering from a fit of illness, he determined to relinquish the practice of the law.

Mr. Lewis remained in the office. His attachment and fidelity to his friend and preceptor; the abilities he had already manifested, and his knowledge of the business under the care of Mr. Waln, secured his confidence: and the clients to whose option it was left to employ other counsel and receive back their fees, or, at least in those cases where trials in Court were not to take place, to leave their causes under Mr. Lewis' care, in many instances preferred the latter.

He was admitted in the Court of Common Pleas on motion of Miers Fisher, Esquire, at December Term 1773, being then nearly 22 years of age.

The period was not unfavorable to a young beginner.

Of the elder class only Mr. Chew and John Ross continued in practice. In the ensuing year Mr. Chew was appointed Chief Justice, and the declining health of Mr. Ross with some other causes, rendered him no formidable opponent.

Among his younger brethren, of whom the Court dockets of that day exhibit many truly respectable names, Mr. Lewis had to work his way, and he worked it with success. The entries of the last term of Common Pleas under the royal government evinced that, in the number of actions he then led the bar. This was the term of June 1776.

On the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence suspended, till a new organization, all the business of the Courts.

The first session of the Common Pleas at Philadelphia, when the style of process was altered from the King to the Commonwealth, was held in September 1777.

Only six attorneys were entered as admitted to practice, whose names are recorded in the following order: John





March, 1777. I have been thinking much of late, and have been much distressed by the thought of the future of the country.

The British are now in the city, and the Continental Congress has fled to Lancaster, and then to York, and now to Philadelphia. The British are now in the city, and the Continental Congress has fled to Lancaster, and then to York, and now to Philadelphia. The British are now in the city, and the Continental Congress has fled to Lancaster, and then to York, and now to Philadelphia.

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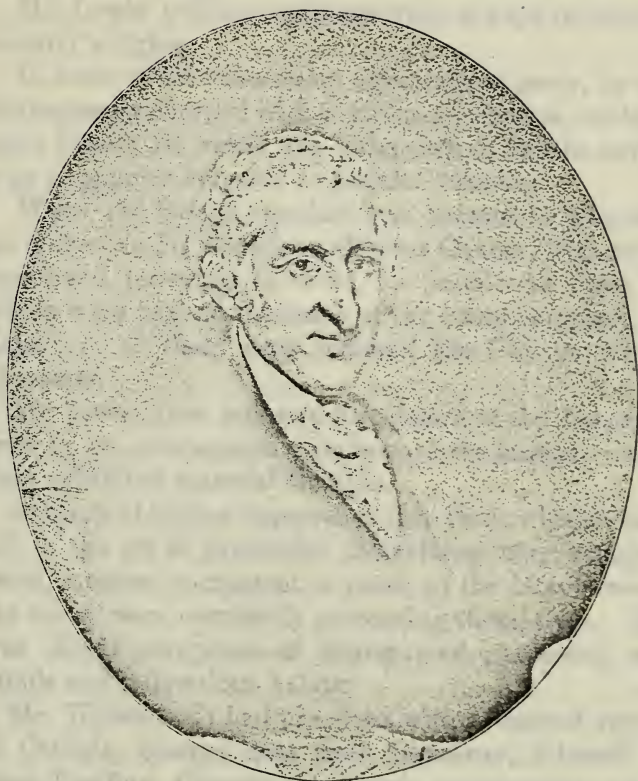
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WILLIAM LEWIS, ESQ.



Morris, John Haley, William Lewis, Andrew Robeson, Jacob Rush, and Jonathan D. Sergeant.

The British army was at that time on its march from the head of the Elk to Philadelphia; and before the end of the month, the occupation of the City removed from it every vestige of the new form of government, and drove away every individual attached to it who had the means of escape.

Mr. Lewis' political opinions were always in favor of his country's rights.

In some of the subsequent agitations of party, he was not unfrequently charged with contrary sentiments, but his views were liberal, his spirit was independent, and he never gave way to popular delusion or popular violence.

When the British standard was hoisted in Philadelphia, he retired to his friends in Chester County, with whom he continued, pursuing, however, his practice at those Courts which were beyond the reach of the enemies' power, till the departure of their army restored the City its republican character.

Mr. Lewis then renewed his station at the bar, which as well in its component members, as its forensic character, soon exhibited material changes.

Subjects of higher importance than those which commonly fell to the lot of provincial judicatures were brought forward, motives competent to rouse all the latent energies of the mind, were constantly presenting themselves. The bar was chiefly composed of young men possessing aspiring minds and industrious habits.

Mr. Wilson who had practiced with a limited reputation at Carlisle, George Ross from Lancaster, Edward Biddle from Reading, Gouverneur Morris occasionally, and occasionally Joseph Reed until he was chosen a member of the Supreme Executive Council, in conjunction with Mr. Sergeant who was in August 1777 appointed Attorney General, and Mr. Lewis, formed an assemblage of powerful and splendid talents which might have coped with an equal number of any other forum in America. The subsequent addition of Mr. Ingersoll who returned from Europe in





1779, and Mr. Bradford who shortly afterwards removed from York and on the resignation of Mr. Sergeant was appointed Attorney General in 1780, augmented its celebrity.

The whole faculties of the bar were soon put in requisition by the prosecutions which were commenced against some of the adherents of the British cause.

The popular excitement against them was high, and the defense appeared to many a service of danger, but the intrepidity of the bar did not allow them to shrink from the conflict.

Among the defenders, Wilson and Ross took the lead. Mr. Lewis was, however, frequently employed, and always distinguished himself.

In the defense of Chapman he urged with force and success the right of an individual in the commencement of a civil war to choose his party.

Mr. Kean, Chief Justice, was a zealous and steady republican, but independent in his principles and conduct. He discharged the duties of his office impartially and inflexibly. His decisions in favor of Chapman evinced the soundness of his judgment, and the disdain he felt for the popular clamor excited by the occasion.

From the performance of these duties, often as painful as they were honorable, we trace the progress of Mr. Lewis to one not less delightful to humanity.

In the year 1779, the Pennsylvania legislature took the lead in a public declaration of the illegality of that odious and disgraceful subjugation of fellow creatures which had so long stained the character of America. A provision, perhaps necessarily imperfect, but carried as far as then appeared practicable, was made in favor of the descendants of Africa, by which a chance of emancipation to those then living, and a certainty of it to their issue, was secured.

In support of this legislative act, an association of private individuals was speedily formed for the purpose of securing its benefits to those who were unable from ignorance, poverty, and depression, to defend themselves.

Mr. Lewis became the champion of this order. With a



voluntary dereliction of all professional emolument, he strenuously and boldly pursued oppression into its artful recesses, and succeeded in securing to the injured African all the protection to be found in the text of the law.

Thousands of the present generation of colored people are unconsciously indebted to him for his exertion, anxiety, and exposure, before they were born. This benevolent association was subsequently incorporated by an Act of Assembly.

Benjamin Franklin was the first President, and Mr. Lewis retained till his death the rank of first and for a long time the most efficient of its counsellors.

In the regular business of his profession Mr. Lewis soon acquired that ascendancy to which his talents and his industry entitled him. In him it was verified that genius never shines more brightly than when it is enforced by the closest industry.

The great number of causes in which he was concerned, the judgment which directed, and the energies which accompanied both the preparation and the management of the trials, evinced the justice of the general confidence that was reposed in him. In the doctrine of pleading, in questions on devises, and the nature of estates he was peculiarly felicitous. In mercantile law he was perhaps equally eminent. Whatever point he made in a cause, he was generally able to support as well by authority as by argument.

The closeness of his reasoning was seldom weakened by unnecessary digressions, or impeded by the ebullitions of wit, or the illusions of fancy. Although pleasant and facetious in social conversation, his public speaking was rather of the grave and serious cast, and often of the highest syllogistic order, the premises he laid being finally carried on to conclusions which the hearer did not anticipate, but was ultimately obliged to acknowledge.

Much of the business in those days was transacted in the Court of Common Pleas, on the bench of which, until Mr. Shippen accepted a seat in 1785, no lawyer was found. Hence a custom prevailed of introducing into jury trials authorities at full length. The bench was to be instructed





as well as the jury, and the latter were naturally placed on a level with the former by the manner in which these authorities were explained and applied. Hence it became a common course to load the table with books and to give a sort of elementary discussion to every question that arose. There was a method, a clearness, a force, in the manner of Mr. Lewis on such occasions, aided by a sonorous voice, a perspicuous diction, and an earnestness of manner, which raised him high in the rank of popular orators.

His language could not indeed be said to be always the most classical and correct. It possessed few of the higher elegancies of verbal selection, few of the nice and delicate embellishments which are the natural results of a regular education. He had been launched into business at so early an age, he had so closely pursued the solid and the useful, that he had no leisure to attain the beautiful.

In the year 1787 he was elected a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania, in which he soon attained a great ascendancy, and rendered a most important service to his fellow citizens. Many measures of the highest general interest adopted by that body, originated with him. One of these was the restitution of the Charter of the College of Philadelphia, which, in a paroxysm of political jealousy, had been taken from them in 1779; but a much more important procedure was the alteration of the Constitution of the State. Perhaps a more singular contrivance to produce precipitation and incaution in that department, when deliberation was a duty, and to generate slowness and irresolution, when vigor, promptitude, and secrecy were required, was never exhibited than in this Constitution.

A single legislature, without check or control, possessing a power of hastily passing the most important laws, restrained only by the necessity of publishing the bill for the consideration of their constituents, yet without requiring them to wait for obtaining a knowledge of their opinion; an Executive Council, composed of a member from every county multiplying as the number of counties increased, as a septennial judicature and an inefficient Council of Cen-



sors who were to revise the proceedings of the legislature, without the power to repeal what they saw the strongest reasons to condemn,—formed some of the features of this extraordinary form of government.

The name of Franklin had been used to recommend it to popular acceptance, although it was believed by many that his placid acquiescence, together with some sportive effusions in answer to objections that were raised, was the greatest extent of the Patriarch's exertions in its favor.

To relieve the people of Pennsylvania from the operation of such a system was one of the earliest legislative efforts of Mr. Lewis. It was necessary however that he should proceed with caution. In some parts of the State it had still many friends, as a product of the revolution. To approve it, was sometimes considered as a test of political rectitude. It was asserted that its opponents aimed at aristocratical innovation not untinged with the spirit of monarchy.

On this account a procedure somewhat novel was adopted.

At the close of one of the sessions of the legislature Mr. Lewis proposed, and it was resolved, that the members should at their next assembly individually state to the House the sentiments of their constituents on this important subject.

The result was favorable, and in 1788 a majority was secured in favor of calling a convention, not openly to make a new Constitution, but to consider in what respects the old one required alteration and amendment.

At the election of 1789 Mr. Lewis was returned a member, both of the legislature and of this convention. To the latter, however, he dedicated the chief portion of his time. It was composed of the first talents that Pennsylvania afforded, and it is much to be regretted that no report has been preserved of those exhibitions of science, argument, and eloquence, which characterized its debates. The mere reformation of the old constitution was abandoned as hopeless, but in the composition of a new one some variety of opinion was manifested. Democratic inclinations prevailed with one party, while the other sought, in the establishment of a firm and active ex-





ecutive, in an independent judiciary, in a legislature of two branches, and in most carefully prescribing the limits of each and preventing encroachments on the functions of others, not to establish an aristocracy, but to secure a self-balanced government, possessing the united properties of cautious deliberation, energetic action, and uninfluenced decision.

No one of the subjects before them occasioned more animated discussions than the question of suffrage. In this Mr. Lewis was unsuccessful. The weight of Mr. Wilson thrown into the scale with the democratic members preponderated, and a right of suffrage nearly unlimited has formed the only blemish of the work. In all other respects, and by some persons even in this respect, the Constitution of Pennsylvania has been regarded as an admirable model, as a careful discrimination in practice, and a sound delineation in principle, of a representative republic, securing force to the government and freedom to the people.

With these services terminated the labors of Mr. Lewis as a legislator.

In the year 1789 the present Constitution of the United States having come into operation, he had the honor to receive from the father of his country the appointment of Attorney of the United States for the District of Pennsylvania. The Commission bore date the 26th of September 1789.

On the death of Mr. Hopkinson in 1791, Mr. Lewis accepted the appointment of Judge of the District Court of the United States. He retained this station too short a time to afford more than a transient evidence of the impartiality and precision, the patience and inflexibility which characterize a good judge and which in him were fully developed. Some years later, pecuniary considerations induced him to return to the bar, at which he remained till a year or two before his death.

He did not find the eminence of his rank affected by his temporary absence from the bar. His business as counsel in matters of difficulty and value continued to be great, and for a long time his industry was undiminished.

The Supreme Court and other judicatures of the United





States, with the higher tribunals of Pennsylvania, were the chief theatres of his employment, and his emoluments were as considerable as his reputation was exalted.

But he was not a selfish, sordid man; his friendships were warm, his charities unrestrained. He had not the talent of laying up money, and when his business subsequently declined, his friends regretted that while it was in his power he had not made a more comfortable provision for himself in his old age.

Although no longer in office, Mr. Lewis was not indifferent or inactive in respect to political subjects. Warmly and uniformly attached to the Federal interest, in habits of close intimacy with many of the leading members of the general government, much respected by our illustrious President, and always alive to the true interests of his country—Mr. Lewis, on every occasion where it was suitable and proper, rendered his services to the public cause.

His sentiments were sometimes conveyed to the public over his own signature, but his readers were more frequently left to discover the anonymous author by the vigor and pungency of his style, the closeness and soundness of his arguments. It is to be regretted that he never employed himself in a regular series of political disquisitions, which his masterly hand might have rendered of public and permanent utility.

He did not confine himself to the pen; he attended at public meetings, where his opinions were always delivered without disguise, and he always was ready to co-operate in those consultations and agencies which the nature of our government so frequently imposes on its active citizens.

His health had at times suffered violent shocks, and truth requires the acknowledgment that, whether from that cause, from the advance of age, or rather from the unresisted temptations of indolence, his industry and attentions began a few years before his death to abate. The success of a lawyer depends on the exercise of those qualities.

The advance of age is stated as one of the possible causes in the present instance.



The last two years of his life were spent at his delightful country seat on the banks of the Schuylkill, where he gratified his fondness for agriculture and his tastes for the beauties of nature.

In the Summer of 1819 his constitution appeared to have received a fatal shock, under which he lingered for about two months, and on the 15th of August he expired, with a tranquillity and composure that could not be surpassed.

A few days before his death he drew up his own will in the most correct, technical form, and appeared indeed to his last moments to possess the most serene and unclouded mind.

He was interred in the burial ground of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia; and his brethren of the bar regretting his loss, passed a series of resolutions.

Mr. Lewis was twice married. By his first wife [Rosanna Lort]<sup>1</sup> he had three children; by his second, [Frances Durdin] a lady descended from the eminent and honorable family of Esmond in Ireland, who still survives him, he left no issue.

<sup>1</sup>“Rosanna Lort” and “Frances Durdin” inserted by G. C. L.; not in manuscript.





WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from Vol. XIX. page 459.)

1790.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1.

At New York: "*January 1.*—The Vice-President, the Governor, the Senators, Members of the House of Representatives in Town, foreign public characters, and all the respectable citizens, came between the hours of 12 and 3 o'clock, to pay the compliments of the season to me—and in the afternoon a great number of gentlemen and ladies visited M<sup>rs</sup> Washington on the same occasion."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*January 2.*—Exercised in the carriage with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington. . . . Drank tea at the Chief Justice's of the U. States. *January 3.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel. *January 4.*—Informed the President of the Senate, and Speaker of the House of Representatives that I had some oral communications to make to Congress when each house had a quorum, and desired to be informed thereof—and of the time and place they would receive them.<sup>1</sup> Walked round the Battery in the afternoon. *January 5.*—Several Members of Congress called in the forenoon to pay their respects on their arrival in town, but though a respectable Levee, at the usual hour, three o'clock, the visitors were not numerous. *January 6.*—Sat from half after 8 o'clock till 10 for the portrait painter, M<sup>r</sup> Savage, to finish the picture of me which he had begun for the University of Cambridge. In the afternoon walked around the Battery. Miss Anne Brown stayed here, on a visit to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington, to a family dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 7.

At New York: "*January 7.*—About one o'clock rec'd a Committee from both Houses of Congress,<sup>2</sup> informing me

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<sup>1</sup> The second session of the first Congress commenced on the 4th of January, 1790. Ten members only of the Senate having answered to their names, the Senate was adjourned for want of a quorum. A quorum of both houses appeared on the 6th.

<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Strong and Izard, on the part of the Senate, and Messrs. Gilman, Ames, and Seney, in behalf of the House of Representatives.



that each had made a house, and would be ready at any time I should appoint to receive the communications I had to make in the Senate Chamber. Named to-morrow, 11 o'clock, for this purpose.

"The following gentlemen dined here, viz: Messrs. [John] Langdon, [Paine] Wingate, [Caleb] Strong, and [William] Few, of the Senate, the Speaker [Frederick A. Muhlenberg], Gen<sup>l</sup> [Peter] Muhlenberg, and [Thomas] Scott, of Pennsylvania, Judge [Samuel] Livermore and [Abiel] Foster, of New Hampshire, [Fisher] Ames and [George] Thatcher and [Benjamin] Goodhue, of Massachusetts, M<sup>r</sup> [Edanus] Burke, of South Carolina, and M<sup>r</sup> [Abraham] Baldwin, of Georgia."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*January 8.*—According to appointment, at 11 o'clock, I set out for the City Hall in my coach, preceded by Colonel Humphreys and Maj<sup>r</sup> Jackson in uniform, (on my two white horses) and followed by Messrs. Lear and Nelson, in my chariot, and M<sup>r</sup> Lewis, on horseback, following them. In their rear was the Chief Justice of the United States and Secretary of the Treasury and War Departments, in their respective carriages, and in the order they are named. At the outer door of the hall I was met by the door-keepers of the Senate and House, and conducted to the door of the Senate Chamber; and passing from thence to the Chair through the Senate on the right, and House of Representatives on the left, I took my seat. The gentlemen who attended me followed and took their stand behind the Senators; the whole rising as I entered. After being seated, at which time the members of both Houses also sat, I rose, (as they also did) and made my speech; delivering one copy to the President of the Senate, and another to the Speaker of the House of Representatives—after which, and being a few moments seated, I retired, bowing on each side to the assembly (who stood) as I passed, and descending to the lower hall, attended as before, I returned with them to my house. In the evening a *great* number of ladies, and many gentlemen visited M<sup>r</sup> Washington. On this occasion I was dressed in a suit of clothes made at the Woolen Manufactory at Hartford, as the buttons also were."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 9.

At New York: "*January 9.*—Exercised with M<sup>r</sup> Washington and the children in the coach the 14 miles round.<sup>1</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> The route was by the old Kings-Bridge road, which passed over Murray Hill, where Lexington Avenue now does, to McGowan's Pass at about One Hundred and Eighth Street; then across on a line with the Harlem River to Bloomingdale, and so down on the westerly side of the island.





the afternoon walked round the Battery.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*January 10.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—wrote private letters in the afternoon for the Southern mail. *January 11.*—Communicated to both Houses, transcripts of the adoption and ratification of the New Constitution by the State of North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> *January 12.*—About two o'clock a Committee of the Senate<sup>2</sup> waited on me with a copy of their address, in answer to my speech, and requesting to know at what time and place it should be presented. I named my own house, and Thursday next, at 11 o'clock, for the purpose. Just before Levee hour, a Committee from the House of Representatives<sup>3</sup> called upon me to know when and where they should deliver their address. I named 12 o'clock on Thursday. . . . A respectable, though not a full Levee to-day.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, JANUARY 14.

At New York: “*January 14.*—At the hours appointed, the Senate and House of Representatives presented their respective addresses—the members of both coming in carriages, and the latter with the Mace preceding the Speaker. The address of the Senate was presented by the Vice-President—and that of the House by the Speaker thereof.

“The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz: Messrs. [John] Henry and [William] Maclay, of the Senate—and Messrs. [Jeremiah] Wadsworth, [Jonathan] Trumbull, [William] Floyd, [Elias] Boudinot, [Henry] Wynkoop, [Joshua] Seney, [John] Page, [Richard Bland] Lee, and [George] Mathews, of the House of Representatives; and Mr John Trumbull.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*January 14.*—Dined this day with the President. It was a great dinner—all in the taste of high life. I considered it as a part of my duty as a Senator to submit to it, and am glad it is over. The President is a cold, formal man; but I must declare that he treated me with great attention. I was the first person with whom he drank a glass of wine. I was often spoken to by him. Yet he knows how rigid a republican I am.”—*Journal of William Maclay*.

<sup>1</sup> November 21, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Messrs. King, Izard, and Patterson.

<sup>3</sup> Messrs. Smith, of South Carolina, Clymer, and Lawrence.



## FRIDAY, JANUARY 15.

At New York: "*January 15.*—Snowing all day—but few ladies and gentlemen as visitors this evening to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*January 16.*—Exercised in the coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the two children, about 12 o'clock. *January 17.*—At home all day—not well. *January 18.*—Still indisposed with an aching tooth, and swelled and inflamed gum. *January 19.*—Not much company at the Levee to-day—but the visitors were respectable. *January 20.*—A Report from the Secretary at War, on the subject of a National Militia, altered agreeably to the ideas I had communicated to him, was presented to me, in order to be laid before Congress."—*Washington's Diary*.

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 21.

At New York: "*January 21.*—The following gentlemen dined here, viz: Messrs. [Oliver] Ellsworth, [William] Patterson, [Jonathan] Elmer, [Richard] Bassett, and [Benjamin] Hawkins, of the Senate—and Messrs. [Roger] Sherman, [Lambert] Cadwalader, [George] Clymer, [Thomas] Hartley, [Daniel] Heister, [William] Smith, (Maryland) and [James] Jackson, of the House of Representatives—and Major [Samuel] Meredith, Treasurer of the United States."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*January 22.*—Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. Called in my ride on the Baron de Polnitz, to see the operation of his (Winlaw's) threshing machine.<sup>1</sup> . . . Many and respectable visitors to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening. *January 23.*—Went with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington in the forenoon to see the Paintings of M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Trumbull. *January 24.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Writing private letters in the afternoon. *January 25.*—A M<sup>r</sup> Francis Bailey [printer of Philadelphia], introduced by Messrs. Scott and Hartley, of Pennsylvania, and M<sup>r</sup> White, of Virginia, offered a paper, in the nature of a Petition, setting forth a valuable discovery he had made of marginal figures for notes, certificates &c. which could not by the ingenuity of man be counterfeited. *January 26.*—Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. The visitors at the Levee to-day were

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<sup>1</sup> The Baron de Poellnitz had a small farm in the vicinity of Murray Hill, where he tried experiments in agriculture. He wrote a pamphlet on the subject, and also suggested to Washington the propriety of establishing a farm under the patronage of the government. The baron was the inventor of various agricultural machines and implements, particularly a threshing machine and the horse-hoe.





numerous and respectable—among whom was the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. *January 27.*—Did business with the Secretaries of the Treasury and War.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, JANUARY 28.

At New York: “*January 28.*—The following gentlemen dined here, viz: the Vice-President, the Secretary of the Treasury—Messrs. [Philip] Schuyler, [Robert] Morris, [Ralph] Izard, [Tristram] Dalton and [Pierce] Butler, of the Senate; and Messrs. [William] Smith, (South Carolina,) [Michael] Stone, [James] Schureman, [Thomas] Fitzsimmons, [Theodore] Sedgwick, [Daniel] Huger, and [James] Madison of the House of Representatives.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*January 29.*—Exercised on horseback this forenoon; during my ride, Mr [Samuel] Johnston, one of the Senators from North Carolina, who had just arrived, came to pay his respects, as did Mr [William] Cushing, one of the Associate Judges—the latter came again about 3 o'clock, introduced by the Vice-President. . . . The visitors to Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington this evening were numerous and respectable. *January 30.*—Exercised with Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington and the children in the coach in the forenoon. Walked round the Battery in the afternoon. *January 31.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Mr [James] Wilson, one of the Associate Judges of the Supreme Court, paid his respects to me after I returned from church. Spent the afternoon in writing letters to Mount Vernon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

At New York: “*February 1.*—Agreed on Saturday last to take Mr McComb's house,<sup>1</sup> lately occupied by the Minister of France, for one year from and after the first day of May next.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*February 2.*—Exercised in the carriage with Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington. On my return found Mr [John] Blair, one of the Associate Judges, the Attorney-General of the United States [Edmund Randolph], and Col<sup>o</sup> Bland here. The Levee to-day was much crowded, and very respectable; among other company, the District Judge and Attorney, with the Marshall and all the Grand Jurors of the Federal District Court, (and a respectable body they

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<sup>1</sup> The McComb house was situated on the west side of Broadway, a little below Trinity Church; it was subsequently occupied as a hotel, and was called *The Mansion House*. The President moved to this house on the 23d of February.



were) attended. *February 3.*—Visited the apartments in the house of Mr McComb's—made a disposition of the rooms—fixed on some furniture of the Minister's (which was to be sold, and was well adapted to particular public rooms)—and directed additional stables to be built."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

At New York: "*February 4.*—The following company dined here, viz: The Vice-President, the Chief Justice of the United States [John Jay], Judges [William] Cushing, [James] Wilson, and [John] Blair, of the Supreme Court; the Attorney-General of the United States (Randolph); the Marshall, Attorney, and Clerk of the District, viz: Smith, Harrison, and Troup; Mr [William S.] Johnson and Mr [Benjamin] Hawkins, of the Senate, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, to wit:—Hamilton and Knox."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*February 5.*—Received from Doct<sup>r</sup> [Hugh] Williamson, of North Carolina, a list of names whom he thought would be proper to fill the Revenue offices in that State. Submitted the same to the Senators of that State for their inspection and alteration. *February 6.*—Walked to my newly engaged lodgings to fix on a spot for a new stable which I was about to build. Agreed with — to erect one 30 feet square, 16 feet pitch, to contain 12 single stalls; a hay loft, racks, mangers, &c; planked floor, and underpinned with stone, with windows between each stall, for £65. *February 7.*—Went to St. Paul's in the forenoon. *February 8.*—Nominated officers for the Revenue department in North Carolina. Mr [James] Iredell as an Associate Judge; . . . likewise Major Samuel Shaw, as Consul for Canton, in China. *February 9.*—A good deal of company at the Levee to-day. Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. *February 10.*—Sat from 9 until 11 o'clock for Mr Trumbull to draw my picture in his historical pieces [the battles of Trenton and Princeton]."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

At New York: "*February 11.*—Exercised on horseback in the forenoon. The following gentlemen dined here, viz: Messrs. [George] Leonard and [Jonathan] Groal [Grout], of Massachusetts; [Benjamin] Huntington and [Jonathan] Sturges, of Connecticut; [Peter] Silvester, of New York; [Thomas] Sinnickson, of New Jersey; [George] Gale, of Maryland; and [Theodoric] Bland, [Josiah] Par-





ker and [Andrew] Moore, of Virginia."—*Washington's Diary*.

"February 12.—Sat from 9 o'clock until 11, for M<sup>r</sup> John Trumbull, for the purpose of drawing my picture. A good deal of company (gentlemen and ladies) to visit M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this afternoon. February 13.—Walked in the forenoon to the house to which I am about to remove. Gave directions for the arrangement of the furniture, &c. and had some of it put up. February 14.—At home all day—writing private letters to Virginia. February 15.—Sat between 9 and 11, for M<sup>r</sup> John Trumbull. February 16.—Intended to have used exercise on horseback, but the weather prevented my doing it. Rid to my intended habitation, and gave some directions respecting the arrangement of the furniture. The Levee to-day was thin. Received some papers from the Secretary at War respecting a correspondence to be opened between Col<sup>o</sup> Hawkins, of the Senate, and M<sup>r</sup> McGillivray,<sup>1</sup> of the Creek Nation, for the purpose of getting the latter, with some other chiefs of that nation to this place, as an expedient to avert a war with them."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At New York: "February 18.—Sat for M<sup>r</sup> Trumbull from 9 o'clock till 10; after which exercised in the post-chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington. On our return home called on M<sup>rs</sup> Adams, lady of the Vice-President. The following company dined here to-day, viz:—Judge Cushing and his lady; the Postmaster General [Samuel Osgood] and his lady, and Messrs. [Elias] Boudinot, [Samuel] Griffin, [Isaac] Coles, [Elbridge] Gerry, and [Alexander] White, and their ladies."—*Washington's Diary*.

"February 19.—Exercised on horseback about 9 o'clock. Walked afterwards to my new house. Received a Cap<sup>t</sup> Drew, Com<sup>d</sup> of a British sloop of war, sent express to Sir John Temple, Consul-General of that nation in the United States. The visitors this evening to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington were numerous and respectable. February 20.—Sat from 9 until 11, for M<sup>r</sup> Trumbull. Walked afterwards to my new house—then rode a few miles

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander McGillivray was the son of a Scottish trader of that name, who married the daughter of the principal chief of the Creek nation, whose domain originally included the whole of Florida and a greater portion of Alabama and Georgia. He received a liberal education at Charleston, and was also placed for a time in a business house at Savannah. McGillivray was finally chosen by the Creeks for their principal sachem or king.





with M<sup>r</sup> Washington and the children before dinner; after which I again visited my new house in my coach (because it rained). *February 21.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—wrote letters respecting my domestic concerns afterwards. *February 22.*—Set seriously about removing my furniture to my new house. Two of the gentlemen of the family had their beds taken there, and would sleep there to-night."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

At New York: "*February 23.*—Few or no visitors at the Levee to-day, from the idea of my being on the move. After dinner, M<sup>r</sup>s Washington, myself, and children removed, and lodged at our new habitation."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*February 24.*—Employed in arranging matters about the house and fixing matters. *February 25.*—Engaged as yesterday. In the afternoon a Committee of Congress presented an Act for enumerating the inhabitants of the United States. *February 26.*—A numerous company of gentlemen and ladies were here this afternoon. Exercised on horseback this forenoon. *February 27.*—Sat for M<sup>r</sup> Trumbull this forenoon; after which exercised in the coach with M<sup>r</sup>s Washington and the children. *February 28.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Wrote letters on private business afterwards."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, MARCH 1.

At New York: "*March 1.*—Exercised on horseback this forenoon, attended by M<sup>r</sup> John Trumbull, who wanted to see me mounted.

"Informed the House of Representatives (where the Bill originated) that I had given my assent to the act for taking a Census of the People."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary.*

"*March 2.*—Much and respectable company was at the Levee to-day. *March 3.*—Exercised on horseback between 9 and 11 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 4.

At New York: "*March 4.*—Sat from 9 until half after 10 o'clock for M<sup>r</sup> Trumbull. The following gentlemen

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<sup>1</sup> The census directed to be made by the Act of Congress of March 1, 1790, made the population of the United States to consist of 3,921,326 persons; this included 697,697 slaves.



dined here to-day, viz:—the Vice-President, Messrs. [John] Langdon, [Paine] Wingate, [Tristram] Dalton, [Caleb] Strong, [Oliver] Ellsworth, [Philip] Schuyler, [Rufus] King, [William] Patterson, [Robert] Morris, [William] McClay, [Richard] Bassett, [John] Henry, [William S.] Johnson, [Benjamin] Hawkins, [Ralph] Izard, [Pierce] Butler, and [William] Few, all of the Senate.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*March 4.*—Dined with the President of the United States. It was a dinner of dignity. All the Senators were present and the Vice-President. I looked often around the company to find the happiest faces. Wisdom, forgive me if I wrong thee, but I thought folly and happiness most nearly allied. The President seemed to bear in his countenance a settled aspect of melancholy. No cheering ray of convivial sunshine broke through the cloudy gloom of settled seriousness. At every interval of eating or drinking he played on the table with a fork or knife, like a drumstick.”—*Journal of William Maclay*.

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 5.

At New York: “*March 5.*—A very numerous company of ladies and gentlemen here this evening.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*March 6.*—Exercised in the coach with M<sup>r</sup> Washington and the children, and in the afternoon walked round the Battery. *March 7.*—At home all day—writing letters on private business. *March 9.*—A good many gentlemen attended the Levee to-day—among whom were many members of Congress. *March 10.*—Exercised on horseback between 9 and 11 o'clock. On my return had a long conversation with Col<sup>o</sup> [Marinus] Willet, who was engaged to go as a private agent, but for public purposes to M<sup>r</sup> McGilivray, principal chief of the Creek Nation.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 11.

At New York: “*March 11.*—The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz:—M<sup>r</sup> [George] Read, of the Senate, the Speaker, and the following gentlemen of the House of Representatives, viz:—Messrs. [Nicholas] Gilman, [Benjamin] Goodhue, [Fisher] Aimes, [Jeremiah] Wadsworth, [Jonathan] Trumbull, [Egbert] Benson, [John] Lawrence, Peter Muhlenberg, [Henry] Wynkoop, [John] Vining, [Daniel] Carroll, [Benjamin] Contee, [James] Madison,





[John] Page, and [Thomas] Sumpter—also Judge [Gunning] Bedford and M<sup>r</sup> John Trumbull.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*March 12.*—Exercised in the Post chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington from 10 o'clock till near 12. Signed the Passport which was to be committed to Col<sup>o</sup> Willet for M<sup>r</sup> Gillivray and other Chiefs of the Creek Nation of Indians, and other papers necessary for his setting out on this business.<sup>1</sup> A Pretty numerous company of visitors this evening to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington's Levee. *March 13.*—Exercised about 11 o'clock with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington & the Children, in the coach. *March 14.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon—wrote letters on private business afterwards. *March 15.*—Received an Address from the Roman Catholics of the United States, presented by M<sup>r</sup> [Charles] Carroll of the Senate, M<sup>r</sup> [Daniel] Carroll & M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Fitzsimmons of the House of Representatives and many others, Inhabitants of the City of New York. . . . And M<sup>r</sup> Few, Senator from the State of Georgia, presented me with the copy of an Address from that State requiring to know, when it would be convenient for me to receive it in form. *March 16.*—Exercised on horseback between 10 & 12 o'clock: previous to this, I was visited (having given permision.) by a Mr. Warner Miflin, one of the People called Quakers; active in pursuit of the Measures laid before Congress for emancipating the Slaves.<sup>2</sup> . . . The day being bad, not many visitors attended the Levee. At it Mr. Smith of South Carolina, presented the copy of an Address from the Intendant and — of the City of Charleston, and was told that I would receive it in form on Thursday at 11 o'clock. *March 17.*—Gave Mr. Few notice that I would receive the address of the Legislature of Georgia to morrow at half after ten o'clock.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 18.

At New York: “*March 18.*—At half past 10 I received the address of the Legislature of Georgia—presented by

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Marinus Willett acquitted himself so well of the duty assigned him that the chiefs of the Creek nation, with McGillivray at their head, were induced to repair to New York. Negotiations were immediately entered upon, which terminated in a treaty of peace, signed on the 7th of August and formally ratified on the 13th.

<sup>2</sup> On February 12 a petition from the Yearly Meeting of Quakers for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia, seconded by another from New York, was presented to Congress, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade. Another was presented the next day from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, signed by Dr. Franklin as president, on the same subject. These petitions and proceedings thereon produced much agitation in Congress and throughout the country during the spring of 1790.



Mr Few the Senator & the 3 Representatives of the State in Congress [Abraham Baldwin, James Jackson, and George Matthews]. At 11 o'clock the address from the Intendant and Wardens of the City of Charleston was presented by Mr Smith.

"The following Gentlemen dined here, viz:—Messrs. [Samuel] Livermore, [Abiel] Foster, [George] Partridge, [George] Thatcher, [Roger] Sherman, [Thomas] Fitzsimmons, [Thomas] Hartley, [Joshua] Seney, [Richard H.] See, [Edanus] Burke, [Thomas T.] Tucker, [Abraham] Baldwin, [James] Jackson & [George] Mathews of the Representatives in Congress—and Mr [Samuel A.] Otis, Secretary of the Senate, and Mr [John] Beckley Clerk of the House of Representatives.

"In the Evening (about 8 o'clock) I went with Mr Washington to the assembly where there were betwn. 60 & 70 Ladies & many Gentlemen."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*March 19.*—Exercised on Horseback betwn. 9 and 11 o'clock. *March 20.*—Exercised in the Coach with Mr Washington and the Children. *March 21.*—Went to St. Paul's Chappel in the forenoon—wrote private letters in the afternoon. Received Mr Jefferson, Minister of State about one o'clock.<sup>1</sup> *March 22.*—Sat for Mr Trumbull for my Picture in his Historical pieces—after which conversed for more than an hour with Mr Jefferson on business relative to the duties of his office. *March 23.*—A full & very respectable Levee to day. *March 24.*—Prevented from Riding by the unfavourableness of the weather."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 25.

At New York: "*March 25.*—Went in the forenoon to the Consecration of Trinity Church, when a Pew was constructed, and set apart for the President of the United Sts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jefferson had been called to Washington's cabinet as Secretary of State on his return from France, where he had resided as minister for some time. After a tedious journey of a fortnight from Monticello, Mr. Jefferson reached New York on the 21st of March.

<sup>2</sup> The original building of Trinity Church, the first Episcopal church organized in the province of New York, was erected in 1696 and enlarged in 1737. It was destroyed in the great fire of September 21, 1776, and the building consecrated this day was erected in 1788 on the same site, Broad-





"The following Company dined here to day, viz:—The Chief Justice Jay & his Lady, Genl. Schuyler & his Lady, the Secretary of the Treasury and his Lady, the Secretary of War & his Lady & M<sup>rs</sup> Greene, the Secretary of State (M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson) M<sup>r</sup> [Charles] Carroll & M<sup>r</sup> [John] Henry of Senate, Judge [James] Wilson, Messrs. [James] Madison & [John] Page of the Ho. of Representatives, and Col<sup>o</sup> [William Stephens] Smith Marshall of the District."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*March 26.*—The company this evening was thin, especially of Ladies. *March 27.*—Exercised in the coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the children. *March 28.*—Went to St. Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. *March 29.*—Exercised on Horseback in the forenoon—and called at Col<sup>o</sup> [Anthony] Walton White's. *March 30.*—Exercised in the Post Chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington. The Company at the Levee to day was numerous & respectable. *March 31.*—Exercised on Horseback."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 1.

At New York: "*April 1.*—The following Company dined here to day, viz:—Governor Clinton, [Pierre Van Cortlandt] the Speaker of the Senate & [Gulian Verplanck of the] House of Representatives of the State of New York, Judge Duane, Baron de Steuben and M<sup>r</sup> Arthur Lee. M<sup>r</sup> [Rufus] King of the Senate, and the following members of the House of Representatives—M<sup>r</sup> [George] Leonard, M<sup>r</sup> [Theodore] Sedgwick, M<sup>r</sup> [Jonathan] Grout, M<sup>r</sup> [Jeremiah] Van Rensalaer, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Hathorne, M<sup>r</sup> [George] Clymer, M<sup>r</sup> [Daniel] Heister, M<sup>r</sup> [Michael] Stone, M<sup>r</sup> [Hugh] Williamson, M<sup>r</sup> [John B.] Ash, and M<sup>r</sup> [Daniel] Huger."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*April 2.*—But a thin company this Evening, on acct. of the badness of the weather, & its being good friday. *April 3.*—Exercised in the Coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the Children. *April 4.*—At home all day—unwell. *April 5.*—Exercised with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington in the Post Chaise. *April 6.*—Sat for M<sup>r</sup> Savage, at the request of the Vice President, to have my

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way, opposite Wall Street. During the exercises, Washington and his family were seated in the richly ornamented pew, with a canopy over it, set apart by the wardens and vestrymen for the President of the United States.



Portrait drawn for him.<sup>1</sup> The Company at the Levee to day was thin,—the day was bad. *April 7.*—Exercised with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington in the Post-Chaise.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 8.

At New York: “*April 8.*—The following Company dined here, viz:—of the House of Representatives—M<sup>r</sup> [Elbridge] Gerry, M<sup>r</sup> [Benjamin] Huntington, M<sup>r</sup> [Lambert] Cadwalader, M<sup>r</sup> [Elias] Boudinot, M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Sinnickson, M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Scott, M<sup>r</sup> [George] Gale, M<sup>r</sup> [Josiah] Parker, M<sup>r</sup> [Andrew] Moore, & M<sup>r</sup> [John] Browne; of the Treasury Department, the Comptroller (M<sup>r</sup> [Nicholas] Eveleigh), the Auditor (M<sup>r</sup> [Oliver] Wolcott) & the Register M<sup>r</sup> [Joseph] Nourse—and of the Commissioners of Accts. Genl. [William] Irvine, and M<sup>r</sup> [John] Kean—together with M<sup>r</sup> [Christopher] Gore, attorney for the District of Massachusetts.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*April 9.*—Exercised on Horseback in the forenoon. The company who visited M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this afternoon was very numerous both of Gentlemen & Ladies. *April 10.*—Exercised in the Coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the Children—walked in the afternoon around the Battery and through some of the principal Streets of the City. In the afternoon the Secretary of State submitted for my approbation Letters of credence for M<sup>r</sup> [William] Short as Charge de Affaires, at the Court of Versailles. *April 11.*—Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon—and [wrote] several private letters in the afternoon. *April 12.*—Exercised on Horseback after which did business with the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments. *April 13.*—Exercised on Horseback about 10 o'clock. A good deal of Company at the Levee to day. *April 14.*—Exercised in the Post Chaise with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 15.

At New York: “*April 15.*—The Vice President & Lady, the Chief Justice of the United States & Lady, M<sup>r</sup> [Ralph] Izard & Lady, M<sup>r</sup> [Tristram] Dalton & Lady, Bishop [Samuel] Provost & Lady, Judge [Cyrus] Griffin & Lady Christina, Col<sup>o</sup> [Samuel] Griffin & Lady, Col<sup>o</sup> [William S.] Smith & Lady, the Secretary of State, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Langdon,

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<sup>1</sup> This portrait is now owned by Henry Adams, a great-grandson of John Adams.





M<sup>r</sup> [Rufus] King & Major [Pierce] Butler. M<sup>rs</sup> King was invited but was indisposed."— *Washington's Diary*.

"April 16.—Had a long conference with the Secretary of State on the subject of Diplomatic appointments & on the proper places & characters for Consuls or Vice Consuls. After which I exercised on Horseback. The Visitors of Gentlemen and Ladies to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening were very numerous. April 17.—Exercised in the Coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and the children. April 18.—At home all day—the weather being very stormy & bad, wrote private letters. April 19.—Prevented from beginning my tour upon Long Island to day from the wet of yesterday and the unfavourableness of the morning."— *Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 20.

At Long Island: "April 20.—About 8 o'clock (having previously sent over my Servants, Horses, and Carriage) I crossed to Brooklyn and proceeded to Flat Bush—thence to Utrich [New Utrecht]—thence to Gravesend—thence through ——— Jamaica where we lodged at a Tavern kept by one Warne—a pretty good and decent house,—at the house of a M<sup>r</sup> Barre, at Utrich, we dined,—the man was obliging but little else to recommend it. . . . From Brooklyn to Flatbush is called 5 miles, thence to Utrich 6—to Gravesend 2—and from thence to Jamaica 14—in all this day 27 miles." — *Washington's Diary*.

"April 21.—The morning being clear & pleasant we left Jamaica about eight o'clock, & pursued the Road to South Hempstead, passing along the South edge of the plain of that name. . . . We baited in South Hempstead, (10 miles from Jamaica) at the House of one Simmonds, formerly a Tavern, now of private entertainment for money.—From thence turning off to the right, we fell into the South Rd. at the distance of about five miles where we came in view of the Sea. . . . We dined at one Ketchum's. . . . After dinner we proceeded to a Squire Thompson's. April 22.—About 8 o'clock we left M<sup>r</sup> Thompson's—halted awhile at one Greens distant 11 miles and dined [at] Harts Tavern in Brookhaven township, five miles farther. . . . From Hart's we struck across the Island for the No. side passing the East end of the Brushey Plains—and Koram [Corum] 8 miles—thence to Setakit 7 miles more to the House of a Capt. Roe, which is tolerably decent with obliging people in it. April 23.—About 8 o'clock we left Roe's, and baited the Horses at Smiths Town at a Widow Blidenberg's a decent House 10 miles from Setalkat—thence 15 miles to Huntington where we dined—and afterwards proceeded seven miles to Oyster-Bay, to



the House of a M<sup>r</sup> Young (private and very neat and decent) where we lodged. The house we dined at in Huntingdon was kept by a Widow Platt, and was tolerably good. *April 24.*—Left M<sup>r</sup> Young's before 6 o'clock and passing Musqueto [now Glen] Cove, breakfasted at a M<sup>r</sup> Underdunk's [Henry Onderdonk] at the head of a little bay; where we were kindly received and well entertained.—This Gentleman works a Grist & two Paper Mills, the last of which he seems to carry on with spirit, and to profit—diste. from Oyster-bay 12 miles.—From hence to Flushing where we dined is 12 more—& from thence to Brooklyne through Newton (the way we travelled and which is a mile further than to pass through Jamaica) is 18 miles more. . . . Before sundown we had crossed the Ferry and was at home."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 25.

At New York: "*April 25.*—Went to Trinity Church, and wrote letters home after dinner."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*April 26.*—Appointed a quarter before three to-morrow to receive from the Senators of the State of Virgna. an address from the Legislature thereof. *April 27.*—At the time appointed, Messrs. [Richard Henry] Lee & [John] Walker (the Senators from Virginia) attended, & presented the Address as mentioned yesterday & and received an answer to it. A good deal of respectable company was at the Levee to day."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 29.

At New York: "*April 29.*—The following Gentlemen dined here, viz:—of the Senate, Messrs. [Caleb] Strong, Doctr. [William S.] Johnston, M<sup>r</sup> [William] Patterson, M<sup>r</sup> [Robert] Morris, M<sup>r</sup> [Charles] Carroll, M<sup>r</sup> [Richard Henry] Lee, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Walker, Govr. [Samuel] Johnston & M<sup>r</sup> [James] Gunn—and of the House of Representatives, M<sup>r</sup> [Jonathan] Sturges, M<sup>r</sup> [Egbert] Benson, M<sup>r</sup> [William] Floyd, M<sup>r</sup> [James] Schureman, M<sup>r</sup> [John] Vining, M<sup>r</sup> [William] Smith, Maryland, M<sup>r</sup> [Theodoric] Bland, and M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Sumpter."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*April 30.*—The Visitors to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington this evening were not numerous. *May 1.*—Exercised in the Coach with M<sup>rs</sup> Washington & the children in the forenoon—& on foot in the afternoon. *May 2.*—Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon—writing letters on private business in the afternoon. *May 3.*—Exercised on Horseback about 9 o'clock. *May 4.*—Exercised in the forenoon on Horseback. A respectable Company at the Levee to-day."—*Washington's Diary.*





## THURSDAY, MAY 6.

At New York: "*May 6.*—Exercised on horseback in the forenoon.—The following, out of several others who were invited, but prevented by sickness, dined here, viz:—Mr [Paine] Wingate, Mr [William] Maclay, Mr [John] Walker (of the Senate) and Messrs. [Nicholas] Gilman, [Fisher] Aimes, Genl. Muhlenberg, [Henry] Wynkoop, [John] Page and Lady, [William] Smith So. Carolina & Lady, and Mr [Alexander] White & his Lady of the House of Representatives."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*May 6.*—Went to dine with the President agreeably to invitation. He seemed in more good humor than I ever saw him, though he was so deaf that I believe he heard little of the conversation. We had ladies, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Page and Mrs. White. Their husbands all with them."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

## FRIDAY, MAY 7.

At New York: "*May 7.*—Exercised in the forenoon. . . Much Company—Gentlemen & Ladies—visited Mr Washington this Evening."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*May 8.*—Exercised in the Coach with Mr Washington & the Children in the forenoon. *May 9.*—Indisposed with a bad cold, and at home all day writing letters on private business."—*Washington's Diary*.

## MONDAY, MAY 10.

At New York: "*May 10.*—A severe illness with which I was siezed the 10th of this month and which left me in a convalescent state for several weeks after the violence of it had passed; & little inclination to do more than what duty to the public required at my hands occasioned the suspension of this Diary."—*Washington's Diary*.

Incessant application to business made severe inroads upon Washington's health, and on the 10th of May he was seized with a "severe illness," as he records in the Diary, which reduced him to the verge of dissolution. He was confined to his chamber for several weeks. His chief difficulty was inflammation of the lungs, and he suffered from general debility until the close of the session of Congress in August.



SATURDAY, MAY 15.

At New York: "May 15.—Called to see the President. Every eye full of tears. His life despaired of. Dr. Mac Knight told me he would trifle neither with his own character nor the public expectation; his danger was imminent, and every reason to expect that the event of his disorder would be unfortunate."—*Journal of William Macloy*.

"May 22.—The President has been exceedingly unwell; had the fears of those acquainted with his situation been verified, the consequences would have been alarming."—*Oliver Wolcott to Oliver Wolcott, Sen.*

MONDAY, MAY 24.

At New York: "New York, May 26.—The President of the United States is so far recovered that he rode out in his carriage on Monday last [May 24]."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, May 29.

"May 25.—By late accounts from New York, we are informed that the President of the United States has been exceedingly indisposed, but we rejoice at the authentic information of his being much relieved."—*New Brunswick Gazette*.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1.

At New York: "New York, June 2.—We have the pleasure to felicitate the public, that the President of the United States has so far recovered his health, that he yesterday [June 1] saw company at his house, and received the congratulations of many respectable characters on the occasion."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 7.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3.

At New York: "I have a few days since had a severe attack of the peripneumony kind; but am now recovered, except in point of strength. My physicians advise me to more exercise and less application to business."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

MONDAY, JUNE 7.

Leaves New York: "New York, June 6.—To-morrow [June 7] I go on a sailing party of three or four days with





the President. . . . The President is perfectly reestablished, and looks better than before his illness."—*Thomas Jefferson to William Short.*

"*New York*, June 10.—Yesterday afternoon [June 9] the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES returned from Sandy Hook and the fishing banks, where he had been for the benefit of the sea air, and to amuse himself in the delightful recreation of fishing. We are told he has had excellent sport, having himself caught a great number of sea-bass and black fish—the weather proved remarkably fine, which, together with the salubrity of the air and wholesome exercise, rendered this little voyage extremely agreeable, and cannot fail, we hope, of being very serviceable to a speedy and complete restoration of his health."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, June 12.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 24.

At New York: "*June 24.*—Exercised on horseback betwn. 5 & 7 o'clock, A.M. Entertained the following Gentlemen at Dinner, viz:—Messrs. [Elbridge] Gerry, [Benjamin] Goodhue, [Jonathan] Grout, [George] Leonard, [Benjamin] Huntington, [Egbert] Benson, [Elias] Boudinot, [Lambert] Cadwalader, [Thomas] Sinnickson, [Daniel] Heister, [Thomas] Scott, [Benjamin] Contee, [Michael] Stone, [John] Browne, and Morse [?] of the House of Representatives."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 25.*—Constant & heavy Rain all day, prevented Company from visiting M<sup>r</sup> Washington this afternoon & all kinds of Exercise. *June 26.*—Exercised in the Coach with M<sup>r</sup> Washington & the Children & by walking in the afternoon. *June 27.*—Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon—and employed myself in writing business [letters] in the afternoon. *June 28.*—Exercised between 5 & 7 o'clock in the morning & drank Tea with M<sup>r</sup> Clinton (the Governors Lady) in the afternoon. *June 29.*—Exercised between 5 & 7 o'clock in the morning on horseback. A good deal of Company, amongst which several strangers and some foreigners at the Levee to day."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, JULY 1.

At New York: "*July 1.*—Exercised between 5 and 7 o'clock on Horseback. . . . The following Gentn. & Ladies dined here, to day, viz:—The Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, and Secretary at War & their Ladies—M<sup>r</sup> [Tristram] Dalton & M<sup>r</sup> [Rufus] King & their Ladies, M<sup>r</sup> [Pierce] Butler & his two daughters—M<sup>r</sup> [Benjamin]



Hawkins, Mr [Joseph] Stanton, & Mr [Theodore] Foster, & Mr [Ralph] Izard.—The Chief Justice & his Lady, Genl. Schuyler & Mrs Izard were also invited but were otherwise engaged.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 2.*—Exercised between 5 & 7 on horseback. . . . Much company of both Sexes to visit Mrs Washington this evening. *July 3.*—Exercised between 9 and 11 in the Coach with Mrs Washington and the Children. *July 4.*—Went to Trinity Church in the forenoon. This day [Sunday] being the Anniversary of The declaration of Independency the celebration of it was put of until to morrow.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, JULY 5.

At New York: “*July 5.*—The members of the Senate, House of Representatives, Public Officers, Foreign Characters &c. The Members of the Cincinnati, Officers of the Militia, &c. came with the compliments of the day to me—about one o'clock a sensible Oration was delivered in St. Paul's Chapel by Mr Brockholst Livingston, on the occasion of the day. . . . In the afternoon many Gentlemen & ladies visited Mrs Washington. I was informed this day by General Irvine (who recd. the acct. from Pittsburgh) that the Traitor Arnold was at Detroit & had viewed the Militia in the Neighbourhood of it twice.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*July 5.*—All the town was in arms; grenadiers, light infantry, and artillery passed the Hall, and the firing of cannon and small-arms, with beating of drums, kept all in uproar. The motion [for the Senate to adjourn] was carried, and now all of us repaired to the President's. We got some wine, punch, and cakes. From hence we went to St. Paul's, and heard the anniversary of independence pronounced by a Mr. B. Livingston. The church was crowded. I could not hear him well. Some said it was fine. I could not contradict them. I was in the pew next to General Washington. Part of his family and Senators filled the seats with us.”—*Journal of William Maclay*.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 6.

At New York: “*July 6.*—Exercised on Horseback betwn. 5 & 7 o'clock in the morning,—at 9 o'clock I sat for Mr Trumbull to finish my pictures in some of his historical pieces. Announced to the House of Representatives (where the Bills originated) my Assent to the Acts which were





presented to me on Friday last.—One of which Authorizes the President to purchase the whole, or such part of that tract of Land situate in the State of New York, commonly called West-point as shall be by him judged requisite for the purpose of such fortifications & Garrisons as may be necessary for the defence of the same.

“The visitors were few to day, on acct. of the numbers that paid their compliments yesterday. *July 7.*—Exercised between 5 & 7 this morning on Horseback.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, JULY 8.

At New York: “*July 8.*—Sat from 9 o'clock till after 10 for M<sup>r</sup> John Trumbull who was drawing a Portrait of me at full length which he intended to present to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington.<sup>1</sup> . . .

“The following Gentlemen dined here to day—viz—Messrs. [Paine] Wingate, [Caleb] Strong, [William] Maclay, [Richard Henry] Lee, & [Samuel] Johnson (No. Carolina) of the Senate—and Messrs. [Nicholas] Gilman, [Fisher] Aimes, [Jonathan] Sturges, [James] Schureman, [Thomas] Fitzsimmons, [Henry] Wynkoop, [John] Vining, [William] Smith, [James] Madison, [John] Sevier, & [Thomas] Sumpster, of the House of Representatives.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*July 8.*—Stayed at the Hall until four o'clock, and went to dine with the President. It was a great dinner, in the usual style, without any remarkable occurrences. Mrs. Washington was the only woman present.”—*Journal of William Maclay.*

#### FRIDAY, JULY 9.

At New York: “*July 9.*—Exercised on Horseback between 5 & 7 in the morning. . . . Many visitors (male &

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<sup>1</sup> This portrait, which represents Washington in uniform, standing by the side of a horse, was bequeathed by Mrs. Washington to Eliza Parke Law, wife of Thomas Law, and daughter of her son, John Parke Custis. The picture is small (twenty by thirty inches) and is exquisitely painted. It is now owned by Mrs. Kirby Flower Smith, daughter of the late Edmund Law Rogers, of Baltimore, and great-grand-daughter of Mrs. Law. This is the original from which the large painting belonging to the city of New York was executed.



female) this afternoon to Mr Washington."—*Washington's Diary*.

"July 10.—Having formed a Party, consisting of the Vice President, his lady, Son & Miss Smith; the Secretaries of State, Treasury, & War, and the ladies of the two latter; with all the Gentlemen of my family, Mrs. [Tobias] Lear & the two Children, we visited the old position of Fort Washington and afterwards dined on a dinner provided by Mr Mariner at the House lately Col<sup>o</sup> Roger Morris,<sup>1</sup> but confiscated and in the occupation of a common Farmer. July 11.—At home all day—dispatching some business relative to my own private concerns."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, JULY 12.

At New York: "July 12.—Exercised on Horseback between 5 & 6 in the morning. Sat for Mr Trumbull from 9 until half after ten.—And about Noon had two Bills presented to me by the joint Committee of Congress—The one 'An Act for Establishing the Temporary & permanent Seat of the Government of the United States.'"—*Washington's Diary*.

The "Act for establishing the Temporary and Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States" was passed by Congress, July 9, 1790, and approved by the President July 16. It was enacted: That a district of territory not exceeding ten miles square, to be located on the river Potomac, at some space between the mouths of the Eastern Branch and Conococheague, be the permanent seat of the government of the United States. That the President be authorized to appoint three Commissioners to survey, define, and limit the district so defined. That prior to the first Monday in December next all offices attached to the seat of government should be removed to and, until the first Monday in December in the year one thousand eight hundred, remain at the city of Philadelphia, at which place the next session of Congress should be held.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 13.

At New York: "July 13.—Again sat for Mr Trumbull from 9 until half past 10 o'clock. A good deal of Company at the Levee to day. July 14.—Exercised on Horseback from 5 until near 7 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> The "Roger Morris House" is still standing near the intersection of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred and Sixty-first Street with the old Kingsbridge road. It was occupied by Washington as head-quarters from September 16 to October 19, 1776.





TUESDAY, JULY 20.

At New York: "*New York*, July 21.—Yesterday the Mayor [Richard Varick] waited on the President of the United States, and presented the request of the corporation that he would honor them with permitting Mr. Trumbull, to take his portrait to be placed in the City-Hall, as a mark of the respect the citizens of New York entertain of his virtues.

"The President was pleased to express the favorable impressions occasioned by the application, and cheerfully granted the request."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 23.

This life-size portrait (seventy-two by one hundred and eight inches), still owned by the city of New York, is described by Mr. Trumbull in his autobiography as follows: "I returned in July to New York, where I was requested to paint for the corporation a full-length portrait of the President. I represented him in full uniform, standing by a white horse, leaning his arm upon the saddle; in the background, a view of Broadway in ruins, as it was then, the old fort at the termination; British ships and boats leaving the shore, with the last of the officers and troops of the evacuating army, and Staten Island in the distance. . . . Every part of the detail of the dress, horse, furniture &c., as well as the scenery, was accurately copied from the real objects."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21.

At New York: "*New York*, July 22.—Yesterday arrived in this city Col. Willet, accompanied by Col. M'Gillivray, with thirty warriors of the Creek and Siminola nations. They embarked at Elizabeth-town point, about ten o'clock in the morning, and landed on Murray's wharf about two P.M. where they were received by the St. Tammany society, who attended on the occasion, attired in the most splendid dresses and other emblems of that respectable society."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, July 24.

"The society was drawn up in two files, with the grand sachem at the head, who welcomed Colonel M'Gillivray ashore; who, with the warriors marched in the centre of the society, which proceeded through Wall-street. When they came opposite the Federal Hall, Col. M'Gillivray, and the warriors saluted the Congress, who were in the front of the balcony, and returned the compliment—The procession moved on to the Secretary at War's [in the lower part of Broadway], where the several warriors smoked



the calumet of peace, and next proceeded to the President's, where they were particularly introduced—after which they waited on Governor Clinton, still accompanied by the society, who afterwards attended them to the city tavern, where they took up their lodgings during their residence in this city.”—*Idem*.

TUESDAY, JULY 27.

At New York: “*New York*, July 30.—Tuesday last [July 27], the legion of General Malcolm's Brigade, and Col. Bauman's Regiment of Artillery, the whole commanded by Col. Rutgers, were reviewed by the President of the United States, and Governor Clinton accompanied by the Kings and Warriors of the Creek nation, who lately arrived in this city.—The troops were compleat in uniform and arms, and performed a variety of firings and manœuvres with great precision.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 4.

“*New York*, July 30.—We learn, that yesterday [July 29] there was an entertainment given on board the ship *America*, Capt. Sarly, lately from Canton—which was honored by the company of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, several other heads of departments, the Governor of this state—Col. M'Gillivray, with the Kings, Headman, and Warriors of the Creeks, and a very respectable company of officers and soldiers.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 5.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10.

At New York: “I have received in their due order, and have to acknowledge at this time my obligations for your three agreeable letters, in date October 16th 1789, May 1st and May 31st of the present year. With the last I had also the pleasure to receive the key of the Bastille; in acknowledgment of which I write to the Marquis de Lafayette by this conveyance.”—*Washington to Thomas Paine*.

Lafayette had intrusted to Thomas Paine for transmission to the President the key of the Bastille and a drawing of that prison after its destruction in July, 1789. In his letter, dated Paris, March 17, the Marquis said, “Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aid-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch.”

The key still remains at Mount Vernon; the drawing was sold at public sale at Philadelphia in April, 1891.





## WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11.

At New York: "Congress, after having been in session ever since last fall, are to adjourn in two or three days. . . . One of the last acts of the executive has been the conclusion of a treaty of peace and friendship with the Creek nation of Indians, who have been considerably connected with the Spanish provinces, and hostile to the Georgia frontiers since the war with Great Britain. McGillivray and about thirty of the kings and head men are here."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

"New York, August 14.—Yesterday the treaty of peace and friendship between the United States and the Creek nation was solemnly ratified by the contracting parties, in Federal Hall, in the presence of a large assembly of citizens.—The vice-president of the United States—the great officers of state—his excellency the governor—and of several members of both houses of Congress.

"At 12 o'clock the President of the United States, and his suite, general Knox, the commissioner; the clerks of the department of the secretary at war; colonel M'Gillivray, and the kings, chiefs, and warriors of the Creek nation being assembled, the treaty was read by the secretary of the president of the United States.

"The president then addressed colonel M'Gillivray the kings, chiefs and warriors. . . . The president then signed the treaty, after which he presented a string of beads as a token of perpetual peace, and a paper of tobacco to smoke in remembrance of it: Mr. M'Gillivray rose, made a short reply to the president, and received the tokens. This was succeeded by the shake of peace, every one of the Creeks passing this friendly salute with the president: a song of peace, performed by the Creeks, concluded this highly interesting, solemn and dignified transaction."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 18.

## SUNDAY, AUGUST 15.

Leaves New York: "New York, August 26.—On Sunday morning, the 15th inst, the President of the United States embarked for Newport, on a visit to the state of Rhode Island, accompanied by Governor Clinton, Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State; the Hon. Judge Blair, Mr. Smith of S. Carolina, and three gentlemen of his family [Colonel Humphreys, Major Jackson, and Mr. Nelson]."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 28.



TUESDAY, AUGUST 17.

At Newport, Rhode Island: "New York, August 26.—The President arrived at Newport at eight o'clock on Tuesday morning [August 17], at which time he was welcomed to the state by a salute from the fort. From the landing place he was attended to his lodgings by the principal inhabitants of the town, who were severally presented to him. He then walked round the town, and surveyed the various beautiful prospects from the eminences above it. At four o'clock he was waited on by the most respectable citizens of the place, who conducted him to the Town Hall, where a very elegant dinner was provided, and several toasts drank. After dinner he took another walk, accompanied by a large number of gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

"On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock the President and his company embarked for Providence."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 28.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18.

At Providence, Rhode Island: "Providence, August 19.—Yesterday about four o'clock P.M. arrived from New York, in the Packet Hancock, Capt. Brown, the President of the United States, with his suite, accompanied by his excellency Governor Clinton of New York; the hon. Thomas Jefferson, Esq. secretary of state; the hon. Theodore Foster, Esq. one of the senators from this state; Judge Blair; Mr. Smith of South Carolina; and Mr. Gorman of New Hampshire, member of Congress."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 30.

"A procession [civil and military] was formed agreeable to a previous arrangement, and the President escorted to his lodgings at Mr. Daggett's. On the President's landing a Federal Salute was fired, and the bells in town rang a joyful peal. The salute was reiterated on his arrival at Mr. Daggett's. The general attendance of almost every inhabitant of the town in the procession, together with the brilliant appearance of the ladies at the windows

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<sup>1</sup> On this day the President received addresses from the clergy of Newport, from the Hebrew congregation of Newport, and from the master, wardens, and brethren of King David's Lodge in Newport, Rhode Island; all of which he answered.





and doors of the houses, evinced in the most sensible manner their pleasure on this happy occasion. In the evening the college edifice was splendidly illuminated."—*Idem*.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 19.

At Providence: "*Providence*, August 21.—On Thursday [August 19], in the forenoon, the President, accompanied by the gentlemen who came passengers with him, and many of the citizens, walked thro' the principal streets, to view the town, in the course of which they were escorted to the college by the students, and by Dr. [James] Manning introduced into the college library and museum, and afterwards went on board a large Indiaman on the stocks belonging to Messrs. Browne and Francis."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 31.

"At three o'clock an elegant entertainment was served in the Court-house, for upwards of two hundred persons. Thirteen toasts were drank under discharges of cannon. At the close of the toasts, the President gave 'The Town of Providence,'—rose from the table, and went immediately on board Capt. Brown's Packet for departure. He was attended by a very numerous procession—which returned to Governor [Arthur] Fenner's, and after three cheers dispersed in good order. It may be proper to remark, that no untoward accident took place—that every countenance indicated the most heart felt joy, and that we have reason to believe the President was perfectly satisfied with his reception."<sup>1</sup>—*Idem*.

#### SUNDAY, AUGUST 22.

At New York: "*New York*, August 26.—The President of the United States arrived in this city on Sunday [August 22], after a short and agreeable passage of 24 hours."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, August 28.

"The visit [to Rhode Island] was gratifying to the citizens as it was unexpected. All classes vied with each other in demonstrations of joy, respect and admiration:—The pleasing affability and gracious manners of the President, and his polite attention to the great number of citizens who were successfully presented to him, added if possible, to that love which was felt before. When he withdrew from table at Newport, the company rising,

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<sup>1</sup> On this day the President was waited upon by the Society of the Cincinnati of Rhode Island, and received addresses from the inhabitants of Providence and from the Corporation of Rhode Island College, both of which he answered.



drank the following toast—*The man we love*—and never was a toast drank with more severity.—When, ‘*The President of the United States*’ was given at Providence, the huzzas, plaudits, and shouts of the company within and without the Town Hall, continued for some time. There never was, perhaps, a greater exhibition of sincere public happiness than upon this occasion; every individual thought he beheld a friend and patron; a father or a brother after a long absence; and on his part, the President seemed to feel the joy of a father on the return of the prodigal son.<sup>1</sup> We have little room to doubt that his visit to the state of Rhode Island will be productive of happy effects, for whatever aversion the citizens of that state may have hitherto had to the new government, they must now feel a confidence in the administration of one who possesses their universal esteem, and of whose virtues and patriotism they have, upon numerous occasions, had the strongest pledges.”—*Idem*.

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 28.

At New York: “*New York*, August 31.—On Saturday last [August 28] the governor of this state, the mayor of the city, and the corporation, were regaled at the festive board of the President of the United States.

“We are informed, that on this occasion the President took an opportunity to express his great reluctance at leaving the city, and those who had taken so much pains to treat him, not only with dignified respect, but with reverence and esteem, as the Father and Patron of the United States. Mrs. Washington, also, seemed hurt at the idea of bidding adieu to these hospitable shores.”—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 2.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 30.

Leaves New York: <sup>2</sup> “*New York*, August 31.—Yesterday, about nine o’clock the corporation attended at the Presidency in Broadway, where the governor of this state, the executive officers of government, several other officers, gen-

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the delay of Rhode Island in ratifying the National Constitution.

<sup>2</sup> “*New York*, August 26.—The President will leave this place on Monday [August 30]—reach Elizabeth Town that night—Brunswick on Tuesday night—Trenton on Wednesday night—Breakfast at Bristol on Thursday morning, and proceed from thence to Philadelphia.”—*Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle*, MS. Letter.





tlemen of the clergy, and others, had already assembled to take their leave."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 2.

"About ten o'clock the procession moved for the President's barge which was laying at M'Comb's wharf on the North River, in the following order: Sheriff with his insignia of office—Marshals and Constables, with insignias—Gov. Clinton—PRESIDENT—Chief Justice Jay—The Executive Officers of Government—Corporation of New-York—Several Officers—Clergy—Citizens. At the wharf the escort opened to the right and left, when the President, his Lady, &c accompanied, marched forward and entered on board the barge, under the discharge of a salute of 13 guns from the battery. . . . The barge was manned with 13 men, in a uniform of white jackets and black caps; the weather was serene and beautiful, and a few minutes landed them at Powles Hook ferry [Jersey City], where the carriages of the President and suite were waiting."—*Idem*.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

At Philadelphia: "September 4.—Thursday last [September 2] about 2 o'clock arrived in town from New-York, the President of the United States—his Lady, and their suite.<sup>1</sup> They were joined on their approach by a number of respectable citizens—the city troops of horse, artillery, and companies of light infantry, who, on this occasion, as well as others, *all* testified their affection for the BENEFACITOR OF MANKIND."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

"Every public demonstration of joy was manifested;—the bells announced his welcome—a *feue de joye* was exhibited—and as he rode through town, to the City Tavern, *age* bowed with respect, and *youth* repeated, in acclamations, the applauses of the *Hero* of the Western World. At 4 o'clock he partook of a repast (provided by the Corporation at the City Tavern) accompanied by the members of our Legislature and of the state Convention—by the President [Thomas Mifflin] and other executive officers of Pennsylvania, at which REASON, VALOR and HOSPITALITY presided. After dinner thirteen toasts were drank. In the evening there was a brilliant display of fire works in Market street."—*Idem*.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: Dines with the members of the Convention for revising the Constitution of Pennsylvania, who,

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<sup>1</sup> Besides the President and Mrs. Washington, the travelling party comprised Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, the two grandchildren of Mrs. Washington, Major William Jackson, Thomas Nelson, two maids, four white and four black servants, and sixteen horses.



having finished their business the day before, had adjourned with an understanding that they should come together as a body the next day to meet President Washington.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

At Philadelphia: "*September 8.*—The President of the United States during his short stay in this city, received every mark of respect, attention and affection to his person, which the public or individuals could demonstrate: of the latter we cannot omit mentioning an elegant *Fête Champêtre* that was given to this illustrious personage, his amiable consort and family, on Saturday last [September 4] on the banks of the Schuylkill, in the highly improved grounds of the Messrs. Gray, by a number of respectable private citizens."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

"The company amounting to near two hundred ladies and gentlemen, assembled at two o'clock, and at three sat down to a sumptuous and splendid cold collation in which (though only 24 hours were given for the preparation) all viands and fruits of the season were assembled and elegantly arranged. A band of music played during the repast, and at the close several excellent songs were sung, and toasts were given. The President and Ladies then withdrew; when the following toast was drank with loud applause. *The ILLUSTRIOUS TRAVELLERS.*"—*Idem*.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Philadelphia: "After a pleasant journey we arrived in this city on Thursday last, and to-morrow we proceed (if Mrs. Washington's health will permit, for she has been much indisposed since we came here) toward Mount Vernon."—*Washington to Tobias Lear*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*September 7.*—Yesterday morning the President of the United States proceeded on his journey to his seat in Virginia."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

At Baltimore: "*Baltimore, September 10.*—On Wednesday last [September 8] at Six o'clock in the afternoon, the President of the United States and his Lady, attended by





their suite, arrived here from Philadelphia, on their way to Mount Vernon. On their entrance into town they were received and saluted by a Federal discharge from Capt. Stodder's company of artillery; and such other public demonstrations were manifested by the citizens as shewed the most unfeigned affection and veneration for the ILLUSTRIOUS TRAVELLERS."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 16.

"*Baltimore*, September 10.—Thursday forenoon [September 9], the President was waited on by a number of the citizens, whom he received with his usual politeness and attention, and, at four o'clock he honored the merchants with his company at an elegant entertainment, prepared at Mr. Grant's tavern, at which his suite and several other gentlemen were present. Thirteen toasts were drank on this occasion."—*Idem*.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

Leaves Baltimore: "*Baltimore*, September 10.—This morning at six o'clock, the President, his Lady and suite, set out on their journey. Captain Stodder saluted them on their departure, with a Federal Discharge from his Artillery Park."—*Pennsylvania Packet*, September 16.

"*George-Town*, September 15.—Last Saturday [September 11] about eight o'clock in the morning arrived here from Bladensburg, where they lodged the preceding night, the PRESIDENT of the United States, his Lady and suite, on their way to Mount Vernon. The members of the Patowmack Company of Alexandria, and this place, met their illustrious President at Mr. John Suter's, notwithstanding the fatigue of a long journey, his Excellency proceeded to business respecting the navigation of the Patowmack."—*The Pennsylvania Mercury*, September 21.

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "*September 23*.—The President of the United States, arrived at Mount Vernon on Saturday, the 11th instant."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

"*Mount Vernon*, 16 Sept. 1790.—I have been here two days, and have seen most of the improvements which do honour at once to the taste and industry of our Washington. I have been treated as usual with every most distinguished mark of kindness and attention. Hospitality indeed seems to have spread over the whole its happiest, kindest influence. The President exercises it in a superlative degree, from the greatest of its duties



to the most trifling minutiae, and Mrs. Washington is the very essence of kindness. Her soul seems to overflow with it like the most abundant fountain and her happiness is in exact proportion to the number of objects upon which she can dispense her benefits."—*Thomas Lee Shippen to Dr. William Shippen, Jr.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Mount Vernon: In a letter of this date to Tobias Lear, Washington requests that a transcript be made of one from Count d'Estaing, referring to a bust of M. Necker, which had been sent to him by the Count.

This small Parian bust of M. Necker, the famous French Minister of Finance, which stood for many years on a bracket in the library at Mount Vernon, is now in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, having been purchased (April, 1891) from Lawrence Washington, son of Colonel John Augustine Washington, the last private owner of Mount Vernon. It bears upon a brass plate on the pedestal the following inscription: "Presented to GEORGE WASHINGTON President of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA by his most dutiful, most obedient and most humble servant, Estaing, a Citizen of the state of Georgia, by an act of 22<sup>d</sup> feb. 1785, and a Citizen of France in 1790."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: "We are approaching the first Monday in December by hasty strides. I pray you, therefore, to revolve in your mind such matters as may be proper for me to lay before Congress, not only in your department, if any there be, but such others of a general nature, as may happen to occur to you, that I may be prepared to open the session with such communications as shall appear to merit attention."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

Congress had adjourned at New York on the 12th day of August, to meet at Philadelphia the first Monday of December, in pursuance of the act of July 9, fixing the seat of government in that city until the first Monday in December, 1800.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: In a letter of this date written to Tobias Lear at Philadelphia, Washington states that he had just returned from a twelve days' excursion up the Potomac.





MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: "I have had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 11th of May and 12th of July last, together with the flattering mark of your and Madame de Brehan's regard, which accompanied the former; for which, and the obliging satisfaction you express on the restoration of my health, I beg you and her to accept my grateful acknowledgments."—*Washington to the Count de Moustier*.

The flattering mark of regard on the part of the Count de Moustier and his sister, referred to in the above quoted letter, consisted of some proof impressions of the engraving by A. F. Sergeant, after the profile of the President executed by Madame de Brehan from the sitting recorded in the Diary of October 3, 1789. One of these impressions, presented to Mrs. Robert Morris with the compliments of the President, was in turn presented by a granddaughter of Mrs. Morris to General George B. McClellan shortly after the battle of Antietam. An admirable copy of this print was made by Charles Burt; it is described in Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington," page 70.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

At Alexandria: Present at a dinner given to him by the citizens of Alexandria.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Mount Vernon: "I expect to commence my journey for Philadelphia on Monday [November 22]—but from the state of the Roads after the incessant and heavy rains which have fallen, my progress must be slow."—*Washington to General Knox*.

*November 23.*—Washington, writing to Tobias Lear under this date, from Spurrier's Tavern, ten miles south of Baltimore, says, "The roads are infamous—no hope of reaching Baltimore to night; we have not yet gone to dinner, but are waiting for it."

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Philadelphia: "*November 27.*—This forenoon [at eleven o'clock] the President of the United States, George Washington, arrived here from his seat in Virginia [with his lady and family], and proceeded to the house of Robert



Morris on Market Street, provided for him by the city corporation."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

The house owned by Robert Morris, and occupied by the President during his residence in Philadelphia, was on the south side of Market, sixty feet east of Sixth Street. The original building erected by Mary Masters (widow of William Masters), prior to 1772, was successively occupied by Richard Penn, who married Mary the daughter of Mrs. Masters; by General Howe as head-quarters during the possession of the city by the British; by Benedict Arnold, after the evacuation; and by John Holker, Consul-General of France. During the occupancy of the latter the house was partially consumed by fire (January 2, 1780) and rendered uninhabitable.<sup>1</sup> After this date, Robert Morris contracted for the purchase of the ground with the ruins, and caused the mansion to be "rebuilt and repaired," and finally obtained a deed for the same from Mrs. Masters, Richard Penn and wife, and Sarah Masters, dated August 25, 1785. Mr. Morris was living in the house at this time.

Richard Rush, in his "Reminiscences," speaking of the house as it appeared in his boyhood, when Washington lived in it, says, "It was a large double house. To the east a brick wall six or seven feet high ran well on toward Fifth street, until it met other houses; the wall enclosed a garden, which was shaded by lofty old trees, and ran back to what is now Minor street, where the stables stood. To the west no building adjoined it, the nearest house in that direction being at the corner of Sixth and Market, where lived Robert Morris."

The house was taken down in 1833 and three stores erected upon the site, now known as Nos. 526, 528, and 530 Market Street.

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Philadelphia: "December 8.—Yesterday, at the levee of the President of the United States, IGNATIUS PALYRAT, Esq; as Consul-General from her most faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal to the United States of America, was presented by the Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and most graciously received."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

The Presidential levees at Philadelphia were held every other Tuesday between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, at which Washington understood that he was visited as the *President* of the United States, and not on his own account. The visitors were either introduced by his secre-

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<sup>1</sup> "January 2, 1780.—Early this morning a fire broke out in Mr. Penn's house on Market Street, occupied by Mr. Holker, the French Consul, which was consumed to the first floor."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.





tary or by some gentleman whom he knew himself. The place of reception was the dining-room on the first floor, in the rear of the house.

"At three o'clock, or at any time within a quarter of an hour afterward, the visitor was conducted to this dining room, from which all seats had been removed for the time. On entering, he saw the tall manly figure of Washington clad in black velvet; his hair in full dress, powdered and gathered behind in a large silk bag; yellow gloves on his hands; holding a cocked hat with cockade in it, and the edges adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. He wore knee and shoe buckles; and a long sword, with a finely wrought and polished steel hilt, which appeared at the left hip; the coat worn over the sword, so that the hilt, and the part below the coat behind, were in view. The scabbard was white polished leather. He stood always in front of the fire-place, with his face towards the door of entrance. The visitor was conducted to him, and he required to have the name so distinctly pronounced that he could hear it. He had the very uncommon faculty of associating a man's name, and personal appearance, so durably in his memory, as to be able to call one by name, who made him a second visit. He received his visitor with a dignified bow, while his hands were so disposed of as to indicate, that the salutation was not to be accompanied with shaking hands. This ceremony never occurred in these visits, even with his most near friends, that no distinction might be made.

"As visitors came in, they formed a circle around the room. At a quarter past three, the door was closed, and the circle was formed for that day. He then began on the right, and spoke to each visitor, calling him by name, and exchanging a few words with him. When he had completed his circuit, he resumed his first position, and the visitors approached him in succession, bowed and retired. By four o'clock this ceremony was over."—WILLIAM SULLIVAN, *Public Men of the Revolution*, page 120.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: At twelve o'clock addresses both Houses of Congress in the Senate Chamber.<sup>1</sup>

The sessions of Congress at Philadelphia were held in the two-story brick building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, erected 1787-89 for a county building, and still standing. The Senate Chamber was in the second story, back room (the front being occupied as committee rooms), and the Hall of the House of Representatives was on the first floor, the whole of which was in one chamber, with the exception of a vestibule running along the full front on Chestnut Street, and containing on the left of the main entrance the staircase leading to the chambers above. The ex-

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<sup>1</sup> "December 8.—This was the day assigned for the President to deliver his speech, and was attended with all the bustle and hurry usual on such occasions. The President was dressed in black, and read his speech well enough, or at least tolerably."—*Journal of William Maclay*.



terior of "Congress Hall," as it was called, remains substantially the same, with the exception of the side entrance on Sixth Street, constructed about the year 1818. On the first floor the interior has been materially changed, the staircase connecting with the Sixth Street entrance dividing that floor into two rooms.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: "*December 14.*—At 12 o'clock yesterday, the Senate of the United States attended the President at his own house, and delivered their [answer to his] address. At 2 o'clock [December 14] the House, preceded by the Sergeant at arms, waited upon the President, and delivered their answer, to which they received a reply."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14.

At Philadelphia: "*December 14.*—This was levee day, and I accordingly dressed and did the needful. It is an idle thing, but what is the life of men but folly?—and this is perhaps as innocent as any of them, so far as respects the persons acting. The practice, however, considered as a feature of royalty, is certainly anti-republican. This certainly escapes nobody. The royalists glory in it as a point gained. Republicans are borne down by fashion and a fear of being charged with a want of respect to General Washington. If there is treason in the wish I retract it, but would to God this same General Washington were in heaven! We would not then have him brought forward as the constant cover to every unconstitutional and irrepublican act."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Philadelphia: "*December 25.*—Wednesday evening, the 15th. inst. the Hon. Judge [James] Wilson, law professor in the College of Philadelphia, delivered his introductory lecture in the College-hall [Fourth, below Arch Street]. The President of the United States, with his lady—also the Vice-President, and both houses of Congress, the President [Thomas Mifflin] and both houses of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, together with a great number of ladies and





gentlemen, were present; the whole composing a most brilliant and respectable audience."—*Pennsylvania Packet*.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Philadelphia: "*December 26.*—On Friday evening last [December 24], I went with Charles<sup>1</sup> to the drawing-room, being the first of my appearance in public. The room became full before I left it, and the circle very brilliant. How could it be otherwise, when the dazzling Mrs. Bingham and her beautiful sisters [the Misses Willing] were there; the Misses Allen, and Misses Chew; in short, a constellation of beauty?"—*Mrs. John Adams to Mrs. William S. Smith*.

Miss Sally McKean, daughter of Thomas McKean, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, who was present at this levee or drawing-room, writing to a friend in New York, said, "You never could have had such a drawing-room; it was brilliant beyond any thing you could imagine; and though there was a good deal of extravagance, there was so much of Philadelphia taste in every thing that it must be confessed the most delightful occasion of the kind ever known in this country."

At the levees of Mrs. Washington, which were held every Friday evening, the President did not consider *himself* as visited. On these occasions he appeared as a private gentleman, with neither hat nor sword, conversing without restraint, generally with women, who rarely had other opportunities of meeting him.

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<sup>1</sup> The third child of John and Abigail Adams. The other children were Abigail, who married Colonel William S. Smith, John Quincy, and Thomas Boylston.

(To be continued.)



MEMOIR OF MAJOR JOHN CLARK, OF YORK COUNTY,  
PENNSYLVANIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY E. W. SPANGLER, ESQ., YORK, PENNSYLVANIA.

The *York Recorder* of March 3, 1819, after announcing that "our fellow citizen Major John Clark has consented to stand a poll for member of Congress, in the room of Jacob Spangler, Esq., resigned," publishes the following autobiographical sketch of his services during the Revolution and the second war with England. Notwithstanding the major's distinguished services to his country, he was defeated.

"I entered the army in June of 1775,<sup>1</sup> and marched to the relief of our then suffering brethren at Boston, and was in the affair at Charlestown Neck, took some prisoners and lost Corporal [Walter] Cruise. Soon after I was promoted and continued a Lieutenant in the First regiment<sup>2</sup> until after the battle of Long Island. I was in the first skirmish near Flatbush, and then I received a Major's commission in the Flying Camp, under the command of Brig. Gen. Mercer. In an expedition to Staten Island, I captured a stand of British colors, of the 23d [?] Light Dragoons. I commanded the advance of 500 riflemen, and the first Hessians or rather Waldeckers, about sixty, fell into my hands. Soon after this I was detached up the North river, and commanded a detachment of 200 men to guard the passes opposite White Plains, where I remained and fortified it and prevented Gen. Howe's army from crossing the Hudson, and formed the rear of the retreating army until the capture of the Hessians at Trenton. Here I collected the trophies of the victory and kept possession of the town.

<sup>1</sup> Third lieutenant in Captain Michael Doudel's company, First Battalion of Riflemen, Colonel William Thompson.

<sup>2</sup> Second lieutenant in Captain Henry Miller's company of Colonel Edward Hand's regiment.





“The day after I marched with 200 men to Allentown, Hidetown, and Cranberry, leaving the British in my rear at Princeton. At these places I took considerable of the enemies stores; at Hidetown my advance killed the noted Pearson, of Jersey, and took thirty British officers. This bold advance corps revived the drooping spirit of the Militia, and the next morning I was noticed by the Commander-in-Chief, and Generals Greene and Reed. The former gave me a British officer’s sword, and I was requested to continue in the service, (for the Flying Camp was now discharged), and sent to join General Mifflin to assist him in arranging the Militia. I was the only officer with him who addressed the New England and Rhode Island regiments at Crosswicks, to stay one month longer in service. The next day I was dispatched from Trenton by Gen. Greene alone to advance and discover the force under Earl Cornwallis. This I did, and returned and helped to form the advance corps that received his Lordship. The next morning I served as Brigade Major to Gen. Mifflin at Princeton, and on our arrival at Morristown, I was promoted to the rank of Major and Aid de Camp to General Greene. Shortly before the affair at Brandywine, I was severely wounded in my right shoulder, (which even yet, at times, lays me up for many days). At the battle of Germantown I captured Captain Speake, of the 37th Light Infantry.

“I thought of a plan and digested it to gain immediate intelligence of the enemies loss, and the next evening I put it into complete execution at great personal hazard, communicated it to Gen. Washington, who was so satisfied that he approved of my conduct, gave me an unlimited command and power to act as I pleased. I soon discovered the whole of the enemies design and communicated it to Gen. Washington with so much exactness that he made the formidable disposition at White Marsh, which disgraced Sir William Howe and his army. I also advised the detaching of a brigade to Wilmington, to secure it and the navigation of the Delaware, and Gen. Smallwood was sent, and by this means two of the enemies ships fell into his hands. The



enemy were also prevented from having any communication with the Tories between there and Philadelphia.

“In this active employment I continued until my wound induced me to apply for leave to retire until my health should recruit, and on the 2nd January 1778, the Commander-in-Chief sent for me and the then Captain Lee (the late Governor of Virginia) and in secret consulted us on the practicability of attacking Sir William Howe, then near Derby, gathering the hay on Tinicum Island or of surprising the corps left in Philadelphia. We advised him against either. He was so satisfied that he offered me any berth I would point out in his power to give, but I declined on account of my health. He then wrote me a letter of introduction to the President of Congress (Mr. Laurens), stating my merits and services, and intimating that he would if my health permitted, recommend me more particularly to the notice of Congress at a future time. At this critical period there were parties working against that great officer and it was known that I was one of his warmest friends.

“Mr. Laurens a few days after I delivered him his letter, informed me Congress had long thought of establishing an Auditor’s office in the Army under the Commander-in-Chief, to call all the officers that had received money to account; particularly the Paymasters, as money could not be emitted fast enough, and that I was appointed. I declined, first, on account of my health, and secondly because the money was so depreciated I could not subsist, and was determined I would not accept it; but was informed that I would offend Congress, and the Commander-in-Chief also, who had this plan much in view. I was assured by the then Board of the Treasury that if I accepted it, my depreciation would, at a future day be allowed me. Under this promise I wrote, on the 24th of February, to the President that I would accept without any fixed stipulation, and submit to Congress, what compensation should be made me at a future time, when the work was done. I left my family and every means of speculation, by which I could have made a fortune, and performed the laborious duties of that





office (for my colleague, Matthew Clarkson, resigned the June following) for two years; till my health was so injured that all the physicians advised me to retire if I wished to prolong life, and in November, 1779 I resigned. And, though I accepted of this disagreeable office when my health would not permit me to do the duty of a military officer, yet this was not all the sacrifice; for I actually advanced £1152—10 for one of the best teams in America to secure and haul the apparatus of the Auditors, their baggage and papers of the office, out of my own pocket (as there was not then a sufficiency in the Treasury that could be spared) to set the business in a proper train, so that no delay might take place. After my resignation, I sold the team and the man kept me out of the money until I sued him and then he tendered it into court, and it was so depreciated that I declined taking it so that I lost all that money.

“At the battle of Monmouth I carried orders to Major Gen. Charles Lee to attack and annoy the British army and helped to form a regiment which repulsed the British Light Horse and checked their advance, and gave time to form the American army under Gen. Washington. I also carried orders to Major Gen. Lord Stirling to send the Commander-in-Chief two Pennsylvania Brigades with Gen. William Irvine to command them, and then to help Lord Stirling to form his division on the ridge, westward in the rear of the morass with the causway in front of him, being the left wing of the army.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following important letter from General Lee to Major Clark is in reference to his trial by court-martial for his conduct at Monmouth:

“WHITE PLAINS, September 3, 1778.

“SIR,—I was so thoroughly convinc'd in my own mind of standing on the firmest ground, and of the clearness of having done, and more than barely done my duty in the affair of the 28th of June, that I did not take the pains to collect Evidence, some I sav'd to save time and trouble to the Courts, but the wonderfull industry that has been shewn by my Prosecutors to accomplish the ruin of my fame and fortunes, and the strange mode in which the tryal has been conducted give me reason to think that I ought to have omitted not the least evidence for my justification—and as I am reminded (for I really had forgot it) that you can witness some very impor-



"The following commendatory and personal letters are from General Washington, President Monroe, and others:

"HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, Jan. 2, 1778.

"SIR,—I take the liberty of introducing Major John Clark, the bearer of this, to your notice. He entered the service at the commencement of the war and has for some time past acted as aid-de-camp to Major Gen. Greene. He is active, sensible and enterprising and has rendered me very great assistance since the army has been in Pennsylvania, by procuring me constant and certain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the enemy. It is somewhat uncertain whether the state of the Major's health will admit of his remaining in the military line; if it should I may perhaps have occasion to recommend him in a more particular manner to the favour of Congress at a future time. At present I can assure you that if you should, while he remains in the neighborhood of York, have any occasion for his services, you will find him not only willing, but very capable of executing any of your commands. I have the honor to be, etc

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"The HON. H. LAURENS."

"CARLISLE, Oct. 6, 1794.

"SIR,—Your favor of the 27<sup>th</sup> ult. was put into my hands the moment I was leaving the City of Philadelphia and I have had neither leisure nor opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of it since, till now.

"I thank you for your polite offer of attending me to the field; but my going thither, or returning to the seat of government in time for the meeting of Congress, depends upon circumstances not within my control, nor of which have I such accurate information as to enable me to decide. Nothing short of imperious necessity can justify my being absent from the seat of government while Congress is in session. Under this view of the matter, I decline making any establishment of a family, unless that necessity should occur, when, in the choice of aid I must have regard to considerations of different kinds.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

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tant circumstance on a point on which the greatest stress has been laid, I mean orders sent to me by his Excellency and my answer, I must entreat that you will favour me with a declaration in writing upon your honour, of what you recollect on this Subject— and am, Sir, Your Most

"Obdt humble Servt

"CHARLES LEE."

Major Clark has written on the back of this letter the following:

"Letter, Major-Genl. Lee, Sept. 3, 1778. Answered same day vide Copy, &c., which I immediately shewed Genl Washington & his A. D. C's Tilghman & Fitzgerald, & approved of by them."





"WASHINGTON, April 1, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,—Major J. Clark, a Revolutionary officer of merit, an aid-de-camp to Gen. Greene, and with whom I was well acquainted, has requested me to make him known to you, which I do with pleasure in giving him this introduction. He has a claim on the United States for services rendered at that interesting epoch, and I wish only to apprise you of his true character, being conscious that it requires nothing more than a knowledge of it to secure your attentions to his case so far as to see that he has justice rendered to him. You will excuse the liberty which I take in favor of an old revolutionary friend.

"With great respect and esteem, I am sincerely yours,

"JAMES MONROE.

"The HON. M. GIBSON."

"HEADQUARTERS, 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1814.

"The commanding general, in taking leave of Major John Clarke, has the pleasure of offering him his thanks for the zeal and the active services he has voluntarily rendered during his stay at Baltimore, and in its defence.

"SAMUEL SMITH

"Major General Commanding."

"NEW YORK, April 23<sup>rd</sup> 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your friendly congratulations, but assure you that in the present state of public affairs, I prefer infinitely the private to the public station. However here I am, and while here, will endeavor to do my duty. When the question respecting a federal town shall come on, I have no doubt that it will be thought expedient to place it somewhere between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, and that every attention will be paid to the interest of the Union, and to the national proposition of the citizens, that can possibly be expected. For my own part I shall be in favor of a full hearing to all parties, and to an impartial decision upon principles of the public interest.

"I remain, dear sir, with every wish for your welfare and happiness, your friend and humble servant,

"E. GERRY.

"COL. CLARK."

"NEW YORK, Oct. 1, 1789.

"DEAR SIR,—I am favored with yours of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup> of September and for reasons which I have not time to enumerate, I have thought that there will be a better prospect of giving general satisfaction, by placing the permanent residence on the Delaware than on the Susquehanna. But not wishing to oppose the prevailing opinion of Pennsylvania and the states east of it, excepting New Jersey, I voted with them for Susquehanna. The senate however, Non-concurred in the bill, and this being agreed to by the House, with one amendment, is referred by



the Senate to the next session. I took no share in the debates, but thought too many of the speakers influenced by local views, held forth principles which must make unfavorable impression: I hope, however, liberality will be generally diffused in the next discussion, and remain, dear Sir your very humble servant,

"COL. CLARK."

"E. GERRY.

"CAMBRIDGE, March 8<sup>th</sup> 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your very friendly letter on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December, a short time before the last session of our Legislature, and have been so occupied since, and indeed for the last nine months, as to have had not a day to attend to my private concerns, my friends or correspondents. If I can render you any service now, by a letter to our members of Congress, I will write one to them jointly; for it may serve you in some instances, although some of the gentlemen may hold political principles differing from my own. My present office is the most laborious that I ever filled. In this state the British faction have not only exceeded every other in their libellous publications but have literally threatened me with fire and sword, I believe, however, they are convinced that such means are not effective to prevent a faithful discharge of my office. In case of a war, our veteran officers, I trust, will be placed in the highest grades. If I should, at any time, go on to Washington it would give me great pleasure to call on you; and I shall always be happy to see you at my rural retreat. M<sup>rs</sup>. Gerry has not of late years enjoyed good health; but it is much improved and I flatter myself will be fully established. We exceed you in number, having nine children living and having lost one. This I shall direct to you at home, as I presume you must have left Washington ere this. Accept my best wishes for the welfare of yourself, M<sup>rs</sup>. Clark, and your amiable young circle, and be assured I remain very sincerely and respectfully your friend,

"E. GERRY.

"COL. CLARK."

"DEAR SIR,—Your favor I acknowledge with many thanks, as it did not fail to afford me that real satisfaction and joy, a lover of his country would feel on such important and interesting intelligence. I would not detain the messenger longer than to repeat my acknowledgments, to beg a continuance of such favors, and to assure you that I am, with esteem, dear sir, your most obedient friend and servant,

"DANIEL ROBERDEAU.

"YORK-TOWN, Oct. 25. 1777."

"LANCASTER, Oct. 25, 1777.

"SIR,—Your favor with the agreeable news, came to hand yesterday about four in the afternoon, which gave general satisfaction and am extremely obliged to you. Should any thing now happen, shall esteem it as a favor to give me intelligence, if not too much trouble. The firing





at Fort Mifflin was heard here distinctly, particularly the explosion, which seemed more like an earthquake than anything else.

"I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

"PAUL ZANTZINGER."

"YORK, Nov. 10 1777.

"DEAR MAJOR,—Your favors of the 31<sup>st</sup> ult. 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> inst, came to hand, the first containing a letter for M<sup>r</sup>. Clark, which I forwarded. I am much obliged to you for the intelligence you have from time to time transmitted to me; it has been the earliest account which Congress has received of the facts you mentioned. The inhabitants of Philadelphia will suffer extremely, should Howe keep possession of the city this winter. I am told that beef and bread are excessively scarce and dear, and that the poor Whigs, whom the enemy have thrown into prison, are in want of the necessities of life. My heart feels for them, for I am afraid many will perish through mere want. I begin to grow uneasy for our brave men who garrison Red Bank and Mud Island. I think it probable the enemy will send a large force to take those places, as they can have no safety in Philadelphia, while we keep possession of the river. Your expedition on the banks of Delaware was very clever, and the finesse you made use of to get the enemies men ashore, was really entertaining; after this affair they'll suspect the Tories, and think they go on board their vessels to reconnoitre. I have not yet been honored with a line from Gen. Greene; however sent the cloth and what trimmings I had suitable, agreeable to your directions.—Inclosed are the bills—all the buff cloth is now sold—but should any of your friends have occasion for blue, green or drab cloth, we can supply them. Inclosed I send you the convention of Saratoga, with half a sheet of news, which perhaps you have not seen. I request you'll favor me with a line by every opportunity and if I can render you any service here, pray command me. Your friends are all well and desire to be remembered to you. I am, dear sir, yours affectionately,

"JOSEPH DONALDSON."

"To my fellow-citizens of York County without distinction, will you not, as far as you can, requite one for past services, and confide in me hereafter? And to those in York, I hope they will believe me their affectionate and zealous friend; and unite in supporting me on the 17<sup>th</sup> inst., for their member of Congress. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' This is my first asking and its probable will be the last.

"I am, gentlemen, truly yours,

"JOHN CLARK."



Isaac H. McCauley, Esq., of Chambersburg, in his "Early History of the Chambersburg Bar," says of Major Clark,—

"The only act done at the first term of our Court, so far as I can ascertain from the Records, was the admission of John Clark, Esq., who having made it to appear to the Court that he had previously been admitted an attorney in the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, was on his own request sworn as an Attorney of the Court. Mr. Clark had served with great distinction as a Major in the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolutionary War, and after peace was declared resided at what was then called 'Little York,' in this State, where he pursued the practice of the Law. He was married to a daughter of Mr. Nicholas Bittinger of this County, and in right of his wife, held a considerable estate in the neighborhood of the present Mount Alto Furnace. Like most of the lawyers of his day, he 'rode the circuit,' practicing in many counties of the State, other than that in which he resided. He only practiced here for a few years, but whilst he came to our Courts he did a very considerable business. He was about 50 years of age, of large frame, fine personal appearance, and brave to a fault, a man of fine mind, was a good lawyer, wrote a beautiful hand, and was very sarcastic in speech, when he thought it necessary so to be. He was also a great wit, fond of fun and frolick, and hence his company was much sought after by the Members of the Bench and his associates of the Bar, when on their travels, to relieve the monotony of the way, or when out of Court, to enliven the tedium of an evening after the fatigue of the day was over. On one occasion a wealthy gentleman of York county, noted for his parsimony, and his propensity to take advantage of his neighbors, and those dealing with him, whenever he could, employed Mr. Clark to draw up his will. When about to close it, the testator, whom we shall call Mr. Dorrance, directed Mr. Clark to insert a bequest of £50 to himself; remarking at the time that he wanted the will to be valid, and if so good a lawyer as he had an interest to that amount in it, there would be no doubt but he would safely carry it through the Courts. The





will was accordingly so made, duly witnessed and handed over to Mr. Dorrance, who left, forgetting to pay Mr. Clark for his services. He, however, consoled himself with the expectation of the legacy. In a short time Mr. Dorrance died, and Mr. Clark having remarked in the presence of a neighbor that the Estate was good to him for £50, it was doubted, when he said he knew it was, and related what had occurred at the making of the will. His friend knowing Mr. Dorrance's characteristics, was still incredulous, and a bet of a bottle of wine was made. In a few days the will was left at the Register's office for probate, when it was found that Mr. Dorrance, his ruling passion strong in death, had copied the will—re-executed it—and left Mr. Clark's legacy out."

Major Clark died December 27, 1819, at York, and is buried in the family lot in St. John's churchyard.



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from Vol. XIX. page 506.)

COLONEL ELLIS TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"HADDONFIELD, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1777

"DEAR SIR

"In compliance with your Letter of yesterday, I send you a state of the Militia under my Command, which is about 400 Effective at this place, and about 100 in the neighbourhood below Manto Creek; the time of service for which they came out will for the greater part expire in a few days; Orders are out for Assembling the other Classes, so that I hope to keep up the number.—As to the Enemy, from the best discoveries we have been able to make, their main strength is at Woodbury, and their lines extend from Manto Creek, to Little Timber Creek, an extent of six or seven miles: their whole force about 5000, consisting of Brittish, Hessians, and Marines; The Marines are employ'd in destroying the Works at Red Bank, when that is effected they give out, they intend moveing their Army upwards, to Burlington and Mount Holly; Their Post at Woodbury is advantageous & difficult to attack.—Thus you have an Account of matters in this quarter. If any thing interesting comes to my knowledge, I shall transmit it with all possible speed. I am &c.

"JOS: ELLIS.

"N.B.—The Enemy have 8 or 9 Field pieces on the different Roads near Woodbury.

"Just now receiv'd Intelligence by a Person who came





thro' part of the Enemy's lines on the upper-side of Great Timber Creek, who says there is about 300 at and between the two Timber Creeks."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WEEDON TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"HADDONFIELD, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24, 7 oClock

"D<sup>n</sup> GENERAL.

"We only arrived here a few minutes ago. Some of our parties have taken 9 prisoners, which will get to you early to morrow. From them we have had I believe pretty exact accounts of their numbers, which the Marquis will enclose you a particular account of. They amount to 4250, 60 pieces of Artillery and 100 Light Horse. The Infantry and artillery may be nearly right, but I doubt the information respecting the horse. They have this day advanced on this side Great Timber Creek with their Main Body, and have pitched on this side of Little Timber Creek also—Some of the prisoners were taken within two miles of the town—They have no troops at Red Bank, and but few at Billingsport. The prisoners say they intend crossing the Delaware at Cooper's ferry. We shall look about us in the morning, and shall communicate any thing of importance. From yours very sincerely

"G. WEEDON."

[*On back.*]—"I have this moment rec<sup>d</sup> your Orders to return;—myself & Horse is so much fatigued, that can't get further than Moors Town tonight. Shall join you early in y<sup>e</sup> Morning."

BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER TO WASHINGTON.

"CAMP AT THE SQUAIRE, Nov<sup>r</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"I was at Chester yesterday the most of the shiping is gon up the River as far as the Bend below Billingsport—the enclosed lines I Received from a good honest whig that



would not assart a falce hood knowing it to be such he lives in the City."

[Unsigned.]

[*Enclosure.*]

"SIR

"I Received y<sup>e</sup> Beef & Return thanks till better paid.

"The troops in thee Jerseys under Comand of Lo<sup>d</sup> Cornwallis are not come back Neither is any others arrived here, but Shipping with Stores for army. No acc<sup>t</sup> at all from y<sup>e</sup> Jerseys their Numbers here I cant find out but I Beleave it takes one third part Daily for Guards in & about town.

"The meaning of that fire you see was the Americans set fire to their fire ships & the reports of their guns when the fire had got to them & the great Explosions of Magazines on board the Galleys all got up safe to Burlington."<sup>1</sup>

WASHINGTON TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"HEAD Q<sup>RS</sup> 24 November, 1777

"D<sup>r</sup> SIR :

"If you have not moved from Mount Holley when this comes to hand, I wish you to wait there till you see Col<sup>o</sup> Meade, who will set off immediately charged with some important matters which I thought it improper to commit to paper. This, however, you are to understand under this restriction—That I do not mean to prevent you a moment from prosecuting any Objects you have immediately in view that promises success. I am &c<sup>2</sup>

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

<sup>1</sup> This was from the same correspondent as gave the lines printed on page 493.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Robert Hanson Harrison. A council of war sat on November 24 to consider the possibility of attacking successfully the enemy in Philadelphia. No decision appears to have been reached, and Washington requested each officer to submit his opinion in writing.





[NOTE.—To properly understand the importance of the following documents, it is necessary to recall the political position occupied by Washington. The success of Gates at the northward had directed public attention to his supposed capacity as a commander. The plot which has passed into history as the Conway Cabal originated some time before Conway had anything to do with it, and was in its nature political rather than military. The idea entertained by some members of Congress, notably those from the Eastern States, of the necessity of having two commanders instead of one, offered a basis for scheming in the military line. Did anything happen to Washington, it was felt there was no man to take his place; and Gates, at the head of the northern army, reaping the benefits of the preparation and leadership of others against Burgoyne, gave promise of a brilliant military future, and thus presented himself as a legitimate successor to Washington. This was early the feeling among certain members of Congress, and their prepossessions were used in an illegitimate way to further the ambitions of men wishing to advance themselves by means of Gates. There is not enough evidence to prove that Gates was a party to any scheme having a definite purpose to supplant Washington; but there is abundant evidence of a wish on the part of certain officers in close connection with Gates to push him for the chief command of the American army. In seeking this they sought even more their own advancement and advantage, and it is to Conway and Mifflin, out of Congress, and to Samuel Adams, James Lovell, and, as is generally supposed, Richard Henry Lee, in Congress, that the alleged Cabal owed a support and encouragement that eventually led to an actual plot to advance Gates even at the expense of removing Washington.

The surrender of Burgoyne directed attention to Gates. To accomplish that object Washington had so far depleted his own army as to be in no position to offer effective resistance to the advance of Howe upon Philadelphia. The battle of Brandywine and the reduction of Fort Mifflin practically determined which army should hold the city, and the general public, seeing only defeat in one quarter and a brilliant success in another, jumped to the conclusion that the one was due to inefficiency, while the other was caused by splendid military ability. It was, therefore, easy to foment an opinion that Washington had been derelict in his share of the campaign; and as day after day passed with the two armies almost within gunshot of one another, yet no engagement taking place, the populace clamored for action. They could not understand why, with forces supposed to be nearly equal in strength, an assault upon the British in Philadelphia should not be attempted. They could not know how much Washington had sacrificed of his strength to assist Gates, and they did not know that the force returning from the northern army after its success did not rejoin Washington until after Fort Mifflin had fallen. It



was only when Glover's brigade and Morgan's corps had joined the main army that Washington felt himself strong enough to entertain an assault upon the city. Not only did he wish to make this assault, but he was urged to it by the popular clamor, as it was thought that good political results would follow a striking military success. He knew that he had enemies in the army, and felt that he had them in Congress. The sentence from Conway's letter gave him knowledge of the one, while his friends in Congress kept him advised of the other. It was to determine whether his idea of an attack on the British was practicable that he called a council of war and requested the opinion in writing of each general officer. These opinions are now published for the first time, and must be considered in the light of something besides military policy, although they are naturally concerned more with the military than the political features.

One bit of evidence which I believe has not been heretofore known is to be found in a report submitted to Congress by the Board of War on November 21, or three days before this council was held. The military questions in Congress had been under the control of a "Board of War and Ordnance" until October, 1777, when a "Board of War" was established, to consist of three persons not members of Congress. As a beginning of a separation of executive from legislative functions, this was a decided step in advance. It was on October 17 that the report constituting the Board of War was adopted, or about two weeks after the knowledge of Gates's victory had been obtained. On November 7 the members of the Board were elected: Major-General Thomas Mifflin, Colonel Timothy Pickering, and Colonel Robert Hanson Harrison. Mifflin and Pickering accepted their appointments. On November 17 Congress determined to add two members to the old Board of War, and selected Mr. Dana and Mr. J. D. Smith. This old Board, composed of members of Congress, met on the morning of the 21st of November; and, by a strange oversight, the report they laid before Congress contained the name of Major-General Mifflin as present and apparently taking a full part in the proceedings as one of the members. This error was afterwards corrected and his name stricken out. In this report is to be found the first suggestion formally made that Gates should be the President of the new Board. It also contained other matter of such interest as to warrant its publication in full. It will be seen that the paragraph applying to Gates was postponed, as well as that which provided for the retention of Richard Peters as Secretary to the Board. Six days later Congress proceeded to the election of three Commissioners for the Board, and elected Major-General Gates, Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters as the Commissioners, and specially appointed Gates as the President of the Board. It is thus established that it was due to Mifflin that Gates received this high appointment to a place in which he could more easily work upon the sympathies and influence of the members of Congress, led rather by the





ambitions of others than by his own wishes. The general impression to be gained of Gates, from his correspondence, is that of a rather dull, well-meaning, and easily influenced man, such a man as would readily become the tool of others possessed of greater capacity and more unscrupulous.

Nothing could be more cutting to Washington than the terms of this report urging the claims of Major-General Gates to the position of President of the Board. The principal matter urged by Washington upon Congress as essential to future operations—a measure on which the future of America would depend—was the formation of a new army of competent number and engaged for the war, or for a longer service than twelve months. As the end of the year was approaching, he found himself once more face to face with the formation of a new establishment. He had been providing for this contingency for months, and after an experience of short enlistments through two campaigns, had become so convinced of the attending evils as to see no safety in any other course than in a reasonably permanent force of sufficiently long service to become disciplined and accustomed to their officers,—a prime necessity in an efficient army. Nothing could have hurt him more than to have one intoxicated by an unusual success cut in under him with the remark that his policy was a “theory” and that there were other things more important. The committee urged Gates’s military skill as competent to suggest “reformations” in the different departments of the army, while his “character and popularity in the army” would facilitate the execution of such reformations,—“a Task in the opinion of this Committee more arduous and important than the formation of any new Establishment, however wise it may be in Theory.”

Fortunately, no such language was used in a formal resolution; for it is hardly possible to believe that Washington would have remained at the head of the army under such a studied rebuke of his policy. Congress rejected the words of the report, and on the 27th passed the following:

*Resolved*, That Mr. President inform Major-General Gates of his being appointed president of the new constituted Board of War, expressing the high sense Congress entertain of the general’s abilities and peculiar fitness to discharge the duties of that important office, upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend; that he inform general Gates, that it is the intention of Congress to continue his rank as major-general in the army, and that he officiate at the Board, or in the field, as occasion may require; and that the general be requested to repair to Congress with all convenient despatch, to enter on the duties of his new appointment.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.]



REPORT OF THE BOARD OF WAR.

“At a Board of War, y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> A.M. 1777.

“Present, *Major General Mifflin*, M<sup>r</sup> Lee, M<sup>r</sup> Duer, M<sup>r</sup> Jones, M<sup>r</sup> Harvey, M<sup>r</sup> Williams & M<sup>r</sup> Dana.

“The Board beg leave to report to Congress

Ag<sup>d</sup>

“That they have had a Conference with General Mifflin on the late Establishment made by Congress for conducting the War Department, and are unanimously of opinion, that a sufficient number of Commissioners have not been appointed for giving due weight to the execution of the Regulations which may be recommended by the Board, and adopted by Congress, and particularly for enabling one of the Board of Commissioners to visit from Time to time the different Armies, Posts, or Garrisons in order to see that the Regulations adopted by Congress are carried into Execution, and to examine what are the wants of the Army, and what Defects or Abuses prevail from time to time in the different departments.<sup>1</sup>

Prio Q<sup>r</sup>

“That it wou<sup>d</sup> further greatly tend to facilitate the Business of the Department, especially at the Commencement of the new Establishment, to secure the Continuation of the Services of the Secretary of the late Board of War, who in their Opinion has discharged the Duties of an arduous and complicated Department in its Infant stage, with Honour to himself, and much Disinterestedness, and with Fidelity and advantage to the Public.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Journals of Congress*, November 24, 1777.





Postp<sup>d</sup>

“The Board further beg leave to represent that General Mifflin has express’d a warm Solicitude that Major General Gates shou’d be appointed President of this Board, from a Conviction that his Military Skill would suggest Reforms in the different Departments of the Army essential to good Discipline, Order & Economy, and that his Character and Popularity in the Army would facilitate the execution of such Reforms when adopted by Congress; a Task in the opinion of this Committee more arduous and important than the formation of any new Establishment, however wise it may be in Theory.

Ag<sup>d</sup>

“On these Principles your Committee are of opinion

“That two additional Commissioners should be appointed to execute the Department of the War Office in P<sup>r</sup>sue of the Resolution of Congress of the [17th of October<sup>1</sup>], and that any three of the said Commissioners should be a Quorum to transact Business; anything in the former Resolutions respecting the Board to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>2</sup>

“Extract from the Minutes.

“JOS. NOURSE

“D. S. B<sup>d</sup> War.”

Endorsed by Thomson as “passed.” In the handwriting of Richard Peters is added:

“The Board are further of Opinion that the Resolution pass’d on the Inst. relative to the Execution of the War Department should be annull’d; and that the *Members* former *Committee of Congress* Board of War should be authoris’d to proceed on the Business of that Department,

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Charles Thomson.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Journals of Congress*, November 24, 1777.



till such Time as a Quorum of the Commissioners of the War Office shall attend."

## OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"MOUNT HOLLY, 9 o'clock Nov. 24, 1777

"D<sup>r</sup> SIR

"I received your favor by Col. Mead who has communicated to me the design of an attack upon Philadelphia, the consequences if successful are so desirable that I wish it appeared to me more practicable.—In war there must be always something left to chance and I would always recommend to trust some consequences to the spirit and bravery of the troops. An excess of caution which councils of war are generally productive of, often deprives a country of the advantages of a due exertion of the spirit & bravery of the troops—but I have viewed this subject in and out of council, I have weighed the good and bad consequences—I have surveyed it in a Historical point of light, I have examined it from my own observations in the course of the war, and I cannot think there is that degree of probability of the attempts succeeding that will warrant the undertaking. I have not time without detaining Col. Mead too long to give my reasons against the attack in full detail, but I think it a hazardous attempt and will terminate to the injury of the Continent and disgrace of the army.—I am sensible that many things pronounced impracticable before they were attempted have been crowned with success in the undertaking—But prudence forbids that being made a principle which necessity alone can justify—I wish that it was in our power to give that Army some capital wound—the reputation of the Army and the happiness of the country loudly call for it—but in consulting our wishes rather than our reason, we may be hurried by an impatience to attempt something splendid into inextricable difficulties.

"The depreciation of money, the corruption of the people and the dislike to service that prevails throughout the army will justify measures at this day that might wear the complexion of rashness under different circumstances. How





far these considerations may authorise the attempt I cannot pretend to say. One thing I would beg leave to recommend, that is if your Excellency thinks of attacking the City this winter improve the present moment for sure I am whatever reinforcements of militia may be drawn in to aid the army they cannot render it so formidable and equal to the attempt as it is at this hour. I am very willing to lay aside my own private Judgment and second the attempt—you may depend upon it Sir that I will as freely embark in the attempt if your Excellency thinks it warrantable as if I was of the same sentiment, and whatever may be the event my opinion never shall be known.

“The troops here are under marching orders—Glover’s Brigade will join us in the morning—I intended to advance in the morning at nine, but Col. Mead’s coming and recommending the postponing the march until I hear further from your Excellency, and as the troops coming in will want one day’s rest I thought it best to countermand the orders for marching until I hear from your Excell<sup>y</sup> and I am further induced to the measure because I don’t apprehend the difficulties of attacking Lord Cornwallis will be increas’d from one or two days delay. The Enemy give out they are 10,000 strong and that they intend to march to Burlington.

“I wish your Excellency to weigh the subject coolly and take your measures accordingly—I shall be perfectly satisfied be the result what it may.

“I am &c.

“N. GREENE.”

OPINION OF LORD STIRLING.

“CAMP, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“In Compliance with your Excellency’s request that each of the General Officers met in Council yesterday Evening, should give you their Sentiments in writing on what Measures had best be pursued in the present Exigency of our affairs; I must now beg leave to give it as my opinion that as all the reinforcements we had any reason to expect, have now Joined the main Army, and as a Considerable body of



the Enemy's army is detached into New Jersey under the Command of Lord Cornwallis, a favorable opportunity is presented for an immediate Attack of the Enemy. That other Circumstances render this measure absolutely necessary. That from all I have heard said, or that has occurred to me on the Subject, I think the following plan of Attack most feasible, 1<sup>st</sup> That the Enemy's Lines on this side Philadelphia be attacked at Daylight by three Columns properly flanked and supported. 2<sup>d</sup> That two thousand men be drawn from General Green and embarked in Boats at Dunker's ferry, to proceed to Philadelphia, land at or near Spruce Street, push thro' to the Common, endeavour with part to secure the Bridge over Schuylkill, and with the remainder to Attack the Enemy in the Rear of their Lines. 3<sup>d</sup> That five hundred Continental Troops with the Militia under General Potter possess such of the hills on the other side of Schuylkill as command an Infilade of the Enemy's Lines, and while part of them carry on a Brisk Canonade in that place, the rest of them proceed to the Bridge over Schuylkill and wait an opportunity of attacking the Works there in front, when the party from Spruce Street make an Attack in the Rear. The Landing of the party at Spruce Street should be effected if possible just before daylight, as it would greatly facilitate their passage thro' the Town and bring the Alarm to the Rear of the Enemy's lines in time to Cooperate with the main Attack in front. These are outlines of the plan I would propose, and submit it to your Excellency & am with great Regard and Respect

"Your Excellency's most Humble Servant

"STIRLING."

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

"CAMP, WHITEMARSH, Novem<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777.

"DEAR GENERAL:

"Agreeable to y<sup>r</sup> Ord<sup>r</sup> of Last Even<sup>g</sup> I have consid<sup>d</sup> the practicability of making an Attack upon the Enemy in Ph—— & weighed its probable Consequences in every view That occurred to me.

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“In order to Determine whether such an Attempt is Likely to succeed it is necessary to consider the Enemys situation—The Manner of our making the Attack on the Lines—the Mode of Attack we must adopt for carrying the city after we have made ourselves masters of their Lines & the probable method the Enemy may adopt to Render our Designs abortive. The Right of the Enemy is secured by the Delaware, their Left by Schuylkill & their Rear by the Junction of those Rivers. Their front is partly secured by an Inaccessable Pond & the Residue by a Chain of Redoubts strengthened by Abbatties in part & partly by circular Works—These Redoubts being 14 in number. The Attack upon them must be total or partial if the whole are to be attacked, as works cannot be carried but by Columns. The attacking part of your force in Front must be Disposed in fourteen Columns to carry 14 Redoubts manned with 100 men each. After carrying those they are to assume a Different Form to attack the city which will then be on their Left Defended by 4600 men, even if we suppose the Enemys whole Force in Philadelphia to amount to no more than 6000. If a partial attack is made upon these Redoubts, it must be on these Left, for if these Right be attacked & carried those Redoubts which remain on their Left will with their field pieces play obliquely on the Rear of y<sup>r</sup> Troops while Forming & making the attack on the city. Should then their Left be attacked & carried & your Troops pass them & form agreeable to your most Sanguine Expectations & advance towards the city they will have the chains of Redoubts on their Left, the Schuylkill in their Rear, the city & the Delaware in front & the Delaware & Schuylkill on their Right. When your Troops advance to the city in Line they will find the wall of Brick Houses opposed to y<sup>r</sup> right of their Line, The upper stories of those Houses well filled by musqueteers & the main streets by which alone they can penetrate filled with men, Drawn across of sufficient Depth to oppose any part of your Line that may come against them, & the whole Defended by a Train of artillery surely (?) superior to any you can possibly bring against



them, & this artillery being placed in front of the Houses makes no Interval in their Line & is compleatly covered by The Musqueteers occupying the upper Lofts of The Houses. This Disposition will oblige you once more to form Columns to penetrate the Streets, in Doing which your Troops must the moment they enter the city expect a Fire in front from the Troops opposed to them & on both Flanks from the Houses: These circumstances must occur to the party attacking in Front. How far they may be assisted by a party thrown into the city by water I will not Determine. If the party in front is successful they may be saved—if not they are inevitably lost—before we promise ourselves Success from this Stratagem it will be proper to consider how far this plan will be Likely to be Discovered by the Enemy in Season to prevent its Effects. Every person who has attended to the Noise made by a Fleet of Boats Rowing in the Night must be sensible that they will be heard at Least two miles & the Noise will Direct the Enemy where to make their opposition—It cannot be supposed that the Enemy will be stupid enough to Let their whole army run to oppose them—they have alarm posts which they will repair to & send a sufficient Number of the Reserve with field pieces to oppose or entrap them. It will be far from having the Effect Designed by a Feint which answers no other purpose but to Induce the Enemy to suppose your whole force being thrown to a point with an Intention to make your most vigorous effort there & by this means Draw them from the posts you wish to carry. They will easily know that you have not boats to Transport any considerable part of your army to the City by water, nor would it be prudent in you so to do. They will therefore consider this as a Feint & Treat it accordingly while they prepare to Receive your Real Attack in Front which this Feint will sufficiently announce to them—with Respect to the probability of carrying the Lines & afterward the City Defended by an army almost equal in Number to that part of yours which you can expect anything from is what both reason & experience speaks Loudly against. I have sometimes Read of Lines & partial Retrench-





ments being carried but in the course of my Reading (which has not been Inconsiderable) I have never Read of a Chain of Redoubts Covering the whole Front of an Army being carried (even where they had not as in the present Case rivers covering every other side of them). I cannot help observing that some Gentlemen who think we can easily carry those Redoubts say that if we are Defeated we have a Strong and secure Camp to Retreat to. how it can be supposed that a Camp without Lines or Redoubts can be better Defended by a Defeated army against a victorious one than Lines & Redoubts can with Troops, against others upon equal footing only is beyond my Conception. I know it is Said that these Redoubts are weak, but it would be absurd to suppose that the Redoubts they have been Labouring at six weeks are not as perfect as those Thrown up by Peter the Great in one night which Defeated the best army in the world or equal to that single Redoubt which Ruined the British Army at Bunkers Hill. Mr. Howe has never attempted a Redoubt since but at Red Bank & was Defeated—he was several Days with Double your numbers within musket shot of y<sup>r</sup> Lines on Long Island & White Plains & feared to attack you—he has no Conception that Lines are so easily carried but if in this he is mistaken all military writers agree that the attack of a village is the most Hazardous Enterprise in war, & has seldom been attended with Success. Experience has so far convinced the King of Prussia that he is determined never to attack another. if it be said we must Reduce it by Cannonnade my answer is that must be a work of time, especially as they have more cannon & heavier mettle than we.

“I know the world expect something from this Army & our affairs call for it, but no Caprice of the Greedy Multitude should induce us to Sacrifice the Army—a Defeat will be so far from helping that in my opinion it will ruin our affairs. The common people will Discover Howes superiority to both our armies without Considering the advantage he had against them—those who have sense enough to Discover the advantages he had against them will condemn the attempt



as unwarranted by Reason or Experience—so that from Different views the Country will become universally Discouraged, which I fear will end in the Ruin of our Cause—Upon the whole I think the most certain method to retrieve our affairs, to strengthen our friends & Discourage our Enemies as well as to establish the Currency of our money will be to put the army in such a Situation as will render it necessary for Mr. Howe to fight us or Loose his honor & the confidence the people have in his arms. Once it is known that by avoiding you he acknowledges your Superiority in the field his very friends will Despise him for his weakness & Deceit. Yours will be encouraged & value your money at a high rate when supported by those Arms which (this hitherto) arrogant Invader dare not Attack.—There is still another mode of attack upon the Enemys Lines which is to pass your Columns between the Redoubts. if this should be attempted & the Enemy should retire & Draw up in Rear of their Works Leaving in them a sufficient Number to man them your Troops must advance under a Front & Two Flank Fires till they have passed the Redoubts when they will have an additional one in their Rear from the Redoubts they have passed & after Enduring all this they will have to attack the City under all the Disadvantages before mentioned, in which if they are successfull they will do what no other Troops have ever accomplished.

“I know it is said by some that your Excellency’s character & that of the whole Army will suffer if something is not attempted as the Northern Army is called to our Assistance, &c. I am far from thinking so. But Let us consider what foundation there can be for censure. It is beyond a Question that General Howe has been much Superior to you in Numbers thr<sup>o</sup> the whole Campaign. Yet you have fought him & th<sup>o</sup> the field remained his the victory was yours—he to add to his Force & to get a Decisive Superiority over you in the field called for a Reinforcement & you to counteract him did the same. You by this means became 13000 strong & he remains at Least twelve. if your additional militia will make up for the want of Discipline in your young





Troops I think it is all we can expect. Where then is this Superiority in numbers on your side which will warrant your making an attack so Likely to Compleat the Ruin of your Currency: an attack condemned by every military writer & unwarranted by Reason or Experience? Actions always take their Character from the Success that attend them, & those Gentlemen who urge this matter to save the Credit of the Army Deceive themselves & you; for if you are unsuccessful the Credit of the Army will be Destroyed & the Confidence of the people Lost beyond recovery & your own Character must suffer. It has been urged that these works may be carried by Surprise: I have ever understood that works were constructed to prevent a Surprise & never once conceived it possible to surprise & carry 14 redoubts especially when the Enemy's first line is encamped in Front of them—it would be needless to give your Excellency instances of such attempts upon Redoubts alone and unfortified Villages being rendered abortive. Military Books are full of them those writers tell us that a single Stone House, mill or Church if well defended cannot be reduced by [but?] by cannon. if this be true with respect to one a Regular Line of them opposed to your whole Front must be much more Difficult. What success a Cannonnade from Troops in the open field is Likely to have upon others covered by a village & redoubts & possessed of a Superior Train of artillery requires no great share of military knowledge to Determine. I have mentioned some unfortunate attacks upon Redoubts that have fallen within our own knowledge. I will at present mention but two that have proved so upon villages not Defended by Lines or Redoubts. One was in Corsica the first campaign made by the French ag<sup>t</sup> it, where the whole French army were cut to pieces in storming a small village defended by Paschal Paoli's Brother with a Handful of Corsicans & at German Town one Stone House snatched from us a victory which was about compleated. I am therefore clearly of opinion that the attempt would be Hazardous & must End in Ruin to the Army & to the American Cause. but should y<sup>r</sup> Exce<sup>r</sup> think the attempt



practicable I shall cheerfully give up my opinion & use every effort in my power to carry it into Execution with Success. I have the honor to be your Excey<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN.”

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

“CAMP AT WHITEMARSH, 25<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>, 1777

“SIR :

“Without such an acquaintance of the Enemies lines as wou<sup>d</sup> discover to you where they are more or less accessible, I cannot well approve of an attack upon them, nor can I conceive the opposite numbers at Philad<sup>a</sup> under six thousand or upward.—And question whether an attack can be successful if the lines are not penetrated in so short a space of time (perhaps some seven or at most ten minutes) as will render it impossible for the party thrown into the City shou<sup>d</sup> the first attempt on the lines fail, to contribute any effectual influence. The principle upon which that part of the disposition is formed is perfectly just, but the numbers too few, and the contingencies various.

“In the present view of things I rather approve carrying the Army over Scuikill & making tryal of any advantages that yet may be derived from a possession of the Islands &c. &c., by which means either the Enemy may be drawn out or the Scuikill pass<sup>d</sup> to advantage on the Ice. At the same time I am totally submissive to y<sup>r</sup> Excellency's commands, begging leave only to add that whether the attack is made or not, but especially if it is, the far greater part of y<sup>r</sup> force in the Jersey may suddenly be recalled and join the Army. And that I am with the greatest respect &c

“JOHN ARMSTRONG.”

OPINION OF THE CHEVALIER DU PORTAIL.

“25 9<sup>th</sup> 1777.

“To attack the Enemy in their Lines appears to me a difficult and dangerous Project. It has especially this very considerable Inconvenience—the exposing our Army in case it does not succeed to a total Defeat. This is easily demon-





strated. One of the principal means proposed is to throw two thousand men in the rear of the Enemy—if we do not succeed these are so many men absolutely lost. As to the main body of the Army which is to attack in front, it must pass through the Intervals left between the Abattis and Redoubts, which they say form very narrow Passages—if after penetrating we should be repulsed can Troops in disorder return easily by the Passages through which they were introduced—will it not be very easy for the English to cut off their Retreat. Our whole Army then may be destroy'd or made prisoners. Now does it become this Army which is the principal one, to run such Risques—*does it become it to stake the Fate of America on a single Action?* I think not. For my part I never would place this Army in a Situation where its Rear was not perfectly free, much less where it will be inclosed on all sides without means of Retreat. To justify such an Enterprise the success must be almost certain. To judge of this we have only to take a view of the Dispositions which must be made for this attack. This View will render the Difficulties evident. First—two thousand men are to be introduced by a River of which the Enemy are wholly Masters. If we embark them near the Enemy the noise may alarm them—if at a distance, the cold which they will undergo, will render the use of their Arms exceedingly difficult in the morning—besides can we flatter ourselves that the River side is unguarded. Let us reflect that a single man is sufficient to make this project miscarry and cause us the loss of two thousand men.

“As to the Attack in front—these are nearly the Dispositions which would be followed—We should march upon as many Columns as there are Roads leading to the Enemy—upon our arrival in their presence, each Commanding Officer of a Column, according to the size of the works before him, and the number of men which he judges are contained in them, divides his Troops into two parts, one of which surrounds the works and attacks them vigorously, while the other marches boldly through the Intervals and falls upon the troops in the Rear. But every one sees how



much harmony is required in all these dispositions. How much presence of mind in the Superior Officers—how much firmness in the troops who have to execute all their manœuvres under the fire of an Enemy who are in a great measure cover'd.

“If the Enemy’s works are not inclosed, the Enterprise would be much less dangerous—if they are, the Enterprise is too hardy.

“His Excellency I think desired us to say a word respecting the operations in Jersey. In general it seems to me that we can do nothing better than to endeavour to attack the Enemy’s Force there with superior numbers—but there is a very important Observation to be made, which is that we should not weaken ourselves too much here; for we are to consider that the Enemy may recross their Troops in one night and attack us by day break with their whole force.

“If however an attack be determined upon, the Enemy’s Works should be more particularly reconnoitred.

“THE CHEVALIER DU PORTAIL.”<sup>1</sup>

#### OPINION OF BARON DE KALB.

“According to His Excellency General Washington’s orders, and desire of having every Gentleman’s opinion on the Subjects laid before the Council last evening.

“Mine is to attempt an attack on the lines & City, as soon as the Plans thereof can be properly laid, all necessary dispositions and calculations made, as to the mode & time. In respect to the Plan much must depend on intelligences of the Enemy’s Position & collected or separated forces, and the whole Enterprise on secrecy and Expedition.

“Two essential points would be necessary to be known.

“1<sup>o</sup> Whether a passage for a Column will be practicable on the Bridge or middle ferry on Schuylkill river, to make there a strong attack, or whether the Ennemies take down the Bridge in night time. In this case a small body of

<sup>1</sup> This opinion was given in French. I have used a translation made by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.





troops and some artillery would be sufficient on the right bank of that river to disquiet & annoy them in their Lines, and the whole army to be Employed to attack in front with different Columns.

"2° Whether the Key & City Shore of Delawar be not strongly defended, either by Pickets, intrenchments, row Gallies, floating and other Batteries, and whether the Noise of the Boats to be employed there, will not prevent or defeat the Execution of a landing, for if th' attempt should fail by such obstructions, the boats could hardly be brought off and these troops would be in great danger of being either sunk or taken. If on the contrary no such obstacles were to be feared, a surprise on that side and a well timed attack in the rear of the lines woud undoubtedly insure a compleat Victory.

"Many more things could be said on this subject.

"As for myself and Division we will do our best in what ever part of the Enterprise and attack, His Excellency will find proper to Employ me.

"BARON DE KALB.

"AT CAMP, 25 9<sup>th</sup> 1777"

#### OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

"WHITEMARSH, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"I have seriously revolved in my mind the subject that was debated in Council last night, and notwithstanding the present disagreeable situation of our affairs, cannot think that we are yet reduced to the necessity of hazarding the total destruction of the army by a general attack, on the very ground that general Howe would wish to fight us on; to attack redoubts &c<sup>a</sup> with any prospect of success, we should be much superior in numbers to the enemy and at least equal to them in discipline, were we possessed of these advantages, & had boats sufficient to throw about 3000 men into their rear I should chearfully vote for the proposed attack, as in my opinion the defeat of gen<sup>l</sup> Howe would then be as certain, as, I am afraid ours would be were we to attack him with our present strength.



"I could therefore wish that the army was placed in such a position (either on this or the other side of Schuylkill) as to invite or oblige general Howe to leave his strongholds & seek us in the field, as the probability of success in a general action then, would be more in our favour with equal numbers, than in an attempt upon his lines with our present trifling superiority.

"I have had but little experience in war, & therefore give my opinion on this important question with diffidence, should your excellency or the major part of the council determine on the attack, I shall cheerfully sustain the part assigned to me, & exert my utmost abilities to procure success. I have &c.

"JAMES IRVINE."

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAXWELL.

"SIR :

"Agreeable to your Excellency's request of last night that I should give my opinion this morning in writing concerning the making an attack on Philadelphia immediately—I am not for attacking it at present, and will proceed to give some reasons why I would not, viz : It is but a few days ago ; before General Green & Huntington crossed the Delaware that we determined in a full council that an Attack on the Enemy in their Fortifications &c. was by no means eligible, and I think we was as strong then as we are now on this side. It is urged that if we do not make an attack on the Town we must be put to the greatest difficultys to raise another Army, keep up our credit, &c<sup>a</sup>. I am of opinion if we throw the Army away we have, without some good appearance of success we are much more likely not to get another one nor support the Credit of our money. I am for attacking and Harrassing them by every means in our power ; by any other method than that of attacking them in their works. I am &c.

"W<sup>m</sup> MAXWELL.

"WHITE MARSH, 25<sup>th</sup> Novbr. 1777.





"N.B.—I have heard that the Enemy has got up 2 or 3 small armed Vessels to Philadelphia by people that came out yesterday."

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL PATERSON.

"Nov. 25, 1777

"SIR :

"The proposed attack on Philidelphia in my Opinion will be so hazardous that we cannot be justified in prosecuting of it, as a Failure will most certainly be attended with the loss of great Numbers of our Troops, which I am fearfull would be attended with Fatal Consequences My perfect Ignorance of the Country renders me intirely incapable of recommending any other Plan, but shall with Chearfulness do my utmost to put in Execution this or any other your Excellency shall think adviseable. I am &c.

"JN<sup>o</sup> PATERSON."

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL POOR.

"November 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"I am sencable that the Situation of our Country loudly Calls for the Exertions of this Army.

"But fear an atact upon the Lines Round the City of Philidelphia will be unsucesful therefore dont advize to it.

"as I have jest arived to Camp & not acquainted in the Countrey beg to be Excused from proposing a new Disposition of the Army. I am &c

"ENOCH POOR.

"B. G'."

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCOTT.

"WHITE MARSH, 25<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"I am for making an attack, so soon as things Can be put in readiness. As to the plan I can Think of none better than that propos'd by Gen<sup>l</sup> Cadwalader, with this Alteration, that the partie proposed to land in the City be detached from Gen<sup>l</sup> Green and not taken from this army. I Have



two reasons for this, the one is that those men with him are the Flower of the army, and that it will requier the best men we can pick to effect the landing if opposd. My other Is that we cant well spare them from this army. I have &c  
"CH<sup>s</sup> SCOTT."

## OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SMALLWOOD.

"CAMP, Novemb<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1777

"SIR:

"I have revolved in my Mind the Subject of your Requisition last Night, and placed it in every Point of View, and must confess I am much embarrassed. I see the Propriety and Necessity of an Attact, I view with Pain the pressing Expectations of the Public, the Reputation of the Army at Stake, the depression of our Money, the difficulty & hazard of the proposed Attact, and the Misfortunes, and I may add the almost inevitable destruction which must ensue upon a Defeat,—and upon due Reflection let it suffice to say I am against an Attact on the Enemy's Lines, from an Impression that our Troops are not equal to it, unless there was a moral certainty of throwing in the Parties proposed, down the Delaware & across the Schuylkill, to alarm & make a Diversion on the Flanks & in their Rear, but I think this Event wou'd be doubtful & uncertain, as well as extremely hazardous for the Delaware Party & might in general subject the Army to too great a Sacrifice upon such a Contingency.

"I shou'd therefore think it more eligible to manœuvre, and endeavor to draw Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe out of his Lines to an Engagement, w<sup>ch</sup> I shou'd judge is both Practicable, and probable. I have the Honor &c.

"W. SMALLWOOD."

## OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

"CAMP AT WHITE MARSH, 25<sup>th</sup> Novem. 1777

"SIR:

"After the most Dispationate & Deliberate Consideration of the Question your Excellency was pleased to propose to





the Council of General Officers last Evening; I am Solemnly and Clearly of Opinion—that the Credit of the Army under your Command, the Safety of the Country—the Honor of the American Arms—the Approach of Winter which in a few days will force you from the field, and above all the Depreciation of the Currency of these States,—Points out the Immediate Necessity of giving the Enemy Battle. Could they possibly be drawn from their Lines, it's a Measure Devoutly to be wished.

“But if that cannot be Effected, It is my Opinion that your Excellency should March tomorrow morning and take post with this Army at the Upper or North End of Germantown—and from thence Immediately Detach a Working party to throw up, or effect to throw up some Redoubts under the direction of your Engineers.—this Intelligence will reach the Enemy—they will Conclude that you Intend to make good your Quarters there, and however desirous they may be to dislodge you—yet it will take up some time to withdraw their force from the Jersey.

“by this Manœuvre you will be within Striking Distance, the Enemy will be deceived by your Works, your Troops will be fresh and ready to move the same Night so as to arrive at the Enemies Lines before day light on thursday Morning Agreeable to the proposed plan of Attack—with great part of which I am in fellowship—the outlines are good—they may be Improved to Advantage and Crowned with Success.

“It has been Observed by some Gentlemen that the Attack is Hazardous—that if we prevail it will be attended with great loss.

“I agree with the Gentlemen in their Position—but however hazardous the Attempt—and altho some Loss is certain, yet it is my Opinion—that you will not be in a worse Situation—nor your Arms in less Credit, if you should even meet with a Misfortune—than if you were to Remain Inactive.

“The eyes of all America are fixed on you, the Junction of the Northern Army—which Obligated Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne to lay down his Arms, gives the Country & Congress some ex-



pectation, that a vigorous Effort will be made to Dislodge the Enemy.

"Its not in our Power to Command success—but it is in our Power to produce a Conviction to the World that we Deserve it. Interim I am &c.

"ANT<sup>r</sup> WAYNE, B. G."

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOODFORD.

"DEAR GEN<sup>r</sup>

"I cannot help viewing the purposed attack upon the Enemy's Lines as attended with many Hazards & Difficulties. But these are over Ballanced by the following considerations viz<sup>t</sup> first the necessity that something should be attempted by this Army before it retires into Winter Quarters, both for its own C<sup>r</sup> & the support of our paper currency.

"Secondly that from my knowledge of the State of the soldiery we are not likely to be in a better condition, if so good a one, at any Future time.

"Thirdly, that all the Force we expected is arrived—and lastly, that the present Detach'd situation of the two Armys promises a fairer prospect of success than is likely to present itself whilst we are able to continue in the Field.

"I am therefore for making the Attack so soon as your Excellency & some of the Gen<sup>r</sup> Officers have had sufficient time to Digest a proper plan. I have &c.

"W<sup>m</sup> WOODFORD.

"Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>, 1777"

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

"PARK OF ARTILLERY, CAMP, WHITEMARSH 26<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR:

"I exceedingly lament my want of experience and ability to fill properly the important station in which I am, and I am more particularly distress'd when such important Questions are referr'd to my decision as those which your Excellency gave us in Charge the last evening. The happiness or misery of the people of America may be the consequence of a right or erroneous judgment.





“Much lately has be[en] urg’d concerning the reputation of our arms, as if we had long been a warlike nation whose existence like the antient Romans depended on their military Fame. I confess I view the matter differently and cannot bring myself to believe (how much soever I may wish it) that we are upon a par in military knowledge and skill with our enemies. Indeed it is not possible and the sensible part of mankind well know it.

“We set out in the contest with notions and sentiments very different from these. We then considerd we were contesting for our *all*, for everything dear to humanity: But it now seems otherwise with many persons, whose anxiety for military Fame seems to absorb every other consideration.

“I have also heard it urg’d that your Excellency’s reputation would suffer. I freely confess an Idea of this kind pains me exceedingly and were I fully to believe it, I should be impelled to give my opinion for measures as desperate as I conceive the attempt to storm the enemies works and Philadelphia. I am not of opinion that your Excellency’s character suffers in the least with the well affected part of the people of America. I know to the contrary, the people of America look up to you as their Father, and into your hands they intrust their *all* fully, confident of every exertion on your part for their security and happiness—and I do not believe there is any man on Earth for whose welfare there are more sollicitations at the Court of heaven than for yours.

“I believe perfectly that there are some people who speak disrespectfully of your Excellency, but I as perfectly believe that these are people who have never given any unequivocal evidence of their attachment to our rights; or whose boundless ambition has been check’d by your well try’d patriotism.

“The state of the depreciation of our Currency has also been urg’d as a principal inducement to some desperate attack—That its value diminishes every day. It is but too true that the large emissions and some other causes have effected a diminution of the value of our paper currency. Had the same enormous emissions taken place in a time of profound peace and flourishing Commerce as have taken



place during the war, without sinking any part of them by taxes, I do assert that the Currency would be equally depreciated as at present.

“The circumstances of the respective states would not permit them ’till lately to endeavor to sink their proportions of the paper currency—butt now almost every state on the Continent are making large strides towards it. The Currency in the eastern States from their large taxes will increase in its value every day. I cannot therefore perceive the force of the argument urg’d, deriv’d from the consideration of the failure of the currency.

“The Gentlemen who urge the desperate measure of attacking the enemies Line, Redoubts and city of Philadelphia seem to forget the many principles laid down by people experienc’d in the art of war against our engaging in General actions upon equal terms—against our risking our all on the event of single Battles—In the beginning of the Contest our friends in England urg’d the impropriety of such conduct, giving instances of numbers of States who lost their liberties by means of them. It is an invariable principle in War, That it cannot be the interest at the same time of both parties to engage. It is also another fix’d principle that the invaders of a Country ought to bring the defenders of it to action as soon as possible. But I believe there is not a single maxim in War that will justify a number of undisciplin’d troops attacking an equal number of disciplin’d troops strongly posted in redoubts and having a strong city in their rear such as Philadelphia.

“It is proposed to attack the enemies redoubts without being perfectly acquainted with their number, strength, or situation, with troops of whom we have had the experience in two capital actions, that it was impossible to rally after they were broken. By the mode of attack propos’d we are to stake the Liberties of America on a single attempt in which the probability of success is against us, and if defeated of sacrificing the happiness of posterity to what is call’d the reputation of our arms.

“It has been agreed that the enemies Force consists of





10,000 rank and file fit for duty—it is said Lord Cornwallis has taken with him from 1,500 to 3000. Suppose the number 2500, which is 500 more than I believe he has—there remains 7,500 rank and file fit for duty. Our returns are 8000. (I say 8000 because I hold the militia in case of an attack of this kind useless entirely, for we know they will not stand within the range of a Cannon ball.) We are to attack 7500 strongly posted in redoubts, having batteries and a strong City in their rear. In this instance the Idea that is necessary among disciplined troops of having three to one to storm works is laid aside, not because our troops are *better* disciplined than the enemies, but because from a concurrence of circumstances our affairs are in a *desperate* situation, and we must retrieve them or perish.

“Marshall Saxe says redoubts are the strongest and most excellent kind of field Fortification, and infinitely preferable to extended lines—because each redoubt requires a separate attack, one of which succeeding does not facilitate the reduction of the others. Charles the 12<sup>th</sup> with the best troops in the World was totally ruin’d in the attack of some redoubts at Pultowa, altho he succeeded in taking three of them.

“The Character of the British troops in Europe is far above mediocrity—and the experience we have had of their discipline and valor by no means proves them contemptible. In the commencement of the War they storm’d an unfinish’d work on Bunker Hill, but the experience gain’d there has entirely prevented them from making any similar attempts. Indeed the Germans lately made an attempt on red Bank, the event of which will hardly give them a favorable opinion of the attack of redoubts by storm.

“The situation of the American army on long Island after the Battle of the 27<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> was exceedingly ineligible, and the enemy must have known it; but they did not attempt to carry our redoubts by storm, altho’ had they succeeded in one instance and made a sufficient opening for the introduction of a large Column of troops, the greater part of our army then on the Island must have fallen a sacrifice or have been taken prisoners.



"From the experience deriv'd from reading and some little service and the knowledge of the strength of the enemies works, my opinion is clearly, pointedly, and positively against an attack on the enemies redoubts, because I am fully convince'd a defeat certain and inevitable.

"My opinion is to draw our whole strength together, take post at and Fortify Germantown, considering it as our Winter Quarters.—When the Works there are in a tolerable state of defence, I should propose taking our whole force (except one brigade to guard the redoubts) and proceed near the enemies Lines, offering them Battle, which if they declin'd would in the opinion of every rational man fully evince our superiority in point of strength—if they should come out, fight and defeat us, we have a secure retreat and Winter Quarters.

"I have thus offer'd my sentiments to your Excellency with freedom, but if a contrary disposition should take place and an attack be resolv'd upon, I shall endeavor to execute the part that may be assign'd me to the utmost of my ability. I am &c.

"H. KNOX,

"B. Gen' Artillery."

(To be continued.)





ROSTER OF THE LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED  
MASONS WHICH MET AT THE TUN TAVERN, PHIL-  
ADELPHIA.

BY JULIUS FREDERICK SACHSE.

The first lodge of Free and Accepted Masons held in the Colonies was organized in Philadelphia, at the Tun Tavern, a once prominent hostelry on the east side of King (Water) Street, at the corner of a small thoroughfare that led down to the river, known as Wilcox's, now Tun, Alley. In Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, as early as June 26, 1732, it is announced that a "Grand" Lodge had been held on the previous Saturday (St. John's Day), when William Allen was chosen Grand Master and the printer as one of the wardens.

No official records of this lodge are known to exist, with the exception of the lodge ledger, "Liber B," now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. From this we learn that the body was known as St. John's Lodge, and proves that the lodge was in existence June 24, 1731. There is also a strong presumption that this lodge constituted itself as a "Grand" Lodge after the formation of other lodges within the province.

St. John's Lodge did not remain long at the Tun Tavern, for when, in 1734, mine host Brother John Hobart removed from that hostelry the lodge also changed its quarters and was convened at the Indian King Hotel, corner of Market Street and Biddle's Alley, now Bank Street, and in 1749 to the Royal Standard Tavern, on Market Street, near Second Street.

Owing to the absence of documentary evidence, there is no way of determining when the subordinate lodges were constituted or where located, but one was within the city and also met at the old Tun Tavern, then in possession of the Mullen family. This society was known as "The Tun



At an Extra Lodge held on Monday 3 July 1749 at  
the Sun Tavern in Whitechapel Street.

Present Bro. Griffin M<sup>r</sup>  
Bro. Smith M<sup>r</sup>  
Bro. M<sup>r</sup>

Members Present.

Bro. Swan, Bro. Archdale, Bro. Archer,  
Bro. M<sup>r</sup>, Bro. M<sup>r</sup>.

Proceeded to business.

W<sup>m</sup> James having being proposed & balloted for  
last Lodge night was accordingly admitted to the first  
degree of Masonry.

Tom Black & Lodge closed.

At a Lodge held on Wednesday 5th July 1749 at the  
Sun Tavern in Whitechapel Street.

Present Bro. Griffin M<sup>r</sup>  
Bro. Smith M<sup>r</sup>  
Bro. M<sup>r</sup>

Members Present.

Bro. David, Bro. Swan, Bro. Archdale, Bro. Archer, Bro. M<sup>r</sup>,  
Bro. M<sup>r</sup>.

Winding Brothers

Proceeded to business.

Mr. John Dyer admitted to the first degree of Masonry.

Mr. John Smithson, M<sup>r</sup>.

Bro. Wright passed Letters English.

Bro. M<sup>r</sup> having Charles W. admitted a Member.

Tom Black & Lodge closed.





Tavern Lodge," and, together with St. John's Lodge, met on alternate Wednesdays, an arrangement which insured an open lodge every Wednesday during the year.

A minute-book or "Journal" of this lodge, commencing June 28, 1749, is still in existence, and was for a time in possession of the writer. Although evidently not the first book of this lodge, it is the oldest Masonic minute-book known, and is the only record in existence that gives any insight into the workings of the body of Freemasons known as "Moderns," who were the first to introduce "Masonic light and charity" into America, many years prior to the formation of our present Grand Lodges under the warrant of the *Ancients*.

A photographic fac-simile of this valuable record, made by the writer, is now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A careful examination of the pages and a collation of all names mentioned in the journal show that there were at least eighty-seven regular members of the lodge, with a list of one hundred and eighty-six visiting brethren, the latter including a number of Masons entered, passed, and raised within the lodge, and yet not elected to membership. The names of the regular members of the lodge are printed in capitals.

ADAMS, CAPTAIN.

Adcock.

Agnew.

Allen, Richard.

Allen.

Alsop, John.

Alvirius.

Arnold.

ARSHDALE (Archdall).

ASHTON.

Assheton, William.

AUSTIN, CAPTAIN JOHN.

Austin, Samuel, not a Brother.

Backop, Captain Lawrence.

Baine.

Baker, Frederick.

Ball, William.

BARON.

BATTAAR (Bataar) (Batare).

Batkhus.

Batter, Eneas.

Battle, French.

Bayley, John.

BELL, JOHN.

Best, Mathew.

Biel, John.

Blair.

BLAKE, THOMAS.

Boggs.

BOUDE, JOHN.

Bowser.

BOYDE, CAPTAIN ROBERT.

Brabazon, Hervey.



Brooks.	Eggnew.
Brown, Captain.	England, Captain.
BRULIET, JOHN.	Evans.
Bunting, Samuel.	EVE, OSWALD.
Burk.	EVES.
Burton.	EWING, JOHN.
BUSUE, CAPTAIN.	Fatin.
Caldwell.	FAULKNER (Faulkiner) (Falconer).
Cannon, George.	Fisher, John.
Cappoch, James.	Fisher, Thomas.
Carbutt, Joseph.	Fisher, Samuel.
CLAMPFER (Klamfer).	FLANIGAN.
Claxton.	FORSTER (Foster).
Clemons.	Fotheringham.
Coghlan, Jeremiah — Captain of Ship Fred. Mason.	Franklin, Benjamin, Prov. G.M.
Collias, Mr. (a transient Gent who was initiated).	Franklin, jun. (William?).
Condon, John.	Gamble, William.
Constable.	Gantony.
CORFFE (Corfe).	GIBBONS.
CORPERAL, JOHN.	Gilson (Gibson?).
Cummins.	GLENTWORTH, CAPTAIN THOMAS.
Cummings.	Goffton.
Currey (Curry), Daniel.	Gordon, John.
David.	GRIFFIN.
DAVIS.	HAMPTON.
Davison.	HARRIS.
DE LATHIOLIAS, JOHN.	Harris, Captain Richard.
DELLANOE.	Harrison, Samuel.
DEWARS, CAPTAIN.	HART, GEORGE.
Dewit (Dawit), Patrick.	Haselton, James.
Diper (Dipper).	Hay, Doctor David.
DONALDSON, HUGH.	Heighinton, Captain Conway.
Done, Doctor.	Hemlin, Edward.
Dowglass, Captain John.	Hillhouse.
Dubois, C.	Hilliart.
DUCHEE (Duche), ANTHONY.	HODGSON (Hodgeson).
Duglass.	HOLLAND, WILLIAM.
DUTENS, CHARLES JOHN.	Houston.
Dyer.	Howard, John.
Eaton, Captain Peter.	Howison.
ECKLES, CAPTAIN GEORGE.	HUDSON, PETER.
	Humphreys, Charles.





Humphreys, Edward.

Hunlock, Bowman.

Hunter, Christian.

JAMES, LEWIS.

James, Captain Michael.

JEMMISSON.

Jenkins, Captain.

JENKINS, JOHN.

Jones, Thomas.

JOY, CAPTAIN DANIEL.

Karst, Capt. Phillip Godfret.

KEAPOCH, JOHN.

Keen, Benjamin.

Keith, Cornelius.

Kelly.

Kelly, William.

Kennedy, John.

Kibby, John.

Knight, John.

Leacock.

LEE, WILLIAM.

Leech.

LEECRAFT, CAPTAIN VINA.

Legg, Edward.

Lemon, Captain.

Lloyd, Morris.

Longwell, Thomas.

McCARTHY, CAPTAIN.

MCDOWALL, ALEXANDER.

McEvoy (McEvey), Christin.

McFarson.

Malone.

MANNY, FRANCIS.

MASON.

MASON, ABRAHAM.

MASON, WILLIAM.

Mathers.

MATHEWS.

Mauremet.

MAHEW, JOHN.

Meynier, Peter.

Milnor, Isaac.

Mitchell.

Montague (Monteigue).

Moore.

Moore, William.

MORGAN, MORRIS.

Morgan, Howell.

MORGAN.

Morris, John.

MULLAN.

MULLAN, THOMAS.

MURRAY.

Murray, Walter.

NÄSMANN, REVEREND GABRIEL.

Nicholson.

Nunes.

Oglesby.

ORD, JOHN.

Osborn.

Parker, Doctor William.

Palmer, David.

Parry.

Patterson.

Pattin (Patin).

Phillip.

PHILLIPS.

Quinn.

Redhead.

REILY, JOHN.

Rice.

Rick (Reick), Joachim.

Roberdeau.

ROBESON.

Robinson, Rudy.

ROBINSON.

Roche.

Rony, Hercules.

Ross, John.

RUNNETT, JAMES (Rennidet).

Russell.

Rouse.



St. Dearsley.	Terry, James.
Salter.	TEW.
Sannon.	Thompson.
Savage, Captain Richard.	Thompson, Robert.
SAVAN.	Tibow, James.
SCHLEYDORN, JOHN.	TROY.
Scott.	
Servin (Serven), John.	Urmstone, Reverend.
Shannon, Capt. George.	Urich (Urick).
SHANNON.	USHER, REVEREND MATTHEW.
Shead, William.	
SHEE, WALTER.	VIDAL, STEPHEN.
SHUTE, WILLIAM.	Vinning.
Simes, John.	Viten.
Singleton.	VOTO, PAUL ISAAC.
Skinner.	
Smith, Captain.	Wallace.
Smith, James.	Waner.
Smith, Joseph.	WASDALE (Wasdell), WILLIAM.
Smith, Bro.	Warner, Joseph.
Snow, Mrs. Clandestine Masons	Wells, Captain Samuel.
made at her house.	West.
Sommersett.	WEYMAN, EDWARD.
Soute.	White, Thomas.
Splitdorf.	WHYTE, CAPTAIN JAMES.
STACY, EDMUND.	WILKINSON, JUN., JOHN.
Stephanus, Sebastian.	Williams, Captain.
Stevens, Erasmus.	Wood, James.
STEPHENS, JOHN.	Wood, Joseph.
STEPHENS.	WOOD.
Stevenson, James.	Woolley.
Steward.	Woodyear, Lumley.
Stewison.	Wormly, John.
Stokes, Captain Luke.	Woulfe.
STOUT (Stoute).	WRIGHT, HUGH.
Summaine.	Wyatt, Captain Edward.
SWAN, RICHARD.	
	Yates.
	Yeates.
TAGE (Teage).	Young, Mutry.
Teage, Captain.	Young, William.

Since the above list was compiled an additional original document has been donated to the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of which the following is a copy :





1752, March, 12th.

&

3, February 1754

John Wallace—Richard Hill—Edward Shippen—John Swift—William Franklin—Samuel Mifflin—Daniel Roberdeau—Thomas Bond—Wm. Plumstead a committee for building the Lodge.

Subscribers to the building now alive with the sum subscribed (11th March 1782.)—

James Hamilton	£50	Dead 14 Aug 1783.
Benjamin Franklin	20	
Thos. Bond Senr.	15	Dead Mar 1784.
Danl. Roberdeau	15	
John Swift	15	
Towns'd White	15	
Chas. Stedman	15	
John Kidd	15	
John Wallace	15	Dead 26 Sept 1783.
Edw'd Shippen	15	
James Wallace	15	
Chas. Humphreys	15	
Mich'l Hillegas	20	
Tench Francis	15	
William Moor	15	

Left the State

William Franklin	£15
Andrew Elliot	15

Dead.

William Allen	£50
John Bell	15
Rich'd Hill	15
Sam'l Mifflin	15
William Plumstead	20
Alex'r Huston	20
Benj'n Price	15

Members of the 1st. Lodge that did not subscribe  
Hon'ble John Penn  
Doct'r William Smith  
Math'w Clarkson  
Henry Elwes.



# ROSTER OF OFFICERS COMMANDING THE MILITIA REGIMENTS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1802.

CONTRIBUTED BY J. GRANVILLE LEACH, ESQ.

In the Act of Assembly entitled "An Act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," passed in 1802 ("Pennsylvania Laws," 1802, page 227), occurs the following:

Be it enacted, That in order to give respectability and permanency to the militia arrangements of this state, the regiments shall be numbered and called as follows to wit: In the city of Philadelphia, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pancake, shall be No. 24; by lieutenant-colonel Willis, No. 25; by lieutenant-colonel Bright, No. 28; by lieutenant-colonel M'Lane, No. 50; by lieutenant-colonel Barker, No. 84: In the county of Philadelphia, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Forepauch, shall be No. 42; by lieutenant-colonel M'Mullin, No. 67; by lieutenant-colonel Beck, No. 75; by lieutenant-colonel Worrel, No. 80; and the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Coats, No. 88: In the county of Montgomery, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Henderson, shall be No. 36; by lieutenant-colonel Wentz, No. 51; by lieutenant-colonel Hart, No. 56; and by lieutenant-colonel Davis, No. 86: In the county of Bucks, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Smith, shall be No. 15; by lieutenant-colonel Piper, No. 31; by lieutenant-colonel Clunn, No. 32; and by lieutenant-colonel Vansant, No. 48: In the county of Chester, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Grier, shall be No. 27; by lieutenant-colonel Armstrong, No. 47; by lieutenant-colonel Taylor, No. 85; by lieutenant-colonel Cochran, No. 97; by lieutenant-colonel Harris, No. 44; and by lieutenant-colonel Ralston, No. 92: In the county of Delaware, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Smith, shall be No. 65; and by lieutenant-colonel Richards, No. 100: In the county of Lancaster, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Wright, shall be No. 5; by lieutenant-colonel Ensminger, No. 7; by lieutenant-colonel Kline, No. 120; by lieutenant-colonel Thomas, No. 121; by lieutenant-colonel Boyd, No. 34; by lieutenant-colonel Boal, No. 60; by lieutenant-colonel Whitehill, No. 98; and by lieutenant-colonel Long, No. 104: In the county of York, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Black, shall be No. 40; by lieutenant-colonel Kelly, No. 41; by lieutenant-colonel Reisinger, No. 61; by lieutenant-colonel





Hendricks, No. 111; by lieutenant-colonel Spangler, No. 113; and by lieutenant-colonel Ginckel, No. 124: In the county of Adams, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Kuhn, shall be No. 9; by lieutenant-colonel Getty, No. 20; and by lieutenant-colonel King, No. 93: In the counties of Berks and Dauphin, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Baum, shall be No. 37; by lieutenant-colonel Frailey, No. 43; by lieutenant-colonel Schreader, No. 69; by lieutenant-colonel Epler, No. 79; and by lieutenant-colonel Kline, No. 114: In the county of Dauphin, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Weirich, shall be No. 3; by lieutenant-colonel Elder, No. 66; by lieutenant-colonel Toot, No. 78; by lieutenant-colonel Anspach, No. 95; and by lieutenant-colonel Sebold, No. 117: In the county of Cumberland, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bovard, shall be No. 12; by lieutenant-colonel Ewalt, No. 21; by lieutenant-colonel Urie, No. 49; by lieutenant-colonel Roan, No. 59; by lieutenant-colonel Martin, No. 87; and by lieutenant-colonel Ruply, No. 116: In the county of Franklin, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Findlay, shall be No. 1; by lieutenant-colonel Alexander, No. 64; by lieutenant-colonel Statler, No. 68; by lieutenant-colonel Rhea, No. 73; and by lieutenant-colonel Scott, No. 96: In the counties of Northampton and Wayne, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Wetzel, shall be No. 13; by lieutenant-colonel Ohl, No. 38; by lieutenant-colonel Rinker, No. 94; by lieutenant-colonel Keftler, No. 101; by lieutenant-colonel M'Keen, No. 118; by lieutenant-colonel M'Ferren, No. 8; by lieutenant-colonel Horn, No. 71; by lieutenant-colonel Dingman, No. 103; by lieutenant-colonel Stanton, No. 110; and by lieutenant-colonel Shoup, No. 115: In the counties of Northumberland, Lycoming and Luzerne, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Ransom, shall be No. 35; by lieutenant-colonel Faulkner, No. 45; by lieutenant-colonel Spalding, No. 57; by lieutenant-colonel Montgomery, No. 81; by lieutenant-colonel Rupert, No. 112; by lieutenant-colonel Giffin, No. 123; by lieutenant-colonel Hyde, No. 129; by lieutenant-colonel Cumings, No. 4; by lieutenant-colonel Abraham M'Kenny, No. 18; by lieutenant-colonel Drum, No. 77; by lieutenant-colonel John M'Kenny, No. 102; and by lieutenant-colonel Roberts, No. 106: In the county of Mifflin and parts of Centre, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Dowell, shall be No. 11; by lieutenant-colonel Beale, No. 52; by lieutenant-colonel Bratton, No. 74; by lieutenant-colonel Banks, No. 83; by lieutenant-colonel Craig, No. 89; and by lieutenant-colonel Myers, No. 131: In the county of Huntingdon and part of Centre, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Moore, shall be No. 14; by lieutenant-colonel Fee, No. 33; by lieutenant-colonel Cromwell, No. 46; by lieutenant-colonel Holliday, No. 58; and by lieutenant-colonel Entricken, No. 119: In the county of Fayette, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Collins, shall be No. 72; by lieutenant-colonel Oliphant, No. 90; by lieu-



tenant-colonel Brathiers, No. 91; and by lieutenant-colonel Whaley, No. 108: In the counties of Bedford and Somerset, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Clarke, shall be No. 10; by lieutenant-colonel Agnew, No. 55; by lieutenant-colonel Bonnet, No. 105; by lieutenant-colonel Kimmel, No. 109; by lieutenant-colonel Moore, No. 127; and by lieutenant-colonel Boyls, No. 128: In the counties of Washington and Greene, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Atchison, shall be No. 22; by lieutenant-colonel Marshall, No. 23; by lieutenant-colonel Hare, No. 53; by lieutenant-colonel Stevenson, No. 82; by lieutenant-colonel Heaton, No. 6; by lieutenant-colonel Jenkins, No. 99; by lieutenant-colonel M'Cleland, No. 122; and by lieutenant-colonel Cather, No. 130: In the county of Allegheny and in that part of Butler county which is included in lieutenant-colonel Gilliland's regiment, and in that part of Beaver county which lies south of the river Ohio, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Martin, shall be No. 16; by lieutenant-colonel Gilliland, No. 29; by lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, No. 62; by lieutenant-colonel Noble, No. 76; and by lieutenant-colonel M'Farland, No. 125: In the county of Westmoreland, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bennet, shall be No. 2; by lieutenant-colonel Wagle, No. 19; by lieutenant-colonel M'Combs, No. 30; by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, No. 54; by lieutenant-colonel M'Dowell, No. 63; by lieutenant-colonel Hunter, No. 70: In the counties of Armstrong, Erie, Butler, Crawford, Warren, Mercer, Venango, and part of Beaver, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Forster, shall be No. 17; by lieutenant-colonel Sproat, No. 26; by lieutenant-colonel Reed, No. 107; and by lieutenant-colonel Sloan, No. 126; and all regiments hereafter to be formed, shall follow these in numerical order; but nothing contained in this section, shall be construed as giving preference of rank to the officers, which shall at all times be determined by the dates of commissions, or the drawing of lots for that purpose.





LETTER OF FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA TO  
FRIENDS IN IRELAND, SOLICITING AID DURING  
THE OCCUPATION OF PHILADELPHIA BY THE  
BRITISH.

Extract of a letter from several Friends in Philadelphia to John Fothergill, David Barclay, Daniel Mildred, Jacob Hagen, Thomas Corbyn, Mark Beaufoy, John Eliot, and Richard Chester.

"PHILADELPHIA, 16<sup>th</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Month 1777.

"ESTEEMED FRIENDS,—As many Friends residing in this city, as could be conveniently collected on a short notice, met together last evening, and after a free conference on the present distressing state of themselves and fellow-citizens, and the prospect of its increasing, from the scarcity and consequent dearth of provisions and fuel, they appointed us to write you their united sense thereof; which we shall endeavour to do in as brief a manner as we can, and the apparent causes thereof.

"First, On the apprehension of the British forces intending to attack this city, Congress, and the powers who act in conjunction with them, ordered all the provisions out of the city, except what would serve the consumption of its inhabitants a very short time; and have prevented supplies from coming, except in small parcels. Upon the British taking possession of the city and suburbs, resolves of Congress, and a law made by the rulers of this province, as also New-Jersey, were published, declaring such persons liable to be put to death, who should be found bringing any provisions or fuel into the city; and to enforce it, great numbers of light troops in the continental pay are continually employed in preventing the supply of provision, either by land or water, from the three lower counties and New-Jersey, as well as from every part of this province, except what lies between Schuylkill and the line of redoubts, which small neck of land is much desolated by the proceedings of the army since they came, and does not contain fuel enough for the inhabitants this winter.

"Thus circumstanced are upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the army, seamen, and many refugees. Flour is sold for near three guineas per hundred, ship bread more; beef and pork, and all other provisions, and fuel nearly in the same proportion. These distresses are greatly increased to most of the inhabitants, by the traders who came with and followed the fleet, as well as the drawers of bills for the supplies of the army and navy, refusing, for some time past, to take our old legal paper currency in payment, at a time when few have any



silver or gold, even of those who are allowed to be wealthy; means having been devised for two years past to deprive the inhabitants of them: from which circumstance (painful to us) we have it not in our power to procure sterling bills of exchange to answer the purchase of the undermentioned articles, which we think we have much reason to fear we shall be greatly distressed for the want of, by the time they arrive; and much more so than usual, even if there should be some favourable change in the proceedings of the contending parties, as we cannot have the supplies of salted provisions next spring and summer, as in other past years, the country being scarce of salt; General Howe having strictly forbid its being sent out of the city; and the destruction and havock made by the two armies for many miles round the city, is generally very great and afflicting; many of our peaceable brethren being stripped of nearly their all, as to provision, live stock, bedding, and apparel.

"And therefore, from the many proofs which our brethren in your nation have given us of their affectionate regard for our well-being, as well as their truly benevolent disposition, Friends met as above, and desired us to solicit your procuring and shipping, on their account, as expeditiously as you can, and from such ports and places as you may judge best, in good sailing vessels, insuring the amount against all risks, as far as you can, the following articles:

"One thousand barrels best Irish beef; or equivalent thereto, if in tierces.

"Four hundred barrels best Irish pork.

"Two hundred kegs best Cork, or other best Irish butter.

"One thousand hundred weight of good wheat meal.

"Five hundred hundred weight of best ship biscuit.

"Five hundred bushels best pease, or, if cheap, one thousand bushels.

"Twenty-five pounds sterling value in oat-meal.

"Twenty-five pounds sterling value in hulled barley.

"Fifty pounds sterling value in double Gloucester cheese.

"Fifty pounds sterling value in Cheshire ditto.

"A quantity of good Hampshire or other bacon well cured, we think will be very useful and acceptable.

"Two hundred chaldrons large coal.

"And we have unanimously agreed to assure you, that you shall be reimbursed (for the advances yourselves, and other Friends on your side, may make for payment thereof) so soon as they are in a capacity to do it; which we hope, notwithstanding our present sufferings and gloomy prospects, Divine Providence will enable us to do. And we were desired to mention to you, with a view that it might be known to Friends generally throughout the nation, that the wants and distresses of the poorer sort of people, and many who were in better circumstances until lately, are such as we consider it our duty to recommend as objects of great want





and compassion; and assure you, that any charitable donations which may be made, and arrive here for their benefit, Friends will hand out with great care and fidelity.

"We rest, with great affection and esteem,

"Your loving Friends

"SAMUEL EMLEN, jun.,	JOHN REYNELL,
"JOSHUA HOWELL,	OWEN JONES,
"WILLIAM FISHER,	HUGH ROBERTS,
"ABEL JAMES,	ROBERT WALN,
"JOHN DRINKER,	NICHOLAS WALN,
	"JOSEPH BRINGHURST."

"TO FRIENDS OF ULSTER AND MUNSTER, AND TO THE  
MONTHLY-MEETINGS OF LEINSTER PROVINCE.

"DEAR FRIENDS,—The foregoing Extract, having been laid before the Province-Meeting for Leinster, held at Mountrath the 17<sup>th</sup> inst. as also a letter from our friend John Eliot of London, to our correspondents in this city, informing them, 'that a subscription had been set on foot in England, for the relief of our brethren in America, to supply them from time to time with provisions and other necessities, in which it was agreed they might let their neighbours share with them as they should think proper; and that the Friends in London, who have this matter under their care, apprehended it might be expedient for Friends in this nation to set forward a like subscription.'

"The said Province-Meeting having taken the distressed state of our Friends in America into solid consideration, recommended a liberal subscription for their relief, to be set on foot here without delay; And that Dublin-Mens-Meeting should have the aforesaid extract immediately reprinted, and their respective proportions sent to each Monthly-meeting in this province, as also to the provinces of Ulster and Munster; in confidence that the Friends of those two provinces would approve of our proceedings in this respect, and concur with us therein.

"And on this occasion we earnestly desire that the minds of all amongst us may be bowed into a deep sympathy with our suffering friends in America, to be ready according to ability, to relieve their necessities and mitigate their distresses, remembering the apostolic exhortation, 'to do good and to communicate, forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'

"And it is desired that the contributions for this purpose be remitted to our friends John Dawson Coates or Joseph Pike, in Dublin, who are appointed to receive the same.

"Signed in and on behalf of our Men's-meeting held in Dublin the 17<sup>th</sup> of 3<sup>rd</sup> month 1778, by

"JAMES GOUGH, Clerk to said Meeting."



CAPTAIN THOMAS HOLME, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF  
PENNSYLVANIA AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILLOR.

BY OLIVER HOUGH.

(Continued from page 427.)

Thomas Holme was a member of the first Assembly of the Province, which began its session at Upland, December 4, 1682, Penn presiding. He was elected to represent Philadelphia County in the Provincial Council for one term of three years, 1683, 1684, and 1685, and took a prominent part in its transactions, serving on several important committees. In the 1st mo., 1683, he was a member of a joint committee of the Council and Assembly to draw up the new Charter, or Frame of Government, which was passed and signed on 2d mo. 2d.

By letters dated 4th mo. 11th, 1683, William Penn appointed Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, Thomas Holme, and Thomas Wynne, Commissioners in his name, as Governor and Proprietary of the Province of Pennsylvania, to treat with the Governor and Council of West Jersey concerning the satisfaction he demanded of them in a letter of the same date, of which the Commissioners were bearers, for certain great wrongs and injustice done to him and his Province by some of the inhabitants of their Colony. In the letter he complains that England was filled with rumors of wars between the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Lord Baltimore's Colony, of Lord Baltimore having claimed all the land from Upland to the Falls of Delaware, and of several having been killed in the conflict; that these rumors, being much talked of in London, discouraged many persons from purchasing land in Pennsylvania; he says that the starting of these reports had been traced to some of the inhabitants of West Jersey, and he demands satisfaction. His letter of instructions to the Commissioners bears the





same date, and directs them to demand particularly the punishment of Thomas Matthews, as the principal author of the rumors, either by fine or banishment or delivery of him to be tried in Pennsylvania. These Commissioners also had authority to settle with the Governor and Council of West Jersey about the trade on the river and the islands therein; as soon as the first business was finished they were to insist on Penn's title to the river and islands according to his grant. The West Jersey authorities sent an answer by Penn's Commissioners, dated Burlington, 4th mo. 16th, 1683, containing an explanation from Thomas Matthews, and saying they were willing to be passive in regard to the river and islands; four Commissioners of theirs (Thomas Budd, John Gosnell, Henry Stacy, and Mark Newby) also came with the answer. The explanation was not acceptable to Penn, as he informed them in another letter from Philadelphia, dated 4th mo. 20, 1683, but he appears to have gotten no further satisfaction from them.

On 4th mo. 3d, 1684, Thomas Holme, William Welch, and Thomas Lloyd were appointed a committee to look into the actions of Lord Baltimore and draw up a declaration to hinder his illegal proceedings (referring to threats of his agents to take settlers' lands from them unless they acknowledged Lord Baltimore to be their Proprietor). On 5th mo. 26th, Thomas Lloyd, Thomas Holme, and William Haigue were appointed to draw up a charter for Philadelphia to be a borough, with a Mayor and six Aldermen. About the middle of Holme's term, Penn sent a commission to the whole Council to act in his place as Governor; this was read at the meeting 6th mo. 18, 1684. In the last year of Holme's term, 1685, Thomas Lloyd, the President of the Council, was absent a large part of the time, and Holme was elected to act as President in his place, which he did at twenty-seven out of the fifty meetings held this year. Thomas Holme acted as President of the Council at the first meeting of the year, 1st mo. 30th, and those immediately following, 1st mo. 31st, 2d mo. 1st, 3d, 4th, and 6th; again, 2d mo. 25th and 28th; Lloyd presided at the



next two, 3d mo. 11th and 12th, and on the 13th and 14th the Council met as a committee of the whole, with Holme as Chairman. Holme was President at the consecutive meetings 4th mo. 11th, 13th, 18th, 19th; 5th mo. 3d, 4th, 10th, 11th, 28th, 29th; and 6th mo. 19th, Lloyd being in New York; he returned and presided at nine meetings and then again went to New York, Holme presiding on 9th mo. 5th and 6th. Holme was again President at the consecutive meetings held 11th mo. 9th, 15th, 16th, and 12th mo. 1st and 3d, 1685/6, the last being the last meeting of the year, with which Holme's term in the Council expired.

During his term in the Council, Holme was also attending to his duties as Surveyor-General, and after its expiration these duties kept increasing, because of the rapid growth of the Province; he had deputies in each county, whose returns were made to him, and the whole work of laying out the settlers' tracts, locating towns, highways, etc., was under his direction. This made the office of Surveyor-General one of the most important in the Province.<sup>1</sup> At first the Council did not understand whether Holme's commission applied only to the Province proper or whether it extended to the three lower counties or territories, but on 7th mo. 10th, 1684, it decided that the management of the Surveyor-General's office of New Castle County should be put into the hands of Thomas Holme, with Thomas Pearson as his deputy. On October 14, 1688, Penn issued a new commission to Holme to be Surveyor-General of the Province of Pennsylvania and the annexed counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, and the island and territories thereunto belonging, for life, his office in Philadelphia to be an office of record. Both Penn and Holme were in England at this time.

At the meeting of the Council held 6th mo. 2, 1686, Thomas Holme was one of those recommended for appointment as provincial judges, but the commission was not

<sup>1</sup> By the Constitution of 1873 the office of Surveyor-General was abolished and its duties transferred to the Department of Internal Affairs, the transfer going into effect May 4, 1875.





issued to him. He continued to be selected when it was necessary to treat with the Indians. At the same meeting, complaint being made to the Council of violence done Nicholas Scull and his family by Indians forcibly entering his house and carrying away his goods (further information being given that Nicholas Scull had, contrary to the law, sold them liquor, "whereby they were much Disordered, to y<sup>e</sup> notorious Disturbance of the neighboring Settlements"), the Council ordered Captain Thomas Holme, assisted by Captain Lace Cock, Zachariah Whitpaine, and such others as Captain Holme should approve, to inquire into the truth of the report, and if the Indians were guilty to require them to make speedy satisfaction, leaving the manner of treating the Indians to the discretion of Captain Holme. In 1694 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Property, which position he held until his death in the following year.

(To be continued.)



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

WAS THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE A VICTORY FOR THE AMERICAN ARMY?—The following letters have been contributed by R. Rundle Smith, Esq.:

"HEAD QUARTERS BUFFALO July 29, 1815.

"MAJOR GENERAL PORTER AND BRIG. GENERAL MILLER.

"GENTS,—Not a doubt resting upon my mind, but that the enemy were defeated and driven from the field of Battle the 25th of July last [1814] near the Falls of Niagara leaving us in peaceable possession of the whole of his artillery—I have upon all occasions so stated. Learning that some diversity of opinion has appeared upon this subject so interesting to the army, I have to request of you Gentlemen to state your view of this subject. You remained upon the field after I left it and know if the enemy did or did not appear when our Army marched off, or if a Gun was fired for a considerable time before the Army moved, upon its taking up the line of march or on its way to Camp. I do not enquire of you who were the Heroes of this day or what corps particularly distinguished themselves, but I call upon you to vindicate the fair and honest fame of the Army of Niagara. If a victory was achieved it was by Americans and that fact being established is all that concerns the honor of the Country or the Glory of her arms.

"Very Respectfully

"Yr. most obt fr.

"JAC. BROWN."

"BUFFALO July 29 1815.

"SIR—

"In answer to your letter of this date we have no hesitation in saying that, in our opinion, the character of every incident attending the Battle near Niagara falls, and particularly the mode of its termination exhibits clear and unequivocal evidence that it resulted in a decisive victory on the part of the American Army. We found the enemy in possession of a commanding eminence in the centre of open and extensive fields, without any woods, ravines, or other cover sufficiently near to favour an attack, and supported by a Battery of 9 pieces of field ordnance. From this position they were driven at the point of the bayonet with the loss of all their artillery. After our army had possessed itself of their position and artillery, the enemy received re-enforcements and made not less than three deliberate well arranged and desperate charges to regain them, in each of which he was driven back in confusion with the loss of many prisoners, but the darkness of the night and the surrounding Woods did not permit our army to avail itself as it might, under other circumstances, of these repeated successes.

"The Battle commenced a little before sun set, and terminated near eleven o'clock. After the enemy disappeared for the last time, they exhibited evidence of great confusion by distant and scattered firing in the woods and our troops were drawn up in great order on the field of Battle forming three sides of a hollow square with the whole of our own and





the enemys artillery in the centre. In this situation we remained for more than an hour, and in our opinion the troops were in a condition to act with more decisive effect than at any former period of the action. During this interval we do not recollect to have heard a Gun or seen any other indication of the enemys being near us and at the close of it the army retired slowly to Camp, three miles distant, without any molestation by, or appearance of, a foe. We left on the field the enemy's artillery and other trophies of victory which were at the time of our leaving it and had been for a long time before in our undisturbed possession.

"We are Sir

"Very Respectfully

"Yr ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>ts</sup>

"PETER B. PORTER,

"JAMES MILLER.

"MAJOR GENERAL JACOB BROWN."

EATON.—William Maxwell Potts, in "Our Family Ancestors," states that George Eaton married Mary Davis (widow Street). I find the same statement in "History of the Welsh Baptists," by J. Davis. He says, "Among the members of this church who went to America in 1636 [1686?] there was one John Eaton, who had two sons, George and Joseph, who became preachers of the gospel in that country. George married Mary Davis, a daughter of Peter Davis, an assistant preacher in this church. He was useful in the ministry for many years in the church at Penepack, Pennsylvania, and died in 1764."

The following abstracts of wills show, I think, that the above is incorrect, and that George Eaton married Mary Griffith, widow of James Street, and second daughter of Robert and Alice Griffith:

Will of James Street, of Oxford Township, Philadelphia County. Dated September 24, 1735, and proved June 8, 1736. In it are mentioned wife Mary and brother-in-law Griffith Griffith.

Will of Griffith Griffith, of Bristol, Philadelphia County. Mason. Proved September 2, 1754. Brother-in-law George Eaton, sister Mary (Eaton). Beneficiaries, Daniel and Benjamin Street.

Will of Alice Griffith, of Bristol, Philadelphia County. Widow. Children, Joseph, Mary (Eaton), Ann (Claypoole), and Margaret (Davis); grand-children, Griffith Griffith, Benjamin, Thomas and Daniel Street, Mary Davis, and Mary Rush; sons-in-law, George Eaton and David Davis. Proved February 24, 1755.

For the Street connection, see page 365 of "The Street Genealogy," by Mary A. Street, Exeter, New Hampshire, just published.

THOS. HALE STREETS.

109 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

COLONEL JOHN WHITE.—Mr. J. F. Swords, of Hartford, Connecticut, kindly contributes the following from the *Connecticut Courant* of Tuesday, October 28, 1777:

"CAMP PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, October 10, 1777.

"Last Wednesday evening died of a wound he received the 4th instant fighting in defense of America, Col. John White, Aid de Camp to Major General Sullivan, and on Thursday morning, with the military honors justly due to the sentiments he entertained of liberty, and attended by the friends of freedom in mourning, his remains were committed to the dusty mansions of death.

"Few sacrificed more at the shrine of freedom. A native of Hibernia, after tasting the sweets of liberty for some years in America his business



called him to England, where he remained till the rights of this continent were invaded. This last asylum for freemen he thought worthy to be defended. The pleasures therefore of traveling thro' Europe, the prosecution of his necessary business and enjoyment of conjugal felicity, were by him generously exchanged for the death dealing field of war. The bloody plain of Birmingham, by Brandywine, witnessed his coolness and intrepidity, and on the long contended for hills of Germantown where the division he fought in acquired unfading laurels, his bravery exposed him to that wound which calls upon every passing lover of liberty to shed a tear on his grave."

**SHARP—DELANY—ROBINSON.**—The present Sharpstown, in Salem County, New Jersey, was called Blessingtown by Isaac Sharp, the *elder*, after Blessington in County Wicklow and near the border of Kildare, on the road travelled by the Sharps from Roundwood to and from Dublin. Isaac Sharp, the *elder*, had some ten hundred and fifty acres of land in Gloucester County, New Jersey, which he called Rush Hall, as did his grandson fifty years after him. Rush Hall was the name of the residence of John Humphries, in Queen's County, Ireland.

The marriage of Martin Delany to Hannah Sharp is mentioned in the following notes because the two Isaac Sharps, father and son, have been confounded, Martin's mother and wife each being the daughters of an Isaac.

**ISAAC SHARP**, eldest son of Anthony Sharp, an Englishman, sometime a merchant in Dublin, came to New Jersey in 1702 or 1703. His father settled upon him seven-twelfths of one-twenty-fourth part of all East Jersey, and some proprietary rights in West Jersey. He was judge of Salem Court, a member of Assembly for Salem County from 1709 to 1725, returned to Ireland about 1726, and resided on his seat, "Roundwood," in Queen's County, where he died in 1735. He married Margaret Brathwaite, of Salem, in 1704, and had born in Salem County, West Jersey :

**ANTHONY**, who succeeded to his estates in Ireland and in Wiltshire, England.

**ISAAC**, of Salem County, Blessingtown, now Sharpstown, also a judge of Salem Court; died 1770.

**JOSEPH**, of Salem County, died 1776. The brothers Isaac and Joseph had interests in Sussex County, New Jersey; until 1795 the village of Hamburg, in that county, was called Sharpshoro'.

**MARY.**

**SARAH**, married, first, Thomas Mason, of Salem; died 1740, leaving one son, John Mason. Married, second, Thomas Robinson, of Naaman's Creek, who was in Ireland on business in 1737 and again in 1743; died in 1766, leaving:

Abraham Robinson, who married, October 15, 1767, Sarah Penrose.

Thomas Robinson, who was lieutenant-colonel of the First Pennsylvania Line; married Mary Eyre, widow of Sir Isaac Coates, and had by her six children.

Sarah Robinson, who married Judge Richard Peters.

Margaret Robinson, who married Sharp Delany.

**RACHEL**, married Daniel Delany, and in 1781 was living in Ireland. Of her children there were in America:

Sharp Delany, of Philadelphia.





William Delany, of Philadelphia.

Martin Delany, who married Hannah, daughter of Isaac Sharp, the younger.

MARGARET, married, first, Thomas Hill, of Salem; died 1741, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth Hill. Married, second, John Rowan, of Philadelphia, brewer; died 1759, and had:

Thomas Rowan.

John Rowan.

Ann Rowan, married Jonathan Penrose.

Margaret, widow of John Rowan, died in 1771. Her niece, Anne Rowan, married Charles Penrose.

Letter of Daniel Delany (father of Sharp Delany), gentleman, of Bally Fin, Queen's County, Ireland.

" M<sup>r</sup>EATH Apr<sup>d</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1766.

M<sup>r</sup> Sharp.

"S<sup>r</sup>

"Yours M<sup>r</sup> J<sup>s</sup> Sharps and Matts dat<sup>d</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1765 I Rec<sup>d</sup> and have now sent you a full Act of your Famely Settm<sup>t</sup>. My son Sharp Saw and Read them your Brother Anth: Sharp Thinks very litle wheither you sign or not, the Writings sent here was perfect<sup>d</sup> with some litle alteration, all that mak's against your heirs is Instrem<sup>t</sup> made by your grand Feather in the y<sup>r</sup> 1703 which perhaps is not Sufficient, but that a Law<sup>r</sup> must determine. Sharp will let y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>t</sup> Kind it is, I Conclude D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> with Rachels love and mine to you and M<sup>r</sup> Sharp who am

"y<sup>r</sup> most aff<sup>t</sup> Brother and most Hum Servant

" DANL DELANY.

[On the back.]

" To Isaac Sharp Esq<sup>r</sup> North America."

FOSTER CONAROE GRIFFITHS.

### Queries.

C——, STEELE, W——.—Can any of your readers identify "C—— Esq of Philadelphia" in 1816, whose wife's mother was "a Miss Steele who married a Mr. W——"? C. H. H.

HILL.—Information is wanted of the ancestors and descendants of John Jacob Hill, of Windsor Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, who on July 3, 1739, was married to Maria Appolonia Merkle (Merkle), and had the following children:

*Anna Maria*, born July 24, 1740; married Nicholas Hildebrandt.

*Ann Catarina*, born November 27, 1741; married Adam Myer.

*John Jacob*, born January 29, 1744.

*John Christian*, born March 7, 1746.

A daughter, name not given, married John Hefferly.

*Peter*.

*Casper*.

*Frederick*, married Maria Hottenstine, widow of Jacob, and daughter of Jacob Levan.

These people were identified with the old Moselem (Antelanne) Church, Richmond Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania.

C. F. HILL.

Hazleton, Pennsylvania.



REEDER.—James and Euphemia (Beavers) Reeder moved from Johnsonburg, New Jersey, to Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, in 1804, and afterwards settled in Ohio. Information wanted concerning their descendants.  
New Brunswick, New Jersey. W. C. ARMSTRONG.

### Book Notices.

A GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE DESCENDANTS OF NATHAN ARMSTRONG, AN EARLY SETTLER OF WARREN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY. By William Clinton Armstrong, A. M. 1895. 201 pp. Price, \$5.

We are pleased to notice this recent contribution to our collection of Scotch-Irish genealogy. Nathan Armstrong, who married Uphamy Wryght, came to America about 1740, and settled in Warren County, New Jersey. They had three sons and four daughters, who grew to maturity, married, and had descendants. The following families are allied with the Armstrongs: Addis, Axtell, Beavers, Blair, Bray, Caldwell, Candee, Castner, Coursen, Dildine, Edgerton, Fleming, Frey, Furman, Hadley, Hammeken, Hemingway, Housel, Hunt, Johnson, Kerr, Kirkpatrick, Lessher, Linn, Little, Lundy, McArthur, McClure, McCord, Macdougall, Martin, Mott, Reeder, Rice, Riggs, Savacool, Schaffer, Schribner, Searle, Simkins, Stinson, Swayze, Teel, Thompson, Vait, Vliet, Wildrick, Wright, and Youmans. The book is neatly printed and bound. Copies may be obtained of the compiler at New Brunswick, New Jersey.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS OF THE CONTINENTAL ESTABLISHMENT IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, WITH A REGISTER OF OFFICERS OF THE SAME. By Captain Charles L. Davis, U.S.A. Also a Sketch of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati from its Organization in 1783 to its So-called Dissolution after 1790. By Captain Henry Hobart Bellas, U.S.A. Philadelphia, 1896. Pp. 106.

We have received a copy of this valuable compilation, well printed and liberally illustrated with portraits and autographs. Captain Davis's portion of the volume is confined to the history of the North Carolina Line, to which he has added an alphabetical roster of the officers, with dates of commissions, many biographical sketches, and other data. Much research was necessary in its preparation, and we hope that all the patriotic hereditary societies will liberally sustain Captain Davis's effort, for they are especially interested in it.

Not many months since Captain Bellas compiled a history of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati, which was instrumental in reviving that long dormant Society, and we believe that his present sketch of the North Carolina Society will tend to a similar result. This year the general Society will hold its sessions in Philadelphia, and the readmission of the State Societies of Delaware and North Carolina would be a memorable feature among others that are expected to take place.





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THE MILITARY HOSPITALS AT BETHLEHEM AND  
LITITZ DURING THE REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

For six years, from 1775 to 1781, Bethlehem was a thoroughfare for troops; twice in that interval it was the seat of a general hospital, and, in addition to the heavy baggage and munitions of war of the army and Washington's private baggage being parked in its suburbs, with its guard of two hundred Continentals commanded by Colonel William Polk, of North Carolina, many of its houses were occupied by American troops and British prisoners of war, and Congress found a temporary refuge there. The inhabitants, therefore, witnessed not only the horrors and experienced the discomforts of war, but also its "pomp and circumstance," for at times there were sojourning among them Generals Washington, Lafayette, Greene, Knox, Sterling, Schuyler, Gates, Sullivan, De Kalb, Steuben, Pulaski, and Arnold, with members of their staff, and General Charles Lee's division of the army, in command of General Sullivan, was encamped opposite the town.



The population of Bethlehem averaged about five hundred souls, mainly domiciled in that pile of solidly built and commodious structures, buttressed and hip-roofed, which bound three sides of the quadrangle on Church Street, in the "Widows' House" over the way, and in the building of the single brethren, which fronted on the square. There was also the "Church Store" on Market Street, opposite the cemetery, the superintendent of which, on a certain occasion, with some asperity, remarked "that he had sufficient rope in the store to hang all the members of Congress," and thereby rendered his position uncomfortable, if not precarious. In its capacious cellars were stored the commissary and medical stores belonging to the hospital, and in the dwelling part sick and wounded officers found desirable quarters. Near by was the dwelling of Timothy Horsfield, who, during the French and Indian War, was a well-known magistrate and a colonel in the Provincial service, where refugees from Philadelphia and New York were provided with a temporary home. Beyond, to the west, resided William Boehler, where Captain Thomas Webb, the founder of Methodism in America, and a British prisoner of war, with his family of seven persons, were comfortably accommodated. On what is now Main Street, and north of the "Brethren's House," stood the "Family House," for married people, in which for three weeks in 1777 were confined two hundred and eighteen British prisoners, one hundred of whom were the partisan Highlanders of Donald MacDonald, from the Cross Creek settlement, near Fayetteville, North Carolina. Their guard of one hundred Continentals were given quarters in the water-works building. When they marched for Reading and Lancaster, the surgeons of the hospital occupied the building.

Farther up the thoroughfare, clustered about the "first house," were the farm buildings, and not far distant the dwelling of Frederick Boeckel, the farmer-general of the Moravian estates, where Lafayette, who was wounded at Brandywine, was tenderly nursed to convalescence by Dame Barbara Boeckel and her pretty daughter Liesel. The lat-





ter was still living when the marquis revisited the United States. The last house, on the high ground overlooking the valley of the Monocacy, was the Sun Inn, a hostelry with a reputation unsurpassed in the Colonies for the excellence of its table and exquisite old Port and Madeira wine; and we question whether any other inn in the country can lay claim to have entertained and sheltered under its roof so many of the leading patriots, statesmen, and military chieftains of the American Revolution.

Strung along the banks of the Monocacy Creek, which then formed the western bounds of this old historic town, were the water-works, mills, and shops, some of which were occupied by the hospital guard, convalescent soldiers, and surgeons. The guard-house of the detail of troops on duty was located near the saw-mill, and close by one of the principal fords over the Lehigh. Such is a partial description of Bethlehem during the period under consideration.

Almost unheeded, in so far as its massive stone walls have been assimilated with the brick and mortar of the modern structures with which it has been incorporated, stands what was formerly the "Single Brethren's House," but now the middle building of the Moravian Seminary and College for Women. It has weathered the storms of well-nigh a century and a half, and outlived great changes in the history of our country and in the history of the people by whom it was built. Twice during the Revolution it was occupied as one of the general hospitals of the army, the first time from December of 1776 to April of 1777, and for the last time from September of 1777 to April of 1778, where were witnessed suffering and death, revolting to humanity, in all their details of misery.

Turning to the chronicles of Bethlehem, we find that the corner-stone of the "Single Brethren's House" was laid on April 1, 1748; that its dimensions were eighty-three by fifty feet; in height three stories, and above a broken roof, surmounted by a belvedere forty feet long,—a fine specimen of the style of building to which the Moravians of the last century were partial. The interior was arranged so as to



separate the youths from the single men, on the first floor, four rooms being assigned to each. On the second floor were the refectories, the rooms of the superintendents, and the chapel; and on the third, and under the roof, the dormitories and extra rooms. In the summer of 1762 an east wing and in 1769 a west wing were added, in which some workshops for the trades conducted by the inmates were fitted up. The belvedere, from which a fine view of the valley of the Lehigh could be obtained, in ante-revolutionary days was a favorite resort for some of the governors of the Province, where they were entertained with cake, wine, and music, when *en route* to Easton to make treaties with the Indians, or on social visits to the Allens at Trout Hall.

After the defeat of the American army on Long Island, in August of 1776, General Washington withdrew his troops to New York, which city, however, a few days subsequently, fell into the hands of the enemy. This loss was followed by that of Fort Washington and Fort Mifflin in quick succession. Having crossed the North River into New Jersey, the commander-in-chief continued his retreat to Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, closely pursued by Cornwallis. It was at this crisis in the affairs of the army that the removal of its general hospital, in which over one thousand sick and wounded were lying, from Morristown to some points in the interior of Pennsylvania became an imperative necessity, and Bethlehem was one of those selected. Its situation, which, while somewhat interior, was not too remote from the line of military operations, and its commodious buildings were points of importance which the American officers were not slow in appreciating. In addition, the commissary department knew that its wants could be well supplied by an agricultural community who were in possession of large and fertile farms. On December 3, 1776, the brotherhood were excited by the arrival of Dr. Cornelius Baldwin, of the New Jersey Line, direct from the army, who rode up to the clergy house and delivered to the Rev. John Ettwein, to whom he was directed, the following order:





"TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF BETHLEHEM, OR OTHERS  
WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

"GENTLEMEN,—According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethlehem, and you will do the greatest Act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes men and Christians. Doctor Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Accommodations for the sick; begging therefore that you afford him all possible assistance, I am Gentlemen

"Your most obedient humble Servant

"JOHN WARREN

*"Gen'l Hospital Surg'n. and P. T. Direct."*

He also brought a letter from Abraham Berlin, of the Northampton County Committee of Safety, addressed to Bishop Nathaniel Siedel, requesting that suitable accommodations for the sick be furnished.

Towards evening Drs. William Shippen and Warren arrived and made arrangements with the Rev. Mr. Ettwein for the reception of about two hundred and fifty of the sick. Dr. Shippen stated that all the patients at the Morristown hospital had been ordered to Bethlehem, but since "we had shown such a willingness to provide for them, he would now arrange to quarter the greater number at Easton and Allentown."

The ensuing two days were days of unrest for the peace-loving Moravians, for the sick, in charge of their surgeons, commenced to arrive in large numbers and in all manner of conveyances. Their sufferings from exposure to the weather and improper transportation made them pitiable objects to behold, and two died while waiting to be removed from the wagons. When it was learned that they were famishing for the want of food, the benevolent Moravians relieved them, for three days elapsed before the hospital and commissary supplies arrived. Room had been prepared for their reception, so that it was not necessary for the one hundred and twenty-two single brethren to vacate their building; and by giving up some rooms and increasing the



number of occupants of others, it enabled the surgeons to establish five wards.

On December 7 two deaths occurred in the hospital, whereupon it became necessary that a burial-place should be selected, and the site chosen was on the bluff on the west bank of the Monocacy Creek, near the line of the present Monocacy Avenue, in West Bethlehem. In digging the cellars for new buildings in that section of the borough, portions of coffins and human bones have been unearthed, which of recent years have been reinterred in the burial-lot of the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic. Dr. Shippen, writing from Bethlehem to Hon. Richard Henry Lee, states, "After much difficulty and expense, I have removed all the sick to Easton, Bethlehem and Allentown; their number is now much reduced and all are in a good way. I send twenty or thirty weekly to join the army. There is no Paymaster General near us and I am almost out of cash; I must therefore beg the favor of you to procure me \$5000 and send them by the bearer Dr. Halling."

On December 10 the Rev. Mr. Ettwein commenced his visits to the sick in their wards in the hospital, speaking words of cheer and giving spiritual comfort when needed, a practice which he continued semi-weekly during the ensuing three months. Two days later the wife and family of Dr. Shippen joined him, and were given accommodations to the end of March, 1777. During their sojourn their infant son, William Arthur Lee Shippen, died, and, at the request of the parents, was buried in the Moravian cemetery. The wife of Dr. Isaac Foster (who had been ordered to the New England hospitals) was also provided with a room.

At the vigils of Christmas Eve all the doctors not on duty were present; but the pleasures of Christmas Day were interrupted by the arrival of a courier with orders for Dr. Shippen and his principal surgeons to report at once to the army of Washington, who was moving to the surprise of the Hessians at Trenton.

On New Year's Day, 1777, the Rev. Mr. Ettwein visited





every inmate of the hospital and wished them God's blessing, and on January 8, Dr. John Morgan and a number of the surgeons were ordered to New England. Towards the end of February the small-pox was brought to the town by some soldiers, forty of whom were inoculated, as well as some children, and by this prompt action its spread was averted.

On March 14, Dr. Jonathan Potts, who had been appointed to succeed Dr. Samuel Stringer, director of the hospitals of the Northern Department, with his staff of surgeons and several wagon-loads of medical stores, passed through the town *en route* to Albany; and Dr. James Houston, who Mr. Ettwein records "was the most skillful and attentive of the surgeons in the Hospital here," pursuant to orders, set out to join the army in the Jerseys.

On March 27 orders were received to transfer the hospital to Philadelphia, and after thirty convalescents were despatched to the army and the sick removed, the building was turned over to the cleaners, and in a short time the vacated rooms were reoccupied by their former inmates.

The Rev. Mr. Ettwein, who virtually acted as chaplain of the hospital, has recorded that during the month of December sixty-two deaths occurred, in a large degree due to the effects of exposure in removal, and that by the close of the winter the number had been increased to one hundred and ten. Many attentions were extended to the sufferers by the single brethren who remained in the house and by members of the congregation, and the sisters prepared lint and bandages. Furthermore, the Moravian carpenters made the coffins and dug the graves of those who died, charitable offices which are not unworthy the remembrance of posterity.

It may also be stated that Colonel Isaac Reed, of the Fourth Virginia Line, who since December 5, 1776, had been provided with quarters at the "Church Store" for medical treatment, was unable to leave before Sunday, June 22, 1777; that eighteen single brethren took turns in carrying him to the ferry over the Lehigh, where a chair and two



horses were in waiting, and that two of their number accompanied his physician, Dr. Alexander Skinner, of "Light-Horse Harry Lee's Legion," and Paymaster John Sutton, of his regiment, to assist in the journey to Philadelphia, where, unfortunately, the colonel died, and was buried August 21. Dr. John Duffield, who had lain sick at William Boehler's for months, left on July 7, "the *last* of the sick attached to the Hospital here," states the chronicler of Bethlehem.

The final occupation of the "Single Brethren's House" as a general hospital occurred between September 20, 1777, and April 15, 1778, and was due to the unsuccessful stand for the defence of Philadelphia made by Washington at the Brandywine, and the subsequent movements of the British. Dr. Shippen expostulated against the removal of the wounded to Bethlehem, owing to the distance, as many deaths would be sure to follow, but the commander-in-chief felt that there was no alternative.

On the evening of September 13 the news reached Bethlehem that Washington's army had been compelled to fall back on Philadelphia, and three days later a letter was received from David Rittenhouse stating that all the military stores of the army, in upwards of seven hundred wagons, had been ordered to the town. The church bells of Philadelphia, with "Independence Bell," were also transported to Bethlehem, *en route* to Allentown, and the wagon on which "Independence Bell" was loaded broke down on descending the hill in front of the hospital, and had to be unloaded while repairs were being made.

On Tuesday, September 19, Dr. Hall Jackson arrived from Trenton with the following letter, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ettwein:

"MY D'R SIR,—It gives me pain to be obliged by Order of Congress to send my sick and wounded to your peaceable village, but so it is. Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for two thousand at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., and you may expect them Saturday or Sunday. I send Dr. Jackson before them, that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner.





These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural wars. I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted, but 'tis impossible. I beg Mr. Hasse's assistance—love and compliments from my d'r sir,

"Your affectionate

"humble serv't

"WILLIAM SHIPPEN

"D. G."

"Seeing ourselves," writes Mr. Ettwein, "under the necessity of relieving the distress of the country, we gave orders for the vacation of the Single Brethren's House, and its inmates to be distributed in Nazareth and adjacent settlements. On Saturday we began to realize the extent of the panic that had stricken the inhabitants of the capital, as crowds of civilians as well as men in military life, began to enter the town in the character of fugitives, among the number, the Hon. Richard Henry Lee and Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia; Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina; and William Duer, of New York, Delegates to Congress, and Dr. William Brown, who came to inspect the house for the Hospital." By Sunday morning the building was cleared, with the exception of the kitchen and cellar and the saddler's shop, which were to be occupied by a few of the single brethren who were to remain. Hon. Henry Laurens and other notables arrived in time to attend service in the chapel, and towards evening the first of the sick and wounded began to arrive, among them Lafayette, wounded in the leg, accompanied by his aide De Gimat; General William Woodford, wounded in the hand; and Colonel Armstrong, late from the field of Brandywine.

By Monday the hospital was filled, and tents were erected for those who could not be accommodated in the building; and the apothecary's shop was opened in one of the small buildings on the grounds. The doctors then began to look around for another building, and suggested either the "Sisters'" or "Widows' House," but to this Mr. Ettwein demurred. While escorting Mr. Laurens, Mr. Adams, and other delegates to Congress through these buildings, he



took occasion to plead for their inmates and to represent the distress and ejection from their houses would cause. He was listened to respectfully, and the assurance given that these houses would be exempt from hospital purposes. On returning to the Sun Inn, Mr. Laurens requested Hon. Richard Henry Lee to issue the following order, the original of which is preserved in the Moravian archives :

" BETHLEHEM, September 22, 1777.

" Having here observed a diligent attention to the sick and wounded, and a benevolent desire to make the necessary provision for the relief of the distressed as far as the power of the Brethren enable them—

" We desire that all Continental officers may refrain from disturbing the persons or property of the Moravians in Bethlehem ; and, particularly, that they do not disturb or molest the houses where the women are assembled.

" Given under our hands at the place and time above mentioned.

" John Hancock,	William Duer,
" Samuel Adams,	Cornelius Harnett,
" James Duane,	Richard Henry Lee,
" Nathan Brownson,	Henry Laurens,
" Nathaniel Folsom,	Benjamin Harrison,
" Richard Law,	Joseph Jones,
" Eliphalet Dyer,	John Adams,
" Henry Marchant,	William Williams,

" *Delegates to Congress.*"

The same evening the archives and money of Congress, under an escort of fifty troopers and fifty infantry, arrived from Trenton, to which point they had been transported from Philadelphia.

On October 7 some of the wounded from the battle of Germantown began to arrive, and by the 22d the patients in the hospital numbered upwards of four hundred, and fifty were being treated in tents, when the doctors refused to receive any more. The next day a cold rain-storm set in and " the sun was hid for six days."

Hospital Commissary Hugh James arrived October 28, with orders from Dr. Benjamin Rush to provide for one hundred additional patients until the weather would permit of their removal elsewhere ; and to make room a frame build-





ing fifty feet long was erected in the garden, to which the hospital kitchen was transferred, and the invalid guard was quartered in the water-works building, and in the fulling-mill a number of the doctors and mates opened their office.

Dr. Shippen, writing to Congress, states, "The pressing necessity of the Hospitals which begin to feel the effects of cold and dirt (I foretold in my last to the Medical Committee) calls on me to address you in a serious manner and urge you to furnish us with an immediate supply of clothing, requisite for the very existence of the sick now in the greatest distress in the hospitals and indispensably necessary to enable many who are now well and detained solely for want of clothing to return to the army."

At his solicitation, the Moravians made several collections of blankets for the destitute soldiers, also shoes, stockings, and breeches for the convalescents, many of whom had arrived in rags swarming with vermin, while others had been deprived of their all by their comrades. In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is an original document in which a soldier accuses his wife of robbing an officer who was wounded at Brandywine:

"TO MAJOR JOHNSON,

"SIR,—I do hereby accuse my wife with the Robbery committed on the Body of Capt. [James] Grier, of the First Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. Chambers, sd Robbery consisting of one Silver watch, two Thirty Dollar bills, one Five Dollar Virginia Bill, and some small bills at present not Remembered—the above Thief Mary Myler lives at the Fullin Mill Hospital under Dr. Otto.

(signed) "MAT MYLER."

There is preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem the following brief but pithy notes of Surgeon Samuel Finley, of the hospital staff; Lieutenant-Colonel John Cropper, of the Eleventh Virginia Line; and Rev. John Ettwein, all written on the same sheet of paper:

"SIR,—The Bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of Part of a House near the Fulling Mill, the owner of which wants him put out. He has



applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Intents and purposes an invalid. I have told him it was not in my power to do anything in his favor. He then desired me to write to you for advice and assistance, for if he is turned out, he has no chance of having his cure completed.

"I am

"With respect

"your very humble serv't.

"SAMUEL FINLEY.

"BETHLEHEM, Jan. 6, 1778.

"To COL. CROPPER."

"In compliance with the request aforesaid, these do certify, that Mr. Carr is not to be moved until my orders. Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Jan.

"JOHN CROPPER,

"Lieut. Col."

"Col. Cropper has none to command in Bethlehem but his soldiers. Therefore we cannot receive his orders. Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital; we want the place where he is and he must move without delay.

"JOHN ETTWEIN.

"N.B.—Was directly fetched away by Mr. Finley into the Hospital."

During the month of November the Rev. Mr. Ettwein was occasionally called to the hospital to visit the dying and also to preach, and I find that he notes four deaths: Dr. Aquila Wilmot, of the hospital staff; Hospital Steward Robert Gillespie, a native of County Carlow, Ireland; Robert Lepus, of the Maryland Line; and a Narragansett Indian. Dr. Wilmot and Steward Gillespie were buried in the Moravian cemetery, the first in the row set apart at that time for members of other persuasions, now known as the "Strangers' Row."

Early in December great numbers of sick soldiers were transferred from the hospitals in New Jersey to Bethlehem. They came in open wagons, often amid snow and rain, with clothing insufficient to cover their fevered bodies from the piercing cold, and between Christmas and New Year upwards of seven hundred were reported in the "Single Brethren's House" alone. The mortality from putrid fever rapidly increased, and especially was this the case on the





upper floors of the hospital, where the ventilation was defective and the filth and pollution intolerable. Here was a field for Christian benevolence which the Moravians cheerfully entered, and Mr. Ettwein, with his assistant, the Rev. Jacob Fries, were indefatigable in their attentions. They braved the pestilence in its stronghold, smoothing the pillows of the dying and imparting the consolations of religion. The doctors made every effort to suppress the number of the deaths that took place; even the making of coffins and digging of graves, which the winter before had been generously performed by the Moravians, was now delegated to the soldiers of the hospital guard; but, nevertheless, Mr. Ettwein states that upwards of three hundred died during the last three months of the year 1777.

Director-General Shippen, in explaining some of the causes of this great mortality, states, "The want of clothing and covering necessary to keep the soldiers clean and warm, articles at that time not procurable in the country;—partly from an army being composed of raw men, unused to camp life and undisciplined; exposed to great hardships, and from the sick and wounded being removed great distances in open wagons."

Dr. James Tilton, of the Delaware Line, who was recovering from a severe and tedious case of the fever, and was resting for a few days at Bethlehem on his way home, was told by Dr. Samuel Finley, of the hospital staff, "that they were very deficient in even the commonest necessities; that when the wounded arrived they immediately became affected with the fever; and that the commissary, matron, nurses and waiters, and all but one of the surgeons had had the infection. All the doctors were of the opinion that only about two hundred patients should have been admitted, whereas from five to seven hundred had been crowded into the building at times. To enable me to form some idea of the great mortality, he asked me whether I was acquainted with the Sixth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel Gibson, reputed to be one of the best in the army, and stated that *forty* had been admitted, but not three would



return to their regiment, all the rest had been buried. He had no hesitation in declaring that we lost from ten to twenty of camp diseases for one by weapons of the enemy."

Dr. William Smith, also of the hospital staff, states "that he had known from four to five patients die on the same straw before it was changed, and that many of them had been admitted only for slight disorders. Of the eleven junior surgeons and mates, ten took the infection, most of them dangerously so, and one, Dr. Joseph Harrison, had died; and of the three hospital stewards, two had died and the third narrowly escaped. Owing to the crowded wards, and the want of almost every necessary, it was impossible to prevent an increase of the infection, and that the sufferings of the sick could not be attributed to negligence or inattention of the surgeons and physicians."

Dr. William Brown, who began to compile, while at the hospital in Bethlehem, the first Pharmacopœia published in America, states "that when the hospital was opened it was many weeks without so necessary articles as brooms, and that at last he was obliged to have them taken from the inhabitants of the town."

Dr. Moses Scott, of the New Jersey Line, who was at the hospital for three months, writes that during that time "between eight and nine hundred patients were admitted, thirty-four of whom died, and that owing to the moving of the Hospitals in the beginning, it was almost impossible to make exact returns of the sick and wounded. Upon computation, allowing four feet for each patient, we concluded that the house would hold three hundred and sixty without crowding."

Towards the close of December information was received, through Dr. Thomas Bond, that the hospital was to be removed to the west of the Schuylkill, but as the process was naturally a slow one, it was early in the spring before it was effected. This year the vigils of Christmas Eve were attended by forty of the hospital staff and convalescent officers. On the last day of the year the son of the Rev. Mr.





Ettwein died of the fever, which he had probably contracted from the visitations of his father to the hospital.

During the first weeks of the new year, 1778, there was little or no abatement in the mortality-rate, and the effluvia from the hospital carried sickness into the town. Seven of the single brethren died during the occupation of their building.

The following letter from Hon. Richard Henry Lee to Dr. Shippen refers to plans which the latter had proposed for the relief of the hospitals:

"BALTIMORE, JANUARY 1, 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR,—A happy New Year is my wish for you and your family; that it will be a year of freedom, our brave troops appear determined. . . . The Congress have lately invested General Washington with complete power to displace and place and direct anything relative to the military Hospitals. To him therefore let me advise you to make your immediate application, lay your plans before him, and prove as you have done to me, the propriety of adopting them. No doubt can remain but that they will meet with his approbation and support. Reasons for expecting the strongest friendship from France and Spain multiply upon us every day. If they can be prevailed with to make war, farewell the glory of England! . . .

"Our best love attends.

"Farewell

"RICHARD HENRY LEE.

"DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JR.

"at Bethlehem,

"Favored by Col. Stewart."

Colonel James Wood, of the Twelfth (later the Eighth) Virginia Line, who had lain sick at William Boehler's, and a number of convalescent soldiers, left for the army, but the removal of the sick progressed slowly. At last, on April 8, the hearts of the inhabitants of Bethlehem were gladdened by the arrival of the final order to close the hospital; but it was not until June 27 that the single brethren reoccupied their building, and the trades resumed work after its renovation.

General Lachlan McIntosh, who was in Bethlehem superintending the transfer of the hospital, reports, under date of April 26, "to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief,"



that from January 1 to April 12, 1778, "eighty-one soldiers died; twenty-five deserted; one hundred and twenty-two were discharged and sent to the army; eleven were at the shoe factory [in Allentown], two attending on sick and wounded officers, and all the rest removed from the hospital."<sup>1</sup>

The late Jedediah Weiss, of Bethlehem, who was an inmate of the "Single Brethren's House" in his youth, informed me that he remembered seeing the marks of the iron-shod crutches on the floor of the chapel, where the convalescents were wont to exercise. But these traces of hospital life disappeared when the building, in 1815, was converted to school purposes.

In October of 1779, Lewis Weiss, Esq., attorney for the Wardens of the Single Brethren of Bethlehem, petitioned Congress to reimburse them for the actual outlays in restoring their building to its former condition, inasmuch as no charge for rent had been made or damages claimed for loss to the trades, and rendered the following account:

	£	s.	d.
Glazing 121 panes of glass, painting 27 rooms, 130 window frames, stair banisters and presses.....	188	15	6
Mason work, white-washing and 55 Barrels of Lime .....	76	5	
Cleaning house, yard and scraping walls .....	45		
8 Earthen stoves .....	12		
Repairs to locks of doors &c.....	9		
Carpenter and joiner work.....	27	7	6
Penna. cy.....	£358	8	0

The following list of the medical officers at the Bethlehem Hospital, though not complete, is, however, authentic, and is given as matter for record: William Shippen, Jr., of Pennsylvania; John Morgan, of Pennsylvania; John Warren, of Massachusetts; Thomas Bond, Jr., of Pennsylvania; Moses Scott, of New Jersey; William Brown, of

<sup>1</sup> This was the only report from this hospital found in the various government departments at Washington, D.C.





Maryland; William Smith, of Pennsylvania; William P. Smith, of New York; Cornelius Baldwin, of New Jersey; Bodo Otto, of Pennsylvania; Samuel Finley, of Massachusetts; James B. Finley, of Massachusetts; Aquila Wilmot, of Pennsylvania; James Houston, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Harrison, of Virginia; John Duffield, of Massachusetts; S. Halling, of Pennsylvania; John Hindman, of Maryland; Francis Allison, Jr., of Pennsylvania; John Scott, of Maryland; Hall Jackson, of New Hampshire. Hugh James, Commissary of Hospitals; Robert Gillespie, Hospital Steward; Joseph Shippen (brother of the Director), Paymaster; and John Brown Cutting, Apothecary of Middle Department.

The following officers and privates I have ascertained were patients at the hospital: Ensign Jacob Fiss, Eleventh Pennsylvania Line; Corporal Robert Carson, of Captain Samuel Moore's company, Third Pennsylvania Line, wounded in the leg at Brandywine; George Filsin, First Pennsylvania Line, shot through left leg at Trenton, transferred to hospital at Lititz and to Yellow Springs; Samuel Nichols, Sixth Pennsylvania Line; George Berkman, Second Pennsylvania Line; John Nagle, Captain Joseph Erwin's company, Ninth Pennsylvania Line; Thomas Powel, Maryland Line; Robert Lepus, Maryland Line; Lucas Sherman, Virginia Line; Richard Thompson, Virginia Line; John Chaffs; — Preus, a native of the Tyrol; and Matthias Ambrett, private Captain James Grier's company, Tenth Pennsylvania Line. No official lists are preserved.

A fair computation of the number of deaths at the Bethlehem Hospital is upwards of five hundred,—a startling mortality-rate, indeed, when we consider the number of sick and wounded admitted. But this was not exceptional, for the death-rate at the hospitals at Reading, Lititz, and Ephrata was proportionately as great as at Bethlehem.

But Bethlehem was not the only settlement of the Moravians in which an army hospital was established during the Revolution. Their little village of Lititz, in Lancaster County, with a population less than half that of Bethlehem,



but with the usual collection of substantial and commodious buildings, for upwards of eight months was the seat of one.

On December 14, 1777, Dr. Samuel Kennedy, formerly surgeon of Wayne's battalion, arrived at the village with a written order of General Washington to provide for the quartering of two hundred and fifty sick and wounded soldiers. After listening to the objections and representations of Bishop Hehl, he selected the building of the single men, in which almost every trade was carried on except printing, and ordered that it be immediately vacated, as some of the sick were on the way hither. The inmates were lodged elsewhere, but retained the use of the kitchen and cellar.

The first sick to arrive—about eighty—occurred on December 19, and the following day fifteen wagon-loads more, from the Jerseys, filled all the rooms and halls of the building. The two doctors in charge and the commissary were also given rooms. In a few days putrid fever broke out to an alarming extent; both doctors were taken down with it, and the village physician, Dr. Adolph Meyer, took their place until relieved, ten days later, "by a Doctor who was a German from Saxony," whose name I have failed to ascertain. Some of the soldiers who were able to be about, fearing the malady, absented themselves from the hospital, but a snow-storm a few days later compelled them to return. On the last day of the year a wagon-load of sick arrived from Reading. Seven deaths were reported in ten days, all from the fever.

The first convalescents—twenty in number—were despatched to the army on January 9, 1778; and thus it continued almost daily, convalescent soldiers leaving only to make room for sick and wounded ones. On the 18th, Dr. William Brown arrived from Bethlehem, with a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ettwein, requesting that quarters be given to his family; but this could not be done at this time. Dr. Brown, who took charge of the hospitals of the district, was born in Virginia in 1748, and received his degree of M.D.





from Edinburgh University in 1770. On the breaking out of the Revolution he offered his services, and for a time served as surgeon of the Virginia regiment commanded by Colonel William Woodford. In February of 1778 he was appointed Physician-General of the Middle Department to succeed Dr. Benjamin Rush. He resigned from the service July 21, 1780, and died near Alexandria, Virginia, January 11, 1792. The preface to Dr. Brown's "Pharmacopœia" is dated at Lititz, March 12, 1778.

Dr. Francis Allison, Jr., who had also been serving in the hospital at Bethlehem with Dr. Brown, was transferred to Lititz. After the removal of the hospital to Lancaster, his family resided in the village for ten months.

During the month of January the fever became epidemic, and five of the Moravians who had volunteered as nurses and the assistant pastor of the congregation, the Rev. John J. Schmick (who had served for a number of years in the Indian mission), died of the malady. On March 22 the Rev. Mr. Ettwein learned from Dr. Shippen that it was proposed to establish a general hospital at Lititz, and as this would practically necessitate the abandonment of the village, he wrote a personal letter and despatched it to headquarters at Valley Forge, soliciting that the order, if issued, be countermanded. Washington's reply is dated March 28, the day on which he appointed Baron Steuben inspector-general of the army.

"SIR,—I have received your letter of 25<sup>th</sup> by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this Kind is to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made any where without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—At the same time it is ever my wish and aim that the public good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The arrangement and distribution of the Hospitals depends entirely on D<sup>r</sup> Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice. It would be proper, however, to repre-



sent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz, and you may if you choose it, communicate the contents of this letter to him.

"I am Sir

"Your most obed't Serv't,

"Go WASHINGTON."

A few days later Bishop Hehl wrote to Dr. Shippen, at Manheim, on the same subject, and received the following reply :

"SIR,—I am so much affected at the very thoughts of distressing a Society I have so great an esteem for, that you may depend upon it I will not put in execution the proposal of removing the inhabitants of Lititz, unless cruel necessity urges, which at present I don't imagine will be the case. If we should fix the General Hospital and take more room in your village it shall be done in a manner the least distressing and disagreeable to your flock that is possible, of which I will consult you.

"I am Sir

"Your and the Congregations

"Affectionate & Very humble Servant

"W SHIPPEN.

"MANHEIM,

"9 April 1778."

Fortunately for the inhabitants of Lititz, the occasion did not arise for the establishing of a general hospital in their village, but the "Brethren's House" was occupied for five months longer.

Ten days after the receipt of Dr. Shippen's letter nine wagon-loads of sick and wounded arrived from the hospitals at Bethlehem, Easton, Allentown, and Reading.

After supervising the closing of the general hospital at Bethlehem, General McIntosh, who signs his reports as "Visiting Officer," proceeded to Lititz, from whence he reported to the commander-in-chief that from February 1 to April 20, 1778, "264 wounded and sick soldiers had been admitted to the Hospital; that 142 had been discharged and sent to camp; 83 had died and deserted, and 39 were under treatment."<sup>1</sup> He also reported: "The accounts of the first Doctors cannot be found. This is a

<sup>1</sup> The only report from this hospital found at Washington, D.C.





convenient and pleasant place for a Hospital, and is so near Lancaster, that the same officer and surgeons may attend both. The hospitals at Schaefferstown [Lebanon] and Ephrata should be removed here, as both are very inconvenient."

But the time was approaching when the hospital was to be removed from the town. On August 21 the surgeons were notified to make preparations; on the 28th the order arrived, and the removal of the remaining sixty-six patients to Lancaster and the Yellow Springs commenced. A few days later the chronicler of the village writes, "We are devoutly thankful that the heavy burden of the Hospital in our midst has been removed, and we certainly find it delightful to enjoy again our former peaceful life. It must be said, however, that Dr. Allison maintained order and discipline to the best of his ability."

During the occupation of the "Brethren's House" (eight months and ten days) one hundred and twenty soldiers died there. A burial-place was selected about a quarter of a mile to the east of the village; but, although diligent search has been made, the exact site has never been found, and it may be that the resting-place of these patriots will always remain unmarked and unknown.



## THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 29.)

## IV. WILLIAM PENN: CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

The Founder of Pennsylvania, the son of Captain, afterwards Admiral, William Penn, was born in London on the 14th of October, 1644.

Captain Penn had just been appointed to the command of the "Fellowship," in the navy controlled by the Parliament. The extracts from his journal of his cruise in this ship, printed by Granville Penn in his "Memorials" of Admiral Penn, show that on Saturday, the 12th of October, he being on board, the ship, which had been lying in the Thames, left Deptford at six o'clock A.M. and dropped down the river. But the next entry is not made until the 4th of November, when she weighed anchor "and came into the Downs." The common, and no doubt a fair, presumption has been that she was delayed on her voyage to the Irish coast—where she subsequently took part in the operations against the royalists—by the stay of Captain Penn on shore, on account of the birth of his son, on the Monday following the start from Deptford.

It has been assumed by biographers of Penn<sup>1</sup> that Captain Penn, in October, 1644, at the time of the birth of his son, was living in the house described by the seaman Gibson (already cited) as the Admiral's residence in 1655, "upon Great Tower-hill." This may be correct, but there is narrow ground for the assumption. In the fourteen years that intervened Captain Penn was much of the time at sea, and his family were living elsewhere. That the same house

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stoughton, in his "William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania," London, 1882, and perhaps others.





would be occupied in 1644 and in 1655 is at least doubtful, and in the absence of fuller knowledge the assumption appears excessive.

The biographical sketch of Penn prefixed to his "Select Works" says he "was born in the parish called St. Katherine's, near the Tower of London." The baptism register of the Church of Allhallows, Barking (London), contains this entry:

"1644, October 23. William, son of William Penn, and Margaret his wife, of the Tower Liberty."

Allhallows, Barking, is an interesting old church at the east end of Great Tower Street, in the ward of that name, dedicated to Allhallows and St. Mary, and said to be "the most complete mediæval church remaining in London." Its distinguishing title, Barking (for there are several Allhallows churches in London), is derived from the fact that its vicarage originally belonged to that of Barking, outside the city, in Essex.<sup>1</sup>

The "Fellowship" having sailed, Margaret Penn presently went with her child to Wanstead, in Essex, in the suburbs of London, and that place, down to the time of the Admiral's death there in 1670, becomes prominent in the family history. In what house they stayed at Wanstead does not appear, but a misconception of Captain Penn's worldly condition has led some of the biographers of his son to say that they resided at Wanstead, in "one of the country seats" belonging to the captain. This is, of course, simply imaginative. Unless we are grossly misinformed

<sup>1</sup> The Great Fire of London, September, 1666, was stopped at this point, at the church, its dial and porch being burned.

*Pepys: September 5, 1666.*—" . . . I find by the blowing up of houses, and the greate helpe given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it [the Great Fire] as well at Marke-lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw. . . ."

John Quincy Adams was married in this church (July 26, 1797). Many of the state prisoners executed on Tower Hill were buried there.



concerning him, Captain Penn's circumstances at that time did not permit him the ownership of either town house or country-seat.

Wanstead is close by Chigwell. At the latter place there were free schools, founded in 1629 by Harsnet, Archbishop of York.<sup>1</sup> To these young William Penn was sent. One of them was for instruction in English, the other a Latin school. The quaint and strictly framed rules of the archbishop's foundation give us a clue to the boy's education. Those of the school "for teaching the Greek and Latin tongues" required that the master should be "a good poet; of a sound religion, neither papal nor puritan; of a grave behavior; of a sober and honest conversation; no tipler or haunter of alehouses; no puffer of tobacco; and above all, apt to teach, and severe in his government." Waiving controversy upon the religious clause, it cannot be said but that these exacting specifications were likely to give a pronounced character to the school, and probably secure a teacher of some ability. It was directed also by the archbishop that the text-books in the higher school should be "Lilly's Latin and Cleonard's Greek grammar," that, for "phrase and style," the scholars should read "no other than Tully and Terence," that for poetry they should have "the ancient Greek and Latin, no novelties, nor conceited modern writers." As to the teacher of the English school, it was required that he write "fair secretary and Roman hands," "that he be skillful in ciphering and casting of accounts, and that he teach his scholars the same faculty."<sup>2</sup>

These schools at Chigwell the lad attended, it is said,

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Harsnet (1561-1631), vicar of Chigwell from 1597 to 1605, a pluralist of considerable scope, a vigorous polemic, inclined to high church, and charged with "papistical," views, was made archbishop under Charles I., 1629, owing his elevation, it is said, to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. He was buried in the parish church at Chigwell, at the feet of his wife, in a tomb in the chancel floor, and there is a "fine brass," after a design of his own, in his memory, on the wall.

<sup>2</sup> Lyson's (Rev. Daniel) "Environs of London," 1796, Vol. IV. p. 128.





until he was twelve years old.<sup>1</sup> That he acquired a good knowledge of Latin there is fairly certain, and as to Greek, the foundation of his acquaintance with it may also have been laid in this period. His writings in later time show him to have been a fair Greek scholar, and his copy of the Greek Testament was sold at auction in London in 1872.

Without intending to speak minutely of any part of Penn's life, it seems proper to dwell a moment at this point on the surroundings of these early years, while living at Wanstead and attending the Chigwell schools. Dr. Stoughton devotes some pages to an intelligent and suggestive sketch of them, pointing out that this part of Essex in those years "was steeped in Puritanism," and that the conditions of the boy's life there may well have influenced his subsequent career. Dr. Emanuel Utey, vicar of Chigwell, had been ejected from his place for alleged ritualistic practices in church in 1641, and in 1650 it was reported by commissioners that there had been no settled minister there since his departure. The disputes in the church at Wanstead, also, between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy began about 1642, and ran high. A number of the people drew up and signed a celebrated "Protest" against all "innovations" which, as they considered, would lead away from "the true reformed Protestant religion."

His years in the country, in the midst of a community of strenuously earnest advocates of religious change, attending a small and strictly administered school, hearing the anxious discussion of great and serious events going on in England, must have left their deep impression on William Penn. Adjacent to Wanstead and Chigwell there lay—until 1851, when it was disafforested—the woods known as Hainault Forest, and in these, it may reasonably be supposed, the active, spirited boy rambled and played, acquiring that love for nature and that acquaintance with it by

<sup>1</sup> Clarkson, p. 3. Stoughton speaks of his life at Wanstead "for about eleven years."



which his subsequent career was marked.<sup>1</sup> The region is still "very picturesque in parts, abounds in nightingales, and can show some fine trees, although none so large nor so celebrated as the Fairlop oak, which stood not far from Chigwell."<sup>2</sup>

Returning to London about 1655 or 1656, it is said that Admiral Penn had a private tutor for the lad at the house on Tower Hill.<sup>3</sup> But this could have been only for a brief period, if the account given by Granville Penn can be confidently followed at this point. He says that the Admiral, after his release from the Tower, in 1655, took his family to Ireland, and indicates that they practically remained there until 1660, when Charles II. returned from Holland and the monarchy was restored. It may thus be assumed that, until he went to the University, Penn's education had been received at Chigwell and at the hands of private tutors,—the latter for a short time in London, and for a longer period at Macrump, in Ireland. In 1660, in October, he went to Oxford, and on the 26th of that month was entered as a "gentleman commoner" at Christ Church College.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the period of his youth in Ireland, say 1656-60, Hepworth Dixon says, "In person he was tall and slender, but his limbs were well knit, and he had a passionate fondness for field sports, boating, and other manly exercises." ("Life of Penn," p. 26.) Of his residence at Oxford, Anthony Wood says, "he delighted in manly sports at times of recreation." These recall the familiar story, derived from Samuel Preston's grandmother, that Penn, when he met with the Indians in this country, on his second visit, "walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition, William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all!"

<sup>2</sup> Citation in Stoughton, p. 6. The Fairlop oak was one of the show-trees of England until it fell, partly as the result of fire, in February, 1870. Its girth at the ground was forty-eight feet, and three feet up thirty-six feet. Its branches covered a circumference of three hundred feet.

<sup>3</sup> Clarkson, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> From the account in Janney, it would be inferred that he went to Oxford in 1659, the expression of the former being that he did so "at





Who his tutors were, or what the circumstances of his life in Ireland, is not disclosed by the biographies; but it seems quite plain that the lad of 1660 arrived at Oxford very much of a Puritan in his religious temper, and that his subsequent tribulations there were a not unnatural consequence of this disposition. In his own account of his second tour in Germany, 1677, he summarizes the narrative which he gave to Anna Maria von Schurmann, and the Somerdykes, in their house at Wiewerd, at the morning interview on the 13th of September, and unless we could take the view that he was a deceiving or self-deceived man, its pregnant sentences must command our attention. He says, "Here I began to let them know how, and when, the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times betwixt that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me, and the Divine impressions he gave me of himself; of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662. Of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the Great Plague in London. In fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world; of the *Irreligiousness* of the religions of it."

The biographic value of this passage is important. Granville Penn, with scant sympathy for the Quaker, but more for the Admiral, in his memorial of the latter minimizes the breach between father and son at the time of the Oxford troubles, but it is evident that he does so unduly; the impressive details above are too plain to be set aside.

Dr. Stoughton, pointing out the manner—not at all unfavorable—in which Anthony Wood, the minute and caustic annalist of Oxford University, describes Penn's stay there,

the age of fifteen." This error occurs by following Clarkson, who uses substantially the same language. Foster's "Alumni Oxon." is cited by Mr. Rigg, in his article in the "Dictionary of National Biography," for the exact date.



questions the accuracy of the stories that he joined in tearing off the gowns of the students, etc., and even suggests a doubt whether he was expelled by the authorities. But as to the latter point his own expression above, "my being banished the college," appears conclusive. Anthony Wood describes the young man at some length, "enumerates a number of his works, and treats him with considerable civility."<sup>1</sup>

Paragraphs in Pepys, at this period, throw light on the situation. The following are of interest:

"*Nov. 1, 1661.*—At my house, Sir William sent for his son, Mr. William Pen, lately come from Oxford."<sup>2</sup>

"*Jan. 1, 1661-2.*— . . . Home again, and sent to young Mr. Pen and his sister to go anon with my wife and I to the theatre. That done, Mr. Pen came to me, and he and I walked out . . . so home again to dinner, and by and by came the two young Pens, and after we had eat a barrel of oysters, we went by coach to the play ["The Spanish Curate."] . . . From thence home, and they sat with us till late at night, at cards very merry, but the jest was Mr. Pen had left his sword in the coach, and so my boy and he run out after the coach, and by very great chance did at the Exchange meet with the coach, and got his sword again."

"*Jan. 25, 1661-2.*—At home. . . . Walking in the garden. . . . Sir W. Pen came to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalene, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it."

"*Feb. 1.*—I and Sir William Pen walked in the garden, talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Fairebrother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton of Magdalene."

"*March 16.*—Walking in the garden with Sir W. Pen: his son William is at home, not well. But all things, I fear, do not go well with them—they both look discontentedly, but I know not what ails them."

"*April 28, 1662.*—[At Portsmouth] Sir W. Pen much troubled upon letters came last night. Showed me one of Dr. Owen's to his son,

<sup>1</sup> Stoughton, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> This passage Hepworth Dixon cites ("Life of Penn," p. 31) as authority for the statement that he was expelled from the University. But it is plain from Pepys's further entries that the expulsion was not at this time, but several months later.





whereby it appears his son is much perverted in his opinion by him; which I now perceive is one thing that hath put Sir William so long off the hookes."

With Penn's stay at Oxford the Pennsylvania undertaking is in some degree connected. Twenty years later, his letter, —dated at Westminster, 12th of Second Month (April), 1681, just after the grant had been made him by the King,—addressed to Robert Turner, Anthony Sharp, and Roger Roberts, at Dublin, contained a passage which has been repeatedly noted:

"For many are drawn forth to be concerned with me [in Pennsylvania], and perhaps this way of satisfaction [for losses which he had previously mentioned, due to his being a Quaker] has more of the hand of God in it than a downright payment: this I can say that *I had an opening of joy, as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford, twenty years since*; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put in my power to settle one."<sup>1</sup>

What is signified in the expression "an opening of joy," etc., is somewhat uncertain, but Dr. F. D. Stone has pointed out, in connection with it,<sup>2</sup> that as early as 1660, George Fox was thinking of forming a colony of Friends in the region subsequently granted to Penn, and corresponded with Josiah Coale, who was then in Maryland, on the subject.

Following upon his departure from Oxford, and a brief stay in London, came the tour in France, the studies under Moses Amyraut, the Protestant theologian,<sup>3</sup> at Saumur, and

<sup>1</sup> Letter in full in Janney, p. 163, and Vol. I., "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," III. 475.

<sup>3</sup> In the biographies Amyraut's name has suffered. Dr. Stoughton calls it Amyrant, and Janney's printers have made it Auryrault! Amyraut, himself an interesting man, derives some addition of importance to us because of Penn's studies with him. He was "one of the most celebrated divines of the reformed church of France, during the 17th century," a modified Calvinist, charged by his enemies as holding doctrines that opened "a door to Arminianism, even to Pelagianism itself,"



the excursion into Italy. Penn returned from Turin in the summer of 1664, being recalled by his father, who now expected active employment in the naval war with the Dutch. Pepys has these two allusions :

*"Aug. 26, 1664.*—Mr. Pen, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modish person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman."

*"30th.*—Comes Mr. Pen to visit me. I perceive something of learning he hath got, but a great deal, if not too much, of the vanity of the French garb, and affected manner of speech and gait. I fear all real profit he hath made of his travel will signify little."<sup>1</sup>

Upon which it may be remarked simply that Mr. Pepys had little prevision of the future, so far as young "Mr. Pen" was concerned.

*"Sept. 5, 1665.*—Home pretty betimes, and there found W. Pen, and he staid supper with us and mighty merry talking of his travells, and the French humours, etc., and so parted and to bed."

The events following the return from Italy down to the writing of "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," and his imprisonment in the Tower in 1668, are all interesting, but must be passed over without much detail. He began the study of law at Lincoln's Inn (February 7, 1664-65), was presented at court, attended upon his father, was on board the fleet,<sup>2</sup> and brought despatches to the King. Letters sent to his father at this time are worth reproduction, as showing the filial attitude of the writer. They are in Granville

but "repeatedly absolved," nevertheless, "from charges of heresy, by synods of his own church." He had been appointed to the church at Saumur in 1626, and to the chair of theology in the university there in 1633; in the latter he remained till his death, in 1664, soon after Penn's stay with him at Saumur.

<sup>1</sup> We may recall the statement of the seaman, Gibson, already cited, "I remember your honour very well, when you newly came out of France, and wore pantaloon breeches."

<sup>2</sup> *Pepys: April 25, 1665.*—"This afternoon, W. Pen, lately came from his father in the fleete, did give me an account how the fleete did sail, about 103 in all. . . ."





Penn's "Memorials," Vol. II. p. 318, and are also reproduced by Janney :

"FROM HARWICH, 23d April, 1665.

"HONOURED FATHER,—We could not arrive here sooner than this day, about twelve of the clock, by reason of the continued cross winds, and, as I thought, foul weather. I pray God, after all the foul weather and dangers you are exposed to, and shall be, that you come home as secure. And I bless God, my heart does not in any way fail, but firmly believe that if God has called you out to battle, he will cover your head in that smoky day. And, as I never knew what a father was till I had wisdom enough to prize him, so I can safely say, that now, of all times, your concerns are most dear to me. It's hard, meantime, to lose both a father and a friend. . . .

"W. P."

"NAVY OFFICE, 6th May, 1665.

"At my arrival at Harwich, (which was about one of the clock on the Sabbath day, and where I staid till three), I took post for London, and was at London the next morning by almost daylight. I hasted to Whitehall, where, not finding the King up, I presented myself to my Lord of Arlington and Colonel Ashburnham.

"At his majesty's knocking, he was informed there was an express from the Duke; at which, earnestly skipping out of his bed, he came only in his gown and slippers; who, when he saw me, 'Oh! is't you? how is Sir William?'

"He asked how you did at three several times. He was glad to hear your message about Ka. [?] After interrogating me above half an hour, he bid me go about your business and mine too. As to the Duchess, he was pleased to ask several questions, and so dismissed me.

"I delivered all the letters given me. My mother was to see my Lady Lawson, and she was here.

"I pray God be with you, and be your armor in the day of controversy! May that power be your salvation, for his name's sake. And so will he wish and pray, that is with all true veneration, honored father,

"Your obedient son and servant,

"WILLIAM PENN."

The naval battle with the Dutch, in which Admiral Penn was "Great Captain Commander," and in which he won a signal success, occurred June 3, 1665, and soon after the frightful increase of the plague in London drove Penn to the country. In the autumn of that year his father sent him to Ireland. There he remained for the most of two years. In this period occurred the episode of his military service, under Lord Arran (second son of the Duke of Or-



mond), at the siege of Carrickfergus, and about the time of this affair—May, 1666—there was painted the “portrait in armor,” of which the Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses a copy, presented by Granville Penn in 1833. This is a half-length; the artist is unknown. It is doubtless the only portrait extant of William Penn painted from life, unless it be considered that the Blackwell Grange picture is really his, and not that of the Admiral. The original of the portrait in armor is at Pennsylvania Castle, in the Isle of Portland, formerly the property of the Penns, now owned by J. Merrick Head, Esq.; another copy belongs to Captain William Dugald Stewart, of Tempsford Hall, in Bedfordshire.<sup>1</sup>

The incident of the attendance by Penn on Thomas Loe’s preaching at Cork, his further and renewed conviction of the views of the Friends, and his arrest by officers at a Friends’ meeting in that city now followed,—the arrest being upon September 3, 1667. He returned soon after that to London, then became openly and actively identified with the Friends,<sup>2</sup> and presently began to write and speak in their behalf.<sup>3</sup> In 1668 he published “The Sandy Foun-

<sup>1</sup> The portrait in armor is so familiar that it needs no particular description. It has been engraved by S. A. Schoff, Boston, with the aid of a crayon reduction by William Hunt, by Thomas Sartain, by W. G. Armstrong, and probably by others. The Schoff picture is in Winsor’s History, Vol. III. p. 474; the Sartain in Watson’s Annals, in Janney’s “Life of Penn,” and in the “Memorial History of Philadelphia,” as a frontispiece to Vol. I. The three engravings vary somewhat in the expression of the face: that of Sartain makes it more mature and refined than either of the others; the Armstrong engraving is a very satisfactory reproduction of the portrait.

<sup>2</sup> *Pepys*: “Dec. 29, 1667. (Lord’s day).—At night comes Mrs. Turner to see us; and there among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Pen, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any; which is a pleasant thing after his being abroad so long. . . .”

<sup>3</sup> According to Hepworth Dixon (“Life of Penn,” p. 44), it was in 1668 that, after a painful interview, “the indignant Admiral turned him out of doors.” There seems to be no good authority for this statement. Penn’s own narrative to Anna Maria von Schurmann, already given,





Remembering that formerly you made a motion for the giving  
up your company of foot-horse to your sonnet and  
observing his forwardness on the occasion of resigning  
the late Military among his duties in his commission  
I have thought fit to let you know that I am willing  
to place the commands of that company in him and  
desire you to send a resignation to that purpose, and  
to remain

Carri for us the  
24th of May 1700

Yr affectionate servant  
W. M. S.



dation Shaken," and on the 12th of December of that year he was committed to the Tower on account of it. He had been, as he himself tells in the manuscript fragments of an "Apology,"<sup>1</sup> twice to court earlier in the year, once in company with George Whitehead, Josiah Coale, and Thomas Loe, and next time with Whitehead and Coale, to urge a relaxation of the persecution of the Friends. Their sufferings by "Stocks, Whips, Gaols, Dungeons, Præmunires, Fines, Sequestrations, and Banishment," compelled his deep sympathy, and they were entitled, he thought, to better treatment. "Accordingly," he says, "I had formed a scheme to myself for that purpose. But it so fell out that, towards the close of that year, I was made incapable of prosecuting the resolution I had taken, and the plan I had layd of this affair, by a long and close imprisonment in the Tower<sup>2</sup> for a book I writ, called [etc.]<sup>3</sup> . . . I was committed the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the Fall of the Leaf following; wanting about fourteen days of nine months. . . . Within six weeks after my enlargement I was sent by my Father to settle his Estate in Ireland," etc.

In the Tower he had written "No Cross, No Crown," which must be considered, no doubt, the most important of his numerous religious writings.<sup>4</sup> The subject—a crown of

definitely mentions the "turning out of doors" as "in 1662." This date seems to have been overlooked by Dixon.

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," III., Part 2.

<sup>2</sup> This imprisonment was a harsh one. He says ("Apology"), "As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own Father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the King's command to endeavour my change of judgment." Bishop Stillingfleet treated him considerately. "I am glad," proceeds Penn, "I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged."

<sup>3</sup> *Pepys*: "February 12, 1668-9.—Got William Pen's book against the Trinity, and I find it so well writ, as I think it is too good for him to have writ it; it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for everybody to read."

<sup>4</sup> A second edition was issued in 1682, the twenty-fourth (English) edition in 1857.





reward for the cross of suffering—sprang naturally from his own situation. Hepworth Dixon says that, "considering the shortness of time, and other untoward circumstances under which it was produced, the reader is struck with the grasp of thought, the power of reasoning, the lucid arrangement of subject, and the extent of research displayed. Had the style been more condensed, it would have been well entitled to claim a high place in literature."<sup>1</sup>

His release from the Tower must have been, from his own account, near the end of August, 1669. On the 15th of September he left London, and on the 24th of October he sailed from Bristol for Cork, where he arrived on the 26th, to resume his charge of the Irish property. He found, as he tells us in his fragmentary "Apology," the Friends under "general persecution, and those of the City of Cork almost all in prison," so that he promptly "adjourned all private affairs," and hastened to Dublin to the authorities to intercede in their behalf. Ruttý's "History of Friends in Ireland" says that "William Penn, who was here this year, did frequently visit his friends in prison, and hold meetings with them, omitting no opportunity he had with those in authority to solicit on their behalf; and as the Ninth month [November] national meeting was this year held at his lodgings in Dublin, an account of Friends' sufferings was then drawn up by way of address, which he presented to the Lord Lieutenant, (John, Lord Berkeley, Baron Stratton), whereupon an order of Council was obtained for the release of those that were imprisoned."<sup>2</sup>

Penn remained in Ireland until the summer of 1670. He

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Penn," p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> This passage in Ruttý's History (which is a continuation and enlargement of a brief account by Thomas Wight) is repeated almost verbatim by Gough in his "History of the Quakers," and is cited by Janney, p. 55. The release of the Friends was ordered June 4, 1670. In the "Life of Penn" prefixed to his "Select Works" it is stated that, "being arrived at Cork, he immediately visited his friends there, and the next day had a meeting with them . . . having tarried there some days, he went from thence to Dublin, and on the 5th of the 9th month was at the National Meeting of Friends, which was held at his lodgings."



resided at Cork and at Dublin, preached at the Friends' meetings, wrote religious pamphlets, appealed not only to the Lord Lieutenant, but to Lord Arran, the Lord Chancellor, and others, in behalf of the Friends, and attended meantime to the care of his father's property. In April, 1670, the Admiral wrote to him, "I wish you had well done all your business there, for I find myself to decline." Penn, therefore, presently returned to England, and joined his father at Wanstead. Margaret, as we have seen, was married, and was living with her husband in Yorkshire; while Richard, in June, as appears from Captain Poole's letter, already cited, was in Italy. The Admiral's career was nearly closed. His son-in-law Lowther had written to him in April, recommending for his purchase an estate near his own in Yorkshire, but the time for that was past.

Penn, however, was to undergo one more remarkable experience before he parted from his father. On August 14, 1670, it being the first day of the week, he went with William Mead to the meeting of Friends in White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. William Mead, a country gentleman of some estate in Essex, had been a captain in the Parliamentary service, and for a time, like John Gilpin, a "linen-draper bold" in the city. He was now one of those recently converted to the views of George Fox, and active in spreading "the Truth," as the Friends held it.<sup>1</sup> The meeting-house in Gracechurch Street had been, like the others in London, for some weeks closed under the operation of the "Conventicle Act,"<sup>2</sup> and guarded by sol-

<sup>1</sup> He married, in 1681, at the Devonshire House Friends' meeting, in London, Sarah Fell, one of the daughters of Margaret Fox by her first husband, Judge Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall, in Lancashire.

<sup>2</sup> The "Conventicle Act," passed by Parliament in 1664, embodied clauses contained in a previous harsh act of 1661. It was renewed in 1667, and in April, 1670, after quite a struggle in Parliament, was again enacted, to take effect May 10 of that year. It was one of the most oppressive of the long series of persecuting measures enacted in the Restoration period, levelled at the Dissenters, and fell heavily upon the Friends, who would not give up their meetings. It forbade the assembling of five persons or more, "besides those of the same household," in





diers against use by the Friends, and on each Sabbath since the law took effect (May 10) there had been some of them arrested and imprisoned or fined. On May 15, George Fox was taken, in front of the meeting, but the informer failed to appear against him, and he was released; later John Burnyeat, George Whitehead, and others had fallen victims to the sharp enforcement of the law by the lord mayor, Sir Samuel Starling. On this 14th of August the Friends had repaired to their meeting-house (Gracechurch Street), but had found it closed and guarded as before. A group had remained outside in the street, and Penn, removing his hat, had begun to address them, when in a moment constables appeared, with a warrant from the lord mayor, and arrested him and Mead; and being thereupon haled before Sir Samuel in short order, and duly reviled by him, they were committed for trial. Penn's letter to his father, dated next day, the 15th, from "the sign of the Black Dog, in Newgate Market,"—"a wretched sponging-house," Hepworth Dixon calls it,—informed the sick Admiral at Wanstead what had happened.

The trial of Penn and Mead is a tempting theme. It "any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England," and imposed a ruinous series of fines, part of the proceeds of which went to informers. "By this law," says Sewel ("History of the Quakers"), "many an honest family was impoverished; for the Quakers did not leave off meeting together publicly. . . . At London, as well as at other places, many were spoiled of their goods very unmercifully, and many times people of good substance brought to mere poverty, seeing not only the shop goods of some but also their household goods have been seized, insomuch that the very sick have had their beds taken from under them, . . . nay, they have been so cruel as to leave them nothing; insomuch as when the child's pap hath stood in a pannikin, they have thrown out the pap to take the pannikin away." Sewel adds, however, that the greed of the informers was sometimes checked by humane magistrates.

The text of the "Conventicle Act" of 1670 is given in full by Sewel; also by Besse, who gives, besides, the previous acts of 1661 and 1664. The law of 1670, though capable of being made to work great hardship, was less severe than that of 1664, which imposed heavier fines, and added imprisonment and transportation.



forms an episode in English history at once dramatic and diverting. In its historical and legal aspects it is important, and as a picture of manners in London under Charles II. it has elements which Shakespeare would have made immortal. As to the chief actor, Penn, nothing in his extended life and varied activities better discloses his qualities.<sup>1</sup>

The trial began September 1, and was continued on the 3d, 4th, and 5th. Ten magistrates were upon the bench: the mayor, Sir Samuel Starling; the recorder, Sir John Howell; five aldermen, among them Sir John Robinson, the oppressive and persecuting lieutenant of the Tower; and three sheriffs. The browbeating and bullying from the court, especially from the recorder, the spirit, readiness, and wit of Penn's defence (and Mead, it must in justice be said, bore himself equally well), the courage and endurance of the jury, the ridiculous break-down of the whole proceeding,—though the court indulged its spitefulness to cover its mortification at the end,—make up a chapter which every biographer of Penn is irresistibly led to cite as fully as possible. Penn's promptly issued account of it, "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted," has been many times reprinted, and its simple and graphic details make it worthy of a place beside classics of Defoe or Bunyan.

The sequel of the trial, too,—the imprisonment of the jury in default of payment of forty marks fine for refusing to find a verdict of guilty, their release upon *habeas corpus* in a suit against the lord mayor and recorder for illegal imprisonment, the trial of the suit in the Court of Common Pleas before a bench of twelve judges, the elaborate argument of the question by distinguished counsel, the unanimous decision that a jury is to judge of the facts and that it cannot be coerced,—that the court may try "to open the

<sup>1</sup> The impression made by his conduct at this trial is suggested by Lafayette's toast at Philadelphia, at the dinner to Richard Rush, July 20, 1825. Lafayette gave: "The memories of Penn and Franklin—the one never greater than when arraigned before an English jury, or the other than before a British Parliament."





eyes of the jurors, but not to lead them by the nose,"—and the ultimate triumphant discharge in open court of Edward Bushel<sup>1</sup> and his eleven resolute companions,—is set down in the law reports of England as a famous case. "It established a truth," says Hepworth Dixon, "which William Penn never ceased to inculcate—that unjust laws are powerless weapons, when used against an upright people."

Penn, with Mead, had been recommitted to Newgate September 5, in default of the payment of fines for "contempt of court" in declining to remove their hats during the trial. Some one, however, paid their fines two days later, and they were released.

The Admiral, at Wanstead, was now within a few days of his close. Penn's discharge from Newgate took place on the 7th of September, and it was but nine days later, the 16th, that his father died.

#### SUMMARY: ADMIRAL PENN.

SIR WILLIAM PENN, KNIGHT, son of Captain Giles and Joan Penn, born at Bristol; baptized in the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle April 23, 1621; married, 1643–44, Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam. He died September 16, 1670, at Wanstead, Essex, and was buried September 30, at St. Mary's Redcliffe, Bristol. His wife, born (?); died 1681–82, and was buried March 4 of that year in the church at Walthamstow, Essex. Their issue:

<sup>1</sup> The browbeating of Bushel by the court, all unavailing as it was, is a notable feature of the trial. "Sir," said the recorder to him, when the jury first reported they could not agree, "you are the cause of this disturbance, and manifestly show yourself an abetter of faction; I shall set a mark upon you, sir!" "Sirrah," interjected the mayor a moment later, "you are an impudent fellow; I will put a mark upon you!" Again the mayor, infuriated at the verdict of not guilty as to Mead, shouted, "What, will you be led by such a fellow as Bushel? an impudent, canting fellow! I warrant you, you shall come upon no more juries in haste!" Sheriff Bludworth declared he knew when he saw Bushel on the jury there would be trouble, and the lord mayor threatened, "I will cut his nose!"



1. WILLIAM PENN, Founder of Pennsylvania.

2. Margaret, born (?); married, February 14, 1666-67, Anthony Lowther, of Maske, Yorkshire, and left issue, a son (and perhaps others) William, created a baronet in 1697. Margaret died 1718, and was buried at Walthamstow. Her husband died 1692, and was buried at Walthamstow, where there is a "monument" to him. (In a letter, 9th of Third month (May), 1720, to Rebecca Blackfan, at Pennsbury, Pennsylvania, Hannah Penn said, "My cousin John Lowther is married, has one child, a daughter, and lives at Mask, as yet. My cousin Sir Thomas, the heir of Sir William, is just returned from his travels in France and Flanders. He went out a very promising hopeful young man, and I greatly hope is not worsted but improved by his journey." It was this Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart., who married Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, see p. 25.)

3. Richard, born (?); died without issue 1673. Extract from Walthamstow parish register: "Richard Penn, gent., second son of Sir William Penn, Knight, from Rickmersworth, buried Ap'l 9, 1673."

(To be continued.)





## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 76.)

1791.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5.

At Philadelphia: "January 5.—We hear that the President of the United States will honour the Theatre with his presence, this evening."—*Pennsylvania Journal*.

The advertisement for the evening's performance was as follows: "By Particular Desire. By the OLD AMERICAN COMPANY, At the THEATRE, in Southwark,<sup>1</sup> *This Evening*, January 5 A COMEDY—Called The School for Scandal. DANCING by Mr. [John] Durang. To which will be added, a Comedy in two acts, Called, The Poor Soldier."

Charles Durang, in his "History of the Philadelphia Stage," partly compiled from the papers of his father, John Durang, says, "'The School for Scandal,' and the 'Poor Soldier,' were the favorite pieces of General George Washington, such was his revolutionary designation, whenever he was spoken of in these days. These pieces were often acted at his desire, whenever he visited the theatre. His suite was generally very large, and filled nearly the whole of the first tier of boxes. It may be recollected that the auditory was of limited size. The presence of that virtuous and pure patriot, that model of a national executive, at any public place, was the harbinger of enthusiastic pleasure to all. His attendance on the play was the unfailing magnet that attracted the entire circles of fashion, and of all classes of the sovereign people, to do homage to the defender and founder of their national institutions."

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Philadelphia: "January 8.—At 11 o'clock, the members of Congress and the [Pennsylvania] Assembly attended a concert in the Lutheran Church on Fourth Street [corner

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<sup>1</sup> The Southwark Theatre was at the corner of South and Apollo (now Charles) Streets, between Fourth and Fifth Streets.



of Cherry]. The President of the United States with his lady were present."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

## THURSDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Philadelphia: "*January 20.*—Dined with the President this day. . . . I have now seen him for the last time, perhaps. Let me take a review of him as he really is. In stature about six feet, with an unexceptionable make, but lax appearance. His frame would seem to want filling up. His motions rather slow than lively, though he showed no signs of having suffered by gout or rheumatism. His complexion pale, nay, almost cadaverous. His voice hollow and indistinct, owing as I believe to artificial teeth before his upper jaw, which occasioned a flatness of . . ."—*Journal of William Maclay*.

William Maclay, of Pennsylvania, was elected September 30, 1788, with Robert Morris, to the United States Senate, and drew the short term, which expired on March 3, 1791. In the Senate, Mr. Maclay advanced democratic principles and led the opposition to Washington, objecting to his presence in the Senate during the transaction of business, assailing the policy of the administration before him, and reprobating the state and ceremony that were observed in his intercourse with Congress. His journal, from which we quote, was published at New York in 1890. The quotation, unfortunately, is but a fragment, the editor, Edgar S. Maclay, stating in a note that "the leaf on which the rest of the description was written had been torn out and lost."

## MONDAY, JANUARY 24.

At Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation directing the commissioners appointed under the act of July 16, 1790, to run four lines of experiment for the purpose of determining, for immediate acceptance, the locality of the ten miles square on the Potomac for the seat of government of the United States.

## THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Philadelphia: "*February 21.*—On Thursday last [February 17] I dined with the President, in company with the ministers and ladies of the court. He was more than usually social. . . . He asked very affectionately after you





and the children, and at table picked the sugar-plums from a cake, and requested me to take them for Master John."—*Mrs. John Adams to Mrs. William S. Smith.*

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "*February 23.*—Yesterday being the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, when he attained to the 59th year of his age—the same was celebrated here with every demonstration of public joy. The Artillery and Light-Infantry corps of the city were paraded, and at 12 O'clock a federal Salute was fired. The congratulatory Compliments of the Members of the Legislature of the Union—the Heads of the Departments of State—Foreign Ministers—Officers, civil and military of the State—the Reverend Clergy—and Strangers and Citizens of distinction, were presented to the President on this auspicious occasion."—*Gazette of the United States.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2.

At Philadelphia: "*March 2.*—The American Philosophical Society held in this city, for promoting useful knowledge, having directed that an eulogium to the memory of their late worthy President Doctor Benjamin Franklin, should be prepared; the society met this morning, at their hall [Fifth Street below Chestnut], and proceeded in a body to the German Lutheran Church in Fourth street, when the Rev. Dr. [William] Smith pronounced an elegant oration on the important occasion.

"The Society invited and were honored with the attendance of—The President of the United States<sup>1</sup> and his Lady.—The Vice President and his Lady.—The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.—Both Houses of the Legislature of this State.—Foreign Ministers and Consuls &c &c."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

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<sup>1</sup> George Washington was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in January, 1780.



WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16.

At Philadelphia: "Congress finished their session on the 3d of March.<sup>1</sup> . . . They made provision for the interest on the national debt, by laying a higher duty than that which hitherto existed on spirituous liquors, imported or manufactured; they established a national bank; they passed [March 3, 1791] a law for certain measures to be taken towards establishing a mint;<sup>2</sup> and finished much other business of less importance, conducting on all occasions with great harmony and cordiality. . . .

"The remarks of a foreign Count [Andriani] are such as do no credit to his judgment, and as little to his heart. They are the superficial observations of a few months' residence, and an insult to the inhabitants of a country, where he has received more attention and civility than he seems to merit."—*Washington to David Humphreys.*

Count Andriani, of Milan, visited the United States in 1790. He was the bearer of an ode addressed to Washington by Alfieri, the celebrated Italian poet, who also in 1788 had dedicated his tragedy of "The First Brutus" to the "most illustrious and free citizen, General Washington." After his return to Europe, Andriani published an abusive account of American politics and manners, to which Colonel Humphreys, under date of London, October 31, 1790, had drawn the attention of the President.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19.

At Philadelphia: "The tender concern, which you express on my late illness, awakens emotions, which words will not explain, and to which your own sensibility can best do justice. My health is now quite restored, and I flatter myself with the hope of a long exemption from sickness. On Monday next I shall enter on the practice of your

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<sup>1</sup> The first Congress elected under the new Constitution terminated on the third day of March, 1791. This Congress held three sessions: the first from March 4, 1789, to September 29, 1789; the second from January 4, 1790, to August 12, 1790; the third from December 6, 1790, to March 3, 1791. The first and second sessions were held in New York, and the third and last in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> The act of Congress establishing the mint and regulating the coins of the United States was passed March 26, 1792, and approved by the President on April 2.





friendly prescription of exercise, intending at that time to begin a journey to the southward, during which I propose visiting all the Southern States.”—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette*.

# MONDAY, MARCH 21.

Leaves Philadelphia: “*March 21.*—Left Philadelphia about 11 o’clock to make a tour through the Southern States—Reached Chester about 3 o’clock—dined and lodged at Mr. Wythes. . . . In this tour I was accompanied by Majr. Jackson.—My equipage & attendance consisted of a Charriot & four horses drove in hand—a light baggage Waggon & two horses—four saddle horses besides a led one for myself—and five—to wit—my Valet de Chambre, two footmen, Coachman & postillion.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

“*March 22.*—At half past 6 o’clock we left Chester, & breakfasted at Wilmington . . . crossing Christiana Creek proceeded through Newcastle & by the Red Lyon to the Buck tavern 13 miles from Newcastle, and 19 from Wilmington where we dined and lodged. *March 23.*—Set off at 6 o’clock—breakfasted at Warwick—bated with hay 9 miles farther—and dined and lodged at the House of one Worrell’s in Chester[town]. *March 24.*—Left Chestertown about 6 o’clock—before nine I arrived at Rock-Hall [on the Chesapeake Bay] where we breakfasted and immediately; after which we began to embark. . . . After 8 o’clock P.M. we made the Mouth of Severn River (leading up to Annapolis) but the ignorance of the People on board, with respect to the navigation of it run us a ground first on Greenbury point from whence with much exertion and difficulty we got off; & then, having no knowledge of the Channel and the night being immensely dark with heavy and variable squalls of wind—constant lightning & tremendous thunder—we soon got aground again on what is called Horne’s point—where finding all efforts in vain, & not knowing where we were we remained, not knowing what might happen, till morning.”—*Washington’s Diary*.

# FRIDAY, MARCH 25.

At Annapolis: “*March 25.*—Having lain all night in my Great Coat & Boots, in a birth not long enough for me by the head, & much cramped; we found ourselves in the morning within about one mile of Annapolis, & still fast aground. Whilst we were preparing our small Boat in order to land in it, a sailing Boat came of to our assistance in wch. with the Baggage I had on board I landed. . . .



"Was informed upon my arrival (when 15 Guns were fired) that all my other horses arrived safe that embarked at the same time I did, about 8 o'clock last night.

"Was waited upon by the Governor [John Eager Howard] as soon as I arrived at Man's tavern & was engaged by him to dine with the Citizens of Annapolis this day at Mann's tavern, and at his House to-morrow—the first I accordingly did."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*March 26.*—Dined at the Governors—and went to the Assembly in the Evening where I stayed till half past ten o'clock. *March 27.*—About 9 o'clock this morning I left Annapolis, under a discharge of Artillery, and being accompanied by the Governor a Mr. Kilty of the Council and Mr. Charles Stuart proceeded on my Journey for George-Town. Bated at Queen Ann, 13 miles distant and dined and lodged at Bladensburgh."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, MARCH 28.

At George Town: "*March 28.*—Left Bladensburgh at half after six, & breakfasted at George Town about 8; where, having appointed the Commissioners under the Residence Law to meet me, I found Mr. [Thomas] Johnson one of them (& who is Chief Justice of the State) in waiting—& soon after came in David Stuart & Danl. Carroll Esqrs. the other two.—A few miles out of Town I was met by the principal Citizens of the place and escorted in by them; and dined at Suter's tavern (where I also lodged) at a public dinner given by the Mayor & Corporation—previous to which I examined the Surveys of Mr. [Andrew] Ellicot who had been sent on to lay out the district of ten miles square for the federal seat; and also the works of Majr. L'Enfant who had been engaged to examine & make a draught of the grds. in the vicinity of George Town and Carrollsburg on the Eastern branch."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*March 29.*—Finding the interests of the Landholders about Georgetown and those about Carrollsburgh much at variance and that their fears and jealousies of each were counteracting the public purposes & might prove injurious to its best interests whilst if properly managed they might be made to subserve it—I requested them to meet me at six o'clock this afternoon at my lodgings, which they accordingly did. . . . Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> For-





rest's to day with the Commissioners & others. *March 30.*—The parties to whom I addressed myself yesterday evening, having taken the matter into consideration saw the propriety of my observations; and that whilst they were contending for the shadow they might loose the substance; and therefore mutually agreed and entered into articles to surrender for public purposes, one half of the land they severally possessed within bounds which were designated as necessary for the City to stand. . . .

"This business being thus happily finished & some directions given to the Commissioners, the Surveyor and Engineer with respect to the mode of laying out the district—Surveying the grounds for the City & forming them into lots—I left Georgetown—dined in Alexandria & reached Mount Vernon in the evening."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 31.<sup>1</sup>

At Mount Vernon: "Having been so fortunate as to reconcile the contending interests of Georgetown and Carrollsburg, and to unite them in such an agreement as permits the public purposes to be carried into effect on an extensive and proper scale, I have the pleasure to transmit to you the enclosed proclamation, which, after annexing the seal of the United States, and your countersignature, you will cause to be published."—*Washington to Thomas Jefferson.*

The proclamation alluded to in the above letter was issued for the purpose of publicly defining the lines of the territory selected for the permanent seat of government of the United States. It is dated Georgetown, March 30. The descriptive clause is as follows: "Beginning at Jones' Point, being the upper cape of Hunting Creek in Virginia, and at an angle in the outset of forty-five degrees west of the north, and running in a direct line ten miles for the first line; then beginning again at the same Jones' Point and running another direct line at a right angle with the first across the Potomac, ten miles, for the second line; then, from the termination of the said first and second lines, running two other direct lines of ten miles each, the one crossing the Eastern Branch aforesaid, and the other the Potomac, and meeting each other in a point."

#### MONDAY, APRIL 4.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall be on the 8th of April at Fredericksburg, the 11th at Richmond, the 14th at Petersburg, the 16th at Halifax, the 18th at Tarborough, the 20th at Newbern, the 24th at Wilmington, the 29th at George-

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<sup>1</sup> "*March 31.*—From this time, until the 7th of April, I remained at Mount Vernon—visiting my Plantations every day."—*Washington's Diary.*



town, South Carolina; on the 2d of May at Charleston, halting there five days; on the 11th at Savannah, halting there two days. Thence leaving the line of the mail, I shall proceed to Augusta; and according to the information which I may receive there, my return by an upper road will be regulated."—*Washington to the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War.*

With a single exception, that of the stay in Charleston being prolonged one day beyond the time allowed, this itinerary for the early part of the southern tour was accurately fulfilled, and forms an interesting example of the methodical care observed by Washington in all the affairs of his life.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 7.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "April 7.—Recommenced my journey with Horses apparently much refreshed and in good spirits. . . . Proceeded to Dumfries where I dined—after which I visited & drank Tea with my Niece Mrs. Thos. Lee."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary.*

"April 8.—Set out about 6 o'clock—breakfasted at Stafford Court House—and dined and lodged at my Sister Lewis's in Fredericksburgh."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SATURDAY, APRIL 9.

At Fredericksburg: "April 9.—Dined at an entertained given by the Citizens of the town.—Received and answered an address from the Corporation."—*Washington's Diary.*

"April 10.—Left Fredericksburgh about 6 o'clock,—myself Majr. Jackson and one Servant breakfasted at General [Alexander] Spotswood's—the rest of my Servants continued on to Todd's Ordinary where they also breakfasted.—Dined at the Bowling Green—and lodged at Kenner's Tavern 14 miles farther—in all 35 m."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, APRIL 11.

At Richmond: "April 11.—Took an early breakfast at Kinner's—bated at one Rawling's half way between that & Richmd. and dined at the latter about 3 o'clock.—On my

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<sup>1</sup> Mildred, daughter of John Augustine Washington. She married (October, 1788) Thomas, the eldest son of Richard Henry Lee.





arrival was saluted by the Cannon of the place—waited on by the Governor [Henry Lee] and other gentlemen—and saw the City illuminated at night.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“April 12.—In company with the Governor,—The Directors of the James River Navigation Company—the Manager & many other Gentlemen—I viewed the Canal, Sluces, Locks, & other works between the City of Richmond & Westham. . . . Received an Address from the Mayor, Aldermen & Common Council of the City of Richmond at three o'clock, & dined with the Governor at 4 o'clock. April 13.—Dined at a public entertainment given by the Corporation of Richmond.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 14.

At Petersburg, Virginia: “April 14.—Left Richmond after an early breakfast—& passing through Manchester received a Salute from cannon & an Escort of Horse under the command of Capt. David Meade Randolph as far as Osbornes where I was met by the Petersburg horse & escorted to that place & partook of a Public dinner given by the Mayor & Corporation and went to an Assembly in the evening for the occasion at which there were between 60 & 70 ladies.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“April 15.—Set out a little after five. . . . I came twelve miles to breakfast, at one Jesse Lee's, and 15 miles farther to dinner; and where I lodged, at the House of one Oliver, which is a good one for horses, and where there are tolerable clean beds. . . . April 16.—Got into my Carriage a little after 5 o'clock, and travelled thro' a cloud of dust until I came within two or three miles of Hix's ford when it began to Rain.—Breakfasted at one Andrew's about a mile after passing the ford (or rather the bridge) over Meherrin River. . . . The only Inn short of Hallifax having no stables in wch. the horses could be comfortable & no Rooms or beds which appeared tolerable & every thing else having a dirty appearance, I was compelled to keep on to Hallifax; 27 miles from Andrews—48 from Olivers—and 75 from Petersburg—At this place (i.e., Hallifax) I arrived about six o'clock, after crossing the Roanoke; on the South bank of which it stands.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 17.

At Halifax, North Carolina: “April 17.—Col<sup>o</sup> [John B.] Ashe the Representative of the district in which this town stands, and several other Gentlemen called upon, and invited



me to partake of a dinner which the Inhabitants were desirous of seeing me at & excepting it dined with them accordingly."—*Washington's Diary*.

"April 18.—Set out by six o'clock—dined at a small house kept by one Slaughter, 22 Miles from Hallifax and lodged at Tarborough. April 19.—At 6 o'clock I left Tarborough accompanied by some of the most respectable people of the place for a few miles—dined at a trifling place called Greenville 25 miles distant—and lodged at one Allan's 14 miles further a very indifferent house without stabling which for the first time since I commenced my Journey were obliged to stand without a cover."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20.

At Newbern, North Carolina: "April 20.—Left Allans before breakfast, & under a misapprehension went to a Col<sup>d</sup> Allans, supposing it to be a public house; where we were very kindly & well entertained without knowing it was at his expence, until it was too late to rectify the mistake.—After breakfasting, & feeding our horses here, we proceeded on & crossing the River Neuse 11 miles further arrived in Newbern to dinner. At this ferry which is 10 miles from Newbern, we were met by a small party of Horse; the district Judge (Mr. [John] Sitgreave) and many of the principal Inhabitants of Newbern, who conducted us into town to exceeding good lodgings."—*Washington's Diary*.

"April 21.—Dined with the Citizens at a public dinner given by them; and went to a dancing assembly in the evening—both of which was at what they call the Pallace—formerly the Government House & a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins.—The Company at both was numerous at the latter there was abt. 70 ladies. April 22.—Under an Escort of horse, and many of the principal Gentlemen of Newbern I recommenced my journey—dined at a place called Trenton which is the head of the boat navigation of the River Trent, wch. is crossed at this place on a bridge—and lodged at one Shrine's 10 m. farther—both indifferent Houses. April 23.—Breakfasted at one Everets 12 miles bated at a Mr. Foy's 12 miles farther and lodged at one Sage's 20 miles beyd. it—all indifferent Houses."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 24.

At Wilmington, North Carolina: "April 24.—Breakfasted at an indifferent House about 13 miles from Sage's—





and three miles further met a party of Light Horse from Wilmington; and after these a Commee. & other Gentlemen of the Town; who came out to escort me into it, and at which I arrived under a federal salute at very good lodgings prepared for me, about two o'clock—at these I dined with the Commee. whose company I asked.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*April 25.*—Dined with the Citizens of the place at a public dinner given by them—Went to a Ball in the evening at which there were 62 ladies—illuminations, Bonfires, &c. *April 26.*—Having sent my Carriage across the day before, I left Wilmington about 6 o'clock, accompanied by most of the Gentlemen of the Town, and breakfasting at Mr. Ben. Smith's lodged at one Russ' 25 miles from Wilmington.—An indifferent House. *April 27.*—Breakfasted at Willm. Gause's a little out of the direct Road 14 miles—crossed the boundary line between No. & South Carolina abt. half after 12 o'clock which is about 10 miles from Gause's—dined at a private house (one Cochran's) about 2 miles farther—and lodged at Mr. Varen's 14 miles more. *April 28.*—Mr. Varen piloted us across the Swash . . . and it being at a proper time of the tide we passed along it with ease and celerity to the place of quitting it, which is estimated 16 miles,—five miles farther we got dinner & fed our horses at a Mr. Pauley's a private house, no public one being on the Road;—and being met on the Road, & kindly invited by a Doctor Flagg to his house, we lodged there; it being about 10 miles from Pauley's & 33 from Varen's. *April 29.*—We left Doctr. Flagg's about 6 o'clock, and arrived at Captn. Wm. Alston's on the Waggamau [Waccamaw] to Breakfast. At Captn. Alston's we were met by General Moultrie, Col<sup>o</sup> [William] Washington & Mr. Rutledge (son of the present Chief Justice of So. Carolina) who had come out that far to escort me to town.—We dined and lodged at this Gentlemans.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, APRIL 30.

At Georgetown, South Carolina: “*April 30.*—Boats being provided we crossed the Waggamau to Georgetown by descending the River three miles—at this place we were recd. under a Salute of Cannon, & by a Company of Infantry handsomely uniformed.—I dined with the Citizens in public; and in the afternoon, was introduced to upwards of 50 ladies who had assembled (at a Tea party) on the occasion.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*May 1.*—Left Georgetown about 6 o'clock and crossing the Santee Creek at the Town, and the Santee River 12 miles from it at Lynch's



Island, we breakfasted and dined at Mrs. Horry's about 15 miles from Georgetown & lodged at the Plantation of Mr. Manigold [Manigault] about 19 miles farther.'—*Washington's Diary*.

# MONDAY, MAY 2.

At Charleston, South Carolina: "*May 2.*—Breakfasted at the Country seat of Govr. [Charles] Pinckney about 18 miles from our lodging place, & then came to the ferry at Haddrel's point, 6 miles further, where I was met by the Recorder of the City, Genl. [Charles Cotesworth] Pinckney & Edward Rutledge, Esqr. in a 12 oared barge rowed by 12 American Captains of Ships, most elegantly dressed.—There were a great number of other Boats with Gentlemen and ladies in them;—and two Boats with Music; all of them attended me across, and on the passage were met by a number of others.—As we approached the town a salute with artillery commenced, and at the Wharf I was met by the Governor, the Lt. Governor, the Intendt. of the city;—the two Senators of the State [Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard], Wardens of the City—Cincinnati, &c &c. and conducted to the Exchange where they passed by in procession—from thence I was conducted in like manner to my lodgings—after which I dined at the Governors (in what he called a private way) with 15 or 18 Gentlemen."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*May 3.*—Breakfasted with Mrs. [John] Rutledge (the Lady of the Chief-Justice of the State who was on the Circuits) and dined with the Citizens at a public dinr. given by them at the Exchange. Was visited about 2 o'clock, by a great number of the most respectable ladies of Charleston—the first honor of the kind I had ever experienced and it was as flattering as it was singular. *May 4.*—Dined with the Members of the Cincinnati, and in the evening went to a very elegant dancing Assembly at the Exchange—At which were 256 elegantly dressed & handsome ladies. In the forenoon (indeed before breakfast to day) I visited and examined the lines of attack & defence of the City and was satisfied that the defence was noble & honorable altho' the measure was undertaken upon wrong principles and impolitic. *May 5.*—Visited the works of Fort Johnson James' Island, and Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island; both of which are in Ruins. . . . Dined with a very large Company at the Governor's & in the evening went to a Concert at the Exchange at wch. there were at least 400 ladies the number & appearance of wch. exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever





seen. *May 6.*—Viewed the town on horseback by riding through most of the principal Streets. Dined at Majr. [Pierce] Butler's and went to a Ball in the evening at the Governor's where there was a select Company of ladies. *May 7.*—Before break(fast) I visited the Orphan House at which there were one hundred & seven boys & girls—This appears to be a charitable institution and under good management. *May 8.*—Went to crowded Churches in the morning and afternoon. . . . Dined with General Moultree."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, MAY 9.

Leaves Charleston: "*May 9.*—At six o'clock I recommenced my journey for Savanna; attended by a Corps of the Cincinnati and most of the principal Gentlemen of the City as far as the bridge over Ashley River, where we breakfasted, and proceeded to Col<sup>o</sup> W. Washington's at Sandy-hill with a select party of particular friends—distant from Charleston 28 miles."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*May 10.*—Took leave of all my friends and attendants at this place (except General Moultrie & Majr. Butler the last of whom intended to accompany me to Savanna and the other to Purisburgh, at which I was to be met by Boats,) & breakfasting at Judge Bee's 12 miles from Sandy Hill, lodged at Mr. Obrian Smith's 18 or 20 further on. *May 11.*—After an early breakfast at Mr. Smith's we road 20 miles to a place called Pokitellieo [Pocotaligo] where a dinner was provided by the Parishoners of Prince William for my reception, and an address from them was presented and answered. After dinner we proceeded 16 miles farther to Judge Hayward's where we lodged."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, MAY 12.

At Savannah, Georgia: "*May 12.*—By five o'clock we set out from Judge Hayward's, and rode to Purisburgh 22 miles to breakfast. At that place I was met by Messrs. [Noble Wimberly] Jones, Col<sup>o</sup> [Joseph] Habersham, Mr. Jno. Houston, Genl. [Lachlin] McIntosh and Mr. [Joseph] Clay, a Comee. from the City of Savanna to conduct me thither. —Boats also were ordered there by them for my accommodation; among which a handsome 8 oared barge rowed by 8 American Captns. attended.—In my way down the River I called upon Mrs. Green the Widow of the deceased Genl. [Nathanael] Green, (at a place called Mulberry Grove) &



asked her how she did. . . . We were seven hours making the passage which is often performed in 4 tho' the computed distance is 25 miles—Illumns. at night.

“I was conducted by the Mayor & Wardens to very good lodging which had been provided for the occasion, and partook of a public dinner given by the Citizens at the Coffee Room.—At Purisburgh I parted with Genl. Moultree.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“May 13.—Dined with the Members of the Cincinnati at a public dinner given at the same place—and in the evening went to a dancing Assembly at which there was about 100 well dressed and handsome ladies. May 14.—A little after 6 o'clock, in Company with Genl. McIntosh, Genl. [Anthony] Wayne, the Mayor and many others (principal Gentlemen of the City,) I visited the City, and the attack & defence of it in the year 1779, under the combined forces of France and the United States, commanded by the Count de Estaing & Genl. Lincoln. . . . Dined to day with a number of the Citizens (not less than 200) in an elegant Bower erected for the occasion on the Bank of the River below the Town.—In the evening there was a tolerable good display of fireworks.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MAY 15.

Leaves Savannah: “May 15.—After morning Service, and receiving a number of visits from the most respectable ladies of the place (as was the case yesterday) I set out for Augusta, Escorted beyd. the limits of the City by most of the Gentlemen in it, and dining at Mulberry Grove the Seat of Mrs. Green,—lodged at one Spencers—distant 15 miles.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“May 16.—Breakfasted at Russells—15 miles from Spencer's—dined at Garnets 19 further & lodged at Pierces 8 miles more, in all—42 miles to day. May 17.—Breakfasted at Spinner's 17 miles—dined at Lamberts 13—and lodged at Waynesborough (wch. was coming 6 miles out of the way) 14, in all 43 miles.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 18.

At Augusta, Georgia: “May 18.—Breakfasted at Tulcher's 15 miles from Waynesborough; and within 4 miles of Augusta met the Govor. [Edward Telfair], Judge [George]





Walton, the Attorney Genl. & most of the principal Gentlemen of the place; by whom I was escorted into the Town, & recd. under a discharge of Artillery,—the distance I came to day was about 32 miles—Dined with a large Company at the Governors, & drank Tea there with many well dressed Ladies.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*May 19.*—Received & answered an Address from the Citizens of Augusta; dined with a large Company of them at their Court Ho.—and went to an Assembly in the evening at the Accadamy; at which there were between 60 & 70 well dressed ladies. *May 20.*—Viewed the Ruins, or rather small Remns. of the Works which had been erected by the British during the War and taken by the Americans.—Also the falls, which are about 2 miles above the Town;—and the Town itself. . . . Dined at a private dinner with Govr. Telfair to day. *May 21.*—Left Augusta about 6 o'clock, and takg. leave of the Governor & principal Gentlemen of the place at the bridge over Savanna River, where they had assembled for the purpose, I proceeded in Company with Col<sup>s</sup> [Wade] Hampton & Taylor, & Mr. Lithgow a committee from Columbia, (who had come on to meet & conduct me to that place) & a Mr. Jameson from the Village of Granby on my Rout. Dined at a house about 20 miles from Augusta and lodged at one Odem about 20 miles farther.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MAY 22.

At Columbia, South Carolina: “*May 22.*—Rode about 21 miles to breakfast, and passing through the village of Granby just below the first falls in the Congaree (which was passed in a flat bottomed boat at a Rope ferry,) I lodged at Columbia, the newly adopted Seat of the Government of South Carolina about 3 miles from it, on the No. side of the River, and 27 from my breakfasting stage.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“*May 23.*—Dined at a public dinner in the State house with a number of Gentlemen & Ladies of the Town of Columbia, & Country round about to the amt. of more than 150, of which 50 or 60 were of the latter. *May 24.*—The condition of my foundered horse obliged me to remain at this place, contrary to my intention, this day also.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 25.

At Camden, South Carolina: “*May 25.*—Set out at 4 o'clock for Camden—(the foundered horse being led slowly



on)—breakfasted at an indifferent house 22 miles from the town, (the first we came to) and reached Camden about two o'clock, 14 miles further, when an address was read. & answered.—Dined late with a number of Gentlemen & Ladies at a public dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

"May 26.—After viewing the British works about Camden I set out for Charlotte—on my way—two miles from Town—I examined the ground on which Genl. Green & Lord Rawdon had their action [Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, 1781]. . . . Six miles further on I came to the ground where Genl. Gates & Lord Cornwallis had their Engagement [August 16, 1780] which terminated so unfavourably for the former. . . . After halting at one Sutton's 14 m. from Camden I lodged at James Ingrams 12 miles farther. May 27.—Left Ingrams about 4 o'clock, and breakfasting at one Barr's 18 miles distant lodged at Majr. Crawford's 8 miles farther."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, MAY 28.

At Charlotte, North Carolina: "May 28.—Set off from Crawford's by 4 o'clock and breakfasting at one Harrison's 18 miles from it got into Charlotte 13 miles further, before 3 o'clock,—dined with Genl. [Thomas] Polk and a small party invited by him, at a Table prepared for the purpose."—*Washington's Diary*.

"May 29.—Left Charlotte about 7 o'clock, dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Smith's 15 miles off, and lodged at Majr. Fifers [Phifer] 7 miles farther."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 30.

At Salisbury, North Carolina: "May 30.—At 4 o'clock I was out from Majr. Fifers; and in about 10 miles at the line which divides Mecklenburgh from Rowan Counties; I met a party of horse belonging to the latter who came from Salisbury to escort me on. . . . I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of the Corporation, Judge McKoy, & many others. . . . We arrived at Salisbury about 8 o'clock, to breakfast,—20 miles from Captn. Fifers. . . . Dined at a public dinner given by the Citizens of Salisbury; & in the afternoon drank Tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion."—*Washington's Diary*.





## TUESDAY, MAY 31.

At Salem, North Carolina: "*May 31.*—Left Salisbury about 4 o'clock; at 5 miles crossed the Yadkin, the principal stream of the Pedee, and breakfasted on the No. Bank, (while my Carriages & horses were crossing) at a Mr. Youngs' fed my horses 10 miles farther at one Reeds—and about 3 o'clock (after another halt) arrived at Salem, one of the Moravian towns 20 miles farther—In all 35 from Salisbury. . . . Salem is a small but neat village; & like all the rest of the Moravian settlements, is governed by an excellent police—having within itself all kinds of artizans—The number of Souls does not exceed 200."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 1.*—Spent the forenoon in visiting the Shops of the different Tradesmen—The houses of accomodation for the single men & Sisters of the Fraternity—and their place of worship.—Invited six of their principal people to dine with me—and in the evening went to hear them sing, & perform on a variety of instruments Church music. In the Afternoon Governor [Alexander] Martin as was expected (with his Secretary) arrived."—*Washington's Diary.*

## THURSDAY, JUNE 2.

At Guilford, North Carolina: "*June 2.*—In company with the Gov<sup>r</sup> I set out by 4 O'clock for Guilford.—Breakfasted at one Dobsons at the distance of eleven Miles from Salem and dined at Guilford 16 miles farther; where there was a considerable gathering of people who had receiv'd Notice of my intention to be there to-day & came to satisfy their curiosity. . . . On my approach to this place (Guilford) I was met by a party of light horse which I prevailed on the Governor to dismiss, and to countermand his orders for others to attend me through the State."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 3.*—Took my leave of the Govern<sup>r</sup> whose intention was to have attend me to the line, but for my request that he would not; and about 4 O'clock proceeded on my journey.—Breakfasted at troublesome Ironworks (called 15, but which is at least) 17 Miles from Guilford partly in Rain and from my information or for want of it was obliged to travel 12 miles further than I intended to day—to one Gatewoods within two Miles of Dix' ferry over the Dan, at least 30 Miles from the Iron works. *June 4.*—Left M<sup>r</sup>



Gatewoods about half after Six oclock—and between his house & the Ferry passed the line which divides the States of Virginia and N<sup>o</sup> Carolina & dining at one Wisoms 16 Miles from the Ferry lodged at Hallifax old Town.

*June 5.*—Left the old Town about 4 oclock A.M. & breakfasting at one Pridie's (after crossing Banister River 1½ Miles) abt 11 Miles from it, came to Staunton River about 12; where meeting Col<sup>o</sup> Isaac Coles (formerly a Member of Congress for this district &) who pressing me to it, I went to his house about one Mile off to dine and to halt a day, for the Refreshment of myself and horses; leaving my Servants and them at one of the usually indifferent Taverns at the Ferry that they might give no trouble, or be inconvenient to a private family. *June 6.*—Dined at this Gentlemans to day also.

*June 7.*—Left Col<sup>o</sup> Coles by day break, and breakfasted at Charlotte C<sup>t</sup> H<sup>o</sup> 15 Miles where I was detained some time to get Shoes put on such horses as had lost them—proceeded afterwards to Prince Edward Court House 20 Miles further. *June 8.*—Left Prince Edward Court H<sup>o</sup> as soon as it was well light & breakfasted at one Treadways 13 Miles off,—dined at Cumberland C<sup>t</sup> H<sup>o</sup> 14 Miles further—and lodged at Moores Tavern within 2 miles from Carter's ferry over James River. *June 9.*—Set off very early from Moores—but the proper ferry boat being hauled up we were a tedious while crossing in one of the Boats used in the navigation of the River; being obliged to carry one carriage at a time without horses & crossways the Boat on planks.—Breakfasted at a Widow pains 17 Miles on the N<sup>e</sup> side of the River, and lodged at a M<sup>rs</sup> Jordans a private house where we were kindly entertained and to which we were driven by necessity having Rode not less than 25 miles from our breakfasting stage through very bad Roads in a very sultry day with<sup>t</sup> any refreshment & by missing the right Road had got to it."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### FRIDAY, JUNE 10.

At Fredericksburg, Virginia: "*June 10.*—Left M<sup>rs</sup> Jordans early & breakfasting at one Johnston's 7 miles off reached Fredericksburgh after another (short) halt about 3 oclock & dined and lodged at my Sister Lewis's."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*June 11.*—After a dinner with several Gentlemen whom my Sister had envited to dine with me I crossed the Rappahannock & proceeded to Stafford C<sup>t</sup> House where I lodged. *June 12.*—About Sunrise we were off—breakfasted at Dumfries and arrived at M<sup>t</sup> V<sup>a</sup> to Dine."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, JUNE 13.

At Mount Vernon: "From Monday 13<sup>th</sup> until Monday the 27<sup>th</sup> (being the day I had appointed to meet the Commissioners under the Residence Act, at Georgetown) I remained at home; and spent my time in daily Rides to my





sever<sup>l</sup> farms—and in receiving many visits.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“June 27.—Left Mount Vernon for Georgetown before Six o'clock;—and according to appointment met the Commissioners at that place by 9—then calling together the Proprietors of those Lands on which the federal City was proposed to be built who had agreed to cede them on certain conditions at the last meeting I had with them at this place but from some misconception with respect to the extension of their grants had refused to make conveyances and recapitulating the principles upon which my com<sup>rs</sup> to them at the former meeting were made and giving some explanations of the present State of matters & the consequences of delay in this business they readily waved their objections & ag<sup>d</sup> to convey to the utmost extent of what was required. June 28.—Whilst the Commissioners were engaged in preparing the Deeds to be signed by the Subscribers this afternoon, I went out with Maj<sup>r</sup> L'Enfant and Ellicot to take a more perfect view of the ground, in order to decide finally on the Spots on which to place the public buildings—and to direct how a line which was to leave out a Spring (commonly known by the name of the Cool Spring) belonging to Maj<sup>r</sup> Stoddart should be run. June 29.—The Deeds which remained unexecuted yesterday were signed to day and the Dowers of their respective wives acknowledged according to Law. This being accomplished, I called the Several Subscribers together and made known to them the spots on which I meant to place the buildings for the P: & Executive departments of the Government—and for the Legislature of D<sup>o</sup>—A Plan was also laid before them of the City in order to convey to them general ideas of the City—but they were told that some deviations from it would take place—particularly in the diagonal Streets or avenues, which would not be so numerous; and in the removal of the Presidents house more westerly for the advantage of higher ground—they were also told that a Town house, or exchange w<sup>d</sup> be placed on some convenient ground between the spots designed for the public build<sup>gs</sup> before mentioned.—And it was with much pleasure that a general approbation of the measure seemed to pervade the whole.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 30.

At Frederick Town, Maryland: “June 30.—The business which bro<sup>t</sup> me to Georgetown being finished & the Com<sup>rs</sup> instructed with respect to the mode of carrying the plan into effect I set off this morning a little after 4 o'clock in the prosecution of my journey towards Philadelphia; and being desirous of seeing the nature of the Country North of Georgetown, and along the upper Road, I resolved to pass through Fredericktown in Maryland—& York & Lancaster in Pennsylvania & accordingly—Breakfasted at a



small Village called Williamsburgh in which stands the C<sup>t</sup> House of Montgomerie County [Maryland] 14 M from George Town—dined at one Peter's tavern 20 Miles further—and arrived at Frederick town about sundown—the whole distance 43 miles."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*Frederick-Town* July 5.—On Thursday evening last [June 30], at twenty-five minutes past seven o'clock, the President of the United States, accompanied by his secretary Major Jackson, arrived in this town from Mount Vernon, on his way to Philadelphia.—So sudden and unexpected was the visit of this amiable and illustrious character, as to leave it entirely out of the power of the citizens to make the necessary preparations for his reception.—On notice being given of his arrival, the bells of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches were rung—fifteen rounds from Cannon-Hill, were discharged—and a band of music serenaded him in the evening. He was politely invited to spend the succeeding day in town; but answered (as an apology for not accepting the invitation), that public business obliged him to hasten to Philadelphia. The next morning, at ten o'clock, he proceeded on his journey, escorted by several gentlemen, over the Monocosy, on his route to York. Previous to his departure, an address, drawn in great haste, was presented to him: to which he was pleased to return an answer; exhibiting as usual, fresh proofs of his greatness and goodness."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, July 9.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 1.

At Taneytown, Maryland: "*July 1.*—Received an address from the Inhabitants of Frederick town and about 7 o'clock left it—dined at one Cookerlys 13 miles off & lodged at Tawny town only 12 Miles farther—being detained at the first stage by Rain and to answer the address w<sup>ch</sup> had been presented to me in the Morning. Tawny town is but a small place with only the Street through w<sup>ch</sup> the Road passes, built on—the buildings are principally of wood."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, JULY 2.

At Yorktown, Pennsylvania: "*July 2.*—Set out a little after 4 o'clock and in ab<sup>t</sup> 6 Miles crossed the line w<sup>ch</sup> divides the States of Maryland & Pennsylvania—the Trees in w<sup>ch</sup> are so grown up th<sup>t</sup> I could not perceive the opening though I kept a lookout for it.—9 Miles from Tawny town, Littletown is past, they are of similar app<sup>r</sup> but y<sup>e</sup> latter is





more insignificant than the former.—Seven Miles farther we came to Hanover (commonly called McAlister's town) a very pretty village with a number of good brick Houses & Mechanics in it. At this place, in a good Inn, we breakfasted—and in 18 Miles more reached York Town where we dined and lodged. . . . After dinner in company with Col<sup>o</sup> [Thomas] Hartley & other Gentlemen I walked through the principal Streets of the Town and drank Tea at Col. Hartleys.—The C<sup>t</sup> H<sup>o</sup> was illuminated.”<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary*.

“On the 2nd. of July, 1791, in the afternoon, at 2 o'clk came the Honorable President Washington to York town; all the bells of the town rang in honor of the event as if the voices of the Archangels sounding in harmony commanded attention. I could not repress my tears at the thought of all this, indeed I cried aloud, not from a sense of sadness, but from a feeling of very joyfulness. In the evening, there was a general illumination, and in the Court House in each pane was set a light.”—REV. JOHN ROTH, *Diary of the Moravian Congregation of Yorktown, Pennsylvania*, MS.

#### SUNDAY, JULY 3.

At Lancaster, Pennsylvania: “July 3.—Received and answered an address from the Inhabitants of Yorktown—& there being no Episcopal Minister *present* in the place, I went to hear morning Service performed in the Dutch reformed Church—which, being in that language not a word of which I understood I was in no danger of becoming a proselyte to its religion by the eloquence of the Preacher.—

“After Service, accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Hartley & half a dozen other Gentlemen, I set off for Lancaster—Dined at Wrights Ferry [Columbia] where I was met by Gen<sup>l</sup> [Edward] Hand & many of the principal characters of Lan-

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<sup>1</sup> “Saturday last [July 2] the President of the United States arrived here [Yorktown] from Mount Vernon on his way to Philadelphia. His arrival which was about 2 o'clock was announced by the ringing of bells. The Independent Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. George Hay, paraded, and being drawn up before his Excellency's lodging fired fifteen rounds. At night there were illuminations and every other demonstration of joy.”—*The Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser*, July 6, 1791.



caster & escorted to the town by them, arriving abt 6 o'clock."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*Lancaster*, July 3.—This evening at 6 o'clock, arrived here, on his return from his Southern Tour, his Excellency the President of the United States, accompanied by Major Jackson. He was escorted from Wright's Ferry by a respectable number of the inhabitants of this borough."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, July 12.

#### MONDAY, JULY 4.

At Lancaster: "*July 4*.—This being the Anniversary of American Independence and being kindly requested to do it, I agreed to halt here this day and partake of the entertainment which was preparing for the celebration of it.—In the forenoon I walked about the town—At half passed 2 oclock I received, and answered an address from the Corporation and the Complim<sup>ts</sup> of the Clergy of different denominations—dined between 3 & 4 oclock—drank Tea with M<sup>r</sup> Hand."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*July 12*.—On Monday, July 4, being the Anniversary of American Independence, the Corporation [of Lancaster], at the particular request of the inhabitants, waited on him [the President] with an address: At three o'clock the President, and a very large number of citizens, set down to an elegant entertainment, provided for the occasion, in the court-house."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 6.

At Philadelphia: "*July 7*.—Yesterday the President of the United States arrived in this city, on his return from his southern tour. His approach was announced to the citizens, by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 20.

At Philadelphia: "I yesterday had Mr. Jaudenes,<sup>1</sup> who was in this country with Mr. Gardoqui, and is now come over in a public character, presented to me for the first

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<sup>1</sup> Don Joseph De Jaudennes was associated with Don Joseph De Viar, the Spanish minister, in the management of Spanish interests in the United States.





time by Mr. Jefferson. Colonel Ternant is expected here every day as minister from France."—*Washington to David Humphreys.*

Colonel Humphreys was at this time in Lisbon, having been appointed minister to Portugal on February 21. At the time of the appointment he was in London, having left the United States in August, 1790. Mr. Humphreys revisited this country in 1794, returned the following year, and soon afterward married Miss Bulkly, an English woman of fortune. He was transferred (May 20, 1796) from Lisbon to the court of Madrid, where he remained until succeeded by Charles Pinckney in 1802.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 9.

At Philadelphia: "A slight indisposition, since my return, (occasioned by a tumor, not much unlike the one I had at New York in 1789), of which I am now recovered, does not forbid the expectation, that my health may be ultimately improved by my tour through the southern States."—*Washington to William Moultrie.*

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 18.

At Philadelphia: "*August 20.*—Thursday [August 18], [Jean Baptiste Ternant<sup>1</sup>] the French and [Don Joseph De Viar the] Spanish Ambassadors, together with several other distinguished personages dined with the President of the United States, and in the evening there was a small display of fire works exhibited nearly opposite the President's house, given by a few citizens in compliment to the Company."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

"*August 10.*—Yesterday arrived in this city [Philadelphia], Mons. DE TERNANT, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Most Christian Majesty to the United States of America, after a passage of 45 days from Rochefort, on board the frigate *La Favorite*. In his suite came Messieurs Dupont and Kellerman."—*Idem.*

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Baptiste Ternant served as major in the Revolutionary War under Baron Steuben (whom he accompanied to this country) until September 25, 1778, when he was made lieutenant-colonel and inspector of the armies in Georgia and South Carolina. He was taken prisoner at Charleston in 1780, but was soon exchanged, and returned to France after the conclusion of peace.



## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Philadelphia: "*September 5.*—This afternoon went to the President's house on Market Street and there dined with him and his lady, and four members of his family, besides the following members of the [Pennsylvania] House [of Representatives]: Hon. William Bingham, Speaker, Messrs. [Richard] Wells, [Francis] Gurney, [Lawrence] Seckel from the city; [William] Macpherson, [Thomas] Lilly, [Philip] Gardner, [Henry] Tyson, [Joseph] Reed, [David] Stewart, [Jonathan] Hoge, [John] Montgomery, [Samuel] Maclay, [John] White, [William] Findlay, [John] Baird, [Jacob] Eyerly, [Anthony] Lerch, [John] Mulhollan, [Adamson] Tannehill, and Peter Lloyd, our clerk. I cannot help remarking that President Washington is an unassuming, easy and sociable man, beloved by every person."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*<sup>1</sup>

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*September 19.*—Thursday afternoon [September 15], the PRESIDENT left this city on a tour to Mount Vernon."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser.*

The Viscount de Châteaubriand, who dined with the President the day before his departure for Mount Vernon, after describing in his "*Travels in America and Italy*," published in 1823, his first interview<sup>2</sup> with Washington, refers to the dinner in the following words: "The conversation turned almost entirely on the French revolution. The general showed us a key of

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<sup>1</sup> Jacob Hiltzheimer, a German by birth, settled at Philadelphia in the latter part of 1743. He was a member of the State Assembly from 1786 to 1797, and was quite a prominent citizen. Mr. Hiltzheimer kept a diary from 1768 to 1798, extracts from which were first published in Volume XVI. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. It was subsequently privately printed at Philadelphia in 1893. He died of yellow fever September 14, 1793. Mr. Hiltzheimer became the owner, in July, 1777, of the house at the southwest corner of Seventh and Market Streets, in which Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence.

<sup>2</sup> At this interview, upon perceiving the astonishment of the President when he stated that the object of his voyage was to discover the passage to the northwest by penetrating to the polar sea, Châteaubriand said, "But it is less difficult to discover the northwest passage than to create a nation as you have done."





the Bastille: those keys of the Bastille were but silly playthings which were about that time distributed over the two worlds. Had Washington seen like me the *conquerors of the Bastille* in the kennels of Paris, he would have had less faith in the relic. The gravity and the energy of the revolution were not in those sanguinary orgies. At the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, the same populace of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine demolished the Protestant church at Charenton with as much zeal as it despoiled the church of St. Denis in 1793.

"I left my host at ten in the evening, and never saw him again: he set out for the country the following day, and I continued my journey.

"Such was my interview with that man who gave liberty to a whole world. Washington sunk into the tomb before any little celebrity had attached to my name. I passed before him as the most unknown of beings; he was in all his glory, I in the depth of my obscurity, my name probably dwelt not a whole day in his memory. Happy, however, that his looks were cast upon me! I have felt myself warmed for it all the rest of my life. There is a virtue in the looks of a great man."

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

At George Town: "*George-Town*, September 24.—MONDAY evening last [September 19] the PRESIDENT of the United States, his Lady, and Suite, arrived in this town from the Seat of Government, and on Tuesday took their departure for Mount Vernon."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*, September 30.

#### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: "From long experience I have laid it down as an unerring maxim, that to exact rents with punctuality is not only the *right* of the landlord, but that it is also for the benefit of the tenant that it should be so, unless by uncontrollable events and providential strokes the latter is rendered unable to pay them."—*Washington to Robert Lewis*.

#### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21.

At Philadelphia: "*October 22*.—The President of the United States arrived in town yesterday, from Mount Vernon."—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*.



## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25.

At Philadelphia: "October 25.—At noon President Washington went to the Congress at the corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, and delivered his address [in the Senate Chamber]—yesterday being the first day of meeting of the Second Congress."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

## SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29.

At Philadelphia: "October 29.—The Speaker of the House of Representatives [Jonathan Trumbull] attended by the Members repaired to the President's house, and presented him with an answer to his address."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"November 1.—Yesterday [Monday, October 31] at twelve o'clock, the Vice-President attended by the Senate, repaired to the President's House, and presented him with an answer to his address."—*Idem*.

## FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: "November 15.—On Friday last [November 11] Mr. Hammond was introduced to the President, by the Secretary of State, and presented his credentials as his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

George Hammond was the first minister from Great Britain to the United States. He married (May 20, 1793) Margaret Allen, daughter of Andrew Allen, of Philadelphia, a girl of remarkable beauty. Mr. Hammond remained in this country until 1795, when he returned to England to become under-secretary at the foreign office in London.

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: "This afternoon accounts received, which are believed, that General St. Clair's army has been defeated by the Indians. The action happened November 4th, within fifteen miles of the Miami towns. Six hundred of our men killed and wounded. General [Richard] Butler and many officers among the slain."—*Timothy Pickering to Mrs. Pickering*.





When the President received the news of the surprise and defeat of General St. Clair, it is said, on the authority of Colonel Lear,<sup>1</sup> who was present, that for a few moments he lost all control of himself, and with great violence of manner vehemently denounced the action of St. Clair in allowing himself to be surprised,—an event which he had been expressly cautioned against. The paroxysm of passion, however, lasted but a short time, when he regained his habitual composure.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 29.

At Philadelphia: “*December 30.*—Yesterday afternoon arrived in the city, six Indian Chiefs from the Cherokee Nation, one Squaw and an Interpreter.”—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

“The Cherokees arrived in this city after a tedious passage from Charleston, which I believe they will consider as the most, if not the only disagreeable circumstance attending their mission; for the requests, which they had to make, were of a nature to be readily complied with, and they appear not only satisfied, but highly pleased with their reception, and the manner in which their business has been done.”—*Washington to Charles Pinckney*, January 31, 1792.

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: “*January 3, 1792.*—On Friday morning [December 30, 1791] was presented to the President of the United States, a BOX elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated oak tree that sheltered the WASHINGTON of Scotland, the brave and patriotic Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Edward the 1st. This magnificent and truly characteristic present is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hands of Mr. Archibald Robertson, a Scotch gentleman, and portrait painter who arrived in America some months ago.”—*Claypoole's Daily Advertiser*.

At the request of the Earl of Buchan, Washington sat to Mr. Robertson for his portrait, to be placed among those most honored by the earl. The portrait obtained at these sittings was taken in miniature; it was retained

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<sup>1</sup> “Washington in Domestic Life,” by Richard Rush, p. 65.



by the artist, and a large painting executed from it was sent to the earl in May, 1792.

A family dinner to which Mr. Robertson was invited is thus described by him: "The dinner, served at three o'clock in the afternoon, was plain, but suitable for a family in genteel and comfortable circumstances. There was nothing specially remarkable at the table, but that the General and Mrs. Washington sat side by side, he on the right of his lady; the gentlemen on his right hand and the ladies on her left. It being on Saturday, the first course was mostly of eastern cod and fresh fish. A few glasses of wine were drunk during dinner, with other beverage; the whole closed with a few glasses of sparkling champagne, in about three quarters of an hour, when the General and Colonel Lear retired, leaving the ladies in high glee about Lord Buchan and the 'Wallace box.'"

(To be continued.)





EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOK OF BENJAMIN  
MARSHALL, 1763-1766.<sup>1</sup>

CONTRIBUTED BY THOMAS STEWARDSON, ESQ.

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> October 18<sup>th</sup> 1763.

"... We have lost some faithfull & Worthy friends lately amongst which was Anthony Morris, who was buried the Seventh day before our Yearly Meeting whose Corps was attended to the Meeting house and burial Ground by a very great number of the most substantial Inhabitants as well as a vast number of Friends from Different parts, at meeting a noble & Weighty Testimony was deliver'd by our worthy Friend Ann Moore at which Meeting was present the Governour the Recorder many of the Councill Aldermen severall Ministers (of other Persuasions) many Lawyers, a Great number of Merch<sup>ts</sup> & Private Gentlemen &c ... & on the 5<sup>th</sup> day follow. was also Carried to the Meeting house, that antient & worthy Minister Hannah Hurford, where a very fine Testimony was Delivered by Sam<sup>l</sup> Nottingham, ... & her Corps was also attended by a Great number of Friends & others, also a few Days ago, Mary Yarnell after a Tedious Illness, to the Great Loss of her Tender husband & family, he himself being very poorly. Charles Cannon from England, lately dyed here & a Great number that I hav't time to mention.

"To HUGH FORBES."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Novemb<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1763.

"... The 30<sup>th</sup> of last month being the first day of the Week, about 4 O'Clock in the afternoon we were surprized with a smart Shock of an Earth Quake, which much frightened many people, in their different places of Worship, &

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Marshall was a son of Christopher Marshall, the diarist.



broke them all up, it happily concluded without doing any mischief. . . .

“To JOHN TOWNSEND.”

“PHILADA Novemb<sup>r</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> 1763.

“ . . . The 30<sup>th</sup> of Last Month, being the first day of the Week, we were very much alarm’d with a very Violent Shock of an Earth Quake, . . . the same Day arrived here from London Capt<sup>a</sup> Budden in whom came Passengers, John & Rich<sup>d</sup> Penn Esq<sup>r</sup> the former appointed Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governour of this Place which he was proclaimed the next Day following. I hope his administration will be very agreeable to the people of this province, as his appearance denotes him an agreeable person he has severall Addresses to him &c. I omitted Enforming thee that Capt<sup>a</sup> James Daw is now on the Recovery at Fort Pitt which I am very Glad of as his life was Despaired of, Capt<sup>a</sup> Nuttle is safe arrived here & Jeri<sup>b</sup> Linn is bravely, but seems to have got almost the Colour of a Spaniard by being so much amongst them. We have had two Men of War in our River, for some time past to prevent any Clandestine Trade being carried on, either to Spain Portugal or any of the French West India Islands, the Captain of one of them dyed here, about 3 Weeks ago, & the two Vessels are since sailed for Virginia to refitt, till Spring when they are expected here again. . . .

“To HUGH FORBES.”

“PHILADA November 12<sup>th</sup> 1763.

“ . . . I mentioned in my last of Doctor Rich<sup>d</sup> Farmers having embarked for Bristoll on board Capt. Fastin. . . . I suppose he will stay at Bath as he told me he intended to stay the season there. . . . The troubles of the Indians seemed a little to subside, but are fearfull they are begun again which makes things look very-Gloomy here, & Trade very dull. I suppose the number of Vessells in this harbour, at this time, exceeds any that ever was Knowne here, & people not knowing what to do with them. . . . George Whitefield is now here, he preached a few days ago, at the New Baptist Meeting house, he dont preach near so often,





nor is near so much followed as formerly, he is so very fat, that thee would hardly know him, he being as fat as almost any body here.

"To JAMES TAPSCOTT."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1764.

" . . . We are here much affraid of a Rupture with the dutch, w<sup>ch</sup> should there be it will frusterate all our Schemes that Way, & would think it quite prudent to keep thy affairs in as narrow a compass as thou can—the Neptune is now repairing but the Weather is so precarious that we cant Tell when she will be ready, tho' as thy Unckle David has the Care of her, no doubt but he will Dispatch her as soon as Possible to thee. . . .

"To WILLIAM McMURTRIE."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> April 5<sup>th</sup> 1764.

" . . . I have now only time to enclose an acc<sup>t</sup> against S<sup>r</sup> John S<sup>r</sup> Clair Coll<sup>l</sup> of the Royall American Regiment who lately lived at Trenton & is now going home in the Packet so must Desire should Immediately apply. . . .

"To SAMUEL LOUDON."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> May 2. 1764.

" . . . Trade is very Dwindling amongst us as we have so much Differences here amongst our selves & such Party that seems to hurt everything, pamphlets are Daily dispers'd here to the inflaming of Peoples Minds Great many of which my Brother has sent to J. Foster In many of which the Quakers are very Ill treated & the Grose Falsehoods assured for real Facts by a Presbyterian Party. I sincerely wish it may Peaceably subside as its a very Melancholly Situation to hear such continuall Railing. . . .

"To JOHN TOWNSEND."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> June 22. 1764.

" . . . I acquainted thee of the great scarcity of Cash amongst us . . . & that I had not rec<sup>d</sup> one farthing of thy money. I have now again press<sup>d</sup> for the same. . . . Jn<sup>o</sup> Turner has been from here since Feb: 1763 & his wife hardly any thing to support her. . . . Tillon have been from



here long before thy affairs came into my hand & Henry Cline been Dead near 12 months, but I understand his Widow keeps Tavern a little way out of town . . . Capt. Marsh has mett with a very great Loss lately . . . nothing particular at present amongst us except its the melancholly prospect of Trade by the Men of War being stationed in our Bay & River which prevents our doing any Business out of the Common Road & then Parliam<sup>t</sup> of England laying heavy Taxes on us & wee likely to have noe more paper Mony made I assure thee was thee now here should hardly think it was the same . . . place. Mess<sup>r</sup> Hughes & Lynn rem<sup>n</sup> yet unmarried & I think Mariage seems to be not Quite so Brisk as heretofore the Thought of Housekeeping Ter-rifys them. . . .

"To DR. JAMES TAPSCOTT."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> July 28. 1764.

" . . . This I expect will be handed thee by my Friend near neighbour An<sup>r</sup> Tybout who is going to your place with a Wid<sup>w</sup> on some Business Respecting her Deceased Husband & he intends to purchase some Bear Fur there so that if thou can help him to any Trade . . . it will be a particular favour confer'd on me. . . . The men of War here are so very strict that the smallest things don't escape their notice, they have seized a Boat w<sup>th</sup> Charcoal & 10 B B Tar from Indian Riv. because it was Bonded. I dont believe the Vessell & Cargoe would fetch here £20, they search all Vessells very narrowly & have condemned sever<sup>l</sup> one fine M. Sloop & Cargoe sold this Day— . . . please to purchase me three Lott<sup>r</sup> tickets for the Bounty on hemp to be drawn sometime next month.

"To JAMES BROOKS."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 5. 1764.

" . . . our Election w<sup>th</sup> has been the warmest & most close ever known here the number of Votes near 4000, the Presb'y party having made use of every artifice in their power that they could invent to obtain them, the Ministers having been remarkably vigilant in the aff<sup>r</sup> & stir'd themselves more than was ever known before tho' they have not





been able to compleat their Scheme nor hope they never will; we got home the third day of the week following that we left R. Island being near six days on the passage. . . .

"To Jos. G. WANTON."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1764.

" . . . Bills are very scarce here, I had a deall of trouble to persuade Reese Meredith to draw it . . . as Reese is a man of great credit I thought it might be depended on. . . . Cash Monstrous scarce (I believe we must learn to Barter) as the Men of War are here so strict that nothing can escape them . . . and so many new Acts of Parlim<sup>t</sup> lately made seem as if America would be much distressed the dreadfull Lumb<sup>r</sup> Acts if continued will I fear be of great disadvantage & help to Ruin us however I hope that on proper remonstrances the rigour will in some measure be abated or the Edge taken off. . . . M. Hughes & Lynn are the same stupid Lads as when you left here . . . our party disputes seem not quite so high as heretofore but don't know how soon it may break out ag<sup>n</sup> neither do the Indians seem too troublesome & I heartily wish that Every thing may be restored to its ancient peace. . . .

"To DR. JAMES TAPSCOTT."

"PHILAD Oct<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1765.

" . . . Ship Royall Charlotte Cap<sup>n</sup> Holland, who is arrived here some days past but has been Detained by having the Horrible Stamp Paper on board his Ship, but is now putt on board the Man of War, so that I suppose he will soon discharge his cargo. . . .

"To THOMAS MONKLAND."

"PHILAD. Oct<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 1765.

" . . . the time for Seed is not yet begun, it generally begins abo<sup>t</sup> the 1<sup>o</sup> of November, but am fearful I shall not be able to comply with thy Request, as a most Cruel & Oppressive Stamp Act is to take place here after the first of November after which we expect all Business will cease, as the Merchants & Traders throughout America are determined not to make use of any Stamp Paper on any Consideration, so that no Vessell will be able to clear out after



then, as none of the Stamp Officers will distribute any Papers most of them having resigned their office. . . .

“To BARN<sup>y</sup> EGAN.”

“PHILAD<sup>D</sup> November 9<sup>th</sup> 1765.

“ . . . find it impossible to comply with thy orders at present owing entirely to the Cruel & Oppressive Stamp Act laid on the American Colonys . . . as no Custom House or other Officer can go on agreeable to the Act without subjecting himself to great Fines, but should the Vessells be cleared out as heretofore, they would be in a great Danger of a Seizure as the Men of War are in our River & who would doubtless be pleased with the opportunity . . . as soon as our affairs are settled shall then advise thee & hope to receive thy future Orders for any thing this way . . . the chief articles that answer here from Ireland which can be brought are Linnens (which ought to go to Liverpoole to receive the Bounty) Beef, Butter, Men, Women & Boys Servants the less Women the better as they are very troublesome, & the best times for Servants is about the month of May. . . .

“To THOMAS MURPHY.”

“PHILAD. Nov<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1765.

“ . . . the Merchants & Traders have determined not to Receive any Stamp'd Papers by which means all our Offices are stopt as they cannot nor dare not act for fear of the Enraged Populace, as the most warm . . . opposition has been made in their Northern Colonys that has ever been since they were settled, so that those Traders that have Vessells here are obliged to let them lay by the Wharffs except a few who was here loaded & got cleared before the first of the month. . . . I am determined if any method can be fallen upon in a reasonable time so as to clear out our Vessells with safety that I will immediately dispatch a Vessell loaded agreeable to thy Request, but am afraid that the above difficulties will subsist. Our Merchants & Traders have entered into an agreement which is universally signed upon their Honour not to order any Goods from England on Commission, & forbid all the Goods heretofore ordered





unless the Stamp Act is repealed, but are determined to Encourage the Irish Trade by Importing every thing that can be lawfully brought from Ireland as both you & us are like to be so much under. Should thee have a mind to send a Vessell this Way, about 100 Men & Boys Servants with as many Passengers as could be got, so as to be here by the Middle or Latter end of May, I think might answer very well. Stout able Labouring men & Tradesmen out of the Country with Young Boys & Lads answers best, Women are so troublesome it would be best to send few or none, as there is often so many Drawbacks on them, this I mention should thee have any Intention of sending a Vessell this way for any thing. I do flatter myself that the above Reasons will be quite satisfactory as I have endeavoured to act in the best and most cautious manner for thy Interest possible as I do assure thee I should do the same was it my own Case, as its very precarious now, knowing how to do for the Best. . . .

“To BARNABY EGAN.”

“PHILAD'A Dec<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1765.

“ . . . About a week past our Custom House was open'd for clearing out to such as would chuse to Risque their Vessells & Cargoes & most of those cleared to Spain & Portugal. I was about trying to get a Vessell to ship thee some seed and took counsel of some of our able Lawyers about the Act of Parliament & whether we should be safe provided we had a Clearance from our Offices here, their Opinion was y<sup>t</sup> the Vessells are liable to a Seizure for sailing contrary to Act of Parliament, and thought it most Prudent for me not to run the Risque, as should any Loss by seizures happen, the whole must fall on me, as when thou wrote thy Orders thou could not be appriz'd of the unhappy Situation our Trade was like to be involved in. . . . I have now large Orders to ship Grain & Flour to Portugal, which cannot comply with safety. Yesterday & today we have Rec'd acco<sup>u</sup> y<sup>t</sup> Lord Colvill (command<sup>r</sup> of his Majesties Ships in N<sup>o</sup> America) has sent orders to all the Capt<sup>s</sup> of Men of War on the Continent, to stop or seize



every Vessell y<sup>t</sup> shall be found Sailing without Stamp'd Papers which sho<sup>d</sup> that be the case, many Cargoes may perish before our Affairs can be settled. . . .

"To BARN<sup>r</sup> EGAN."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1765.

" . . . Great Quantities of home made Cloths, Linnens, Blankits & various other articles are daily brought to this City & Manufactorys erecting. I think it the duty of every man in England more especially those in Trade to endeavour by all Justifiable means to get the Stamp Act repealed . . . the Traders of this City have drawn up a petition to the Merchants & Traders of Great Brittain, 3 of which are Gone for London, Bristol & Liverpool & signed by near 500 People of this City, & Copy of the same petition as soon as ready will be sent to Hallifax, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield & most of the trading Towns in England, to use their utmost Endeavours in getting the Stamp & other Acts lately passed Repealed. . . . I hope thou'll not be wanting in assisting as soon as the Petition comes to your hands. . . .

"To JOHN SCOTT."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1765.

" . . . Enclosed is a small Invoice which if the Stamp Act be repealed thou'll ship ~~at~~ first oppertunity that offers . . . but not to be ship'd on any Consideration unless the said Stamp Act be repealed, which if thou does I shall not receive nor be answerable for them, (so mind) as I dare not consistant with my Word & Honour receive any Goods unless Repealed. I have here enclosed one of the Papers sent to every Merchant in England to Countermand the Orders for Goods which are not ship'd by January the 1<sup>st</sup> 1766. . . .

"To THOMAS MONKLAND."

"PHILAD<sup>a</sup> June 5<sup>th</sup> 1766.

" . . . I should be glad to know, whether thy father, Grandfather or any of thy Relations of the name of Perrigrine Tyrack, John Tyrack, or any of the name of George Green was acquainted with Will: Penn first settler of this Province of Pennsylvania as there are such names in the





List, & should be glad to find out the Heir, or Heirs of the same as its Possible some small matter may be got, thy answer & first opportunity will be very acceptable. . . .

"TO PERRIGRINE TYRACK."

"PHILADA June 7<sup>th</sup> 1766.

" . . . Irish Servants will be very dull, such numbers have already arrived from Different parts, & many more expected, that I believe it will be over done, especially as severall Dutch Vessells are expected here, which will allways command the Markett. Cap<sup>t</sup> Power I believe has near sold all his, he being pretty early. . . .

"TO BARN<sup>r</sup> EGAN."



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 115.)

WASHINGTON TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 25 November, 1777  
8 o'clock P.M.

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR:

“Col<sup>o</sup> Mead delivered me yours this morning, as I was upon my way to reconnoitre the Enemy's Lines from the West side of the Schuylkill. I had a full view of their left and found their works much stronger than I had reason to expect from the Accounts I had received. The Enemy have evacuated Carpenters Island and seem to be about doing the same by Province Island. Accounts from the city say Lord Cornwallis was expected back today or tomorrow, which corresponds with the information sent you by Gen. Weedon. All their movements make me suspicious that they mean to collect their whole force while our's is divided, and make an Attack on the Army on this side. I therefore desire (except you have a plan or prospect of doing something to advantage) that you will rejoin me with your whole force as quick as possible. I have ordered all the Boats down to Burlington to give you despatch and when you have crossed, all those not necessary for the common use at the Ferries, should be immediately sent up to Coriels again. Yours of yesterday that appears to have been written before that sent by Col<sup>o</sup> Meade has reached me since I got Home. The Hospital at Burlington deserves your consideration. If you leave it uncovered and Lord Cornwallis should detach a party, the patients will certainly be made prisoners. I therefore beg you will endeavour to have them removed, or think of some way of giving them protection by posting some Militia or leaving some Other Troops while the Enemy remain in that





Quarter. The Hospital at Princeton also will be left naked if the Enemy should move farther up, You will therefore leave them some cover, if you think there will be occasion. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“P.S.—As leaving a Guard at Princeton will still divide our force, if the patients could be removed further from thence, I think it would be for the better. I told D<sup>r</sup> Shippen when he fixed it there, it would be dangerous.”<sup>2</sup>

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“MOUNT HOLLY, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 4 oClock

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR

“This moment received intelligence the enemy are embarking from Gloucester and crossing over to Philadelphia. Col. Comstock sends this intelligence and says it may be depended upon.—I have order’d General Varnum’s & General Huntington’s brigade to advance immediately to fall upon the enemies rear and prevent their getting off their stock. I wait your Excellencies orders to march where you may think advisable. Colo. Sheppard<sup>3</sup> got into camp about noon—the whole body of the troops will be ready to move at a moments warning—The Rifle Corps & about 600 militia are upon the enemies flanks.

“A detachment from Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee’s Horse took nine prisoners yesterday, the first account I ever had of their being in this quarter. I am &c.

“N. GREENE.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“MOUNT HOLLY Nov. 25<sup>th</sup> 12 o’Clock

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR:

“I wrote your Excellency this afternoon that the enemy were crossing from the Jerseys to Philadelphia and that the intelligence came from Col. Comstock—he is stationd at Had-

<sup>1</sup> In manuscript of Robert Hanson Harrison.

<sup>2</sup> In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel William Shepard, in command of Glover’s brigade.



donfield to collect intelligence.—I have received two letters from the Col. today the first dated at 12 o'Clock the last at three both of which I have enclosed.—It appears to me the enemy are crossing their Cattle, but I much doubt whether any part of the troops have crost the river—perhaps they may begin in the morning—I am divided in my mind how to act—If your Excellency intends an attack on Philadelphia our moving down to Haddonfield will prevent our co-operating with you—but if the enemy are crossing, the attack upon the city would not be warrantable now if before, without our whole collective force at least, and as part is below and part here, I wish to move forward for the support of the troops below and attack the enemy if practicable.

“I expected before this to have received your Excellencies further Orders but as I have not and from the intelligence there appears a prospect of attempting something here I have ventured to put the troops in motion—if I should receive orders to the contrary I can speedily return.

“If the enemy cross to the city they may be attackt at any time hereafter as well as now—if they have not crost and are in a situation to be attackt we shall have an opportunity to attempt something. I am anxious to do every thing in my power and more especially as the People seems to be dissatisfied at the evacuation of red bank fort. I am &c.

“N. GREENE.”

COLONEL COMSTOCK TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“HADDONFIELD, 25 Nov.  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12, 1777

“SIR:

“This moment I arrived from a reconnoitering tour near Little Timber Creek Bridge, sent a smart young woman who had a sister in Gloster as a spy to Gloster; she has returned and I believe has rec<sup>d</sup> no other damage than receiving a kiss from the Hessian General (this is as she says). She reports that a very large number of British & Hessian troops are in Gloster, that they are embarking in





boats & going to Philadelphia, and that her sister there informed her they had been embarking ever since early in the morning. That Lord Cornwallis quartered at Col. Ellis' house & the Hessian General in a house opposite—who asked the young woman where the Rebels were? She answered, she could not tell—she had seen none of them! She said she passed many sentrys before she came to little Timber Creek Bridge where she passed the last.

“I doubt not this information. I fear they will be too quick for us. Col. Hart's Reg<sup>t</sup> is here. With great esteem,  
“ADAM COMSTOCK.”

COLONEL COMSTOCK TO MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“HADENFIELD, 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1777  
3 oClock P.M.

“SIR

“Seven prisoners just arrived here from the Enemy taken by the Militia, about 3 mile from this place on the Road to Glos'ter.—the prisoners I have examined. Two of them are Gunners and 2 Matros, belonging to the first Reg<sup>t</sup> of Artillary, the other 3 belong to the 33<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>—they were about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from their Picket plundering, those belonging to the Artillary had 3 of the Artillary Horses with them marked G. R. which are also taken. This Express rides one of em. The Prisoners on Examination say the Main Body Lye about 4 Mile from this on the Gloster Road encamp'd that their Line form a Tryangle, that they are to wait there till they have embark'd all the Stock for Philadelphia, which will take em all Day, & that the Army expects to embark tomorrow and go into winter Quarters, that they have 2 6 pounders in front, 2 ditto in the Rear & some smaller in the Center, that they were not in the least apprehensive of any of the American Army being within 10 miles of them, otherwise they should not have been taken in the manner they were. This moment 7 Hessian Prisoners arrived here taken in the same manner. I have not examined them. I could wish your Army was here now, for I think they may be surpris'd very easy. They give various



Acc<sup>ts</sup> of their Numbers, from 5 to 8 thousand. They mostly agree that Billings Fort & Fort Mercer are leveled.—O how I want to give em a Flogging before they Leave the Gersey. With every sentiment of Esteem & Respect &c

“ADAM COMSTOCK.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“HADDONFIELD, Nov<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 4 o'clock P.M. 1777

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR

“Your Excellency's letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> reached me at this place—I halted the troops on the receipt of it, those that had not got into the town—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum's & Huntington's Brigades got to this place before the letter came to hand. I am sorry our march will prove a fruitless one—the enemy have drawn themselves down upon the Peninsula of Gloucester—the Ships are drawn up to cover the troops—there is but one road that leads down to the point, on each side the ground is swampy, & full of thick underbrush, that it makes the approaches impracticable almost—these difficulties might have been surmounted, but we could reap no advantage from it—the Shipping being so posted as to cover the troops, and this country is so intersected with creeks, that approaches are rendered extremely difficult, and retreats very dangerous.—I should not have halted the troops, but all the Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers were against making an attack, the enemy being so securely situated—and so effectually covered by their Shipping.

“We have a fine body of troops & in fine spirits, & every one appears to wish to come to action:—I proposed to the Gentlemen drawing up in front of the enemy, & to attack their Picquet and endeavour to draw them out, but they were all against it, from the improbability of the enemies coming out. The Marquis with about 400 Militia & the rifle Corps, attack'd the enemies Picquet last evening, kill'd about 20 & wounded many more, & took about 20 prisoners—the Marquis is charmed with the spirited behaviour of the Militia & Rifle corps—they drove the enemy above half a mile & kept the ground until dark—the





enemy's picquet consisted of about 300 & were reinforced during the skirmish—The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger.

“From the best observations I am able to make & from the best intelligence I can obtain it is uncertain whether any of the enemy have crossed the river, the boats are constantly going but I believe they are transporting stock—there is as many men in the returning boats, as there goes over—by tomorrow it will be reduced to a certainty.—I believe the enemy have removed the great Chiveaux de frize—there went up 60 sail of Vessels this morning. If the obstructions are removed in the river it accounts for the enemies evacuating Carpenters & Province Islands as they are no longer necessary—the prisoners say the enemy are going into Winter quarters as soon as they get up the river.

“Inclosed was our order for battle, with a plate agreeing to the order.

“I purpose to leave General Varnum's brigade & the rifle corps at this place for a few days, especially the rifle men who cover the country very much.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Varnum's brigade will return to Mount Holly tomorrow or the next day.—I will make further enquiry respecting the hospitals, & give such directions as appear necessary.

“My division, Huntington's & Glover's Brigades will proceed with all despatch to join your Excellency—I could wish the enemy might leave the Jerseys before us.<sup>1</sup>

“I am &c.

“NATH. GREENE.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“MOUNT HOLLY, Nov. 27, 1777

“D<sup>r</sup> SIR

“Your favor of yesterday<sup>2</sup> I received last night about 12 o'clock. The greater part of the troops returned to this place last night and marched early this morning to cross

<sup>1</sup>The body of the letter is in the manuscript of J. Burnet, V. aide-de-camp. Greene's other aides at this time were William Blodget and James Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup>Printed in my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 220.



the Delaware—I staid at Haddenfield myself with General McDougal's division to give the necessary Orders to the Militia—I have left the rifle Corps at Haddenfield and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lee's troop of light Horse to encourage the Militia and awe the ényemy; to prevent their coming out in small parties—Col. Olney had orders to make an attack upon their Piquet this morning but they drew them in so close to their main body, and there being but one road he could not effect it—their Piquet consisted of about 300 men—I am much afraid the withdrawing the troops will greatly alarm the Country—Any position below this with any considerable force would be very dangerous—the country is so exceedingly intersected with creeks; and lies so contiguous to Philadelphia—I think any body of troops may be surprised from the city at Haddenfield in five hours, and at almost any place in its neighbourhood.

“The Hospitals will be in some danger at Burlington, Burdenton & Princetown if all the troops are withdrawn from this state, but if the sick were ordered to be immediately removed, it would still increase the alarm in the country, for which reason I would risque what are there at present and order the Director General not to send any more there.

“I shall set out immediately for Burlington—I have given Lt. Col. Abale orders to procure waggons and send off all the spare ammunition to Huntingdon, the heavy cannon to Bordenton—At my arrival at Burlington I will enquire of the Commodore respecting the matters by you directed.

“General McDougal's division will quarter here to night and march at five in the morning for Burlington—I think there are as many troops gone forward as will be able to get over to day.

“I shall push on troops as fast as possible without injuring their health. I sent forward one of my aids to Burlington early this morning to superintend the embarkation of the troops & baggage—I am with sincere regard & due respect &c.

“N. GREENE.”





CAPTAIN CRAIG TO WASHINGTON.

“SIR

“I have this moment been Honoured with your Excellency’s Letter—and embrace this opportunity of returning an Answer. By every Account, Lord Cornwallis is returned, it is a Certainty that a number of Troops are Arrived at the City—both Horse and foot. I wrote y<sup>r</sup> Excellency this Morning the Enemy were under march<sup>s</sup> orders, it is expected the[y] will March tonight. Your Excellency may Depend on the earliest information of their Movements—by some Accounts the enemy intend to send their Boats one way, and the greater part of their Army another, it is thought the boats are intended for Delaware. I have the Honour &c.

“C. CRAIG.

“FRANKFORT, 28<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777.”

MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE TO WASHINGTON.

“BURLINGTON, Nov. 28<sup>th</sup> 9 oClock, 1777.“D<sup>r</sup> SIR

“Three Brigades are now on their march for Head Quarters, my division & Glover’s Brigade—General McDougall’s division is not yet come to town—they had orders to march at four this morning and I was in hopes they would have been in town, by the time Glovers brigade got over the River—I am afraid the want of provision has detained them this morning. It is with the utmost difficulty we can get bread to eat—the Commissary of purchases of flour is very ill managed—there is no magazines of consequence, and the army servd from hand to mouth—The Baggage cannot be got over by tomorrow night.

“Mr. Tench Francis an uncle of Col. Tilghman was brought to me a prisoner this morning—he was taken at Gloucester—he sais Lord Cornwallis’ detachment consisted of about 6,000, that none embarked until yesterday—he also adds that the reinforcement consisted of about 2500 from New York. General Howe designs to make an im-



mediate attack upon the Army unless the weather is bad—this is the general conversation of the Officers of all ranks—Mr. Francis sais he thinks the enemy design to burn and destroy wherever they go—Germantown is devoted to destruction—The enemy plundered every body within their reach, and almost of every thing they had. It is the common conversation among the officers of all ranks that they design to divide our lands as soon as the Country is conquered—The obstinate resistance they say made at Mud Island has broke the campaign. I am &c.

“N. GREENE.”<sup>1</sup>

THE NAVY BOARD TO WASHINGTON.

“CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD

“BORDEN TOWN, 28 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“We are under a Necessity of drawing your Excellency’s Attention once more to the Frigates at this Place.—Notwithstanding our Endeavours, we have not been able to raise the *Effingham*—she still lyes on her Beam Ends in a very disagreeable situation. After the Destruction of our Fleet at Red Bank, the Officers & Crews of the several Vessels came up to this Place, to the Amount of between three & four Hundred. We are much at a Loss for Accommodations for these Men; but if we had our Frigates afloat, this Difficulty would be obviated. As we have now so many Hands at Command, we are of Opinion, we can with Certainty get these Ships ready for their Reception; & at the same Time have the Plugs so fixed that they might be drawn at a minutes Warning & the vessels sunk, should the Enemy make an attempt upon them. Nevertheless, however safe or convenient this Plan may appear to us, we do not think proper to put it in Execution without your Approbation. As the winter is now approaching fast & must soon put an

<sup>1</sup>For a letter from Washington to Greene, written at seven o’clock on the evening of this day, see my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 228.





End to all our Water Schemes, we request your Excellency's Answer by the Return of the Bearer (Cap<sup>t</sup> Pomeroy). Whatever your Advice may be in this Matter, you may depend on our strict Compliance with it.

"Several Captains of the Vessels lately destroyed have saved some of their Sails, Stores &c. We wish to know whether you are of Opinion they may be kept here with Safety or not.

"A Report is circulated & again contradicted respecting a French War. We should thank your Excellency for Information, whether it is so or not. We have &c.

"FRA<sup>s</sup> HOPKINSON

"JOHN WHARTON

"P.S.—We are sorry to trouble you with Letters to Congress; but hope it will be attended with no great Inconvenience; apprehending that you have frequent Occasions to send to York Town & that our Packets may go with your Despatches."

WASHINGTON TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON AND JOHN WHARTON.

"HEAD QUARTERS, 29 November, 1777

"GENT<sup>r</sup>

"I am fav<sup>d</sup> with yours of the 20<sup>th</sup>. I see no Reason for changing my former opinion in respect to sinking the Frigates to ensure their safety. If they are weighed again, and converted into Barracks for the Seamen, they must be brought near the shore and when the Frosts sets in, they cannot be sunk should the Enemy approach at such time. I however, leave the Matter to your judgment.

"The Hulks of the Vessels will be all that are necessary for Barracks, if you should determine to put them to that use. The sails, Rigging and all other Stores of them and the Vessels that have been burned should be removed to some distance from the Water Side. I am &c.<sup>1</sup>

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON."

<sup>1</sup>In manuscript of Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman.



COUNCIL OF WAR.<sup>1</sup>

[The following papers were overlooked and therefore are not in the place they would have occupied had a strictly chronological order been followed.]

“At a Council of War held at Head Quarters at Whiteman 29<sup>th</sup> October 1777.

“Present

“His Excellency The Commander in Chief

“Major Generals—Sullivan Brigadier Generals—Maxwell

“Greene Smallwood

“Stephen Knox

“Marquis Fayette Varnum

“McDougall Wayne

“Mughlenberg

“Weedon

“Huntington

“Conway

“Pulaski

“His Excellency informed the Board, That the enemys whole force according to the best estimate he could form, founded on general returns of their Army which had accidentally fallen into his hands bearing every mark of authenticity, and from probable calculations of such changes as may have happened since the date of them, amounted to abt. 10,000 rank and file, present fit for duty. That their main body by the last accounts were in and near Philadelphia. That they had established several batteries on Province Island, opposite to Fort Mifflin, from which, they continually annoyed the garrison there; but hitherto without any material effect,—That they had on the 22<sup>d</sup> instant attempted to carry Red Bank by storm, but were repulsed with considerable loss. That the day following several of

<sup>1</sup> The call for this council is printed in my “Writings of Washington,” Vol. VI. p. 143, and did not contain the question of an exchange of prisoners, suggested by the letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Persifor Frazer. An opinion by Brigadier-General Wayne is in Stillé’s “Wayne,” p. 109.





their ships of war drew up against Fort Mifflin; which, in conjunction with their batteries before mentioned began a severe attack upon the fort; but were compelled to quit the enterprise and retire with loss—That however, notwithstanding the obstacles they encounter in the River obstructions, they have found means to open a communication with their ships by way of Tinicum Island.

“He further informed them, That our whole force at this time amounted by the last returns to 8313 Continental troops and 2717 Militia rank and file present fit for duty. That besides these, were the garrisons at Fort Island and Red bank, the former consisting of about 300 Continental troops, the latter 350; in addition to which a detachment of three hundred Militia marched the 26<sup>th</sup> to reinforce the two posts—also the troops on the other side the Schuylkill in number about 500—Militia, under Brigadier General Potter.

“That this force was likely soon to suffer a diminution of 1986 Militia, by the expiration of the term of service for which those from Virginia and Maryland engaged.

“That on the other hand, He had called upon the State of Pennsylvania in the strongest terms, to afford all the assistance and reinforcement in its power to this army; and that he had also written to Generals Dickinson, Foreman, and Newcomb, pressing them in the most earnest manner, to endeavour to collect all the militia of the State of New Jersey, that can possibly be spared from other objects, in the neighbourhood of Red bank, as an additional aid and security to that post; but was uncertain what degree of success these different applications might have.

“He finally informed them that by advices from the Northward, it appeared that General Burgoyne and his whole Army had capitulated to General Gates, on condition of being permitted to return to Great Britain, and not bearing arms again in North America during the present contest.

“That by a letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> instant from General Dickinson, there was reason to believe Sir Harry Clinton and the forces with him had returned down the North River; and that the troops heretofore stationed at Rhode Island



were arrived at New York—That he was not able to afford any precise information of the dispositions made by General Gates and Putnam, in consequence of the forementioned events; but had heard that General Gates had detached two brigades to join Governor Clinton at Esopus.

“Observing, that under these circumstances, he had called a Council to consult and resolve upon the measures, best to be persued; He accordingly requested the sentiment of the Gentlemen present on the following subjects—

*Questions.*

*Answers.*

“1<sup>st</sup> Whether it will be prudent in our present circumstances and with our present strength to attempt by a general attack to dislodge the enemy from Philadelphia?

It will not.

“2<sup>d</sup> If prudent—and in case we are unsuccessful—Where shall we retreat to?

Precluded by the above answer.

“3<sup>d</sup> If not thought eligible—What general disposition of the army had best take place, till the season forces us from the field?

The army should take post on the ground a little to our left, which has been reconnoitred and reported by the Engineers; and sufficient reinforcements should be sent to the garrisons of Red-bank and Fort Mifflin, to complete the number of men requisite for their defence.

“4. Supposing the enemy to keep possession of the City—Where, and in what manner, shall the Continental troops be cantoned, when they can no longer keep the field?

Deferred.





"5. What measures can be adopted to cover the Country near the enemy and prevent their drawing supplies from it during the Winter?

Deferred.

"6. Can any—and what succours may with propriety be drawn from the Northern armies at this time?

Succours should be drawn from the Northern armies to Consist of twenty Regiments—fifteen of Massachusetts—three of New Hampshire and Lee's and Jackson's regiments.

"The deliberations on the foregoing subjects finished,—The Commander in Chief proceeded to the following questions—

"As the whole time of the Adjutant General seems to be engrossed with other duties—Will the office of Inspector General to our army for the purpose principally of establishing and seeing practiced one uniform system of manuel and manœuvres, be adviseable?

Such an office is adviseable. The Manuel Manœuvres or any regulations to be established, previously to be settled or agreed to by the Commander in chief, or a board of officers, appointed by him for that purpose.

"Should Regimental promotions extend only to the rank of a Captaincy or to that of a Majority?

Promotions should be regimental as high as Captains inclusively. All from that rank in the line of the State.

"Will it be consistent with propriety or policy to allow soldiers the reward offered to others for apprehending deserters?

The reward should be allowed to soldiers.



"The Commissaries complain of the number and disproportion of the rations issued to the troops, and at the same time of the exorbitant price of all kinds of spirits, owing to the impositions of the suttlers on the soldiery—What regulations or remedies can be applied to rectify these abuses?"

Deferred.

"Col. Frazer, in a letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> instant having represented that he had 'liberty to mention it as General Howes earnest desire, that a general exchange of prisoners should take place on equitable terms, or that the officers, prisoners of War on both sides should be released and have liberty to go to any place in possession of their friends on their paroles' — What measures might it be proper for us to take in consequence of that information?"

Deferred.

"JNO. SULLIVAN

"NATH<sup>L</sup> GREENE

"ADAM STEPHEN

"LE M<sup>Q</sup>UIS DE LAFAYETTE

"ALEX<sup>R</sup> McDougall

"W. SMALLWOOD

"H. KNOX

"J. VARNUM."

AN<sup>TY</sup> WAYNE

P. MUHLENBERG

G. WEEDON, B. G.

JED HUNTINGTON, B. Gen<sup>l</sup>

T. CONWAY, B. G.





[NOTE.—With the failure of any plan for attacking the British in Philadelphia the question of future operations became of importance. The popular view was still in favor of some active measure which should give the enemy an idea of the fighting ability of the Continental army, and this view found support in Congress, where it was urged as much on political as on military grounds. No one denied the expediency, even the necessity, of a partial victory to inspire the States with a little energy, infuse a little vitality into the sinking currency, and wipe out the depressing atmosphere of a retreating and somewhat disorganized army. But this was only one side of the question. It appeared to Washington that a present and temporary advantage might be obtained at too great a cost. A defeat or failure might complete the ruin of the army, give strength to the jealousies and rising plots among the officers, and, by dispersing the army, scatter throughout the continent the seeds of complaint, of fancied wrongs, and suffering under inaction and defective commissary and hospital service, which would obstruct the enrolling of a new army. However brilliant a successful dash might be, it was too late in the season to retrieve the fortunes of war, and the husbanding of the existing force, seasoned and disciplined as it was, seemed of greater moment than devising an attack on the issue of which all might depend. To consider the question of winter-quarters a council of war was called, and the following are the opinions.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.]

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

"CAMP AT WHITEMARSH, Decem<sup>r</sup> 1, 1777

"DEAR GENERAL

"Agreeable to your Excellency's Commands I have Considered upon the most suitable place to Canton the Army During the winter. The several places proposed in Council have their Advantages and Disadvantages but that which has the Least objections ought to be fixed upon. The Intentions of the Board is to take that Station which will answer best to cover the Country, Refresh the Troops & Discipline the Army & by adding to the Numbers by Recruits & other-ways prepare it to take the field with vigour Early in the Spring—in order to Determine what place will be most Likely to answer this purpose it will be proper to consider the several places proposed with the objections that may justly be made to each: The first is The Great Valley on the other side of Schuylkill. There it is proposed to Hutt



the Army for the winter. The second is to canton the Troops in Wilmington & its Neighbourhood. The Third is to canton them from Lancaster to Reading.—

“The first place proposed will cover the Country west of Schuylkill, provided Large Detachments are kept near the Schuylkill & on the Delaware to prevent the Enemy from making Inroads and Collecting Forage &c. in the Neighbourhood of Darby, Chester & Wilmington but in case the Enemy should take post with a large party at Wilmington, you must send a Force superior to theirs to attack them, or move a large part if not the whole of your Army near that place to prevent them from Foraging & Drawing provisions, in which Case your Huts must be forsaken & of Course become useless. One great objection to Huts is that they are exceeding unhealthy and are at Best but a miserable Shelter from the Inclemency of the weather.—The mortality among the Hessians at Brunswick Last Spring as well as common observation will justify this assertion. Should you be able to cover the west side of the Schuylkill by adopting this plan it must be by making a Winters Campaign; but it is to be Rememberd at the same time that you Leave Exposed the State of New Jersey and all that part of Pennsylvania which Lies on the East of Schuylkill, and put it in the power of the Enemy to render your Communications with the Eastern States across the Delaware very Difficult, if not impracticable. The second post proposed namely Wilmington & its Environs will not only Leave New Jersey & the Eastern part of Pennsylvania, with most of your Hospitals & Stores Exposed but even the Western part of Pennsylvania will be in great Measure Exposed unless you keep a Force near the Schuylkill to prevent the Incursions of the Enemy. This will also occasion a Winter's Campaign, without answering any other purpose but that of covering part of Maryland & the Delaware States & your Situation will put it in the power of the Enemy completely to cut off your Communications with all the States east of Schuylkill. In addition to those Difficulties There is another of great weight in my mind, which





is that Though it is not Easy to Surprize the post, it is by no means Impracticable. This will necessarily Increase our out Guards & Pickets, & make the Duty of the Soldiers something severe—& to add to it M<sup>r</sup> Howe by a move of his army up the Schuylkill towards y<sup>r</sup> Stores may compel you to move your Army as often as he chuses to repeat the manœuvre. If, therefore either of the before mentioned posts are taken a Winter's Campaign must be the Consequence. This in my opinion ought if possible to be avoided. The most warlike nations in the World both in Ancient and Modern times have endeavoured to avoid them, even when they had a sufficiency of Cloathing for their Troops, & were in Climates much more temperate than ours, Experience convinced them that the gain was by no means equal to the Loss and though in most Instances whole Provinces have been given up, this Consideration has not been thought of sufficient weight to keep Armies in the Field through the winter Season.

“The Situation of your Army will be scarcely Tolerable if placed in the warmest Houses During the winter the whole of them without Watch Coats one half without Blankets & more than a Third without Shoes Stockings or Breeches & many of Them without Jackets. Indeed there are some without Coats & not a few without Shirts Even the Officers in sundry Instances are Destitute of proper Cloathing, some of them being almost naked. These Considerations should Induce us to avoid a winter's Campaign if it may be Done without the Greatest Inconveniencys.—The Third place will leave exposed the East & West Side of Schuylkill near the Enemy & at the same time expose New Jersey. It will, however cover the Back parts of the Country give opportunity of Recruiting & Disciplining your Army & at the same Time furnish Houses that will supply the want of Comfortable Cloathing to your Troops, & give you & your officers a proper opportunity of turning your Thought to proper Measures for Regulating your Army & enabling it to take the field with vigor in the Spring. To secure the Country as much as possible one Brigade should be placed



in New Jersey for the militia to collect to in Case of Invasion & scouting parties of the militia should be constantly near the enemy to intercept the small parties from making inroads into that State—at Potsgrove or Reading in Pennsylvania should also be another Brigade or Division for the same purpose & the militia of this State should be constantly scouting near the Enemies' Lines to keep them from foraging with impunity. This Disposition will cover your Hospitals & Stores & keep open your Communications with all the States—Though you may in taking the above Situation be under a necessity of Removing some Inhabitants who have fled from Philadelphia farther Back into the Country, yet this is a much Less Evil than Exposing the Army to be Ruined by the Inclemency of the Seasons & the want of Cloathing, but this may in some Measure be Remedied, as the Distance between you & the Enemy will permit you to canton your Troops in Towns considerably back of the Line which marks your Front. I know that there are also Objections against this Disposition which have great weight, among which is that of Leaving so much Country open to the enemy, but in every view of the Subject I think this the Least Liable to objection. I cannot help giving it as my opinion if we are to make a winter's Campaign, & our Force is Deemed sufficient to dispute the field with the enemy after the seven Virginia Regiments Leave us: that Germantown will be the most proper place for the purpose—as that & Beggars Town will afford cover for most of the Troops. The several Roads leading to it may soon be fortified against a surprize & Corps selected to defend the Houses which will supply in great measure our want of numbers. The proximity of our Situation to the Enemy will keep them within Bounds & by keeping a strong party of Pennsylvania Militia on the west of Schuylkill and 1 of the Jersey Militia on the East of Delaware, their Incursions into the Country will be totally prevented. if a winters Campaign is to be carried on this will be the most advantageous and comfortable Quarters for the purpose—but if a winters Campaign is to be avoided, the other is to be preferred for the Reasons





afore assigned. I know that both officers & soldiers Dread a winter's Campaign, the prospect of which Induces our officers to Resign in such Numbers & prevents privates from Engaging in the Service. With Respect to the post our Army takes previous to Retiring to Winter Quarters, I think it immaterial at present, for if M<sup>r</sup> Howe Declines a general Action no situation we can take either on this or the other side the Schuylkill will compell him to fight us as he has the Delaware open to furnish him with supplies, and if he is Determined to bring on an Engagement he will seek out the Army let their Station be where it will. D<sup>r</sup> General, the above is submitted with all Due Defference & Respect by your Excellency's most obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

"JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN."

#### OPINION OF THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

"Your excellency ordered me to give my opinion about the three plans for winter quarters: 1<sup>o</sup> the chain from about the Schuylkill till bethehem— 2<sup>o</sup> this from reading to lancaster—3<sup>o</sup> building hutts about and quartering in willmington.

"I must confess my being prevented of fixing my sentiments in a decisive manner by my want of knowledge about very interesting points among them are 1<sup>o</sup> how far we should distort and perhaps disaffect those persons who should be turned out from the diferant places they are in.

"2<sup>o</sup> how far we may expect to collect and keep with the army all the officers who perhaps will think themselves intitled to go home, to occupate themselves with their businesses or pleasures if we are not in a kind of warlike quarters, and then we will took the [ ] advantage of theyr being instructed and disciplined we should endeavour to gaite [get?] in going into peaceful places.

"3<sup>o</sup> What effect can it make upon the people our leaving the country entirely opened to the execution, cruelties, and also to the seduction of the enemy, when we shall give them all the opportunities they can wish to draw all the provisions from everywhere and in the same time to inlist provincial soldiers.



"4° if our giving a greater idea of the army in covering the country and laying near the ennemy will more facilitate our making recruits than if we were in good comfortable towns and not in a place and in a manner which shall seem to the eyes of the people a kind of winter campaigne.

"5° till what point those different measures will please or distress the officers and (what is generally to the militur world the less attended to, and deserves the greater attention) our private soldiers.

"6° till what point we may depend upon our intelligences and light troops to avoid equally and being surprised and tiring the troops by false alarms.

"7° if we can hope that the soldiers will now receive cloathes &c. in order to be fit for some winter marches and operations, if in case where they schould be defeated we may hope to meet them again.

"Such are the points of knowledge which I am deprived of by my being stranger in this country, and my being stranger in the army, if I can speak to, for I have no officers no soldiers under my particular direction whom I could consult and know theyr temper theyr inclinations, and all what it is possible to expect from them.

"however I'll tell your excellency my very imperfect sentiments about the matter.

"1° the first proposition seems to me the less eligible, and my reason for it is the scarcity of villages and principally the report of the commissaires and other gentlemen who know the country.

"2° the second seems to me the most prudent: there we schall be quiete, there we can discipline and instruct our troops, we can be able to begin a early campaign, and we schall not fear to be carried into a winter campaign if it pleases General howe. therefore in consulting only prudence, and as far as my little knowledge can go, I am at lest certain that I'll have nothing to reproach to me in giving my choice to this second proposition.

"however (and in making excuses to your excellency for such an indecision and referring myself to your knowledge





about the suppositions I will make) if it was not diswilling neither for officers neither for soldiers, if going to Lancaster will disaffect and make a bad impression as far as to prevent our recruiting, if we can keep better our officers when we shall be in a kind of encampment near the ennemy, if principally you think that we should be fit for some winter march's we should be able to support some disadvantages then I am fully and with a great chearfulness of opinion that we must go to willmington my reasons would be these.

"1° this position enable us to do in the course of the winter what we shall think proper to annoy, to deprive of resources of every kind to attack if possible the ennemy.

"2° this position has something shining and military like which will make the best effect and upon the continent and even in Europe.

"3° the doctors, and american ones who know the manners and phisik constitution of our soldiers say that nothing is so comfortable as well made hutts.

"prudence orders me to choose Lancaster, but if the inconveniences I fear (without being able to know them) if those inconveniences I explain to your excellency are not as strong as they can be, if principally our civil situation ask from us something shining and perhaps bold then I give all my wishes and all my choice to willmington.

"THE MQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

"M. G."

#### OPINION OF BARON DE KALB.

"Rest, Recruiting & Cloathing being most necessary to the army I am of opinion that taking winter quarters at Willmington almost behind the Ennemy, will not answer the purpose, because every movements the Ennemies will make up Schuylkill river we must follow their motions or be cut off from our Stores, or forced to fight whether it will suit us or not. I am apprehensive this position will of necessity bring on a Winter Campaign.

"It appears to me, unless His Excellency has very strong reasons, to maintain Delawar State & part of Chester



County, that more tranquility & safety could be expected between Lancaster & Reading by building partly hutts for that purpose, if it is equally (as was observed by several Gentlemen) unavoidable to have hutts near & about Wilmington.

“BARON DE KALB.

“AT CAMP 1<sup>st</sup> X<sup>ber</sup> 1777.”

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

“Agreeable to your Excellency’s command I shall in a few words give my Sentiments with respect to the necessity of putting the troops into winter quarters and the properest place to canton them in.—Every one that views the Condition of the army and is acquainted with the severe duty they have gone through will readily agree that good warm comfortable quarters are necessary to supply the defect of cloathing, and that some relaxation is essential to give a proper tone to both men and Officers to prepare them for the ensuing campaign—In doing this we must have regard not only to the army, but the country.

“An army without a country is like an infant incapable of feeding or cloathing itself—Every part of the country whether Whigs or Tory that we suffer to be ravaged is a diminution of our strength, and an increase of theirs.—Men are essential in war, but provisions, cloathing and accoutrements are equally so.—The first and great object in cantoning the troops is to take a position secure from surprize; the next is covering; the third is a situation convenient for drawing forage and provisions for the subsistence of the army and the cattle belonging to it.—These are the great principles to be attended to in quartering the troops and cannot be dispensed with without certain and inevitable ruin to the whole military machine.—There are other secondary considerations such as covering the country and distressing the enemy in drawing their supplies; where a position can be found to answer all these valuable purposes is the object of enquiry.

“It is said by many that a total relaxation is necessary for





the good of the army—for enabling the officers to recruit their Reg<sup>ts</sup> and to give the men time to recover their spirits.—I must confess if I was to speak from my own feelings and declare my wishes instead of my sentiments, I should be of that opinion—Pleasure is ever agreeable to human nature, but never more so than after long and severe duty an opportunity to unbend the mind must be the wish of every one, and it is not very difficult to accommodate our reason<sup>s</sup> to our wishes; but whether a total or a partial relaxation will be for the general interest of the army is worth enquiring into.

“If we retire so far back as to be totally out of danger, pleasure and dissipation will be the consequence. Officers of all ranks will be desirous of visiting their friends—the men will be left without order, without government—and ten to one but the men will be more unhealthy in the spring than they now are, and much worse disciplined.—The health and discipline of troops can only be preserved by constant attention and exercise—we must not flatter ourselves that going into quarters will recover the health or discipline of the troops without regard is paid to one and attention to the other.

“It is said we must carry on war upon the great Scale, and that particular interest must not be brought in competition with the general interest and that by attending to the minutiae, we shall sacrifice the principle object. I readily agree that it is perfectly consistent with the maxims of sound policy for the lesser to give place to the greater—but is it necessary for us to throw open a great extent of country to give a necessary relaxation to the Army? It is the country that feeds, cloaths, and furnishes us with troops. If the subsistence of the Inhabitants is destroyed they will be incapable of giving us the necessary aid—if the army in the winter season leaves the country unprotected—will it not be a discouraging circumstance to sending recruits to join us—which will be a diminution of their local security, if they can expect no protection from the collective force.—I am no advocate for taking measures from popular opinions, but it is necessary to preserve the confidence of the country;



for by the union and spirit of the people alone can the opposition be continued.—

“The Legislator is in some measure under the necessity of accommodating his measures to the prejudices of the people—mankind will only be subservient to your purposes in proportion as they conceive their interest and happiness connected with your measures—I have heard it remarked that the sufferings of the army spread in all directions throughout the continent, alarms the people and prevents them from entering into the service.

“The same may be said with regard to the poor plundered inhabitants.—It is true the eyes of all the continent are upon us for protection—but it is natural for man to reason, what is my neighbours condition may by and by be mine.—

“If the army seems disposed to exert its force to shelter the country from ravage; it is natural to expect the people will be anxious to strengthen its hands; but if the enemy are left at liberty to ravage at large, and the inhabitants of our State make the condition of another their own, it will be an alarming consideration. Therefore I think some regard should be had in taking our measures to afford as much cover to the country as possible without militating with the principal design—not for the sake of the particular spot that is covered, but to prevent the disagreeable influence it will have upon the surrounding Inhabitants.

“I cannot conceive a total relaxation to be necessary to recruit the army, or recover its spirits. I am fully persuaded that recruiting by voluntary enlistments is in a great measure at an end. The enormous bounties that are given so far exceed the american funds, and the continental bounty now allowed falls so far short of private bounties, that few if any recruits are to be expected through that channel—If this be granted then the recruiting service will wholly depend upon the exertion of the civil authority of the respective States, and this exertion doubtless will be in proportion to the reputation and confidence the legislative bodies place in the army—For it cannot be expected from the local prejudices of mankind that the several legislative bodies will be will-





ing to strip themselves of their inhabitants, & lessen their own internal safety unless they are well persuaded the measure is essential to their own happiness and security.

“It is absolutely necessary the army should have an opportunity to relax and recover its spirits—but there is a great difference between constant duty and total relaxation—A proper medium between these two extremes will be found better adapted to restore the spirits of the army and preserve its discipline—We must be in a situation to take off that constant watching and yet not so remote from danger but that some attention to duty is necessary.

“Men are naturally apt to sink into negligence without there is something constantly to rouse their attention—The objects of pleasure are so much more inviting than those of Duty that without a restraint is laid on one and a necessity impress to attend to the other it is ten to one that the objects of Pleasure steal the mind wholly from the discharge of its duty.—I do not mean to urge these reasons for taking a position near the enemy to oblige us to be constantly on the watch but to shew that a total relaxation may be dangerous—Remember Hannibal’s army at Capua.—

“The general discontent among the officers of almost all ranks renders winter quarters essential to redress the prevailing grievances and new organize the army for the spring—but the fatigues and hardships of the campaign and the want of rest and relaxation are not the great sources of the discontent that prevails. It springs from a different fountain. It is the pay and subsistence which are found to be incompetent to the necessary demands of the officers to preserve their dignity and support their families.—This is the great evil and this must be remedied or else this army must and will dissolve.—There are some other things complained of—Such as, Rank, that military Jewel, being conferred on almost all orders of men to the disgrace of rank, and great mortification of officers who find themselves often reduced to a level with persons they despise, from the prostitution of military dignity.—

“The manner of cloathing the troops is a subject of com-



plaint.—There is no provision made proportionable to the demand of the army; and the difficulty of obtaining that which is provided has given great disgust to some and discontent to others.—These are some of the principal subjects of complaint—and a partial relaxation from military duty is necessary to put every thing in a proper train for opening the next campaign.

“It is necessary that an appearance should be kept up as much as possible of besieging the enemy, not only to cover the country, but to preserve the credit of our currency which will always rise and fall as our army appears superiour or inferior to the enemy. The enemy will also draw out of the country many recruits without they are kept within bounds.—All these are objects worthy our attention.

“There have been two plans proposed for cantoning the troops. One from Bethlehem to Lancaster, the other at Wilmington and it's environs.—There can be great objections raised to both.—It is said (with how much truth I know not) that all the back towns are crouded with inhabitants, refugees from Philadelphia; if that be true, to turn them out to make room for the Soldiery will bring great distress upon the inhabitants & be productive of no small discontent.—I have no doubt in my own mind but that there can be quarters procured in the proposed Line of cantonment from Bethlehem to Lancaster, but there appears to me to be many evils attending it.—It is a great distance back in the country and leaves the Enemy a great range in front and upon each flank. It must distress the back inhabitants. We shall be consuming the substance in the bowels of the country which should be always held as a reserve against a misfortune.—In withdrawing ourselves to so great a distance it will be improved abroad into a kind of dispersion into the mountains and among ourselves it will wear the complexion of a retreat, and many will be suing for Protection.

“I must confess however that, if safety and relaxation are the only objects under consideration, the geography of the country from Bethlehem to Lancaster is more favorable for a Cantonment than Wilmington—but I cannot help





thinking that quarters can be got at Wilmington with much less distress to the Inhabitants of the State—that the position will be secure enough with the force cantoned in and about it—That provision & forage can be got easier and cheaper in that position than in the other—in this Position we can draw it from the enemy while the other will leave it for them—that this gives us a better opportunity to protect the lower Jersey and not less the upper—that this will distress the enemy in drawing supplies—and upon the whole cover a greater extent of country than any other.—For these Reasons I am for the Position of Wilmington, and if any part of our stores are insecure I would immediately have them removed.—I would have about a brigade of continental Troops in the Jerseys and about one thousand militia between the Delaware & Schuylkill, and about a thousand more at or near the Gulph—and an advance post at Chester —of continental troops.

“NATH. GREENE

“M. G.”

OPINION OF LORD STIRLING.

“CAMP WHITE MARCH, Decem 1, 1777.

“SIR:

“In agitating the General Question which your Excellency put to the Council of General Officers yesterday, there arose three propositions as to the Stationing of this Army for the winter, all attended with very great Inconveniences. That of placing it at Wilmington does not answer the purpose of Quartering the Army, as the buildings in and about that place are not Capable of receiving above one third part of the Army; besides I think it is one of the most dangerous Scituations that I know of, for if the Enemy were to make a sudden movement and take post near Kennet Square or New Garden, our Army would have no Retreat, we should be reduced to the Necessity of fighting them, with the Delaware and two other Impassable Waters on our flanks and Rear. It is true it would cover the three lower Country's and part of Maryland from the Incursions of the Enemy by land, yet they would have what Commu-



nication they pleased with it by water, this advantage would therefore be trifling, & for it we should give up all Pensilvania & New Jersey, for the Enemy to Ravage at large; and put it in their power Effectually to Cut off our Communication with all the Country to the Eastward of Delaware River: these are reasons I think sufficient to Induce us to drop all thoughts of Quartering the Army at Wilmington. As to the plan of putting the Army into Huts in the Township of Tryduffrin in the great Valley, I must acknowledge it is a Scituation well Calculated for Covering Chester & Lancaster Counties, and for Checking any Attempts the Enemy may design against Maryland & the Lower Counties on the one side and a Great part of the Country between the Schuylkill and Delaware on the other, the Communication with Jersey and the Northern States will be preserved, the Encampment will be easily guarded as there is but one Way to approach it from Philadelphia; But it is still only an Encampment. It is not going into Winter Quarters, It is not procuring for the Officers and Men that Comfort and Opportunity of recruiting which they richly deserve after a long and fatiguing Campaign; these perhaps are not in our power to give them anywhere, and should that be the Case, this may be as good a Scituation to hut in as any; provision can be handily brought in from all Quarters, but how it is for forage I know not. The third proposal was to Canton the Army in the Towns of Reading and Lancaster and the Villages between them or in their Vicinity. If this is practicable I should like it best of any, as the Men would have a Chance of getting better refreshed than by either of the other two proposals; but it has been objected that it is impracticable, as those towns and Villages are already filled with persons who have fled to them for Refuge, and if it is so we must be Content. If the Safety and Comfort of the Army is principally to be Considered, they can Easily be Cantooned in the Towns in New Jersey which are in a great Measure deserted by the Inhabitants. But I think it is also of high Importance to Cover as much of the Country as we can; and that the position in the Valley will Cover





as much or more of the Country than any other that can be pointed out; the Enemy will never Venture out as far as Chester on that side, as we Can Cut them off by taking post at Darby, to which there is a direct Road; nor would they be fond of penetrating far to the Northward of Philadelphia, least we might pass a body of troops over between them and the Town. Upon the Whole I should be for hutting the Army somewhere in or near Tryduffrin, especially if it is so fine and Rich a Country as has been represented. I am &c.

“STIRLING.”

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

“CAMP AT W. MARCH 1<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>: 1777.

“MAY IT PLEASE Y<sup>r</sup> EXCEL<sup>y</sup>:

“I beg leave to recommend that as early as it may be safe, to make such movement, the Army may pass over the Scuikill & take for some time a position on that side.

“With respect to Winter Quarters for the Army—the longer I consider the measure pointed out in the back Villages of this State, the more inadmissable that step appears to be, as by the large latitude thereby given the enemy thro’ the winter & early part of the spring, every doleful & pernicious consequence must be expected—The hearts of good-men thro’ all the States depressed, and this State in particular, little less than sacrificed to the whole without real necessity! Amongst the innumerable evils resulting from that situation, the imposition of the Oaths of Allegiance & an end to Government & the future aids of the Militia thro’ great part of the State, must inevitably follow.

“I’m therefore of Opinion that in proper time, part of your Army take possession of Wilmington, and the Residue form a Chain from thence to Downingtown & perhaps to White Horse on the Lancaster road, at these two some Cover may be had, & Hutts with some use of Houses in the intermediate space—these are the best outlines that appears to me, which may be corrected and better determined when



the Army is on that Side. And am with perfect respect y<sup>r</sup> Excellency's Most Obed<sup>t</sup> humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“JOHN ARMSTRONG.

“P.S.—I hear that some part of the Bridge is already broken or carried off. G<sup>t</sup> Potter is not yet come over, I suppose owing to the bad weather. I expect him today.

“J: A.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAXWELL.

“SIR :

“Agreeable to your Excellency's request of last evening, that we should give our opinion concerning the most eligible place for Quartering or incamping the Troops during the winter. As much has been said on the Subject of Quartering in different places some with a view of covering the Country, & others for recovering, recruiting, and gathering the Troops together, for another Campaign, and to ly at such a distance from the Enemy that they were not liable to be harrassed by them during the winter. If covering the Country is your Excellency's chiefest object I would recommend that our army should be moved to the west side of Schoolkil, at the distance of about 30 miles from Phil<sup>a</sup> with our left tolerable near that River, leaving a party of observation on the East side; and there Hutt in the most convenient place. But if the other part viz the refreshing and recruiting our Army be your Excellency's chief object in that case I would recommend that our Army should retire back in the Country on a line from Reading to Lancaster and in the Neighbourhood of that line, and try to collect all our scattered Troops of every sort near the main body, and take every Method in our power to get the Reg<sup>ts</sup> filled up during the winter, and those well cloathed we have. If the last proposition takes place I would recommend that a party of observation be stationed one on the West S., the other on the East side of Schoolkill to prevent the Enemys partys from penetrating far into the Country.

“Likewise a party should be sent into New Jersey to





relieve the Militia there who has been a long time on duty & to give them an opportunity to fill up their Quotas in the Continental line. Those Troops might return in the Spring as soon as the roads was fit for traveling on, should it be thought necessary. This last Scheme I prefer to the first—and am your Excellencys Most Obedient Humble Servant

“W<sup>m</sup> MAXWELL.

“WHITE MARSH the 1<sup>st</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1777.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SMALLWOOD.

“CAMP, Decem<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

“SIR

“The Distresses of the Army, the Inclemency of the weather, & the approaching Season, combine to point out the Expediency of fixing on Winter Quarters; and in doing this all local Attachment ought to be sacrificed to the Public Good, to reduce the Enemy, & free ourselves, I wou’d chearfully resign myself to a Den the ensuing & many other Seasons if found necessary.—Three Positions have been pointed out—from Bethlehem to Lancaster—the Valley in *Hutts*—& Wilmington—three Capital Objects are in view—The Health & Security, the Discipline of the Army—and the support and covering the Country—the first Position would be incompetent to any other than the first of these Objects. The second wou’d not amply admit of, or be adequate to any other than the second Object, for it woud impair the men’s Health, & leave not only the Jerseys, but also the Delaware Government & Eastern Shore of Maryland open, which the Enemy woud avail themselves of, & get fully suppli’d this Season.—The Third tho it does not fully coincide with our Views, yet in a more enlarged & general Degree, it answers the Object of our wishes, more than the preceeding or any other Position I know of under our present circumstances—I woud recommend sending the sick to the first mentioned Position, but I am strongly impressed that the hail & active part of the army ought to take post at Wilmington, to awe, & perhaps annoy the enemy, or at least



prevent and deter them from taking possession of, or drawing their supplies from such an extensive Tract of Country as either of the other Positions than Wilmington wou'd lay open to them—Wilmington & its vicinage will cover more Troops, & is more compact, may annoy the Enemy, will obstruct them, & cover more of the Country than any other Position I am acquainted with under our present Situation, & will admit of Exercise & manœuvring (from the compact station) upon as large a Scale & as often as may be necessary, & with respect to insecurity against surprise think no Post within a Night's March of the Delaware below Philad<sup>a</sup> cou'd be rendered more secure—a Post that's perfectly secure is eligible, but I am induced to think it wou'd have a bad Tendency on our Army. Officers of all Ranks & Denominations wou'd be going Home, their Importunities wou'd be irresistible, the Soldiers wou'd follow their Example, & if Furloughs were not granted, Desertion wou'd ensue, & in most Instances a Neglect of, & inattention to Discipline.

“Being Officer of the Day Time admits not of my enlarging more on this Subject; or adding further than that I have the Honor to be with great Respect, your Excellencys most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“W. SMALLWOOD.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

“PARK OF ARTILLERY, Dec<sup>r</sup> 1, 1777

“SIR,

“Your Excellency last evening referr'd to your General Officers the consideration of the position proper for Winter Quarters, and order'd us to give our opinions respectively on that subject.

“I shall be concise in my opinion, establishing the proposition that Winter Quarters are indispensably necessary for the Army in order to give it that rest and refreshment of which it stands much in need—to repair the Carriages of various kinds which are damag'd; to recruit the exhausted horses; to recruit and fill up the reg<sup>ts</sup>; to reform the army in some essential particulars, in a word to put the





army in all its branches on such a footing as to be able to take the field next Campaign with the greatest probability of Success.

“The King of Prussia says ‘the first object in Winter Quarters is Tranquility’—it is very evident if we take our Winter Quarters so near the enemy, as to be subject to frequent alarms and constant hard duty, we shall have but a small part of the present army to oppose to our enemies. Could a place be found about 30 miles distant from & North or N. W. of Philadelphia in which it was possible to quarter the troops, I should prefer it to a greater distance or different direction as by it we should be able to cover a greater extent of Country than by taking post at Wilmington or retiring so far back as Lancaster & Reading.

“Two Ideas present themselves in considering a place proper for Winter-quarters. The ease and safety of the troops and the covering the Country, thereby preventing the enemies deriving supplies from it. I consider the first the greater objects and all inferior ones should give place to them, and therefore give my opinion that the troops should at the time appointed retire into Winter Quarters, the right of the Cantonment to be at Lancaster & the left at Reading, provided a sufficiency of houses and good cover can be procur’d there—an officer of reputation on whose veracity your Excellency could rely can easily ascertain this matter.—parties of 500 or 600 to be kept out on command advanc’d 30 or 40 miles, under the command of active partizan Officers who should be directed to be constantly moving about to prevent the enemy making any disposition to surprize them.

“Advantages may by these means be taken of any smaller detachments sent out by the enemy—indeed the militia of the State may be kept considerably advanc’d, they being light troops, will cover the Country & be but in little danger of being surpriz’d.

“If the Cover in the range from Lancaster to Reading should be found to be insufficient, I should be for hutting the whole army about 30 miles distant from Philadelphia,



in some position which should have the Schuylkill about 10 or 12 miles on the right or left—the goodness of the position to determine this. General Muhlenberg mention'd a position which comes within this description which perhaps on examination might be found to be proper.

“I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

“Your Excellencies most obedient Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

“HENRY KNOX,

“*B. G. Artillery.*”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL POOR.

“Monday, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1777

“SIR,

“in answer to the questions propos'd yesterday, Respecting the Quartering Army this winter I am clear of apoinyen that the grait Object is to secure our men from the Inclemency of the wather Incres our numbers Dissapline our men and make our Army as Formadable as possible that we may be able to take the field early in the Spring.

“I am not acquainted with this Country so as to point out the most sutiable place—by Information do think that the line from Lankester to Reading is the most Elagable of the three places mention'd. I am Sir your most obedient Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“ENOCH POOR, B. Gen<sup>l</sup>.”

(To be continued.)





CAPTAIN THOMAS HOLME, SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF  
PENNSYLVANIA AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILLOR.

BY OLIVER HOUGH.

(Continued from page 131.)

As already mentioned, when Thomas Holme first arrived in Pennsylvania, he and his family, consisting of two sons and two daughters, lived at Shackamaxon. After the city was laid out in 1682, he built a house on his lot at the northwest corner of Front and Mulberry (now Arch) Streets, and lived there until 1688. Mulberry Street was first called Holme Street, for Thomas Holme, but the name was changed to Mulberry by Penn. On a part of this lot farther up Front Street, sold by Holme to the trustees appointed by the Friends' Meeting, the Bank Meeting-House was built in 1685; Thomas Holme was one of those appointed by the meeting, 11th mo. 9, 1683/4, to select the site for the meeting-house, the others being John Songhurst, Thomas Wynne, and Griffith Owen. This was a fine situation for a residence; the lot was a wide one, and as there were no buildings between Holme's house and the meeting-house, nor on the east side of Front Street, it commanded an uninterrupted view of the river. In 1688, Thomas Holme went to England; he must have gone over in September, for on the 4th of that month he signed a deed in Philadelphia, while his new commission as Surveyor-General, dated October 14, 1688, speaks of him as being then abroad. For a short time before he left he was living on his plantation of Well-Spring, in Dublin Township, Philadelphia County; and on his return, probably about the end of 1689, he again resided there. About October, 1690, he again went to England; before leaving he gave letters of attorney to his son-in-law Silas Crispin and three others, and in several deeds made by them in 1691



he is spoken of as being in London. This time he stayed until 1694, and when he came back, went to live at Well-Spring, continuing there till his death, which occurred in March or April, 1695.

In his will, dated 12th mo. 10, 1694 (O.S.), he styles himself "of Dublin township in Philadelphia County, aged full seventie years;" it was admitted to probate April 8, 1695. To his daughter Eleanor Moss he gave power to dispose, at her decease, of "the one moiety of the £150 in the hands of Patrick Robinson," in compensation for her resignation to him of all her right in Well-Spring Plantation, provided that she gave the said moiety to one of her sister Hester Crispin's children. To the children of Richard Holcomb, by his daughter Sarah, thirty pounds, to be paid out of his one thousand acres beyond Hilltown, in Philadelphia County, when sold. To his niece Susannah James ten pounds for herself and children. To his granddaughter Sarah Crispin five hundred acres called Pyne-Spring Plantation, in the upper Dublin Township (not the present Upper Dublin<sup>1</sup>), Philadelphia County, to be enjoyed and possessed by her after the death of her parents Silas and Hester Crispin. To his granddaughters Rebecca and Marie Crispin one thousand acres "joining on this side of Hilltown," to be divided between them, his executor having power to convert it into money if he thought best. To his grandsons William and Thomas Crispin, when of age, fifty pounds apiece; and to his granddaughters Eleanor and Esther Crispin twenty pounds each, when of age or at marriage. To his kinsman John Fletcher, who came over with him

<sup>1</sup> On Holme's map there are two townships indicated in the area that was known as Dublin Township; the lower one was entirely included in what was afterwards Lower Dublin Township, while the upper was about half in the latter and half in what was afterwards Abington; they were generally known together as Dublin Township, though the upper one was sometimes called "the upper Dublin Township." The rest of the present Abington was then called Hilltown; the line between it and the present Upper Dublin was the same on Holme's map as it is now, and the latter was called Upper Dublin even in Holme's time. Pyne-Spring Plantation was in what is now Abington.





from England, two hundred acres, worth twenty pounds. To John Osborne, who came over with him, land to the value of ten pounds, when he had served out his time. He divided his household furniture, plate, etc., between his daughters Eleanor and Esther (Hester), and to Eleanor gave a colt that was at Well-Spring. He left ten pounds "for some charitable purpose in Dublin township, either a school or putting out the child of some honest man that was poor, to a trade or some honest way of livelihood." Silas Crispin was appointed executor, with Patrick Robinson to advise him.

Before his death, Thomas Holme laid out an acre of land on the northeast side of his Susquehanna road, in the five-hundred-acre tract adjoining Well-Spring on the north and west, for a burying-ground for himself and family. Here he was buried and his descendants in the Crispin line for several generations; it has long been known as the Old Crispin Graveyard. The first burial there is said to have been of an assistant surveyor who came with Holme from England. This plot always remained in possession of the Crispin family, all deeds to surrounding lands expressly stipulating that it was excepted from the sale. Thomas Holme's grave, northeast of the centre, was marked only by a large, round, unlettered stone, but each generation of the Crispins pointed it out to the succeeding one; nearly all the other graves in the plot had at least initials on the stones. In November, 1863, the trustees of the Lower Dublin Academy (which was founded on Thomas Holme's bequest for school purposes) appointed three of their number—Samuel C. Willits, Charles W. Harrison, and Benjamin Crispin—a committee to erect a monument over Thomas Holme's grave. They replaced the old stone by a marble shaft about eight feet high. The ground is still reserved, though the last burial there was in 1863.

Thomas Holme's bequest of ten pounds for school or other charity was not carried out by his executor; but in 1723, when part of Well-Spring Plantation was divided among the heirs of Esther Crispin, a piece of ground,



roughly laid off for an acre and a half (a quarter acre from the share of each of the children), was set aside for a school-house lot in lieu of the money; a log school-house was built there about that time. In 1793 a charter was granted to the corporation known as "The Trustees of the Lower Dublin Academy," who assumed the direction of the school. In 1801 they built the present stone building; the old log structure is now part of the janitor's residence. In 1842 the trustees leased the school-house to the Public School Directory of Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup> The income from this lease accumulated in the hands of the trustees, as they had no expenses, and in 1880 they devoted the surplus to founding and maintaining "The Thomas Holme Free Library of Holmesburg."

Thomas Holme married before he came to Pennsylvania, but his wife's name is not known; she probably died before 1682, as she did not come to America with her husband. Their children were:

SARAH HOLME, married Richard Holcombe; neither she nor her husband are known to have come to Pennsylvania; they had children, mentioned in her father's will, but their names are not given.

MICHAEL (?) HOLME, died without issue, before his father. (Michael Holme was a witness to the will of Joseph Moss, 1687.)

TRYALL (?) HOLME, died without issue, before his father. On Thomas Holme's map the name of Tryall Holme is on the tract called Pyne-Spring Plantation. Tryall Holme was a witness to a deed of June 7, 1684, from Richard Mettamiconit to William Penn, for lands on both sides of Pennepack Creek; also to the deed of July 30, 1685, for lands between the Chester and Pennepack Creeks; and to a deed of 9th mo. 3, 1685, from Thomas Holme to

<sup>1</sup> Samuel C. Willits, one of the trustees, who lived on the estate of "Longford," wrote a history of the Lower Dublin Academy, which the trustees expect to publish. Rev. S. F. Hotchkin, in his "Bristol Pike," has an account of the old graveyard and the academy, taken from Willits's manuscript.





Nicholas More, for eighty acres of liberty land on Cohocksink Creek. (Thomas Holme brought two sons to Pennsylvania, who both died, without issue, before him; there is very good reason to suppose that their Christian names were as above.)

ELEANOR HOLME, came to Pennsylvania with her father. On Holme's map her name is on the part of Well-Spring southwest of the Pennepack; by an agreement made January 14, 1694/5, she surrendered to her father all her right in that plantation, he putting one hundred and fifty pounds at interest for her, in the hands of Patrick Robinson; he mentions this sum in his will. Eleanor married, first, Joseph Moss, by whom she had no issue. By his will, dated 7th mo. 23, 1687, Joseph Moss, "now of Well-Spring," left all his estate and anything that might be due him from any one in Europe or America to his wife Eleanor, whom he named his executrix; the witnesses were Michael Holme and Thomas Holme. She married, second, Joseph Smallwood, and had one daughter, Sarah.<sup>1</sup> They had a dispute with Silas Crispin as to the division of Thomas Holme's estate; after an arbitration, Crispin had one thousand acres of Holme's unsurveyed lands laid off near Germantown, and conveyed it to them; they sold it to John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia.

ESTHER HOLME (usually written Hester) came to Pennsylvania with her father. She married, 1683, Silas Crispin, son of Captain William Crispin, formerly of the English

<sup>1</sup> Sarah, only child of Joseph and Eleanor Smallwood, married, first, John Thomas, of Philadelphia County, at Christ Church, Philadelphia, February 8, 1720; she married, second, — Winthrop Westcomb, and went to Baltimore County, Maryland, where he probably lived previously; after his death she lived in Passyunk Township, Philadelphia County, probably with her cousin Sarah Hannis (granddaughter of Esther Crispin). While living there, on January 14, 1745/6, she executed a release, as only child and heiress of Eleanor (Holme) Smallwood, to the heirs of her aunt Esther (Holme) Crispin of all her right to any part of Thomas Holme's estate undevise by his will, especially Well-Spring Plantation. She is not known to have had any children by either husband.



navy, and one of the Proprietary's Commissioners for settling the colony in Pennsylvania. She died April 17, 1696, and her husband May 31, 1711. They lived on Silas Crispin's plantation in Dublin Township, northeast of the Pennepack Creek. They had eight children, six of whom survived their parents, and inherited the greater part of Well-Spring. Silas Crispin was executor of Thomas Holme's will. After Esther's death he married Mary, widow of Thomas Shinn and daughter of Richard Stockton, of Burlington, West New Jersey, by whom he had several children.

In March, 1681, Holme bought from William Penn five thousand acres of land in Pennsylvania. In 1686 he bought the same amount from Samuel Clarridge, who was an original purchaser from Penn; and in 1688 he bought one thousand acres from Richard Crossley, also a first purchaser. He thus had a right of eleven thousand acres of land in the Province. By the terms Penn made with the first purchasers he was entitled to have two per cent. of this, or two hundred and twenty acres, in the "liberty lands" adjoining the city, and to have four whole lots and two one-fifth lots in the city. A good deal of this remained untaken up at his death, but his executor Silas Crispin obtained warrants for most of the balance.

The most important of his tracts was his plantation called Well-Spring, containing one thousand six hundred and forty-six acres, in Dublin Township, Philadelphia County. This tract extended entirely across the lower part of the township, from Oxford Township to Moreland; it was divided into two parts by the centre line of Dublin Township, laid out by Holme, and called by him Susquehanna Street or Road.<sup>1</sup> The southwest portion, which was much the larger, Holme intended for his daughter Eleanor,

<sup>1</sup> This road was never opened through Dublin Township, though it is mentioned in the deeds to lands adjoining it, being a very convenient boundary, although purely imaginary; all the original tracts laid out in this township ran from this line to the outer boundaries, about a mile and a half distant on either side. In Abington and Upper Dublin Townships a road was opened very early, on the continuation of this line, which is still in use.





and on his map it bears her name; but she afterwards released her right in it to her father; the northeast or smaller portion bears Holme's own name on the map. The Pennepack Creek ran through the larger part, and that part of it lying southwest of the creek covered the site of Holmesburg. The village was not named for Thomas Holme, but for the family of John Holme, not known to be related to Thomas, into whose possession this part of the land passed at a later date. The school-house lot laid off in 1723 was situated on the lower boundary of the smaller portion of Well-Spring. Adjoining this smaller portion on the northwest, and separated from the larger part of the plantation only by the imaginary road, was a tract of five hundred acres belonging to Holme, which was not considered part of Well-Spring, although it lay in an angle formed by the two parts of the latter. On Holme's map it is marked "Samuel Clarridge," and was laid out as part of his purchase, transferred to Holme. The burying-ground was located on this tract, on the line of Susquehanna Road.

Holme had a tract of one thousand acres in Hilltown Township, Philadelphia County (now Abington Township, Montgomery County), lying between the road and Moreland; on his map it bears the names of Trial Holme and Daniel Heaphy, the latter having bought the lower half from Holme. The upper half is mentioned in Holme's will as Pyne-Spring Plantation. He also had a tract of two thousand five hundred acres partly in Hilltown and partly in Upper Dublin Township, which the map gives as Clarridge's; this is mentioned in his will, part of it being left to the children of his daughter Sarah, and to his grandchildren Rebecca and Marie Crispin. He also had one thousand acres farther out on the upper boundary of Upper Dublin Township, marked "Richards & Arbury" on the map, which was probably a misprint for "Richard Crossley," in whose name it was taken up.

Of his smaller tracts, one was his plantation of six hundred acres in Byberry, called Shaftsburie Plantation, which he sold in 1685 to Nicholas Rideout; it had a large frontage



on Poquessing Creek; on the map it bears Rideout's name. Another was a triangular piece of land of one hundred and twenty acres in Oxford Township, adjoining the southwest part of Well-Spring. Another was taken up for six hundred and sixty acres in Bristol Township, Bucks County, on Neshaminy Creek, running back along the line of Middletown Township; a re-survey showed this to contain only five hundred and seventy-four acres. Another was five hundred acres on the Schuylkill River, on the line of Limerick Creek; this was taken up by Holme's executor to satisfy certain gifts he had made to his servants. He also had two hundred and seventy-five acres in Newtown Township, Chester County, thirty acres of which were in the townstead; and two hundred and fifty acres in Darby Township, in the same county.

Holme's liberty lands amounted to one hundred and eighty-eight acres, instead of the two hundred and twenty he was entitled to; this was due partly to a change in Penn's concessions to settlers and partly to Holme's selling and buying rights before the land was laid out. He had one nearly triangular tract of eighty acres on Cohocksink Creek, about a mile and a quarter up from its mouth, and fronting on the creek about half a mile; it was situated in the region now between Oxford and Dauphin Streets and Eighth and Thirteenth Streets. Another of eight acres was on Wingohocking Creek, about half a mile above its junction with Frankford Creek; it was opposite the present Greenmount Cemetery. Holme also had twenty-eight acres adjoining this last tract, but not on the creek. These three tracts are shown on Reed's map of the liberties.

Holme's principal city lot was the one his residence stood on, at the corner of Front and Mulberry Streets. It ran from Front four hundred and twenty-six feet along Mulberry to Second Street, and one hundred and two feet on Front and Second. This lot carried with it a wharf property on the east side of Front Street.<sup>1</sup> He had another lot

<sup>1</sup> The patent for the land on the river side called for one hundred and two feet on the east side of Front Street, and gave a privilege of extend-





on the northwest corner of Sixth and High Streets, one hundred and thirty-two feet on High and three hundred and six feet on Sixth Street.

In right of his purchase from Crossley, he had two one-fifth lots; one of these was on the northeast corner of Front and Chestnut Streets, the whole lot being No. 20 on the plan. Holme evidently got the best choice in the partition among the five owners, as he secured the corner; his part had twenty feet on Front Street, and ran back three hundred and ninety-six feet along Chestnut to Second Street. This also carried with it a water front across Front Street. The other one-fifth lot was on High Street, beginning one hundred and forty-four and one-half feet west of Fifth; it had twenty-six feet on High Street and ran back three hundred and six feet. The two whole lots belonging to Holme in right of Samuel Clarridge's purchase were originally laid out on the Schuylkill end of the city. As this part of the plan was changed soon after it was made, these could not have remained the same; it is probable that Holme never took them up.

ing two hundred and fifty feet into the Delaware River. It specified that Holme was to leave a public cartway thirty feet wide along the bank; this is no doubt where the present Water Street runs. Holme was also to leave out a proportional part of the width of his bank lot, so that in the centre between Mulberry and Sassafras (Race) Streets there might be made a public stair down from the east side of Front Street.



THE FRONTIER FORTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.<sup>1</sup>

These volumes embody the result of the investigations of a Commission appointed by the Governor under an Act of Assembly, passed in 1893, providing for ascertaining the sites of the Provincial forts. Their publication will prove a very important aid to the study of our Provincial history. They are valuable not only because they tell us why the Provincial map of the State along the Blue Mountains and on the frontier farther westward is dotted with fortified posts to secure each eligible position, and because they tell us what service these posts rendered, but also because they refute the commonly received opinion that the Quakers, who were supposed to have held a majority in the Assembly prior to the Revolution, refused to erect forts or raise troops for the defence of the inhabitants of the frontier against the hostile French and Indians. It is time that the truth in this matter should be known, and we may well forgive the poor printing and the still poorer binding in which the result of the labors of this Commission is preserved in consideration of the great value of the material for our State history, which it for the first time has made accessible.

It would appear from these volumes that, so far from the Province having been defenceless during the French and Indian wars, that there were erected during the campaigns of 1755-58, and that of 1763 (Pontiac's war), no less than two hundred and seven forts, large and small, on the frontier by the order and at the expense of the Assembly of the Province, and that these were garrisoned by troops in its pay.

This statement is so greatly at variance with that made in a petition presented in 1756 to the English Board of Trade and signed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Phil-

<sup>1</sup> "Report of the Commission to Locate the Sites of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania." Two volumes. State Printer, 1896.





adelphia, which asserts that the Colony was then in "a naked and defenceless state, and that it had not armed a single man, nor at the public expense provided a single fortification," that it calls for a careful scrutiny.

The Governor appointed a Commission, under the Act, of men of high character, who from long experience had become experts in business of this sort, and whose investigations might bear the stamp of official verity. These gentlemen were John M. Buckalew, Sheldon Reynolds, Henry M. M. Richards, J. G. Weiser, and George Dallas Albert. They divided the territory for exploration and survey into five distinct sections. They seem to have been most careful in their search for the sites of the forts, each one having had charge of the account of a distinct portion of the territory occupied by these posts, and each has given the story not merely of the location, size, and character of the forts in his district, but also of the circumstances which made them memorable by their connection with the defence of the frontier. Of the more important forts, as well as of many of the block-houses and their surroundings, elaborate plans and maps are given, so that nothing is wanting to enable us to form a correct idea of the chain of posts which guarded the frontier and their dependence upon each other, and the manner in which, when in charge of competent garrisons, they served as barriers to the incursions of the savages. It will be observed, on examining these maps, that this chain of forts formed two distinct barriers to an enemy coming from the west, the outer one guarding what was the frontier against the French, in 1763, along the east bank of the Ohio (Allegheny) River from Kittanning to the southwestern corner of the State, and the other extending along the Kittatinny Hills, or Blue Mountains, from Easton to the Susquehanna at Harrisburg. The latter, or interior, line was specially intended to guard against Indian raids. Between the outer or western line and that on the Blue Mountains was another chain of forts, of which the principal were Lowther at Carlisle, Morris and Franklin at Shippensburg, Granville at Lewistown, Shirley and Littleton at Bed-



ford, and Loudoun in Franklin County. The frontier was thus guarded by these three lines in Pontiac's war in 1763, and, although the posts were in reasonable proximity to each other, it was found impossible, notwithstanding the efforts of their garrisons, to prevent many murders by the Indians of the inhabitants scattered around them. Other colonies besides Pennsylvania were, unfortunately, in the same condition. Virginia lost more by Indian murders than ourselves, and, with all their efforts, the inhabitants on the New England frontiers suffered greatly, as is well known, from scalping Indians.

The Indian war broke out shortly after Braddock's defeat, in July, 1755, and the first murderous raids of the savages occurred at various times from October, 1755, and during the year 1756. The settlements along the Blue Mountains were, as we have said, very much scattered, and the miserable habitants fell victims to the merciless savages even when forts intended for their protection were not far distant from their habitations. The hope of their serving as places of refuge to those who were exposed had been one of the chief reasons for their establishment. The forts, in this respect, do not seem to have answered the expectations of those who erected them. It must not be forgotten that the incursions of the Indians which were on the most extensive scale and the most successful were made at points not far distant from some of the principal forts, the invaders not being deterred by the defence they presented. Thus, the attack upon the Harris party was made at a point not far from Fort Hunter; that upon Gnadenhütten, near Fort Allen and Fort Norris; and that upon Tulpehocken, at a point near Fort Northkill. At this time—that is, in the early part of the Indian war—the Province had two regiments, amounting to eleven hundred men, in commission,—the one commanded by Dr. Franklin, on the northeastern frontier, and the other by Conrad Weiser,—besides a large number of men composing the garrisons of the different posts. The cost of these fortifications on the frontier was said to have been more than eighty thousand pounds, and the equipment and subsistence





of the men necessarily a large sum. One reason, perhaps, of the ill success of the Provincial troops in protecting the inhabitants was the want of a proper discipline and training of the soldiers. It was the opinion of those who had had the longest experience in Indian warfare that the troops should not have been cooped up in garrisons, but should have been employed as rangers, and kept actively engaged in patrolling the exposed districts. The forts formed a barrier, however, which neither the French nor the Indians ever could pass so as to retain a permanent footing to the eastward. They seem to have failed in accomplishing the end for which they were built, owing to the peculiar mode of warfare adopted by the Indians.

The story of the employment of the Provincial troops and the methods which were adopted to secure money for their pay and subsistence forms one of the most interesting chapters in our Provincial history, and one which embodies, perhaps, more fully than any other the nature and outcome of the perpetual dispute between the Proprietary and the Assembly of the Province as to their respective rights and powers in the government of the Province. The unexpected result of Braddock's expedition had driven the inhabitants of the Province—not merely those on the frontier (at that time hardly more than a hundred miles from the chief city), but also throughout the whole Province—into a panic which demanded efficient and immediate armed protection. A controversy had long existed between the Governor (Morris) and the Assembly on fundamental questions in regard to their respective powers which it became necessary to settle without delay, in order to ascertain to which of the two departments of government—the executive or the legislative—the power of raising and equipping an army and of providing money for their pay and subsistence belonged. Of course, all parties agreed that something should be done to protect the inhabitants on the frontier made defenceless by the defeat of Braddock, and the only question between the Governor, supported by the Proprietary party, and those who opposed the measures proposed by him to prevent further incursions of



the Indians was, that the Governor proposed that the troops should form a Provincial militia, over which the Provincial authorities—that is, the Governor and his friends—should have complete control, especially in the appointment of all the officers, and that the money for their pay and equipment should be raised by a tax, from the payment of which the Proprietary estates should be exempted; while their opponents contended that the military force should be composed of volunteers, and that the tax imposed to raise money to support them should be levied upon all the estates in the Province, those of the Proprietaries *not* excepted.

The defeat of Braddock occurred on the 10th of July, 1755. On the arrival of the news at Philadelphia, the Governor, on July 26, convened the Assembly. On the second day of the session the Assembly granted an aid to the Crown of fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by a tax upon all the estates in the Province, including those of the Proprietaries. The Governor insisted that the latter should be exempt, but the Assembly was obstinate, resting upon its rights under the charter, and insisting that it taxed the Proprietaries' estates as private and not as official property. These discussions caused great delay. Various schemes were proposed to induce the Governor to agree to the action of the Assembly, when, on November 22, 1755, the Proprietaries in England having sent word that if the Assembly would refrain from taxing their estates they would make the Province a present of five thousand pounds, the bill granting fifty thousand pounds for the use of the Crown and exempting the Proprietary estates from taxation was at last passed. It would appear, therefore, that the Assembly was perfectly willing to vote a general tax for this purpose, but that the Proprietaries—by far the largest private landholders in the Province—had instructed their Governor not to agree to any laws, no matter how essential to the safety of the Province they might be, by which the returns from their lands might be lessened.

At the same time was passed "An act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of





being united for military purposes." This act was also very distasteful to the Governor, who desired that a compulsory militia bill should be enacted giving him the sole power of the appointment of the officers and of the disbursement of the money provided for military purposes. However, the Assembly persisted, and the Governor was obliged to depend upon such a military force as the Assembly could be induced to give him. We are told in the petition, to which we have referred, of certain members of the Proprietary party in Pennsylvania, which was argued before the Lords of Trade on the 26th of February, 1756, that notwithstanding these acts adopted by the Assembly, "that Pennsylvania is the only one of the Colonies which has not armed a single man, nor at the public expense provided a single fortification to shelter the unhappy inhabitants from the continual inroads of a merciless enemy." This statement is the basis of the old calumny against the Assembly. And yet on the *3d of February, 1756*, Governor Morris, the deputy and agent of the Penns during the whole course of this dispute, sent a message to the Assembly in which he says "that everything possible (of course by virtue of these acts) had been done for the security of the Province, that a chain of forts and block-houses extending from the River Delaware along the Kittatinny Hills to the Maryland line was then almost complete, that they were placed at the most important passes, at convenient distances, and were all garrisoned with detachments in the pay of the Province, and he believed, in case the officers and men posted in them did their duty, they would prove a protection against such parties as had hitherto appeared on their borders."

And yet the Board of Trade had the hardihood to declare that the measures taken by the Assembly for the defence of the Province were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual! It may be that the persons who signed this petition, when they affixed their names to it, sincerely believed that the state of the Province was so deplorable that it justified the request made in the petition that the Quakers should be disqualified from sitting any longer as members of the



Assembly, because they would not vote for warlike measures; but on the 26th of February, 1756, when the Penns, their agents and lawyers in London, must have known that the allegations in the petition had been proved false by the event, it is hard to understand what defence can be made for imposing such absurd falsehoods on the Board of Trade.

The Board, misled by such statements, was forced to conclude "that there was no cause to hope for other measures while the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military service." This allegation, equally unfounded with that concerning the inadequacy of the measures adopted by the Assembly for the defence of the Province, leads to the inquiry how far the Quakers were concerned in the legislation of that period.

While many Quakers have, as is well known, conscientious scruples against bearing arms for any purpose, yet it is equally well known that on many occasions in the history of the Province they voted, while members of the Assembly, large sums for the "King's use,"—that is, for purposes more or less of a military character. At this particular crisis they voted for the "Supply Bill" granting fifty-five thousand pounds; ten thousand pounds to supply General Braddock's forces, and the same sum to be expended in provisions for the New York and New England forces under General Shirley at Crown Point. Although the Quakers did not hesitate to proclaim their well-known principles in regard to war at this time, and although they had a very deep conviction of the wrong done to the Delawares and Shawanees by the Proprietary government, they were not able to induce the Assembly to adopt their views, that body having indefinitely postponed a proposition to delay, at least, a war against these tribes. It is not to be forgotten, too, that it was owing to the kindly intervention and conciliation of these people that peace with the Indians was at last secured. But the conduct of the Quakers, for another reason, deserves credit rather than reproach from those who urged that the Indians should be crushed by force of arms.





A number of them voluntarily quitted their seats in the Assembly of 1756. The most scrupulous among them did not desire to be concerned in the war declared by the Governor against the Delawares and Shawanees, but they were not disposed to obstruct military measures in time of war. Hence a number of them voluntarily gave up their seats in 1756, others requested their friends not to vote for them at the ensuing election; nor did any Quaker stand as a candidate or request any one to vote for him at that election. Four Quakers were nevertheless chosen, but they refused to serve. The result was that in a House composed of thirty-six members, there were but twelve Quakers, and they held the opinion that the government should be supported in defence of the country; so that the Quaker majority in the Assembly was then lost and, it may be added, was never regained.

Such is the true story of the line of defence along the Blue Mountains which our fathers established for the protection of those who dwelt on the frontiers. We have not space here to give an account of the forts in the western part of the State, which is the less needed because of the admirable history of them contained in the second volume of this book. We trust that we have shown that our fathers did not allow their fellow-subjects on the frontier to perish by Indian raids for want of such aid as their money could give them, and that the Quakers especially are chargeable with no such cold-blooded cruelty.



South Carolina Association. From the Ford Collection.

[Ms. is by Henry Laurens, President of the  
Council of Safety.]

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A .

**T**HE actual Commencement of Hostilities against this Continent—the Threats of arbitrary Impositions from Abroad, —and the Dread of instigated Insurrections at Home,—are Causes sufficient to drive an oppressed People to the Use of Arms: We, therefore, the Subscribers, Inhabitants of this unhappy Colony, holding ourselves bound by that most sacred of all Obligations, the Duty of good Citizens towards an injured Country, and thoroughly convinced that under our present distressed Circumstances, We shall be justified before God and Man, in resisting Force by Force; do unite Ourselves, under every Tie of Religion and of Honour, and associate as a Band in her Defence against every Foe. And we do solemnly promise, that whenever her Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, We will go forth, and be ready to sacrifice our Lives and Fortunes, in attempting to secure her **FREEDOM and SAFETY.**

In General Committee  
Proposed in General Committee &  
Unanimously approved of to be recommended  
Thursday 11<sup>th</sup> May 1775. in Provincial Congress as proper to be signed by the  
Inhabitants of this Province





# THE SOUTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION.

The following papers relating to the Association of South Carolina are from the collection of manuscripts made by Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn, New York, and known as the Ford Collection. The ravages of time and war have left so little of the manuscript material of the Southern States that any contribution is welcome; and it is unusual to find a number of connected documents relating to one measure or incident. The Association, reproduced in *fac-simile*, was adopted by the Council of Safety, and was intended to be circulated among the local divisions of the Colony for signatures. This copy must have been at one time a part of the records of the Council, for Laurens was the President of the Council, and his memorandum fixes the date and inception of the Association.

The following letters are of interest in that they determine who printed the Association :

## TIMOTHY TO LAURENS.

"SIR,

"By your Servant I send two Copies of the Orders—and am writing off the third—for I could get no assistance.

"The Association would have also been done, could I have got the third Proof corrected before Candle-Light—but as it is, it cannot be done before Tomorrow morning. This has been a most troublesome Undertaking, for I could in the same Time have done Ten times as much other Work.

"If you have Occasion for the third Copy of Orders, it will be ready by the Time your Servant can return, and I am

"Your most obed<sup>t</sup> hum<sup>b</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

"PET<sup>r</sup> TIMOTHY.

"Friday Evening

"Excuse this being open, having no wafer at Hand, and I would lose no Time."

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"Peter Timothy presents his Compliments to Col. Laurens—had already (before the Servant came) delivered the third Copy of Orders, to Col. Thomson, who calld for it himself and said he would give it to Col. Laurens.



"The address to Col. Fletchall stands on my book '*Thomas Fletchall, Esqr. in Camden District*,' but I believe the District is wrong.

"All the printed Association Papers are in the Speaker's Desk.

"I most heartily wish you Success, in your Effort

To render Fletchall  
As zealous as St. Paul.

"Is not some Order omitted relative to the Letter now sent by

"Your most obedt. Servt

"PET<sup>r</sup> TIMOTHY."

As there was a risk, in signing the Association, of trial for treason against the King should the British conquer, and an equal risk, in not signing, of persecution at the hands of the "Good People" of the Colony, the following papers were submitted to the members of the General Committee. I am unable to identify the writer of any of the three, but believe Pinckney to have prepared Numbers I. and II.

#### I.

"I.....do solemnly swear, that I will not, directly or indirectly, disclose or discover any Part of the Speeches, Debates, Votes, or Proceedings that shall happen in this Committee, relative to any Person or Persons having refused to subscribe the Association, unless Leave is first obtained from the General Committee for so doing."

#### II.

"*Resolved*, That whosoever shall be reported to the General Committee, to have refused to sign the Association entered into by this Congress; the said General Committee shall forthwith cause such Person to appear before them, and upon his repeated Refusal to associate, or not offering such Reasons in Justification of his Refusal as shall be satisfactory, the Gen<sup>l</sup> Com<sup>ee</sup> are directed to make such Order as they shall think consistent with sound Policy."

#### III.

"I.....do voluntarily and solemnly swear, upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that during the present unhappy dispute between Great Britain and America, I will not, directly or indirectly, by Deed, Word or Writing, attempt to counteract or oppose the proceedings of the People of North America, and particularly those of this my Native Country. So help me God."





When the English did come in force into the Colony, measures were taken against those who signed the Association, and the following advertisement (in manuscript) shows that the "Good People" must have passed through severe trials in trying to keep alive and free in the various changes of masters.

"We do hereby Desire and Require By virtue of the Kings Proclamation and the Governors Authority to us derected, all Persons who have signed the Association to Appear before us and take the Oaths of Allegence if they do they may Expect Peace and Safety all in Friendship from their humble Servants.

"JOSEPH ROBINSON

"P. CUNNINGHAM.

"SALUDA RIVERS"

"Major Robinson & Cap<sup>t</sup> Cunningham Considering the distance for poor People has Appointed us to Receive their Names till persons be properly Quallified to Administer the Oaths of Allegence to them from their hble Sev<sup>ts</sup>

"P. HAWKINS

"DANIEL JONES."

"Notice is given to the Publick that Cap<sup>t</sup> Paeris has made Oath and also Proved that the Council of Safety att Charles Town has been In-deavering to bring the Indians on the White People which proof I have to shew any Person who desires to see it from their hble sev<sup>ts</sup>

"P. HAWKINS."



A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

(Continued from Vol. XIX. p. 517.)

1799.

- 418. Peter P. Walter of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Mary  
Reiley of Bedford, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 2.
- 419. W<sup>m</sup> Paul & Eliza. Jenkins, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 3.
- 420. Benjamin Bray & Hannah Pancas,  
(Blacks) Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> on  
Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 10.
- 421. W<sup>m</sup> Moore & Sarah Christie,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 27.
- 422. Thomas Perkins of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Sarah  
Robinson of Naaman's Creek, State  
of Delaware, Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 25.
- 423. James Houston & Ann Watkins,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 25.
- 424. George R. Lawton & Ann Pole,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 7.
- 425. William Ward & Elizabeth Grible,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> March 10.
- 426. Henry O Neill of Baltimore and  
Elizabeth Bickerton of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
Evening March 24.
- 427. Robert Hamilton of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Jesse  
McNaughton of Cumberland C<sup>y</sup> Pennfa.  
Monday Even<sup>s</sup> March 25.
- 428. Philip Taylor of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Prudence  
Speechy of Burlington, New Jersey,  
Tuesday Evening, March 26.





429. Isaac Moore & Miriam Wells,  
Both of Montgomery County, Pennfa.  
Monday April 1.
430. James Bartlett & Mary Snyder,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Even<sup>s</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 1.
431. W<sup>m</sup> Gabb & Rebecca Wills,  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, Pennfylv<sup>a</sup>  
Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> April 9.
432. Mark Thomson & Ann Mc  
Carman, Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> April 9.
433. William Copeland & Martha  
Wallace, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 18.
434. Robert Sharp & Charlotte Thomson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 3.
435. Abraham Phillips & Mary Ryan,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 9.
436. Cornelius McLean of New York &  
Elizabeth Espey of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Evening,  
May 11.
437. Nathaniel Walton & Elizabeth Brels-  
ford, Both of Bristol, Penn<sup>a</sup>—Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup>  
May 21.
438. Benjamin Free & Amey Wolverton,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 6.
439. Honore Duon, Native of France,  
& Elizabeth Morris, of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Mond<sup>y</sup>  
Evening June 10.
440. Elisha Brotherton & Elizabeth  
Wright, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 10.
441. James Brotherton of Phil<sup>a</sup> &  
Ann Condon of Lamberton, N. Jersey,  
Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 13.
442. Francis L. Cooch & Elizabeth Maris,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 17.
443. George Ford & Elizabeth Montgo-  
mery, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 20.
444. Justice Dobbin of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Charlotte  
Lewis of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Pennfa. Thurs. Ev<sup>s</sup> June 20.



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445. Thomas Mifflin Souder & Jane Keen,  
Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> July 1.
446. Samuel Cole of Portsmouth, N. Hampshire,  
& Susan Lloyd of Salem County, N. Jersey,  
Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> July 4. Americ<sup>n</sup> Independence!
447. Joseph Whartnaby & Catherine Rich-  
ardson, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 13.
448. Thomas Wells of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Mary Iley, of  
Cumberland County, N. Jersey, Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 14.
449. W<sup>m</sup> Peiffer & Ann Skellenger, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Evening, July 20.
450. James Parsons of Northampton,  
Bucks C<sup>r</sup> & Rachel Canstelo of Derby,  
Delaware C<sup>r</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1.
451. Malcom Wright & Jane Patter-  
son, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 3.
452. Philip Hains & Susanna Shoe-  
maker, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>  
the 10<sup>th</sup>.
453. James Youmans & Frances  
Fox, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 18.
454. Hugh Miller & Elizabeth McGon-  
negill, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 27.
455. Elisha Salter of Princeton & Mar-  
garet Covenhoven of East Windsor, New  
Jersey, Sunday, Sep<sup>r</sup> 15.
456. Samuel Read & Frances Stirk,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 16.
457. Stephen Rufsel & Lydia King,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 22.
458. George Frank & Rachell Bicknell,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Oct. 24.
459. George Anthony Rodgers of Willistown,  
Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup> Pennfa & Mary Fullin of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Friday Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 25.
460. John Loughery & Esther Rush, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 16.
461. Nathaniel Wiley & Hannah Wood,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 16.





462. William Minster & Lydia Smith,  
Both of Goshen, Chest' C<sup>r</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Evening, Dec<sup>r</sup> 5.
463. Jefse McCall & Sarah Tufsey, Both  
of Chester County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup>  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 10.
464. Noah Brady & Mary Rees, Both  
of Goshen, Chest' C<sup>r</sup> Pennfa. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 12.
465. Henry Smith & Jane Roberts,  
Both of Abington, Montg<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup>, Pennfa,  
Friday, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20.
466. John Highland of Newport, New Castle  
County, Delaware; & Telitha Batten of Salem  
County, New Jersey, Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 26.
467. John Kirkpatrick of Salem County,  
N. Jersey, & Keziah Coleman of Green-  
wich Cumberl<sup>d</sup> County. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 31.

*Fifty Couple.*

1800.

468. William Brown & Elizabeth  
Edwards, Both of Philad<sup>a</sup>, Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Evening, Jan<sup>r</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup>.
469. John Saul & Susanna Gilbert,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> Count<sup>y</sup>. Sund<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 5.
470. John Lenfesty & Mary Rudolph,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 26.
471. W<sup>m</sup> Ballentine & Mary Morrow,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 28.
472. Joseph Husler & Martha Nash,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 18.
473. Lewis Trimble & Sarah Holland,  
Both of Delaware County, Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 18.
474. John Speelman & Elizabeth Cook,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Feb. 23.
475. John Williams & Ann Dowling. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 13.



492. James Guyger & Frances Holland,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep. 14.
493. Robert Taylor & Rachel Roney,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Sep. 27.
494. John Brooks & Elizabeth Weaver,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Sep. 27.
495. Dr. Isaac Cathrall & Ann Kay, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 5.
496. John Winner & Alce Winner, Both  
of Newtown, Bucks C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 16.
497. W<sup>m</sup> Thompson & Margaret White,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Nov. 24.
498. Michael McKarnas & Catharine  
Dunlap, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 3.
499. Robert Cochran & Sarah Mallinson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 3.
500. Thomas Davis of Radnor, Delaware  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>, & Esther Speakman of  
Easton, Chest<sup>r</sup> County. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 18.
501. Abel Kelly & Thomasin Scattergood. Both  
of Bristol, Bucks C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 30.

*Thirty four Couple.*

1801.

502. Samuel Chevalier of Phil<sup>a</sup> &  
Susannah Morgan of Cape May—  
Sunday Evening, Jan<sup>y</sup> 18.
503. W<sup>m</sup> Bafsett of Hunterdon County,  
New Jersey, & Anne Morgan of Chest<sup>r</sup>  
County Penn<sup>a</sup>—Sunday Even<sup>s</sup>, Feb<sup>y</sup> 1.
504. John Deney & Jerusha Oliphant,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 5.
505. John Fry & Catherine Patterson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturday Ev<sup>s</sup> March 14.
506. John Sharpnack of Germantown,  
& Margaret Hains of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Eve<sup>s</sup>  
March 22.





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507. Reuben Brotherton & Mary Hand-  
kins, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 6.
508. John Baker & Elizabeth Delaney,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> April 14.
509. John Cook & Ann Britton, Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> April 21.
510. George Roberts Shaw & Mary Johnson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Wednesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> April 22.
511. W<sup>m</sup> Atkins & Rachel Thomee, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> April 22.
512. W<sup>m</sup> Richardson of Upper Merion, Mont-  
gomery County, Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Hannah Jones,  
of Providence, Delaware County, D<sup>c</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. April 23.
513. Ebenezer Brown of Boston, Mafsachu-  
setts & Ann Johnson late of Dover, Great  
Britain. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> May 12.
514. Edward McLaughlin & Ann Jack-  
son, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 13.
515. John Miles, Esq<sup>r</sup> of Milesborough, Centre  
County, Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Mary Ingels of the Nor-  
thern Liberties, Phil<sup>a</sup> County, Thurs<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 14.
516. Solomon Robinson & Elenor Coyle,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Even<sup>s</sup> June 8.
517. W<sup>m</sup> Sutton & Anna Deal, Both of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>s</sup> June 14.
518. Titus Yerkes, of Germantown Town-  
ship, Phil<sup>a</sup> County, & Mary Streaper of  
Lower Merion, Montg<sup>r</sup> County, Thursd<sup>r</sup> June 18.
519. James Roney & Sarah Paschall,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 25.
520. Bryan Griffin & Elizabeth Murratt,  
Both of the North<sup>a</sup> Liberties. Phil<sup>a</sup>—  
Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 25.
521. Joseph Hill & Henrietta Vinyard,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> North<sup>a</sup> Lib<sup>a</sup>. Thurs<sup>r</sup> E<sup>s</sup> June 25.
522. Joseph Thatcher & Sarah Bollen,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> N. Lib<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 9.



523. Jonathan Beach & Elizabeth Gilbert,  
Both of Lower Dublin, Phil<sup>a</sup> County, Lord's  
Day Evening, July 19.
524. Moses Taylor of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Mary  
Sheaff of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
Sep. 10.
525. Thomas Carney & Susan Boyle.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Sep. 21.
526. Charles Moore of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Mary  
Coates of Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Pennf. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Oct. 6.
527. Mathew Van Alstyne of New York, &  
Charlotte Height of Monmouth Count<sup>y</sup>. New  
Jersey (Shrewsbury) Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Oct. 8.
528. John Cousland & Frances Rea—  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 15.
529. James Preol & Catharine Lone,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 18.
530. Cap<sup>t</sup> Joseph Reynolds of Norwich,  
Connecticut & Hannah Ingels of the  
Northern Liberties, Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Thurs. E<sup>s</sup> Oct. 22.
531. John Barney & Sarah Dunkerly,  
Both of the N. Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thurs. E<sup>s</sup> Oct. 29.
532. W<sup>m</sup> Vandergrift & Christener Mo-  
nington: Both of Bensalem, Buck's C<sup>y</sup>  
Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 10.
533. Charles Johnston & Christiana Guen-  
nip. Both of the North<sup>a</sup> Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 23.
534. Malcolm McNeal & Sarah Oliver, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 3.
535. W<sup>m</sup> Goodrich & Margaret Johnston, Both  
of Phil. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 17.
536. George W. Helm & Lydia Newson. Both  
of Phila. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 22.

*Thirty five Couple.*

(To be continued.)





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

KEAN-MACOMB FAMILY RECORD.—From the entries in a New Testament printed at Philadelphia by W. W. Woodward, 1809, I have copied the following data, taking the liberty of rearranging them in order:

"Thomas Kean, sen., d. Oct. 26, 1802, of malignant fever, aged 55 years.

"Mary Potter, wife of Thomas Kean, b. March 13, 1750; d. March 14, 1817.

"Children of Thomas Kean, sen., and Mary (Potter) Kean:

"I. Margaret, b. May 9, 1779; d. Sept. 12, 1781.

"II. Alexander, 'first son,' b. Jan. 18, 1781; d. August, 1798.

"III. Matthew, b. March 20, 1782; m. Elizabeth Wilson Macomb (b. Oct. 13, 1783), on Monday evening, May 8, 1815, the Rev. Doctor Read performing the ceremony; she d. Jan. 20, 1818, four hours after having given birth to a son, James Macomb, aged 34 yrs., 3 mos., 7 days. He m. 2d, Elizabeth Lewden Robinson (née Lewden?), July 27, 1824, the Rev. E. R. Gilbert performing the ceremony; she d. July 6, 1856, aged 74 yrs., 7 mos. Issue: 1. Thomas, b. Nov. 16, 1816; d. Aug. 8, 1831; 2. James Macomb, b. Jan. 20, 1818; d. Aug. 11, 1831.

"IV. Mary, 'second daughter,' b. July 5, 1784; d. Nov. 17, 1852.

"V. Thomas, 'third son,' b. Feb. 5, 1786; d. Aug. 18, 1802.

"VI. John, 'fourth son,' b. May 31, 1788.

"VII. Jane, 'third daughter,' b. May 31, 1792 (?); d. Sept. 7, 1792.

"VIII. William, 'fifth son,' b. March 28, 1792 (?); d. Nov. 7, 1813.

"IX. Margaret Jane, 'fourth daughter,' b. Jan. 12, 1794; m. Thomas Wilson, Dec. 12, 1812; d. March 25, 1826."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF THOMAS LAMAR TO HENRY HILL, OF PHILADELPHIA.—

"LONDON, April 6<sup>th</sup> 1770.

"... Nothing Material with regard to America has passed in the House since my last, except the notice given a few days ago of a motion to be made on Monday next for taking off the Duty on Tea which I am almost certain will be over-ruled, because Administration has already deliv<sup>d</sup> their opinions on that head, which they seldom give up easily, & because I believe it is against the rules of Parliament to alter a Bill in the same Sessions it was made. However I heartily wish an expedient may be found to bring such a desirable important object to a happy Issue, and it may be done, if the Ministry would but relax a little in their darling Idea of Sovereignty, to which only extends that paltry Tax on Tea. The Landed Interest of this Country has since my last exerted themselves for the exportation of wheat in September next, and altho' they failed in their endeavours, yet there is scarce a doubt of its taking place at the next meeting of Parliament, if the present harvest turns out a good one; the price is about 32' 7<sup>d</sup> q<sup>a</sup> wherefore our Friends in America should avail themselves of the mean time for probably the Parliament will not meet till January next, unless we should have a war."



SECOND EDITION OF "GWYNEDD."—I have decided, since the issue of my circular some months ago, to proceed with the issue of a second edition of "Historical Collections relating to Gwynedd," and expect to have it ready early in the autumn. I have also pleasure in stating that I have found the four fine etched plates by Miss Blanche Dillaye, used in the first edition, and I propose to use at least three of them in the second.

HOWARD M. JENKINS.

Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, 6th mo. 15, 1896.

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.—"Lieut. Col. Smith, who was wounded while carrying a flag to Mr. Chew's house in the battle of Germantown—found him in a low condition, his leg being mortified."—*Abstract from a letter.*

SIGN-BOARDS.—The PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIX. p. 467, contains some verses on sign-boards. On Thirteenth Street, at the corner of the alley above Locust Street, where the building of the College of Physicians now stands, there stood in my boyhood days a small two-story frame tavern. On the sign over the door was painted—

"I William McDermot lives here  
I sells good Porter, Ale and Beer,  
I've made my sign a little wider  
To let you know I sells good Cider."

Out in West Philadelphia, about ten years ago, there stood a large building, and on it this sign:

"Domestic and Imported Segars manufactured here."

JOHN HILL MARTIN.

PHILADELPHIA TAX LISTS.—Since such records are valuable genealogically, I will mention that the earliest is for the year 1693; its MS. is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. A printed copy is in Vol. VIII. p. 82 of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. After this date, down to 1774, all the lists are lost, excepting those for the years 1734 and 1756. The MSS. of these are also in the said library. The lists at the City Hall begin in the year 1774 and go on, with some gaps, down to the present time. As my search was made more than eight years ago, the number of missing lists may have increased. If not already done, the city might well order a list of the old ones made and preserved. C.

A SUGGESTION TO INQUIRERS.—The editor of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE would be doing a good service, I am sure, to many of its readers by inserting a note on the subject of enclosing postage in letters of inquiry on historical and genealogical matters. The writer of this finds by experience (and no doubt others have done so) that many persons write to him asking questions, without enclosing a stamp or a stamped envelope. This is a curious and probably unintentional neglect, but as it is purely a matter of courtesy to make any reply at all in such cases, the inquirer surely should not expect it at any other expense than his own. I should not mention the matter if it did not seem that such a hint is really required. \* \*





### Queries.

**WILLIAM NIXON.**—Information requested of the ancestry of William Nixon, who settled in North Carolina in 1780, coming from Virginia. Lincolnton, North Carolina.

A. NIXON.

**HASTINGS.**—The full date and place of death of Dr. John Granbery Hastings is requested. He received his collegiate degree from Harvard College in 1831, and his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1834.

E. J.

**HILL.**—Information is wanted of the ancestors and descendants of John Jacob Hill, of Windsor Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, who on July 3, 1739, was married to Maria Appolonia Merckling (Merkle), and had the following children:

*Anna Maria*, born July 24, 1740; married Nicholas Hildebrandt.

*Ann Catarina*, born November 27, 1741; married Adam Myer.

*John Jacob*, born January 29, 1744.

*John Christian*, born March 7, 1746.

A daughter, name not given, married John Hefferly.

*Peter.*

*Casper.*

*Frederick*, married Maria Hottenstine, widow of Jacob, and daughter of Jacob Levan.

These people were identified with the old Moselem (Autelaune) Church, Richmond Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania.

Hazleton, Pennsylvania.

C. F. HILL.

**WASHINGTON.**—In a Paris catalogue just received I find the following:  
"WASHINGTON (Thomas), général de l'Indépendance Américaine, mort en 1818.—Lettre autographe signée au Col. James Jackson à Augusta. Lacrosse Station, 14 Août 1782, 3 pp. in-4. Rare."

Who was this Thomas Washington?

Alleghany, Pennsylvania.

ISAAC CRAIG.

**MACDONALD—SCHOCKA.**—Information desired of the date of marriage of William (?) Macdonald and — Schocka; and baptismal record of John Macdonald, son of the above, who was born in 1780. MOORE.

**REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, A.M.**, College of Philadelphia, 1766, born August, 1748, at Ledbury, Hereford, of which he was vicar; died 1802; left his property to his "Wife Margaret [Dulany] Montgomery. If she died and their children without heirs, the property to be divided between his brothers Robert and Samuel Montgomery and his sisters Hannah Morrison and Anne Hall, now or late of the township of New London, in the County of Chester and Province of Pennsylvania in North America." His executors Walter Dulany (his brother-in-law) and James Brookes both predeceased him. His daughter, wife of Rev. James Watts, alone left descendants, and her grandson is Rev. Robert Eyton, M.A., Canon of Westminster. Information desired of the descendants of above-named brothers and sisters.

T. H. M.

**TAYLOR.**—Peter and Philip Taylor, brothers, resided in Dublin Township, Philadelphia County, in 1703. Information is desired of their parentage and from whence they emigrated; also how they are related



to Peter Taylor, of Philadelphia and Bristol, who married Eleanor Whartnaby, of Bristol, about 1753, and died in Cheltenham, Montgomery County, in 1784.

J. G. R.

### Replies.

**BARNITZ.**—Jacob Barnitz was ensign in Captain Christian Stokes's Fourth Company, First Battalion, York County Associators, Colonel Michael Swope commanding. In the capture of Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, he was wounded in both legs and taken prisoner, and for fifteen months was confined in New York City. In 1806 one of his legs was amputated from the effects of the old wound. From 1785 to 1824 he served as Recorder of Deeds and Register of York County. He was buried in the cemetery attached to Zion Lutheran Church, York.

### Book Notices.

**ANDREW GREGG CURTIN: HIS LIFE AND SERVICES.** Edited by William H. Egle. M.D. 521 pp. Walter H. Barr, 1001 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

The memoir before us is composed of a series of chapters contributed by gentlemen who intimately shared the opinions and sustained the measures of the great War Governor of Pennsylvania. They are the best witnesses to the facts they relate, and they testify at a time when their recollections are perfect. The editor, Dr. William Henry Egle, has been ably assisted by the Hon. M. S. Quay, William B. Mann, A. K. McClure, Wayne MacVeagh, James A. Beaver, Harry White, Galusha A. Grow, Craig Biddle, Thomas V. Cooper, W. Hayes Grier, T. J. Coffey, William H. Armstrong, General Fitz-John Porter, and others. The work is liberally illustrated and an acceptable contribution to the biographies of distinguished Pennsylvanians.





## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

*Statement of Finances, December 31, 1895.*

### DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

To Real Estate . . . . .	\$126,201 41
To Investments . . . . .	103,559 28
To Cash . . . . .	10,137 79

### CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

General Fund, Investments . . . . .	\$5,500 00
“ “ Real Estate Loan . . . . .	5,500 00
“ “ Cash . . . . .	40 96
Binding Fund, Investments . . . . .	5,300 00
“ “ Cash . . . . .	57 29
Library Fund, Investments . . . . .	18,505 00
“ “ Cash Uninvested . . . . .	2,000 00
“ “ Cash . . . . .	29 13
Publication Fund, Investments . . . . .	37,254 28
“ “ Cash . . . . .	2,333 32
Endowment Fund, Investments . . . . .	37,000 00
“ “ Cash . . . . .	690 03
Real Estate, Investments . . . . .	120,701 41
“ “ Cash . . . . .	193 42
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications . . . . .	58 00
Church Records Fund . . . . .	100 00
English Records Copying Fund . . . . .	4,147 00
John Clement Fund . . . . .	140 00
Sundries . . . . .	348 64
	<hr/>
	\$239,898 48
	<hr/>
	\$239,898 48



*General Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1895 . . . . .	\$10 26
Annual Dues, 1895 . . . . .	7,340 00
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	855 21
Trustees Endowment Fund . . . . .	1,422 75
Donations . . . . .	240 33
	<u>\$9,868 65</u>
Disbursements: General Expenses and Taxes for 1895 . . . . .	9,827 69
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	<u>\$40 96</u>

*Library Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1895 . . . . .	\$534 01
Interest, Dividends, and Sales . . . . .	1,119 37
	<u>\$1,653 38</u>
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1895 . . . . .	1,624 25
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	<u>\$29 13</u>

*Binding Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1895 . . . . .	\$129 09
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	297 00
	<u>\$426 09</u>
Disbursements: Binding Books, 1895 . . . . .	368 80
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	<u>\$57 29</u>

*Endowment Fund.*

Receipts: Interest on Investments . . . . .	\$1,422 75
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund . . . . .	1,422 75

*Publication Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1895 . . . . .	\$1,865 46
Interest, Dividends, and Rents . . . . .	2,062 29
Subscriptions to Magazine, Sales, etc. . . . .	1,004 58
	<u>\$4,932 33</u>
Disbursements for 1895 . . . . .	\$2,584 48
Capital Account . . . . .	14 53
	<u>2,599 01</u>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	<u>\$2,333 32</u>





*Gilpin Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1895	\$571 86
Interest	2,956 93
Sale of Duplicates, etc.	142 00
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	\$3,670 79
Disbursements for 1895	2,788 80
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees	\$881 99



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THE FUNDAMENTALL CONSTITUTIONS OF PENN-  
SILVANIA

AS THEY WERE DRAWN UP SETTLED AND SIGNED BY  
WILLIAM PENN PROPRIETARY AND GOVERNOUR, AND  
CONSENTED TO AND SUBSCRIBED BY ALL THE FIRST  
ADVENTURERS AND FREE HOLDERS OF THAT PROVINCE,  
AS THE GROUND AND RULE OF ALL FUTURE GOVER-  
NMENT.

[The manuscript of the following document, now printed for the first time, is among the "Penn Papers" in possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The title, copied from the original, explains its importance. It appears to be the draft of a Constitution for Pennsylvania prepared by Penn before what is known as the "Frame of Government" was written. Whether it was ever so far matured as to be submitted to the first adventurers, and accepted by them as the ground and rule of all future government, as stated in the title, is open to doubt. The copy from which we print is evidently a rough draft, and there is in the "Penn Papers" an abstract of the same, differing from it in some minor particulars. Upon the whole, we are of the opinion that it was an early attempt of Penn's to draft a Constitution for his Province, and that the title only shows that it was his intention to submit it to the first adventurers for their approval, not that he actually did so. Certainly no such paper, signed by Penn and the first purchasers, is known to exist, nor, so far as we know, was it ever heard of. Its





interest, therefore, centres in the additional light it throws on the government Penn wished to establish, and on the care he took in the preparation of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

While it is, we believe, improbable that Penn submitted the document to the first adventurers for their formal approval, there is evidence that it was shown to some of them; for notes on it in the handwriting of Benjamin Furly are in the "Penn Papers," and when he received a copy of the "Frame of Government" he criticised it severely, and compared some of its provisions with those of "The Fundamentall Constitutions," under the impression that the latter had been previously accepted as the foundation of government, protesting against its abandonment. Furly's comments on the "Frame of Government" will be found in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XIX. p. 295. His allusions to the following document are on page 304.]

#### THE PREAMBLE OR INTRODUCTION.

When it pleased Almighty God, the Creator and upholder of all things, to make man his great Governour of the World, he did not only endue him with excellent knowledge but an upright mind, so that his power over the Creation was ballanc'd by an inward uprightness, that he might use it Justly: then was ye Law of light and truth writt in his heart, and that was ye Guide and keeper of his Innocency; there was not need of any Externall precepts to direct or terrify him; but when he leant his ear to an other voice, and followed his lust, and did the thing he was forbidden of God, the law was added, that is, the externall law came to awe and terrify such as would not do the thing that was just according to the righteous law within themselves; thus transgression introduced and occasioned the outward law, and that, Govern<sup>t</sup>, and both Magistracy, that thos that would not answer the righteous law within, might be compelled by an Impartiall Execution of the righteous law without: wherefore the Apostle made it the end of Magistracy, to be a terror to evill doers, and a praise to them that do well.

Good Government then, is a Constitution of Just laws wisely sett together for the well ordering of men in society, to prevent all Corruption or Justly to Correct it, wherein it is most evident That the Governours and Governed have



but one interest by the Constitution: to witt preserving of right to all, and punishing corruption in all; which is the end of Government, and Consequently of Governours so that if any Governours shall sett up another Interest to themselves then that which tends to preserving right to all and punishing evill in all; the Contradict the Constitution, and instead of serving Government, makes Government only serve to their avarice or Ambition this is that Corruption in man kind which Government is by Consent of all establish to Prevent. If then Government it selfe be subservient to an higher end, to witt the generall good, much more is it reasonable to beleive that all Instruments and Forms of Government are to be subjected to that end, to which government it selfe is but a means.

This duly weighed, leads me to Consider, what is that manner or frame of Government that shall preserve Magistracy in reverrence with the People and best keep it from being hurtfull to them. This is a matter of great weight, but once to be well done, and that is by the Founders of Governments. An error here is a successive mischeif to the Governed in every age; and and [*sic*] what troubles have followed in Ancient and present governments from this unskillfulness are rather to be lamented and avoided then in the least doubted. I know not any greater helps from example in a business of this Moment, then an exact Consideration of the Government God establisht among the Jews what his Providence and the wisdom of our Ancestors have settled among us English, yet I shd refuse the Assistants that may be yeilded fro[m] wisdom of other Governments, whether Ancient Since the main thing in hand, is to lay such a foundation as may be most agreable with right reason and Conduceing to the end of government, to witt, the virtue peace and Prosperity of the People, to which all form and Customs ought to yeild; For it were a most Condemnable superstition, to perpetuate any thing for being Ancient or domestick that were not otherwise usefull to this great end much less should follow thos Copys if time has proved them hurtfull instead of being beneficiall to Societys.





Upon the whole matter this draught of Constitutions I do for me and myn, in Honour to God and love to man-kind give fix and Confirm so farr Forth as I by my Authoritys granted to me in the Kings Letters and Pattents am enabled to do.

#### I CONSTITUTION.

Considering that it is impossible that any People or Goverment should ever prosper, where men render not unto God, that which is Gods, as well as to Cæser that which is Cæsers; and also perceiving the disorders and Mischeifs that attend those places where force in matters of faith and worship, and seriously reflecting upon the tenure of the new and Spirituall Goverment, and that both Christ did not use force and that he did expressly forbidd it in his holy Religion, as also that the Testimony of his blessed Messengers was, that the weapons of the Christian warfare were not Carnall but Spirituall; And further weighing that this unpeopled Country can never be planted if there be not due encouragement given to sober people of all sorts to plant, & that they will not esteem any thing a sufficient encouragement where they are not assured but that after all the Hazards of the sea, and the troubles Of a Wilderness, the Labour of their hands and sweet of their browes may be made the forfeit of their Conscience, and they and their wives and Children ruin'd because they worship god in some different way from that which may be more generally owned. Therefore, In reverence to God the Father of lights and Spirits the Author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith and worship I do hereby declare for me and myn and establish it for the first fundamentall of the Goverment of my Country, that every Person that does or shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the Free Prossession of his or her faith and exersise of worsip towards God, in such way and manner As every Person shall in Conscience beleive is most acceptable to God and so long as every such Person useth not this Christian liberty to Licentiousness, that is to say to speak loosly and propchainly



of God Christ or Religion, or to Committ any evill in their Conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by y<sup>e</sup> civill Magistrate.

## II CONSTITUTION.

Because Corruption of manners and remissness in Magistrates to punish Euill<sup>1</sup> doers, by which means virtue often falls in the streetes, have ever provoked Gods heavy Displeasure against both Governours and People and that I cannot hope it should prosper better with me and myn and the People that doe or shall Inhabit this Country if an effectuall Care be not taken to prevent or appeas the wrath of God by an impartiall Execution of Justice upon every evill doer according to the law provided in such Cases; Therefore I for me and myn declare and Es[tablish] For the second Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Country, that all thos laws which relate to prevention or Correction of vice and injustice be impartially and vigorously executed, and that those Magistrates that doe not in their respective Charges vigilantly and impartially excute all such laws to the terror of evill doers, and praise of those that doe well; *shall be reputed and Marked as breakers of the Fundamentall Constitutions of the Country, and therein as well publique enemys to God as the people, and never to bare office till they had given good Testimony of their repentance.*

## III CONSTITUTION.

And since it hath been the Judgment of the wisest men, and practice of the most famous Goverments in all ages, as well as that it is most Naturall, reasonable and prudent in it selfe, that the People of any Country should be Consenting to the laws they are to be Governed by, therefore I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for ye 3<sup>d</sup> Fundamentall Constitution of the Goverment of this Province, that there shall be held once every year, that is to say on the first day of the first month called March An Assembly

<sup>1</sup> The text has "well," with marginal correction to "Euill."





shall be duely Chosen by the Freeholders of this Country to serve as their Deputys to Consult debate and resolve and in their names to Consent to the enacting or abolishing of laws *and whatever is the Priveledge of an English house of Commons*, and least this excellent and necessary Constitution should be any ways [a]bused or obstructed It is hereby declared tha the [a]foresaid Freeholders shall of themselvs meet on ye first Day of every twelfth month called february, in their Respective places, and their Chuse their Deputys to serve for them as aforesaid, without any writts or Mandates to be issued forth by the governour or his Deputy, or any else in Authority what ever for that purpose and being so Chosen and Assembled, they shall not sett less than two months, unless it be their own Choice or desire but longer if Publique business requi[re] it And this shall be Called the Assembly of the Prov[ince] of which not less then two thirds of the whole sha[ll] make a Quorum.

#### IV CONSTITUTION.

But because this Assembly cannot be so large at firs[t] as hereafter, when the place is peopled, and yet som[e] Care must be taken both to have one now and to lim[it] it, that the number do not exceed what may be convenient and proportionable, to the Province I do hereby for me and myn declare and establish for fourth Fundamentall of the Government of this Country that the Country shall be cast into 24 Countys each County into 4 Hundreds and each hundred into two Tribes, and each Tribe shall chuse two of their own Tribe in best repute with them for virtue wisdom and Integrity, to serve in Assembly for ye Peace and the Prosperity of the Province which Comes to 384 Persons for the whole Country. and till such time as the said Countys are Peopled let the Number be Chosen equally out the County o[r] Countys that are in any respect planted and able to send them.

#### V CONSTITUTION.

To the end that it may not be in the Power of any member or Deputy in the Assembly to betray t[hem] I do hereby



for me and myn, declare & Es[tablish] it for the fifth Fundamentall Constitution [of the] Goverment of this Province, that every such D[eputy] shall bring his Instructions signed under the h[and of] the Electors, and his own hand as accepting of [them] And that a Coppy be kept thereof and register'd in every respective Tribe, and if it shall so happen that he shall act Contrary to the same, that then he never more presume to stand unless the People, sensible of his Repentance, shall forgive and Chuse him.

#### VI CONSTITUTION.

And that all those mischeifs may be avoided which attend hasty resolutions, I do for me and myn hereby declare and Establish this for the sixth Fundamentall Constitution in the Goverment of this Province, that dureing the time of any Assembly, noe law shall be made or abrogated, or Mony raised, by the Deputys of the Tribes without first Consulting the mind of their Principals or Tribes, that Depute y<sup>m</sup>, that they may always remmember they are but Deputys and men intrusted to the Good of others and responsible for that trust.

#### VII CONSTITUTION.

For the better Compleating of the frame of this Goverment, and to the end that the Assembly and Governour may have all possible help in the knowledge and dispatch of affaires, I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the 7th Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Province, that there shall be a Councell of 48 Persons, thus Chosen Continued and altered, that is to say, the Assembly shall Chuse out of the members serving for each County two Persons of best repute for their understanding and faith and fullness; their being 24 Countys the Councell will Consult of 48 Persons: the Places of thes Persons so Chosen, to be filled up by a new election of such of the Tribes as they related to: this Councell is to Continue entire for one year then a third part, that is to say 16 to go out, 4 of each Committee as exprest hereafter and so many by the





next Assembly to be Chosen in their steed, so that in 3 years the Councell is new. They goe out by lott, this Councell is to sitt with the Governour.

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the Assembly. There share in the Government is this, first to receive all proposalls from the Assembly, be they to make or abrogate laws or what they shall Concern and to Consult of what may be most beneficiall to the Publique in all respects; and after they have fully Considerd the matter before them to propose their Deliberations, by the way of Conferences, to the Assembly, and if upon due Consideration they are by them agreed to, then and not otherwise, to be ingrost and presented to the Governour or his Leiftanant or Deputy for his Confirmation in order to a law; and the yearly Meeting of Governour Councell and Assembly shall be called the Generall Assembly of the Province. The Councell is to Continue in the Intervals of the Assembly, to advise & Assist the Governour or his Leiftanant or Deputy in y<sup>e</sup> business of the Government. The Councell shall be divided into severall Committees, or Commissions, And each of them shall have a proportion assigned by the Governour or his Leiftanant or Deputy in the Government, that is to say, to divide the whole into 4 Committees w<sup>ch</sup> makes 12 in each Committee.

The first Committee is to supervise the Justice of the Province: as to Judges, Coarts, Justices, Inferiors, officers of Justice, Registers &c: in the discharge of their Duty: and thes shall be Called the Commissioners of Justice; The second Committee shall have the Charge of trade, & shall be Called y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners of Trade; which will take in all foraigne Correspondencys, Marchandises, Manufactore[s] the advancement of the Country growth, provision against begging, by the employment of the Poor, and Prevention of Corruption and fraude in Dealing.

The third Committee is to Inspect and manage the Publique Treasury of the Country on all occasions; and to be

<sup>1</sup> This second paragraph of Constitution VII. is referred to by Furlly as Constitution VIII. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX. p. 304).



accountable to the Generall Assembly of all monys intrusted with them, that the People may be satisfied in [the] Im-  
ployment of their Contributions to the Publique; and this  
Committee shall be called the Commissioners of the  
Treasury.

The 4th and last Committee will be the Commissioners  
of Education, who shall inspect the breeding of Youth, as  
to Schools, Masters, Books and the way and Method of  
Cultivateing and improveing of science truly so called which  
may be usefull and laudable, among good men that so ~~youth~~  
may be groundd, in the way of virtue and wisdom, and  
the successive generations secured against declention and  
Corruption of manners, which draws after it slavery and  
beggery, and which is worse the wrath of God too. but  
because it may in divers respects so fall out, y<sup>t</sup> the whole  
Councell may not be able to yeild a Constant attendance;  
therefore in the Intervall of the Generall Assembly, any  
twelve of them Consisting of 3 of each Committee or Com-  
mission shall be sufficient to dispatch any business, belong-  
ing to the whole, except some extreordinary business  
happens, and in all such Cases, that the rest upon the  
Governours summons or his Leiftenants or Deputys, shall  
forth with repaire to give their attendance not<sup>1</sup> for the ser-  
vice of the Publique.

#### VIII CONSTITUTION.

And that<sup>2</sup> because the end of Governours is y<sup>e</sup> good of  
Governm<sup>t</sup> and the end of the Government y<sup>e</sup> good of the Gov-  
erned & y<sup>t</sup> the Governours right and share in the Gov-  
ernment & Propriety of the Province *is not in danger he does  
not in wisdom think fitt to leave himselfe and the Jealousys of y<sup>e</sup>  
People when he may safely to himselfe and his Heirs remove or  
Prevent them*, therefore I do for me and myn & Establish for  
the 8th Fundamentall of the goverment of this Province,  
that all Bills agreed upon by the Councell and Assembly  
that do not Infring the Right of the Governour and his

<sup>1</sup> The word "not" has a ring drawn round it.

<sup>2</sup> The word "that" is scored through.





Heirs and Assignes either as to his share in the Government or in the Propriety of the Province which are hereby all along intended to be acknowledged and Confirmed, and are Hereby acknowledged and Confirmed, shall in four-teen<sup>1</sup> days after their Presentment to the Governour or his Leiftenant or Deputy for his Assent not by him Assented stand good and available in Law, as is Assented unto by the Governour, or his Leiftenant or Deputy.

#### IX CONSTITUTION.

That the People of this Province may love and obey the Government of it from the share they have in it, I do for me and myn declare and establish for the 9th Fundamentall in the Government thereof, that all Towns and Cittys where Magistrates of any degree, are thought nesessary, whether they be Mayors, Baliffs, Provosts Sheriffs, Constables, &c: or by any other name stiled, they shall be Chosen by the Inhabitants thereof, that are house keepers, that receive no alms to their Maintanance; and in all Countys, the free men of every Tribe; shall present to the Governour or his Leiftenant or Deputy two for Justices of the Peace, and the County at their County Court, two for Sheriffs; and if the Governour or his Leiftenant or Deputy shall not within 20 Days after the said Presentation, chuse one of the two for Sheriff for that County, and the one of the two for a Justice of Peace for that Tribe that then the first sett down for the County for Sheriff and by the Tribe for Justice shall stand and serve for the ensueing year as legally as if he were elected by the Governour or his Leivtenant or Deputy.

#### X CONSTITUTION.

To Prevent that Corruption which men not guided by a just Principle are subject to for fear or favour, and y<sup>t</sup> much of the mischeif which attends the Decision of Contro-

<sup>1</sup> An abstract of these Constitutions, also among the "Penn Papers," has twenty-four days here. As Furly, in his table of contents prefixed to this abstract, has "14 days," we know that he is referring to our text, not to the abstract.



versys by voices in great Assemblys, I do for me and myn, hereby declare and establish, for the 10th fundamentall of the Government of this Province, that at the election of Deputys to serve in Assembly, and in the Assembly it self upon all questions, y<sup>e</sup> decision shall be by ballating as in Venice; only in y<sup>e</sup> Councell it shall be by subscription, which the numbers of the other two will not permitt without great delay to business.

#### XI CONSTITUTION.

And because great Inconveniencies doe oftner arise from hasty y<sup>n</sup> deliberate Councels, I do for me and myn declare and establish it for the eleventh Fundamentall of the Government of this Province, that unless it be in a Case of such Immanent and Immediate danger, as will not give a day to Consider, no business of state in Assembly or Councell shall be resolved the day it is Proposed, to the end, time may be given to learn all that may be known or said about the matter in hand, in order to a Cleer and safe determination.

#### XII CONSTITUTION.

That this government may appear equall in it selfe, and agreeable to the wisdom God gave unto Moses, and the Practice of our best Ancestors, and that we may avoid heart burnings in famelys, and the foundation of much misery and beggery or wors I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the 12th fundamentall of the Government of this Province, that what Estate every person dying has in it, though he or she dye else where, having Children, shall be equally shared, after such Persons desease, among the Children of the s<sup>d</sup> Person, saveing only that the eldest if the first born shall have (according to the Law of God by Moses given to y<sup>e</sup> Jews) a double portion for his Inheritance and not otherwise.

#### XIII CONSTITUTION.

And that Law suites and animositys among People may [*sic*] be prevented, which have so lamentably Con-





sumed y<sup>e</sup> Estates of many famelys in Divers Nations, as well as sown and fixt parpetuall hatred betwee neighbours and neer kindred, I do for me and myn declare and establish for y<sup>e</sup> 13th Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Province, that there shall be a Register of all deeds Mortgages, Settlements, Conveniencys, Trusts, Sales, bonds, bills, Receipts &c: that from time time shall be transacted in this Province, both in y<sup>e</sup> Capitall Town of every County, and also in and also in [*sic*] y<sup>e</sup> Cheif Citty of the Province that so all may be secured from thos frauds and abuses which the want of it has brought to other Countrys and thos perplexing and expensive suites y<sup>t</sup> follow thereupon.

#### XIV CONSTITUTION.

It is so sad a thing to behold the Goals of Nations filled with Prissoners for Debts that they can never Pay, and so their Confinement can only be the effect of an unprofitable revenge, that I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish it A Fundamentall in the Goverment of this Province, that noe man shall be imprisoned for any debt that is not above y<sup>e</sup> summ of ten Pounds, nor yet for any debt at all if he will subscribe such a declartion to be recorded, as shall be presented to him that he is not worth ten pounds in the world, and he can gett two sufficient Creditable Persons to signe a declaration that the beleive he is not worth ten pounds in ye world; but if it should afterwards apper that such a Person was then worth more then ten pounds and Purposely conceal'd it, that then the said estate so concealed shall go to the satisfaction of his Credittors, and he become their bonds men, dureing their Pleasure, to work only to their Behoof.

#### XV CONSTITUTION.

Since the due Proportion of Rewards and Punishm<sup>ts</sup> the wisdom and Justice of Goverment and that the example be of Gods law as well as the reason of the thing, guide all men to beleive that to shed mans blood and take away his life for Worldly goods, is a very hard thing; especially



considering the tenderness of the holy Mercifull Christian Law, and Considering the little reformation this severity brings, and that it tempts the theif to be a murderer, when the Punishment is the same, to kill whom he robbs that so he may not discover or Prosecute him that Robbs him, which instead of makeing theivs afraid may Constrain them to destroy good men therefore I do for me and my hereby Declare and establish for the 15th Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Province, that no Person committing Felony within the limitts thereof shall dye for the same. but for the first offence if a single man if a single man [*sic*] and able he shall make satisfaction; for the second offence he shall if able make double satisfaction, if not be kept in a work house till he h[as] wrought out such a satisfaction and for the 3d offenc[e] He shall if able pay a 3 fould satisfaction, if not able, be a Perpetuall bondsman if married and has Children, then, unless the thing stolen be found upon him or amongst his goods, he shall not be putt to make satisfaction to the Prejudice of his Children that were Innocent of the fact, and which would only serve to encreas the Poor and so the Publique Charge, but that he shall for the first offence work out a satisfaction, for the second offence a double satisfaction and for the 3<sup>d</sup> offence he shall be a parpetuall bonds man to the behoof of thos he has wronged whether by work or saile. which is more terrible to Idle and highminded Persons, then Death it selfe and y<sup>re</sup>fore better to Prevent the evill.

XVI.

That Justice may be Speedely as well as Impartially done and that to prevent tedeous and expensive Pilgramages to obtain it I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the Sixteenth Fundamentall in the Govern<sup>mt</sup> of this Province that monthly sessions shall be held in every County in which all sorts of Causes belonging to that County shall be heard and finally detirmin'd, whether relateing to civill or criminall acts. and the Partys obleidg'd to submitt to that detirmination upon bonds before hand to be taken on that account to prevent the renuall of suits out of a





letigious mind and that every Person may freely Plead his own cause or bring his F<sup>r</sup> to do it for him and y<sup>e</sup> Judges are hereby obleidg'd to Inform him or her what they can to his or her assistance in the matter before them, that none be prejudic'd through Ignorance in their own business which Judges shall be of the same County but last not longer then one year in office.

#### XVII CONSTITUTION.

And that we may in what ever we can, resemble the Ancien[t] Constitution of England, I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the Seventeenth fundamentall of the Government of this Province, that all tryalls and Determinations Of Causes and Concerning life Liberty good name or estate, shall be by the verdict and Judgement of twelve of the neighbourhood to the Party or Partys Concerned, and neer as may be of the same degree, that they may be equalls, least being Poorer they be aw'd with fear or drawn by rewards to a Corrupt Judgement. or by being richer and greater, be careless of their Verdict upon an Inferior Person, whos low Condition are not or is not able to call them to Question: And thes twelve men shall sitt with the Judges six on a side, or on a bench on purpose at an other side of the Court, but that noe verdict be given without their withdrawing, to Consult the matter no Person to be Admitted to them not any note or letter to be deliver'd to any of them from the time they withdraw till they Returne to the Bench & y<sup>e</sup> Publiquely delivered the Charge given the 12 men or verdictors by y<sup>e</sup> Judges to be audibly in open Court, before the Party Concerned, the Judges and y<sup>e</sup> 12 men to speak only to one an other what the Court and Party Concerned shall heare the verdict being given, y<sup>e</sup> Judges in a grave and sober manner to pronounce sentance accordingly.

#### XVIII CONSTITUTION.

To avoide All delays or Denyalls of Justice and all briberys to Injustice in officers of Justice or Persons Chosen



to serve in Assembly or Councell. I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the eighteenth fundamentall of y<sup>e</sup> Government of this Province; that all such officers of Justice as Delay or Deny Justice being Convict thereof, shall pay or make good the wrong or Prejudice the Party aggrieved seeks redress from and satisfaction for such delay or Denyall beside or if they or thos that serve in Assembly shall at any time in any Case take any Bribe or secreet reward from any Person to favour him or her, or his or her Cause or business being proved by sufficient wittnes[s] that every such Person shall be Immediately dischar[ged] [from] all employment forever, and pay to the publique Treasury th . . .

#### XIX CONSTITUTION.

Because all may be be usefull and beneficiall in evidence to the Publique after the example of thos Countrys that Comply with the tenderness of their Conciences that cant take any Oath, and yet are often the only Persons to prove either theft murder, Titles of land wills &c: and having reflected on the reverent is of many Coarts in Swearing, and that shutting out Oaths there would be the best way to shutt all loos and vain swearing, out of the Country, I do for me and myn hereby declare and Establish for the nineteenth Fundamentall of the Government of this Province that all evidence shall be by subscription upon record after this forme.

I A B do from the very bottom of my heart hereby engage and Promise in the Presence of God and the Coart to declare the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in y<sup>e</sup> matter I am to be inquired upon wittness my hand this—of—in y<sup>e</sup> year <sup>A</sup>. : B.

And if it shall afterwards appear that any Person hath declared and subscribed that which is falls, That then he sustaine the same injury he by falls evidence brings to y<sup>e</sup> Person or estate of any Person wronged thereby and be exposed in the tribe where he lives as a falls man, never to be received in any evidence any more, much less employ'd in any office in the Province.





## XX CONSTITUTION.

And for as much as Divers Inconveniencies may arise by undue Imprisonm<sup>ts</sup> of Persons upon meer surmises and that in severall Inspects to prevent which a law of Habeas Corpus was lately made in the Kingdom of England to secure the People from any such Disadvantages, I do for me and myn hereby declare and establish for the 20 Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Province that no man shall be Imprisoned for any Case but on good evidence and y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> same law of Habeas Corpus shall be in full force in this Province and that all Persons imprisoned whether Innocent or Guilty shall not be obleidged to pay any fees to the keeper of the Prison, but the said keeper be maintained at the Charge as an officer belonging to state.

XXI.<sup>1</sup>

And as            government cannot well subsist and prosper where vertue and Industry are not carefully Promoted, and that it is impossible to do if the letts to both are not presented or removed, I do therefore for me and myn hereby declare and establish for 21 fundamentall of y<sup>e</sup> Government of this Province that there shall be no Taverns, nor alehouses, endured in the same, nor any Play-houses, nor morris dancis, nor Games as Dice, Cards, Bo . . . [?] Tables, Lotterys, Bowling greens, Hors races, Beare baiteings, Bull bateings, and such like sports, which only tend to Idleness and loosness, and that all thos that goe about to erect or use any of thos things, be fined to the goverment and put into the next Common work house kept by the space of 6 months to hard daly Labour as if he were some petty ffellon.

## XXII CONSTITUTION.

And to the end that none may be destitute of subsistance in Case of any Calamitys or Afflections that may fall upon their Parents or them in their estates, from which noe sort

<sup>1</sup> The abstract mentioned above transposes Constitutions XXI. and XXII. Furly, in his table of contents, again agrees with our text.



or degree of men are free, and that all may labour as well as eat and be usefull and not as        prevent the many inconveniencys that follow Idleness, I do for me and myn hereby Declare and establish as the two and twentieth fundamentall of y<sup>e</sup> goverment of this Province, that every Child that is of y<sup>e</sup> Age of 12 years shall be taught some trade or skill by which to exersise their minds and bodys in honest immeditation and labour, and that of all degrees and qualitys without respect to Persons as well femalls as males. this will give the Country and People wealth & reputation and keep out Idleness the Mother of many Mischeifs.

XXIII.

And to the end what ever relates to the Property, liberty, Tryalls by twelve equalls of the neighbourhood equall & Proportionable fines and Amercements for faults Committed, not delaying, denying or selling of Justice, Contained in the Great English Charter with the like Civill Priviledges, and all thos acts of Parliament Confirmatory of the same more especially that Called the Petition of right in y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> year of Charles y<sup>e</sup> first. I do hereby declare and establish, for y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> Fundamentall of the Goverment of this Province, that all y<sup>e</sup> said Priviledges of y<sup>e</sup> great Charter before exprest, and the laws Confirmatory of the same, especially y<sup>e</sup> Called the Petition of Right in y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> year of Charles the first, be and remain in full force as an effectuall part of the Goverment of this Province.

XXIII<sup>II</sup> CONSTITUTION.

And because it may so fall out that y<sup>e</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup> or his Leivten<sup>t</sup> or Deputy, may by y<sup>e</sup> evill insinuations and pernicious Councells of some in powr or esteem, with him of or from his mistakeing the true extent of his Authority, or possibly by y<sup>e</sup> Instigations of his own Ambition command or require y<sup>e</sup> officers or Magistrates in this Province or any of them to do a thing that is Contrary to thes Fundamentalls or any law that may be hereafter made for the well





ordering of this Province I do for me and myn hereby declare and Establish, for the last fundamentall of the Government of this Province, that though any desire order precept or Command should come from the Governour or his Leivtenant or Deputy to any officer, or Magistrate as before said to do any act or thing that is Contrary to thes Fundamentalls or the law of the land whether it be to Committ Injustice or to Omitt and delay Justice in the cause of any Person or otherways be it signified by word of mouth, by lett<sup>r</sup> or any little or great seale, every such officer or Magistrate, shall be surely obleidged to reject the same & follow the tenure of thes Fundamentalls and the express law of the Province: and if he shall offer or dare to wave and desert his duty by law to Answer any such mistake or illegall Passion in ye governour or his Leiften<sup>t</sup> or Deputy, that for so doing he shall be accountable to the next generall Assembly of the Province. in whos powr it shall be to proportion his satisfaction and desgrace to the      and degree of his Offence. More, if any of them, or any members of either Assembly or Councell, or any not in office, or Trust for Private and Corrupt ends of their own haveing the temptation of such an illegall desire or command from a Superior, shall      betray or many, respect by word or deed Deviate or Derogate from thes Fundamentall Constitutions, shall they lye under the examination and scentenc[e] of the next generall Assembly who have hereby Power to proportion the satisfaction and disgrace of the offending [to] the nature and degree of the offence. And I do further desire and establish that a Copp thereof may be hung up in the Places where the Assembly and Councell sett, and that the be all read in the presence of the Governour or his Leiftenant or Deputy, and the Councell and Assembly as the first thing at the opening of every Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly in the Province, and that the testimony of their acknowledgm<sup>t</sup>      of them shall be signified by the standing up of the Governour or his Leiftenant or Deputy and the Councell and Assembly and lifting up of their Right hands after they are all Audibly read which done; their so Acknowledging of them as as [sic]



the rule of their laws and Government, shall be recorded in the Journall Book of both the Councell and Assembly; that if possible they may not be forgotten, or in any wise Contradicted.

These four and twenty articles are the Fundamentall Constitutions of the Province of Pennsilvania in America by me drawn up, settled and Confirmed so farr as in me lyes, for an abideing ground and Rule to all Future laws, and Government, And I do hereby desire Charge and Command all my Children and their and my Posterity whoe lott it may be to be Concerned in this Province to remmember love and preserve with all Care and faithfullness Fundamentall Constitutions, being the establishm<sup>t</sup> of me their Father and Ancestor as the discharge of my Conscience to God the giver of this Country unto me and them and as they hope to keep it, and his Blessing upon it.

We whos names. are here under written and subscribed being Freeholders of the Province of Pennsilvania in America do with much Cleerness and satisfaction hereby testify declare our Consent and Agreement w<sup>th</sup> William Penn Proprietary and Governour of the said Province in the above written Fundamentall Constitutions as the Ground and Rule of all Future Laws & Government, in that Country and we doe hereby promess every one for himselfe that by Gods Assistance we will remmember love and Preserve to the utmost of our Powr the aforesaid Fundamentalls inviolably and do hereby desire and Charge our Posterity to do the same as they hope to enjoy what we leave them and the blessing of God with it.





EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

[Enos Reeves entered the Pennsylvania Line as a private in the First Regiment. In 1777 he was commissioned ensign of the Eleventh Regiment and appointed its adjutant, and on March 31, 1778, promoted to first lieutenant and transferred to the Fifth Regiment. Later in the year he was retransferred to the Eleventh Regiment, in which he served but a few months, when he was transferred to the Second Regiment. In 1783 he was mustered out of the service as brevet captain of the First Regiment, one of the last inspections being made by Colonel Francis Mentges, inspector of the Southern army. After peace had been declared, Captain Reeves went to South Carolina, where, on December 21, 1784, he married Amy Legaré, whose acquaintance he made while with his regiment in that State. Captain Reeves was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. He died June 23, 1807.

The few letter-books of Lieutenant Reeves which escaped the earthquake and fire at Charleston, South Carolina, in August of 1886 begin in September of 1780 and, except a few gaps, end in 1783. The letters are mainly addressed to a brother officer of the Pennsylvania Line, whose name we have failed to ascertain, and quite a number to lady friends, and are interesting for the military events which they chronicle.]

[LETTER 114.]

"STEEN RAPIE N. J.

"This morning the whole Army was order'd to parade for Inspection at 8 o'clock. We were ready for Review at the time order'd. I was much surpris'd at the appearance of the motly crew mounted on horseback, with His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington at their head, accompanied by his Aid de Camps and the General officers made up his Retinue as their Divisions and Brigades were review'd in rotation. They came on the Right, were saluted by the Drums, colors and the officers in rotation, pass'd down to the front line to the Left; then review'd the Light Infantry, on their return



reviewed the second Line, from that to the Park of Artillery.

"I must inform you that his same *Motly Crew*, that we have received with such pomp, is no less than a number of Indian Chiefs of the Stockbridge, Oneida and several other Nations, of whom a Colonel Lewis is the principal. He has been of infinite service since this War commenced, and has brought several chiefs of different Nations to see the French at Rhode Island, where they were a novelty and treated with the utmost civility. They were taken through all our Army & saluted at the Park with thirteen pieces of ordnance, which they received with a hideous Yell, but was much pleased with it. They are entertained by His Excellency at his own Table; dine, breakfast &c with his family and the Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers, that attend there.

"I just now received yours dated at Chestertown Maryland. I am happy to hear of your success with the Ladies, and thank you for the particular attention you pay to the Friend of

"E.

"Sept. 13, 1780.

"P.S.—I wrote and recommended you to Mr. J. Voorhees, Miss H. Jervis &c. as you requested."

[LETTER 115.]

"ORANGETOWN N. Y.

"I must confess I have been too negligent in writing to you since you have been detach'd, but I cannot be satisfied in the thought of its being neglect, but would rather impute it to any thing else.

"There is a Lady in the case; two or three indeed among the number of my correspondents; besides the above I have several male correspondents that I am taken up with. Another reason is, that sometimes I have the pleasure of seeing you, therefore you are not so great a stranger—but more than all the rest, I am employ'd in writing to my distant Friend Philander. A late one to him took eight folio pages.





"I the other day received a Letter from Cohansey. All our acquaintances are well & I am told the place is much alter'd for the better there being such a resort of company from Philadelphia, there is now several young ladies from the above place spending the Summer there. I could wish we were there at this Season of the year, but at the same time know its out of our power consistent with our Duty in the Field. I was in hopes of seeing you on yesterday's march from Steenrapie, & for that purpose rode some distance out of my way, and was disappointed.

"I last week received a letter from a young Lady known to you, as well in person as by the name of Terressa, in answer to two received from me—and was as much to my satisfaction as I could possibly expect. I now wait an opportunity to answer it.

"The other day I wrote a long letter on a particular subject to my uncle T. R——s, one to Mr. J. Milles, one to Miss H. J——s, and a long one to Mr. John Voorhees, at the well known place (to us) Georgetown, Maryland. I a few days ago saw an acquaintance from that place, he informed me that Miss Nancy Voorhees who is now about fifteen is a lovely girl, exceedingly handsome, the Belle of the place. Our poor Grove has suffer'd by some rude hand since we left the place; the Grove of Bacchus almost ruined.

"E.

"Sept. 21, 1780."

[LETTER 116.]

"I forwarded a packet of my nonsense to you by last Post, and have another nearly complete for the next. I trust you'll hide all my faults in your Bosom and kindly excuse the Foibles of Æneas. I am fully sensible that in my person I have many, but in my writings numberless.

"On the 18 instant His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Marquis De La Fayette, Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup> Knox and a number of other officers, both French and English, their Aide de Camps and attendants set out for the French



Army at Rhode Island, escorted by a large body of Cavalry. The command of the Army devolved on Major General Greene.

"In the Orders of the 19, the whole Army were to march on the morning of the 20 instant, which was done accordingly by the Left in two columns and proceeded to this place, every part of the Army encamping on the same ground they occupied about four weeks ago. An instance of the same kind has not happened since I've been in the Army.

"I here enclose you a copy of a small piece of Poetry, the production of your old Friend Corydon on a short acquaintance with a Lady you have been informed of:—

"Thou Lovely Maid from affectation free  
Envy itself cannot find fault with thee;  
My heart still flutters when I'm in thy sight,  
Pleas'd with the Idea of a fond Delight.  
Exposed the butt of little Cupid's dart  
Caused by the Pain I feel he's pierced my Heart.  
All! All the Artists can't all the shaft withdraw  
None but the fair by whom he gave ye blow.  
Come then dear Nymph and gently soothe my pain  
Expell the Dart and heal my wound again.  
Where shall I stop, my Soul is all on fire,  
Each nerve is on the Stretch of Chaste Desire  
Eager to grasp the lovely Golden prize,  
Kill not nor let me fall Loves sacrifice.'

"It is the Song of a young Bard, and it is hoped its Errors will be overlooked. I give you six lines wrote off hand by the same, in company with the same Lady:

"Thou Lovely Nymph, divinely Fair  
With snow white bosom, golden hair,  
Adorn'd with every female Grace  
Nature's perfection in one piece.  
So thinks the man that this indites  
He looks, he loves, he sighs and writes.'

"I think the last is much the best piece of the two. Nothing extraordinary since our arrival on this ground—





when anything transpires worthy of note, you may depend upon the earliest intelligence.

"Sept<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1780."

[LETTER 117.]

"HAVERSTRAW N. Y.

"On the 26 instant at half past one in the morning Gen. Wayne rode through the Brigade in great haste and gave Orders for us to get under Arms immediately, which we did and march'd off with the greatest secrecy and haste, and took the nearest route to King's Ferry over the Mountains. Our orders on the march were to be silent; every man ready for immediate action; and should we be opposed by an Enemy in front, to make no halt but close column, the front to charge, and to force our way through them and leave them for the Army to deal with—our business lay the other side of them should they be there.

"As we were on our march it was whispered among the officers, that a Spy was taken the morning of the preceeding day, and that Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold had deserted to the Enemy that evening, and that the Enemy was expected to be up as far as Haverstraw that morning, and that an Express had arrived from His Excellency, who luckily arrived at West Point a little while after Arnold left it, on his way from Hartford to join the Grand Army; and that we were to move with all speed, and run all hazards to save West Point. The most of which we found true—except that the enemy did not come up, oppose us at Haverstraw as was expected. They got up the River as high as Fort Washington—the wind proving against them, came no further. We arrived at this place about sun rise, having marched 16 miles in about 4 hours. A few hours after our arrival our Second Brigade joined us, having march'd sometime after us.

"You shall hear further of the above.

"Sept<sup>r</sup> 26, 1780."

[LETTER 118.]

"A certain Major André, Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> to the British Army came from on board the Vulture, laying nearly opposite



Haverstraw, had several private interviews with General Arnold at Mr. Smith's at the White House; Gen<sup>l</sup> usually came down from West Point under pretence of visiting the works at Verplank's and Stony Points.

"On the evening of the 24, the time designated for André's going on board, the command'g officer at Verplank's Point took two field pieces down to the shore and fired on the Vulture round shot and shells from a Royal; caused her to slip her cable and move off, André being left behind having all his business settled with Arnold, disguised himself, crossed King's Ferry with Mr. Smith and proceeded toward New York. On the morning of the 25, fell in with a party of our Horse near Tarrytown who were disguised like Robinson's Rangers, fell in discourse with the officers, and express'd his Joy in being (as he thought), within their own Lines; discovered himself and told the errand he had been upon. The officers took care to secure him and his papers, brought him prisoner up toward Verplank's Point.

"Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold was then making preparations for receiving and entertaining His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, who was to call at West Point on his return from meeting some of the French Generals at Hartford. He having intelligence of André's disaster by some means previous to the arrival of His Excellency, took his barge and went down the River past the Forts below as a flag and went on board the Enemy's vessel without being mistrusted.

"Well for him that he did, for his Excellency meeting the party that had André examined him and some of his papers, and arrived at the Point in full hopes of securing Arnold, but the Bird had flown. Mr. Smith was taken the 26 instant and this day passed our encampment here at his house with André, as prisoners with a guard conducting them to Headquarters. Yesterday the Second Penna. Brigade march'd over the mountains to West Point, and had to pass the night very disagreeable in the woods. It seems it was agreed between Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold and Major André yt the Enemy should come up the River on the morning of the 26,





when West Point and all the forts &c in its vicinity, and the Stores, military and commissary, with a large quantity of clothing at Newburg, should be deliver'd into their hands, and if possible he would detain & let them take prisoner Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. By the overruling hand of Providence his treason was Discover'd and all his Villany found out and rendered of non effect to the Enemy, and much to our advantage, as we got rid of him who certainly acted as a Spy, & gave them every intelligence they could wish. He may thank his good fortune that his Desertion saved his Neck from the Halter.

"Sept<sup>r</sup> 27, 1780."

[LETTER 119.]

"HAVERSTRAW N. Y.

"We make ourselves very Merry at this place and as there is but few of the inhabitants worthy our notice we enjoy ourselves without them.

"The evening of the 29 ultimo several of us dress'd in woman's clothes and had a genteel Country Dance—spent the evening in great glee.

"The 30 all our officers with one from each of the other Reg<sup>ts</sup> dined elegantly together, and spent the day pleasantly—in the evening had a dance.

"The 2 instant made a visit to see the officers of Colonel Spencer's Reg<sup>t</sup>—cross'd the River to Verplank's Point, from there proceeded down and got most excellent Peaches. Several large droves of Cattle cross'd the River, while we were there—a boat overset and three or four of the cattle lost.

"On the evening of the 3, we had a genteel Family Dance at a Major Meurys. Some young Ladies of his relations being there on a visit—we spent the evening, (and as it rained) the most of the night in our amusement.

"We are fixing our encampment and tents as if we were to take Quarters here for the Winter—as building chimneys to the tents &c.

"Oct. 4, 1780."



[LETTER 120.<sup>1</sup>]

"On the evening of the 6 instant almost every tent in the Brigade had a chimney built to it, when we received orders of March—the Wagons being absent we did not march 'till late in the afternoon of the 7, when it rained and continued to do so 'till we arrived two miles past Cakeat Meeting House, where we halted for the night,—and continued raining all night. On the morning of the 8, we marched off for Paramus, where we arrived about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I moved on in front, breakfasted with Col. Proctor, called on D<sup>r</sup> Brodhurst, and dined with Mr. DePeyster, in company with General Huntington and his Aids. When we arrived we found the whole Army encamp'd at Paramus.

"On the morning of the 10 [9th?] the whole marched to Totawa except our Brigade.

"On the morning of the 10 instant our Brigade likewise march'd. I made a visit to Mrs. Swan, where I breakfasted and received intelligence from Miss DePeyster, now at Albany, who made particular mention of me in a letter to the above lady. We arrived at Totawa about three o'clock in the afternoon and encamp'd on the same ground we formerly lay upon.

"On the eleventh instant I received a letter from you without date or name of the place wrote from, but I was inform'd it came from Newark. Indeed I was much surprised at your sudden return from Maryland, and much more so at what you mentioned of Miss Peggy Camp. However, I hope to see you soon and then have an explanation. You mention the above did not affect you, but if I was to judge from appearances I should think otherwise—instance a letter without date or place, then you mention one enclosed which you forgot. I think from the complection of the above, it appears a little like a person in Love, which I believe is the case of my friend.

"Oct. 12, 1780."

<sup>1</sup> This letter was begun at Paramus, and finished at Totawa, New Jersey.





[LETTER 121.]

"TOTAWA N. J.

"As every person who belongs to the Army feels in themselves a strong propensity to know what passes there in their absence, I shall give you the following Extract from Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene's Order on the discovery of Arnold's hellish plot.

"ORANGETOWN Sept 26 1780.

"Treason of the Blackest dye was yesterday discover'd. Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold who commanded at West Point, lost to every sentiment of Honour, of Private and Public Obligations, was about to deliver that important Post into the hands of the Enemy. Such an event must have given the American cause a deadly wound if not a fatal stab. Happily the Treason has been timely discover'd to prevent the fatal misfortune. The Providential train of circumstances which led to it affords the most convincing proof that the Liberty's of America is the object of Divine Providence. At the same time the Treason is to be regrett'd. The General cannot help congratulating the Army on the happy Discovery.

"Our Enemys despairing of carrying their point by Force, they are practicing every base act to effect by Bribery and Corruption, what they cannot accomplish in a Manly way.

"Great Honour is due to the American Army that this is the first instance of treason of this kind, where many were to be expected from the Nature of the Dispute, and nothing is so bright an Ornament as the character of the American Soldiers, as they having been proof against all the Arts and Seductions of an Insidious Enemy.

"Mr. André, Adjutant Gen<sup>l</sup> to the British Army, who came out as a Spy to negotiate business is our prisoner. His Excellency the Commander in Chief is arrived at West Point from Hartford, and is, no doubt, taking the proper measures to fully unravel so Hellish a Plot."

[Here follows a copy of Arnold's letter to General Washington, on his arrival on board the "Vulture." See Sparks's "Life and Writings of Washington," Vol. VII. p. 533.]

[LETTER 123.]

"TOTAWA N. J.

"I think the inhabitants of the City of Philada showed their just abhorance of Mr. Arnold's crime by hanging him in Effigy. For fear you have not heard of the particulars



I here transmit an Extract from a Philada. Paper dated Oct 4 '80.

“A concise description of the Figures exhibited and paraded through the Streets of this City on Saturday last.

“A stage raised on the body of a cart, on which was an Effigy of Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold sitting. This was dress'd in Regimentals, having two faces, Emblematical of his traitorous Conduct, a Mask in his left hand, and a Letter in his right from Belzebug, telling him that he had done all the Mischief he could do, and now he must hang himself.

“At the back of the General was a figure of the Devil dress'd in black Robes, shaking a Purse of money at the General's left ear, and in his right hand a pitch fork ready to drive him into Hell, as the Reward due for the many crimes which his thirst for Gold had made him commit.

“In the front of the Stage, and before Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold, was placed a large Lanthorn of transparent paper, with the consequences of his Crime thus delineated i.e. on one part Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold on his knees before the Devil, who is pulling him into the flames, a label from the General's mouth, with these words: “My dear Sir, I have served you faithfully,” to which the Devil replies, “And I'll reward you.” On another side, two figures hanging, “The Traytors rewarded,” and underneath, “the Adjutant Gen<sup>l</sup> of the British Army and Joshua Smith; the first hanging as a Spy and the other as a traytor to his Country.” And on the front of the lanthorn was wrote the following:

“Major General Benedict Arnold, late commander of the Fort West Point.

“The Crime of this man is High Treason.

“He has Deserted the important post West Point on Hudson's River committed to his Charge by His Excellency the Commander in Chief, and is gone off to the Enemy at New York.

“His design to have given up this fortress to our Enemies, has been discover'd by the Goodness of the Omnicient Creator, who has not only prevented him carrying it into Execution, but has thrown into our hands André, the Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of their Army, who was detected in the infamous character of a Spy.

“The treachery of this ungrateful General is held up to publick view, for the Exposition of Infamy, and to proclaim with Joyfull Acclamation another Instance of the Interposition of bounteous Providence.

“The Effigy of this Ingrate is therefore hanged (for want of his body) as a traytor to his Native Country, and a betrayer of the Laws of Honour.”

“The Procession began about four o'clock in the following order:

“Several gentlemen mounted on horseback.

“A line of Continental Officers.





“Sundry Gentlemen in a line.

“A Guard of the City Infantry.

“Just before the Cart, Drums and fifes playing the Rogues March.

“Guards on each side.

“The procession was attended with a numerous concourse of people, who after expressing their abhorance of treason and the traytor, committed him to the flames, and left both the Effigy and the Original to sink into Ashes and Oblivion.’

“Thus much for a Rascal I would wish never more to mention.

“Oct 18<sup>th</sup> ’80.”

[LETTER 124.]

“TOTAWA N. J.

“Yesterday I had the pleasure of dining with a gentleman from Maryland over Totawa bridge.

“We have accounts from York that a few days ago an Embarkation took place—it is supposed for the Southward.

“We are inform’d that Mr. Arnold is so despised by the British, that he is obliged to retire on Board a vessel for want of Gentlemen to keep him company, either in the City or Army.

“An Extract from the Gen<sup>l</sup> Order of the first instant, Orange Town:

“The Board of General Officers appointed to examine in the Case of Major André have Reported

“1<sup>st</sup>. That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war in the Night of the 21<sup>st</sup> of September last, on an interview with Gen<sup>l</sup> Arnold in a private and secret manner.

“2<sup>dly</sup>. That he changed his dress within our Lines and under a feigned name, and in a Disguised habit, passed our works of Stony and Verplanks Points, the evening of the 22<sup>d</sup>. of Sept last, and was taken the morning of the 23<sup>d</sup> of September last at Tarrytown, in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New York & when taken he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the Enemy.

“The Board having maturely considered these facts, do also Report to His Excellency General Washington: That Major André Adjutant Gen<sup>l</sup> to the British Army ought to be consider’d as a Spy from the Enemy, and agreeable to the Law & usage of Nations, it is their Opinion he ought to suffer Death.

“The Commander in Chief directs the Execution of the above sentence in the usual way this afternoon five o’clock precisely.’



"After Order Oct 1st '80.

"'The Execution of Major André is postponed till tomorrow.'

"The Execution was defer'd on account of some dispatches sent by a flag to New York, or rather in answer to some received by a flag from there. They had something to propose in order to save André if possible. As he was in the character of a Spy Gen<sup>l</sup> Clinton (of the British) did not like to appear in it publicly, therefore the dispatches came as from Col. Robinson, pretending that his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Clinton was abroad.

"The flag & dispatches came by the Lieutenant of a Ship of War, who seem'd to be much of a gentleman, but a real, blunt honest seaman. When the returns to the Dispatches came to his hand directed to Col. Robinson, he exclaimed, 'Hey! How's this! Why not directed to Sir Harry Clinton?' When he received for answer that Gen<sup>l</sup> Clinton was abroad and Col. Robinson had undertaken the matter, answered, 'A damn'd finess by God! For I was at Sir Harry Clinton's quarters and received the Dispatches from his own hands. By God! gentlemen, you may depend upon it to be a damn'd finess! By God! I like you better than ever—I like to see every thing done fair and *above board*.' He answered as bluntly to many questions, swore that Gen<sup>l</sup> Clinton would give up Arnold, or the whole Southern Army for André, for he could not do without him. 'By God,' says he, 'Sir Harry Clinton's a mere old woman without him.' It is supposed that André would have been exchanged for the traitor Arnold, if they would have given him up.

"Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> '80."

[LETTER 125.]

"TOTAWA N. J.

"Extract—Evening Orders Oct 1 '80.

"Major André is to be Executed tomorrow at 12 o'clock precisely. A Battalion of 80 files from each wing to attend the Execution.





“Major André wrote to His Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington the day before his Execution expressing a desire to be shot, rather than hanged, if it could be granted him. Not so much on his own account, as those who would interest themselves in the manner of his death—advancing these reasons—That he had been bred a soldier from his Infancy, and would wish to die like one. That he was not conscious of having done a mean action in his Life, and could not think of dying like a Rascal.

“During the time of his confinement he had a genteel Room and an officer of our Army continually with him. From the time of his capture till his Death, there was the utmost uniformity in his behaviour.

“Capt. John Hughes of ye Congress Reg<sup>t</sup> and Lieut. Burrows walk’d with him to the place of Execution, all in the same uniform, he with the utmost composure, bowing to any gentleman he had seen before as he passed along. The scene was truly affecting; the gentlemen that was with him seemed a little discomposed. He was heard to say to them, ‘Gentlemen why are you so disturbed on my account, ’tis but a moment and the pain is over.’

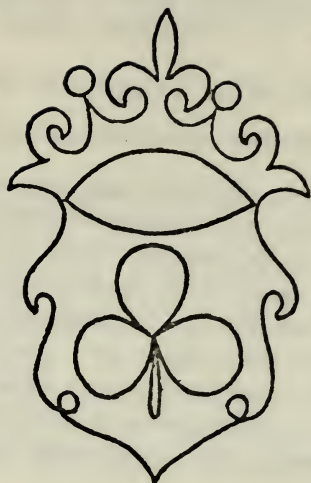
“When he saw the gallows, he turn’d to the gentlemen and said, he was perfectly reconciled to Death, but not to the mode. When desired to mount the cart, he laid one hand on the tail and sprung into it, put the cord over his head, and assisted the Executioner in fixing it. Tied a handkerchief over his eyes and gave the attendant one to pin back his arms. Being asked if he had any thing to say, answered nothing but this—‘That he hoped they would all bear witness that he died a brave man.’ He died lamented by all the spectators; he seem’d to the last to value his Honour far more than his Life, and met Death with the courage of a Hero, and the calmness of a Philosopher.

“’Tis pitty such men should ever Die.

“Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> 1780.”

(To be continued.)





PENSILVANIA

WR

FAC-SIMILE OF THE WATERMARK OF RITTENHOUSE PAPER MILL.





HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RITTENHOUSE PAPER-MILL; THE FIRST ERECTED IN AMERICA, A.D. 1690.

BY THE LATE HORATIO GATES JONES.

[Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 11, 1863.]

The fabric called paper has acquired such an importance in almost every business transaction in which men engage, that the history of its early manufacture in America ought to prove of interest to those who study the progress of events and the development of our national resources and our national character. As a discovery the art of paper-making certainly ranks next in importance to the invention of printing, and by some it is regarded as even more important, for without cheap paper the printing-press would be of little use.

So rapid has been the progress in the art of paper-making that at the present time we can read our newspapers printed upon paper made from straw<sup>1</sup> and even common white wood.<sup>2</sup> The ordinary American poplar-tree, which is so much admired for its stateliness among the trees of the forest, can be converted into good white paper in the short space of eighteen hours. But it is not my purpose to describe either the process or the progress of paper-making; mine is a far more humble duty, and relates chiefly to the history of a single mill.

Until within a few years the general impression has been, and the idea is propagated even now, that paper-making in America had its origin on Chester Creek in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1714, and that Thomas Willcox was the first paper-maker. This statement has

<sup>1</sup> The *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, has been printed on straw paper since May, 1854.

<sup>2</sup> The *New York Examiner* of March 19, 1863, was issued upon paper made of eighty per cent. of wood.



been repeated so often that even standard writers have incorporated it into their works. The second mill has been assigned to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and 1728 is given as the probable year of its construction.

As to the Willcox mill, although entitled to consideration from having supplied Franklin with paper at an early date, and from having been the first mill in America to manufacture bank-note paper, yet, instead of being the first, I believe it was the fourth or fifth mill in point of age. Dr. George Smith, in his recent "*History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania,*" says that the old Ivy Mill of Willcox was not erected until the year 1729, or very shortly afterwards; and he adds that it was "*the second place at which paper was manufactured in Pennsylvania.*" This latter statement is far from being correct.

From the year 1690 until 1710 there was but one paper-mill in the American Colonies. Of this mill, which I claim the privilege of designating from its founders THE RITTENHOUSE PAPER-MILL, I shall now proceed to give as detailed a sketch as the materials in my possession will enable me to do; and as the history of this mill forms an important item in the early history of our State, I shall make no apology for the minuteness of my details.

The next writer who has referred to paper-making in America is Richard Frame, one of the early settlers of Philadelphia, who wrote a poem entitled "*A short Description of Pensilvania: or A Relation of what Things are Known, Enjoyed and like to be Discovered in said Province.*" It was printed at Philadelphia in 1692 by William Bradford.<sup>1</sup> The homeliness of the metre is more than counterbalanced by the important facts which it reveals. After giving the names of the most prominent towns,—placing Germantown next to Philadelphia,—he devotes twenty-six lines to the paper-mill, as follows :

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. John William Wallace for a copy of Frame's poem. It was reprinted in the *Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch* in November, 1862.





"The German-Town, of which I spoke before,  
Which is, at least in length one Mile or more,  
Where lives High-German People, and Low-Dutch,  
Whose Trade in weaving Linen Cloth is much.  
There grows the Flax, as also you may know,  
That from the same they do divide the Tow;  
Their trade fits well within this Habitation,  
We find Convenience for their Occasion.  
One Trade brings in imployment for another,  
So that we may suppose each Trade a Brother;  
From Linen Rags good Paper doth derive,  
The first Trade keeps the second Trade alive;  
Without the first, the second cannot be,  
Therefore since these two can so well agree,  
Convenience doth appear to place them nigh,  
One in *German-Town*, t'other hard by.  
A *Paper-Mill* near *German-Town* doth stand,  
So that the Flax, which first springs from the Land,  
First Flax, then Yarn, and then they must begin  
To weave the same, which they took pains to spin.  
Also, when on our backs it is well worn,  
Some of the same remains Ragged and Torn;  
Then of the Rags our Paper it is made,  
Which in process of time dost waste and fade:  
So, what comes from the Earth, appeareth plain,  
The same in Time, returns to Earth again."

In the year 1696, another Philadelphia writer,—John Holme,<sup>1</sup>—who was one of the magistrates of the city, and sat upon the bench when William Bradford was tried for publishing George Keith's pamphlet, also wrote a poem, longer, and possessing much more merit than Frame's, and full of quaint hits at the various questions of the day, and containing likewise a full description of the country, its inhabitants, customs, and the products of the land. It is styled "A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pen-

<sup>1</sup> Judge Holme came to Philadelphia from England in the year 1686, and was one of the constituent members of the first Baptist church in that city. He married the widow of the Hon. Nicholas More, who was the first Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania. Judge Holme subsequently settled in Salem, New Jersey, was one of the judges of Salem Court, and died there. His descendants are quite numerous, and reside in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.



silvania." This poem was not printed until 1847.<sup>1</sup> The reference to the paper-mill is as follows :

"Printer.

"Here dwelt a printer and I find  
That he can both print books and bind ;  
He wants not paper, ink nor skill  
He's owner of a paper mill.  
The paper mill is here hard by  
And makes good paper frequently,  
But the printer, as I do here tell,  
Is gone into New York to dwell.  
No doubt but he will lay up bags  
If he can get good store of rags.  
Kind friend, when thy old shift is rent  
Let it to th' paper mill be sent."

Again, in 1697, Gabriel Thomas, after his return to England, wrote and published a description of Pennsylvania,<sup>2</sup> in which he says, "All sorts of very Good *Paper* are made in the German-Town as also very fine *German Linen* such as no Person of Quality need be ashamed to wear."

By the term "the German-Town" was meant Roxborough as well as Germantown proper, for at that early day the territory comprising the present Roxborough, although divided into plantations, had received no particular name ; and as the settlers of both places were Germans and Hollanders, the name of "German-Town" was very appropriate.

All of these writers refer to one and the same establishment,—the Rittenhouse Paper-Mill. The printer mentioned by Holme was William Bradford, and his true connection with the mill will be shortly explained.

In a beautiful and secluded valley in that part of the County of Philadelphia known as Roxborough there is a

<sup>1</sup> It was printed in the Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1847), Vol. I., No. 13, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> "An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania," etc. By Gabriel Thomas, who resided there about fifteen years. London, 1698.





rivulet called *Paper-Mill Run*, which empties into the Wisahickon Creek about two miles above its junction with the river Schuylkill. This rivulet, after crossing "Township Line Road," above the present Rittenhouse Street, passes through a small meadow near the well-known "McKinney Stone Quarry." In that meadow, and on the banks of this rivulet, the first paper-mill in America was erected in the year 1690. The founder was a Hollander named WILLIAM RÏTTINGHUISEN, now anglicized into RITTENHOUSE. He was born in the Principality of Broich in the year 1644. His ancestors had been engaged for generations in paper-making, and he had learned the same business. It has been stated that he and a brother originally came to New York while it was a Dutch colony; that the brother settled in New Jersey, but William, with his sons Claus or Nicholas and Garrett or Gerhard, came to Pennsylvania about the year 1690. When Mr. Barton, author of "*Memoirs of David Rittenhouse*," was in Amsterdam in 1778, he met a venerable man of eighty-five years named Adrian Rittinghuysen, who said that his father's name was Nicholas; that he had been a paper-maker in that city; that his father's brother William went with his family to North America, where he some time afterwards, as he had understood, established the paper-mill near Germantown.<sup>1</sup> My own belief is that William Rittenhouse and his sons were in Pennsylvania a couple of years prior to 1690. Certain it is that they did not settle in New York while it was a Dutch colony, which it ceased to be in 1674, for a German certificate, still preserved among the family papers, dated July 25, 1678, states that "Wilhelm Rittinghaussen" was then a resident of Amsterdam; and a Low Dutch document, dated June 23, 1679, certifies that on that day "Willem Riddinghuÿsen papermaker," had taken the citizen's oath at Amsterdam. Besides, on Zimmerman's Plan of Germantown Lots the names of all the "early Proprietors" are given, and among them appear those of William and Claus Ritten-

<sup>1</sup> Barton's "*Memoirs of David Rittenhouse*," p. 80.



house. Again, on the 7th of May, 1691, Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, granted naturalization to "sixty-four of the first Germantown Inhabitants," as they were styled, and the names of the Rittenhouses are included in the list.

These facts, therefore, show conclusively that the Rittenhouses were among the early settlers of Germantown, but the precise year of their arrival either in Germantown or America is unknown. Their stay in New York was doubtless very brief; for although they found there a people who spoke their own language, yet there was no market for paper. In Philadelphia, however, there was a printer,—the justly celebrated William Bradford,—and it is not at all improbable that through his influence they were induced to settle in Pennsylvania. But it may be that while in Holland they had heard of William Penn and his new Commonwealth, and had seen the circulars of The Society of Free Traders, or of The Frankfort Land Company, the agent of which—Francis Daniel Pastorius—was the chief settler and personage of Germantown, where the Rittenhouses first settled.

As stated before, the paper-mill was erected in the year 1690, and this fact, about which until recently so little appears to have been known, I am able to substantiate through the kind assistance of Mr. Nicholas Rittenhouse, of Roxborough, a lineal descendant of the first paper-maker, and who within a short time has furnished me not only the original deed for the mill property, but many other valuable manuscripts.

Thus, after a lapse of one hundred and seventy-three years, and after numerous errors on the subject of early paper-making in America have been perpetuated in standard works even during the past year, I am enabled to present to this Society the most reliable evidence, giving to the Rittenhouse Paper-Mill the position it is entitled to hold as the pioneer paper-mill in America.

The deed to which I have referred bears date "the Ninth day of the Twelfth month called Ffebruary, In the ffourth year of the Reign of Queen Ann," 1705/6. The





grantor is Samuel Carpenter, of Philadelphia, and the grantee is William Rittenhouse, of Germantown. The recitals in the deed are as follows: "Whereas In the year of our Lord, One thousand Six hundred and Ninety, It was agreed Between the said Samuel Carpenter of the one part, And Robert Turner, William Bradford, Thomas Tresse and the said William Rittenhouse in behalf of themselves and others that undertook to build a Paper Mill upon the Land hereafter mentioned of the other part, That the said Samuel Carpenter should Demise unto the said Robert Turner, William Bradford, Thomas Tresse, William Rittenhouse and the rest of the Company or Persons concerned as aforesaid, all that Tract of Land whereon the said Paper Mill was to be erected, Containing Twenty acres, To hold them to their Executors and Assigns for the Term of Nine hundred and ninety Years, Paying unto the said Samuel Carpenter his Heirs or Assigns the Rent of five Shillings Sterling on the Twenty ninth day of September yearly during the sd Term. And Whereas the said Paper Mill was afterwards built but no Lease actually signed or executed according to the said Agreement; And Whereas Ffrancis Rawle Administrator of the Estate of the said Robert Turner, As also the said William Bradford, Thomas Tresse and the rest of the Persons concerned in the said Paper Mill, Assigned all their right and Interest therein to the said William Rittenhouse, Now this Indenture Witnesseth that the said Samuel Carpenter As well for the Consideration of the Rent and Covenants hereinafter mentioned and reserved As also for divers other good causes and considerations him moving, hath demised, Granted, Lett and to ffarm letten And by these presents Doth Demise, Grant, Lett and to ffarm lett unto the said William Rittenhouse All that Paper-Mill scituate in the said County of Philadelphia, And all that Tract of Land whereon the same stands, Beginning at a Spruce Tree near Wessehickon Creek. Then North East One hundred and Ten perches by Thomas Jaques Land to a Corner post; Then North West by German-Town Land Thirty five perches to a Corner post; Then South West by



Thomas Master's Land Ninety four perches to a post by the said Wessehickon Creek; Then down the severall Courses of the same Creek to the place of beginning, Layd out for Twenty Acres being part of One hundred acres sold and Conveyed by William Harwood to the said Samuel Carpenter and his Heirs and Assigns forever by a Deed of ffeoffment duly executed under the Hand and Seal of the said William Harwood dated the Seventh day of the ffourth Month 1693 Acknowledged in Court at Philadelphia the Sixth day of December 1693."

The lease was for the term of nine hundred and seventy-five years from the 29th of September 1705, and the rent reserved was five shillings sterling per annum.

It thus appears that there was at first a company regularly organized to establish the paper-mill, composed of some of the most wealthy and influential men of Philadelphia. Samuel Carpenter and Robert Turner were extensive landholders, and were the advisers and coadjutors of William Penn; Thomas Tresse was a rich ironmonger; and William Bradford was the famous printer who established the first printing-press in the middle colonies of America. This was in the year 1685, only *three* years after our ancestors had landed in the wilderness, and, as I am inclined to believe, the year of his arrival in Pennsylvania. The chief and most important member of the company was William Rittenhouse.

What led to a dissolution of the company, or when it occurred, does not appear, but it is evident that for some time prior to 1705 William Rittenhouse had become the sole proprietor of the establishment. As he was the practical man, it is quite probable that during the existence of the company the mill was under his entire control, and was managed by him and his son Claus, who subsequently became a partner with his father and Bradford, and in the end acquired the sole ownership of the mill. The papers I have examined seem to indicate that towards the last of the partnership it consisted of Robert Turner, Thomas Tresse, William Bradford, and William Rittenhouse, each owning





a fourth part, and that finally Claus Rittenhouse purchased the shares of Turner, Tresse, and Bradford. I am inclined to believe that he secured Turner's share in 1697, Tresse's about the year 1701 or 1702, and Bradford's in 1704.

As all are aware, Bradford offended the ruling powers,—first, for printing the charter, as was alleged, without leave, and then for printing a pamphlet of George Keith, a seceding Scotch Quaker. At this distance of time we cannot but applaud his independent spirit and his noble defence when arraigned in court. In 1693 he left Philadelphia and went to New York City, where he established the first press in that province.<sup>1</sup> But he still retained his interest in the paper-mill, and depended upon it for his supply of printing-paper. However, his distant abode induced him in 1697 to rent his share of the mill to the Rittenhouses,—father and son. The original lease is still preserved, and I shall give it verbatim as an interesting relic, written by Bradford himself on paper made at this mill, and having the water-mark W R, the initials of the maker's name. It is in the following words:

“Know all men by these presents, That it is Covenanted & agreed as followeth by and between W<sup>m</sup> Rittenhouse and Clause Rittenhouse of German Town Paper-makers on y<sup>e</sup> one part and William Bradford of y<sup>e</sup> City of New York, Printer on y<sup>e</sup> other part, Witnesseth, That y<sup>e</sup> said W<sup>m</sup> Bradford having one fourth part of y<sup>e</sup> said paper-mill near German Town, he y<sup>e</sup> said W<sup>m</sup> Bradford doth demise and to farm letten all yt his one fourth part of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Paper-Mill and Land with all y<sup>e</sup> appurtenances thereunto belonging for and during the full Term of Ten years from y<sup>e</sup> first day of September in y<sup>e</sup> year of our Lord 1697, with all y<sup>e</sup> profits arising thereupon, For and in consideration whereof, it is Covenanted and agreed by [and] between the said Parties, That they the sd. W<sup>m</sup> and Clause Rittenhouse shall pay and deliver to sd. William Bradford his Executors or assigns or their order in Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> full quantity of Seven Ream of printing paper, Two Ream of good writing paper and two Ream of blue paper, yearly and every year during y<sup>e</sup> sd. Term of Ten years. It is further Covenanted by and between sd. parties, That y<sup>e</sup> sd. W<sup>m</sup> and Clause Rittenhouse, their Executors or Assigns shall keep

<sup>1</sup> On April 10, 1693, he established his press in New York; and in 1725 he established the first newspaper in New York.



up and maintain the sd. Mill in good Repair at their own proper Costs and Charges, during the sd. Term of Ten years as also leave y<sup>e</sup> sd. Mill and Appurtenances in good Tenantable Repair. Also it is further Covenanted That during y<sup>e</sup> sd. Ten years y<sup>e</sup> sd. William and Clause Rittenhouse shall lett y<sup>e</sup> said W<sup>m</sup> Bradford his Executors or Assigns have y<sup>e</sup> refusal of all y<sup>e</sup> printing paper that they make and he shall take y<sup>e</sup> same at Ten shillings pr. Ream, As also y<sup>e</sup> sd. Bradford shall have y<sup>e</sup> refusal of five Ream of writing paper and Thirty Ream of brown paper yearly and every year during y<sup>e</sup> sd. Term of Ten years, y<sup>e</sup> writing paper to be at 20<sup>s</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> brown paper at 6<sup>s</sup> pr. Ream, to be delivered likewise to y<sup>e</sup> order of W<sup>m</sup> Bradford or his Executors or Assigns at Philadelphia. And if they sell sd. paper to others at a less price than above specified, the s<sup>d</sup> William Bradford shall have what he takes abated to the same price. In and to y<sup>e</sup> performance of these articles of agreement and every clause therein contained, they the said Clause and W<sup>m</sup> Rittenhouse and W<sup>m</sup> Bradford do bind and oblige themselves each to the other in the sum of Fifty pounds Current Money of y<sup>e</sup> Province of Pennsylvania. In witness whereof the sd. parties have to these presents their hands and seals interchangeably set this 24<sup>th</sup> day of September in the year of our Lord 1697.

“Sealed and Delivered in y<sup>e</sup>

presence of us

Jacob Cofing

his

“JEREMIAH X OSBOURN.”

mark

“WILL. BRADFORD [SEAL.]

It thus appears that Bradford was to receive for his share of the mill paper of the value of six pounds two shillings, equal to sixteen dollars and twenty-three cents of our present currency, and that he had the monopoly of the entire printing-paper that was made in America from September 1, 1697, until September 1, 1707. What the quantity was does not appear, nor is it possible to state with any degree of accuracy the capacity of the mill. All paper was then manufactured by hand, each sheet being made separately. At that early day and long afterwards the rags were pounded into pulp in stone or iron mortars by the aid of trip-hammers, and several days were required to produce a sample of dry finished paper. Formerly—before the introduction of machinery—a day's work for three men was four and a half reams of newspaper of the size of





twenty by thirty inches; so that there might have been made annually at the Rittenhouse Mill from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred reams of paper of all kinds, but this is mere conjecture. Small as was its capacity, it was all-important to the community at large, for the home supply of Pennsylvania was dependent upon it; and, as we have just seen, the great commercial metropolis of America was once supplied with its printing-paper from this small mill.

There, in that secluded spot, far away from the abodes of any, except the mystic Hermits of the Ridge, who lived on the banks of the Wissahickon, and with no access to Philadelphia, except by Germantown, Rittenhouse and his son devoted themselves with untiring industry to their useful and honorable art. Like their staid and thrifty ancestors, they acquired a wide reputation for the production of the family staple,—good paper,—and to this they usually affixed a water-mark. I may here observe that the early paper-makers used a variety of devices or marks to distinguish their papers. The water-mark is produced by wires bent to the shape of the letters or device required, and sewed to the surface of the mould, its effect being to make the paper thinner in those places.

Many kinds of paper received their names from these marks, and although the devices are disused, the paper still retains the name,—e.g., the name *foolscap* paper was derived from the device of a head with a *fool's cap and bells*; while *post* paper was so called from having the mark of a *horn*, which the *post-boy* usually carried and blew to announce his arrival. Neither has any such mark now. The first water-mark adopted by the Rittenhouses was the word *Company*, designating the original partnership, to which I have alluded. The next mark used was the letters WR—the initials of the founder—on one-half of the sheet, and on the other half a *clover-leaf* in a shield surmounted by a kind of crown, while beneath was the word *Pensylvania*. I have given traced specimens of these water-marks of the original size on the paper itself in the front of this sketch. The clover-grass, or *Klee-Blatt*, used by Rittenhouse as part of this de-



vice was, according to Francis Daniel Pastorius, the common town mark or seal of Germantown, near which the mill was situated.

The next mark used was K. R., the initials of his son Claus, which in Dutch was often spelled *Klaas*. I have seen it both on writing- and printing-paper. The only other Rittenhouse mark that I have seen was I. R., which meant Jacob Rittenhouse, a great-grandson of the founder.

The Rittenhouses continued in active business at their mill until the year 1700 or 1701, when a great misfortune overtook the honest proprietors. The little stream on which they relied for their water-power proved in one of those years fatal to their establishment, for a freshet occurred and swept away the mill and its entire contents. But, nothing daunted, and like stout-hearted men as they were, we find that soon after they resolved to repair their loss and begin anew. This sad event happened during the last visit of William Penn to America, and the facts are related by Mr. Barton, as follows:<sup>1</sup>

"There is now before the writer of these Memoirs a paper in the handwriting of the celebrated William Penn and subscribed with his name, certifying that 'William Rittinghousen and Claus his son,' then 'part owners of the Paper-Mill near Germantown,' had recently sustained a very great loss by a violent and sudden flood, which carried away the said mill, with a considerable quantity of paper, materials and tools, with other things therein, whereby they were reduced to great distress; and, therefore recommending to such persons as should be disposed to lend them aid, to give the sufferers, 'relief and encouragement, in their needful and commendable employment,' as they were 'desirous to set up the paper-mill again.' . . . In Mr. Penn's certificate, William Rittenhousen is called an old man, and is stated to have then been 'decrepit.'"

This recommendation of Penn is without date, and the original certificate has disappeared. As a friend of honest

<sup>1</sup> Barton's "Memoirs of David Rittenhouse," pp. 83, 84.





industry and the promoter of every trade which could advance the material prosperity of his Commonwealth, he was naturally desirous to see this establishment in particular rebuilt, and there were kind friends who nobly responded to his call. Having chosen another site a short distance below the first mill, a new structure was erected in the year 1702, much more substantial than the first.

Although Bradford still retained his share of the mill, it does not appear that he contributed towards its reconstruction. Very naturally, the Rittenhouses now wished to secure the entire ownership, and having bought the share of Tresse, they opened a correspondence with Bradford on the subject of his share of the mill. At first Bradford agreed to do as others did, in the settlement of his claim against the Rittenhouses, and upon this understanding they proceeded to rebuild the mill; but afterwards he made a different proposal. What it was I cannot conjecture, unless it was a renewal of his paper monopoly. Whatever it was, the Rittenhouses declined to accede to it. The following letter from Claus Rittenhouse to William Bradford best explains the transaction, and forms an interesting feature in the history of the mill.

"PHILADELPHIA the 12<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Mo 1703.

"LO. FFRIEND

"WM BRADFORD—

"I have yours directed to Samuel Carpenter dated the 22<sup>d</sup> Aprill last which my father & I have Read, & considered yr. severall proposalls, which being different from ye first Lett<sup>r</sup>, wherein you condescended to doo as others did, and thereupon gave us Encouragement to proceed in Rebuilding the Paper Mill. Wee therefore hope & earnestly intreat yr. fav<sup>r</sup> to take yr share of the materialls saved and the arrears of Rent due and thereupon discharge us as Thomas Tresse hath done and hath given us a full discharge and Release of all Right and Claim to the s<sup>d</sup> Paper Mill, wee being to pay the arrears of Chiefe Rent, upon which wee gave him our bond to pay him what wee owe him. Part of what wee owe thee is already paid in paper & the rest shall be pd. to yr. content. And as for furnishing you with paper from time to time, as wee reckon ourselves obliged in duty for yr. kindnesses, so wee intend to serve yr. occasions to our ability, but considering this Country may want paper and severall here have been so kind as to assist us in ye Rebuilding the paper mill, wee dare not engage ourselves by any Contract or bond to



any particulars, least it may not be in our power to comply without disappointing or disobliging the rest of our friends; Soe yt wee desire you only to depend upon us for serving you with paper the best wee can—which wee shall do to the utmost, and yr. favorable answer to our Request; for you are partly sensible of our Condicion yt wee are not able to comply with those proposalls in yr. Lettr. to Sam. Carpenter. I also rec<sup>d</sup> yrs. of 13<sup>th</sup> June wherein you desire some paste board, such as I used to make for you, viz, the two thicker sorts which may be ready to be delivered to Nich<sup>s</sup> Pearse in about two weeks, viz 40 or 50<sup>lb</sup>. In-closed is an account of what wee have saved and used belonging to the former mill, being £15.2.4. Yr part is 3.15.7<sup>d</sup> to which adding the Rent due being About or near  $\frac{3}{4}$  of year at £6. pr. year is 4.10. make the whole £8.5.7d.

"I conclude with Kind Respects & subscribe In behalf of my ffather and myself—

"Yr. friend

"CLAUS RYTTINGHOUSEN."

Appended to the letter is "An Account of the materialls of the old Paper Mill which were used in the new Mill," viz.:

The plates for the house 160 feet, 6 by 8 inches at 3 <sup>d</sup> pr. foot	£ 2. 0.0.
147 foot of Scantling 3 × 4 inches at 1 <sup>d</sup> pr. foot	12.3.
36 foot 5 × 7 inches at 2 <sup>d</sup> pr. foot	6.
80 foot 3 × 4 inches at 1 <sup>d</sup> pr. foot	6.8.
205 foot of boards at . . . . .	16.5.
205 foot of Scantling 3 × 4 at 1 <sup>d</sup> pr. foot	17.
1 Axle tree or Shaft for the Wheel	1. 0.0.
Some water troughs	10.
The Presse . . . . .	5. 0.0.
252 lbs of Iron at 6 <sup>d</sup> pr. lb.	6. 6.
	<u>£17.14.4.</u>

The charge of taking up the Presse & getting it home 2.  
& for taking up & bringing to the Mill, the other  
things . . . . . 12

2.12.  
£15. 2.4.

The sum total of what was saved from the wreck amounted in our money to forty dollars and twenty-one cents.





It was not until June 30, 1704, that Bradford was induced to part with his share of the mill. Two years afterwards William Rittenhouse secured the land on a lease for nine hundred and seventy-five years, and subsequently his son Claus became the owner of the fee. From that time until this day the paper-mill property has been in possession of persons bearing the name of Rittenhouse, but the mill itself, having been renewed at least four times, has been converted into a cotton factory.

The elder Rittenhouse, the founder, having lived to see his mill in a flourishing condition, gave his share in it to his son Claus shortly before his own death. He died in the year 1708, aged about sixty-four years, and it is probable that he was buried in the burial-ground of the Mennonists in Germantown, of which church he and his son Claus were not only members, but ministers.

Mr. Rittenhouse had but three children who survived him or who left issue,—viz., Nicholas, who married Wilhelmina Dewees, a sister of William Dewees, of Germantown; Elizabeth, who married Heivert Papen; and Garrett, who resided at Cresheim.

After the death of his father the mill was carried on by Claus, who supplied not only Bradford in New York, but the home market at Germantown and Philadelphia. The following letters from Bradford are all that I have been able to discover.

"NEW YORK Aug. 16, 1709.

"FFRD. CLAUSE RITTENHOUSE

"Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Instant I recd w<sup>th</sup> yr. account by w<sup>ch</sup> you give me Cred<sup>t</sup> for 12<sup>lb</sup> 4<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> as rec<sup>d</sup> of Nicholas Pearse. If you have rec<sup>d</sup> no more of him, there is 17<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub><sup>d</sup> due to you, w<sup>ch</sup> I have ordered N. Pearse to pay you and take your Receipt in full of that amo<sup>t</sup>. I have also desired him to pay you what money he can, in part of this printing paper w<sup>ch</sup> you now send, and when I know what he has or can pay you, I shall take care to send you y<sup>e</sup> remainder at or before y<sup>e</sup> Time of the Quaker Yearly Meeting. I desire you to send me 2 or 3 Ream brown paper and some thick paste board, which is all at present from

"Your friend

"WILL BRADFORD."



"FFRD CLAUSE RITTENHOUSE

"I have rec<sup>d</sup> 16 Ream of printing paper from you; and a Letter at y<sup>e</sup> same time. Since that I have rec<sup>d</sup> Ten Ream more. Let me know what you have recd. from Nich<sup>s</sup> Pearse, and I will order you y<sup>e</sup> balance. If you have more of y<sup>e</sup> same sort of paper, pray let me have it.

"These are also to acquaint you that I shall want some of y<sup>e</sup> large writing paper; pray let [me] know how much you can make. I shall want six or seven Ream. If you want fine Rags, let me know it & I shall send some by Land; for I must have 6 or 7 Ream of such paper as you made before for me. Pray let me hear from you by y<sup>e</sup> next Post, which will oblige

"Your friend

"WILL BRADFORD.

"NEW YORK 7<sup>th</sup> 11, 1709."

The supply of paper from the Rittenhouses, it seems, was regularly forwarded to Bradford both by land and water, and he in turn sent back fine rags in part payment. The experiment of making paper—both writing, printing, brown, and blue paper—as well as pasteboard was a complete success. The business was no doubt remunerative, and in the course of a few years the *second* paper-mill in the American Colonies was erected by another early settler of Germantown named William De Wees, a brother-in-law of Nicholas Rittenhouse. This second mill was built in the year 1710 on the west side of Wissahickon Creek, in that part of Germantown known in early times as *Crefeld*, near the line of the present Montgomery County, then called "The Manor of Springfield." The probability is that De Wees had learned the art of paper-making from the Rittenhouses. In 1713 this mill and a tract of one hundred acres of land were conveyed by De Wees to Claus Rittenhouse and three others, and the recitals in the deed show that the mill was then in full operation. How long he and his associates owned this establishment I do not know, but on a map made in 1746 "Hy. Dewees' Paper Mill" is marked as being at this same place. It is probable that Henry was a son of William De Wees, and that he purchased the mill for himself. This is all that the limits of my essay will allow me to say concerning the second paper-mill in America.





The year 1719 formed a new era in the history of paper-making in America, and in that of our city and State. Until that time the people had no means of acquiring knowledge or general information, except the few books which were issued in Philadelphia or New York or which the more wealthy could import, but on the 22d of December, 1719, Andrew Bradford, a son of William Bradford, established in Philadelphia *The American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper ever printed in the British Middle Colonies.<sup>1</sup>

The first newspaper in the Colonies was the *Boston News Letter*, printed in 1705 by Bartholomew Green; the second was the *Boston Gazette*, by James Franklin, December 21, 1719; and the third was Bradford's *Mercury*, which was issued the next day.

The paper used by Bradford for his *Mercury* was made at the Rittenhouse mill. Of this there can be no doubt, for it has upon it the well-known water-mark K. R., the initials of the maker's name.

It is not a little remarkable that after the lapse of one hundred and forty-four years a lineal descendant of that same paper-maker is still engaged, in that part of Roxborough called Manayunk, in the same honorable occupation that his ancestor pursued; and further, that, like that ancestor, he too supplies all the paper upon which one of our daily journals is printed. I refer to Mr. Martin Nixon, of the Flat Rock Paper-Mills, as the paper-maker, and to the *Public Ledger* as the journal. As is generally known, the *Ledger* is, and has been since May, 1854, printed upon paper made from straw, and I believe it was the first journal in this country to try that experiment.

Mr. Nixon has communicated some valuable facts on the subject of straw paper which I shall embody in this essay. The manufacture of printing-paper from straw was begun by him and his brothers in 1854, and in 1857 and 1858 extensive improvements upon the French method were intro-

<sup>1</sup> Bishop's "History of American Manufactures," Vol. I. p. 171.



duced by him under the patronage of William M. Swain, Esq., of the *Public Ledger*. By the old process straw was operated upon in open boilers or tanks, and hence no greater heat than  $212^{\circ}$  F. could be obtained. In 1858 he invented spherical boilers, one of which could hold five tons of straw at a charge. This was patented November 22, 1859, and by its means he was able to produce a heat equal to from  $330^{\circ}$  to  $340^{\circ}$  F., and representing a pressure of from one hundred pounds to one hundred and fifteen pounds to the square inch. The usual quantity of straw pulp is eighty per cent. and of rag pulp twenty per cent., but at times the paper has been made from pure straw pulp. With the works in full operation he can make from 2,600,000 pounds to 2,700,000 pounds of paper per annum, which, of *Ledger* size, would be about 93,000 reams, and at present market rates would be worth about \$450,000.

In making this quantity of paper the works consume about 600 tons of rags, 3000 tons of straw, 500 tons of soda ash, 400 tons of bleaching powders, 10,000 bushels of lime, and 2000 tons of coal.

As may readily be seen, there is quite a contrast between the ancestor and his descendant, both as to the process employed in the manufacture and the quantity of paper produced!

In the month of May, 1734, Claus Rittenhouse, the second paper-maker in America, died at the age of sixty-eight years. He was born in Holland, June 15, 1666, was a member of the Mennonist meeting at Germantown, and officiated as a minister in that society. He was the grandfather of David Rittenhouse, the American astronomer, who was born April 8, 1732, in a house still standing, near the site of the old paper-mill; David's father, Matthias Rittenhouse, being the youngest son of Nicholas. He left the paper-mill to his oldest son, William, who carried on the business for many years. When he died the mill property fell to his son Jacob Rittenhouse, also a paper-maker. Jacob died in 1811, and left the mill to his nephews Enoch and Samuel Rittenhouse; and Enoch, who





became sole owner, and died in the year 1855, devised it to his cousin Peter Rittenhouse, the present owner.

And now my sketch of this pioneer paper-mill of America and of its worthy founders, imperfect as I know it to be, is done. Its merit, if it possess any, is its strict adherence to historical accuracy, and the use in its preparation of entirely original documents.

A particular feature in the sketch, and in keeping with the subject, is the fact that the paper on which it is written was made at the first paper-mill in America, by the first paper-maker and his son, prior to the year 1699.



## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 203.)

1792.

## MONDAY, JANUARY 2.

At Philadelphia: Receives and answers an address from the "Right Worshipful Grand Officers of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania."

## TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

At Philadelphia: "*February 24.*—On Tuesday evening the 21st. inst. the city dancing assembly,<sup>1</sup> gave a ball in honor of the birth day of the President of the United States. They were honored on this occasion with the company of the President and Mrs. Washington, the Vice-President, the foreign Ministers, Mr. Speaker [Jonathan Trumbull] and most of the members of the two houses of Congress, the governor of the state [Thomas Mifflin], and of the Western Territory [Arthur St. Clair], together with many of the most respectable officers of the United States and of this state; and to crown the whole with one of the most brilliant displays of beauty ever exhibited in this city."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

## WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "*February 23.*—Yesterday both Houses of Congress walked in Procession to wait on the President of the United States to congratulate him on the anniversary

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<sup>1</sup> This social organization, which dates back to 1748, is still in existence, its members meeting twice during the winter for the enjoyment of dancing. In the early days the balls were given every Thursday evening from January to May, beginning at six and ending at twelve o'clock. Now they begin at twelve.





of his Birth Day. . . . The officers of the militia of the City, Liberties and Districts of Philadelphia paid their respects in a body and there was also a military parade, with firing of guns and ringing of bells."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"February 25.—The entertainment given last Wednesday evening [February 22], by the New City Dancing Assembly,<sup>1</sup> in honor of the President's birth day, was remarkable, we hear, for a brilliant display of beauty, taste and elegance. The President and a number of officers of the government attended."—*Idem*.

"February 25.—On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, the 21st and 22d instants, the two Dancing assemblies gave each, successively, a Ball, in honor of this anniversary—at both of which were present, the President of the United States, his Lady and Family—the Vice-President of the United States—the Heads of Departments—the Foreign Ministers—the Speaker, and most of the Members of the two Houses of Congress—the Governor of the State—the Governor of the Western Territory—and many other respectable Officers of the United States, and of this Commonwealth—and to crown all, there was as brilliant a display of Beauty as was ever exhibited in this city. Elegant entertainments succeeded, when a variety of sentimental and patriotic Toasts were given."—*Gazette of the United States*.

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 23.

At Philadelphia: "March 26.—Friday last [March 23] the Indian Warriors lately arrived in this city [March 15], had an audience of the President of the United States."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

The Indian warriors received by the President consisted of fifty chiefs from the Northern tribes of the Six Nations,<sup>2</sup> among whom was the celebrated orator Sa-go-ya-wat-ha (He keeps them awake), better known as Red Jacket. In his address to them the President said, "You have been invited to this place by Colonel Pickering, at my special request, in order to remove all causes of discontent; to devise and adopt plans to promote your welfare, and firmly to cement the peace between the United States and you, so that in future we shall consider ourselves brethren indeed. I assure you that I am desirous that a firm peace should exist not only between the United States and the Five Nations, but also between the United States and all the Nations of this land—and that this peace should be founded upon the principles of justice and humanity, as upon an immovable

<sup>1</sup> A distinct and separate association from the one of a similar character referred to under date of February 21, and probably of short duration.

<sup>2</sup> The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras.



rock, that you may partake of all the comforts of this earth, which can be derived from civilized life, enriched by the possession of industry, virtue and knowledge."

It was during this visit to Philadelphia that the President presented to Red Jacket a large silver medal, on the principal side of which was engraved a design representing Washington in uniform and standing, having just given the calumet of peace to an Indian chief, who is smoking it. The reverse bore the United States shield on the breast of the American eagle displayed, and over his head a glory breaking through a cloud and surrounding thirteen stars. This silver memento, known as the "Red Jacket Medal," which is still in existence,<sup>1</sup> is interesting as being the first presentation of the kind on the part of the Federal government that we are aware of.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 2.

At Philadelphia: Under this date, Edward Thornton, secretary to Mr. George Hammond, the British Minister, in writing to Sir James Bland Burges, drew the following character of Washington.

"*Philadelphia*, April 2, 1792.—I promised you in a former letter a description of the President of the United States, General Washington. Conscious as I am of the difficulty and danger of describing again what has been so often described before, I will yet attempt to convey to you my idea of him. His person is tall and sufficiently graceful; his face well-formed, his complexion rather pale, with a mild philosophic gravity in the expression of it. In his air and manner he displays much *natural* dignity; in his address he is cold, reserved, and even phlegmatic, though without the least appearance of haughtiness or ill-nature; it is the effect, I imagine, of constitutional diffidence. That caution and circumspection which form so striking and well-known a feature in his military, and indeed in his political character, is very strongly marked in his countenance, for his eyes retire inward (do you understand me?) and have nothing of fire of animation or openness in their expression. If this circumspection is accompanied by discernment and penetration, as I am informed it is, and as I should be inclined to believe from the judicious choice he has generally made of persons to fill public stations, he possesses the two great requisites of a statesman, the faculty of concealing his own sentiments and of discovering those of

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<sup>1</sup> "On the death of this great chief of the Six Nations of the State of New York, in 1830, the medal passed into the hands of his nephew the Seneca chief So-Sa-Wa (corpulent man), James Johnson. It now belongs to James Johnson's grand-nephew, Do-ne-ho-gá-wa (open door), General Ely S. Parker, who served during the civil war on the staff of General U. S. Grant."—J. F. LOUBAT, *Medallic History of the United States*, New York, 1878.





other men. A certain degree of indecision, however, a want of vigour and energy, may be observed in some of his actions, and are indeed the obvious result of too refined caution. He is a man of great but secret ambition, and has sometimes, I think, condescended to use little arts, and those, too, very shallow ones, to secure the object of that ambition. He is, I am told, indefatigable in business, and extremely clear and systematic in the arrangement of it; his time is regularly divided into certain portions, and the business allotted to any one portion rigidly attended to. Of his private character I can say little positive. I have never heard of any truly noble, generous, or disinterested action of his; he has very few who are on terms of intimate and unreserved friendship; and what is worse he is less beloved in his own State (Virginia) than in any part of the United States. After all, he is a great man, circumstances have made him so; but I cannot help thinking that the misconduct of our commanders has given him a principal part of that greatness."<sup>1</sup>

SATURDAY, MAY 5.

At Philadelphia: "I am much pleased to hear, that the picture by Colonel Trumbull gives so much satisfaction. The merit of this artist cannot fail to give much pleasure to those of his countrymen, who possess a taste for the fine arts; and I know of no part of the United States, where it would be put to a stronger test than in South Carolina."—*Washington to William Moultrie.*

"The picture by Colonel Trumbull," referred to in the above quoted letter, was a full-length portrait of Washington in military costume, standing by a horse, painted from life at Philadelphia, in 1792, for the city of Charleston, South Carolina. The picture is still owned by the city. The resolution of the City Council requesting the President to sit to Colonel Trumbull was passed May 7, 1791, at the time he was in Charleston, during his southern tour. The resolution is as follows: "*Resolved* unanimously, that his Honor the Intendant in behalf of the City Council and their constituents, be desired to request of George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States, that he will be pleased, when it is convenient to him, to permit his portrait to be taken by Colonel Trumbull, in order that it may be placed in the City Hall, as the most lasting testimony of their attachment to his person, to commemorate his arrival in the Metropolis of this State, and to hand down to posterity the resemblance of the man to whom they are indebted for the blessings of Peace, Liberty and Independence."

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<sup>1</sup> Selections from the "Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Bart., sometime Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs," edited by James Hutton. London, 1885.



THURSDAY, MAY 10.

Leaves Philadelphia: "May 11.—The PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, yesterday left this city, on a journey to the Southward."—*The Aurora*.

SATURDAY, MAY 19.

At Mount Vernon: "My family now Howell<sup>1</sup> is admitted into it, will be *more* than full, and in truth than is convenient for the House [in Philadelphia], as Mr. [Bartholomew] Dandridge<sup>2</sup> (a nephew of Mrs. Washington) is already one of it, and but one room for him, Howell and another person to sleep in, all the others being appropriated to public or private uses."—*Washington to Charles Carter*.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1.

At Philadelphia: "June 1.—The President of the United States has arrived in this city from the Southward."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"Since his [the President's] return from Virginia, prior to which journey he had desired me to forward a packet for Sir Isaac Heard<sup>3</sup> which I addressed to you, or to Mr. Boyd for you, by the ship *George Barclay*, since that time I have been honoured by an invitation to dine with him. Except in the honour, believe me there is nothing pleasant in the circumstance, for it is of all others the most dull and unentertaining. The President's reserve, the effect partly I think of pride, partly of constitutional diffidence, throws a restraint on the whole party. The conversation was in consequence uncommonly phlegmatic and trivial, though as the party contracted into a smaller circle, the Secretary of State's strictures on monarchs began to throw a certain portion of animation into it. This gentleman (Thomas Jefferson) is, or affects to be, a most rigid republican; a warm admirer of Thomas Paine, and a vigorous stickler for revolutions and for the downfall of all aristocracy. The death of the King of Sweden [Gustavus III.] made it extremely probable, he said, that there would be a revolution in that country during the minority of his successor.

<sup>1</sup> Howell Lewis, son of Washington's sister Betty.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Judge Dandridge, General Court of Virginia. He died in 1802, while consul at St. Domingo.

<sup>3</sup> This packet, under date of May 2, 1792, contained particulars respecting the Washington family in Virginia, for which Sir Isaac Heard, Garter Principal King of Arms, had written to the President. This history of the American branch will be found in Sparks, Vol. I. p. 547.





"The most dignified character in this country (Washington) has a good deal of (I cannot call it republicanism, for he affects state, he loves to be treated with great respect, and (by the by) is not a little flattered, I conceive, by the particular attention of Mr. Hammond not to visit him but in full dress, but of) a certain dislike to monarchy. If Kings were Presidents, or if the President were a King, I believe that aversion would cease. At present he cannot but conceive himself much inferior in dignity and importance to any of them. When he travels, it is in a very *kingly* style; for on his last journey he foundered five horses, and I am informed that his secretaries are not admitted into his carriage, but stand with their horses' bridles in their hands till he is seated, and then mount and ride before his carriage."—*Edward Thornton to Sir James Bland Burges, Bart.*, June 11, 1792.

## TUESDAY, JUNE 5.

At Philadelphia: "June 5.—We have authority to inform the Public, that the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES intends to honor the Theatre with his Presence this Evening."<sup>1</sup>—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"June 8.—We hear, that on Tuesday last [June 5], the President of the United States and his Lady, attended by the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury and his Lady, honoured Mr. Pearce with a visit to his Cotton Manufactory [No. 13 Penn Street].—The President attentively viewed the Machinery &c. and saw the business performed in its different branches, which met with his warmest approbation."—*Idem*.

## THURSDAY, JUNE 21.

At Philadelphia: "In the course of last winter, I had some of the chiefs of the Cherokees in this city, and in the spring I obtained, with some difficulty indeed, a full representation of the Six Nations to come hither. I have sent all of them away well satisfied, and fully convinced of the justice and good dispositions of this government towards the Indian nations generally. . . . With difficulty still greater, I have brought the celebrated Joseph Brant [Thayendanegea] to this city, with a view to impress him

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<sup>1</sup> "For the Benefit of Mons. Placide. BY AUTHORITY. By the Old American Company, at the Theatre in Southwark. This Evening, June 5, Will be presented a COMEDY, Called—The Beaux Stratagem. End of the Play, DANCING on the TIGHT ROPE, By Monsieur PLACIDE and the LITTLE DEVIL."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 5.



also with the equitable intentions of this government towards all the nations of his color. He only arrived last night,<sup>1</sup> and I am to give him an audience at twelve this day."—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

The policy of the first President toward the Indians was, if possible, to attach them to the interests of the United States, and at the same time to persuade them to exchange the savage state for one of civilization. To carry out this design it was thought that no better plan could be adopted than to impress upon them the habits of industry and the cultivation of their lands. In concluding an address (January 19, 1791) to Cornplanter, Halftown, and Great-Tree, three chiefs of the Seneca Nation, at that time on a visit to the seat of government, Washington said, "You may, when you return from this city to your own country, mention to your nation my desire to promote their prosperity, by teaching them the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough and raise so much corn; and if, upon consideration, it would be agreeable to the nation at large to learn these arts, I will find some means of teaching them at such places within their country as shall be agreed upon."

#### TUESDAY, JULY 3.

At Philadelphia: "Your letter of the 20th ultimo was presented to me by Mr. Williams, who as a professional man may or may not be, for aught I know, a luminary of the first magnitude. But to be frank, and I hope you will not be displeased with me for being so, I am so heartily tired of the attendance, which, from one cause or another has been given to these people, that it is now more than two years since I have resolved to sit no more for any of them, and have adhered to it, except in instances where it has been requested by public bodies, or for a particular purpose (not of the painters), and could not without offence be refused."—*Washington to Henry Lee.*

Notwithstanding this refusal, Mr. Williams persevered in his purpose, and, acting upon the hint conveyed in the above quoted letter, offered to compliment the Alexandria Washington Lodge, No. 22, with a portrait of the President, provided the Lodge would apply to him for that purpose.

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<sup>1</sup> "June 21.—Arrived yesterday Evening in this City, Escorted by Colonel Thomas Proctor, and Major Stagg, Col. Joseph Brandt, the celebrated Chief of the Six Nations of the Northern Indians."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*





This offer was brought before the Lodge at a meeting held August 29, 1793, and, being received with favor, the application was ordered to be made.

Being thus armed, Mr. Williams met with better success, and obtained a sitting from the President in September, 1794.<sup>1</sup> This portrait, a half-length, is still in the possession of the Alexandria Lodge; it represents Washington as a Mason, with the collar and jewel of a Past Master, and amounts so nearly to a caricature (judging from the print after it by O'Neill)<sup>2</sup> that it would seem the President, in refusing the original application, must have had some inkling as to the lack of artistic powers on the part of Mr. Williams.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

At Philadelphia: "*July 5.*—Yesterday, being the anniversary of the political birth-day of our country, was ushered in with every demonstration of joy due to the occasion, which gave freedom to a world—Congratulations, becoming freemen governed by equal laws, were expressed with a cordiality, which freemen only can feel—Bells and cannon but feebly proclaimed the sentiments of citizens, who, conscious of the advantages which result from political and religious liberty, revere the return of that day, on which they emerged from the horrors of servitude to the blessings of INDEPENDENCE."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"Among the offerings to the altar of Freedom—we beheld with sincere satisfaction the homage paid by all orders of men to the Military Defender, and Civil Guardian of his country. Congratulations were offered to the President of the United States by the foreign Ministers—the officers of the militia, and many respectable citizens. The Society of the Cincinnati headed by their President [Thomas Mifflin] and Vice President [Thomas McKean] (the Governor and Chief Justice of the State) went in procession to pay their respects to the President of the United States."—*Idem*.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 11.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*July 18.*—This day se'nnight the President of the United States and his Lady, left this city, on a tour to Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

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<sup>1</sup> On the back of the portrait is the following inscription: "His Excellency George Washington Esquire President of the United States, aged 64—Williams Pinxit ad vivum in Philadelphia, September 18, 1794."

<sup>2</sup> See Baker's "Engraved Portraits of Washington," p. 104.



SUNDAY, JULY 29.

At Mount Vernon: "At present all my business public and private is on my own shoulders; the two young gentlemen [Howell Lewis and Bartholomew Dandridge], who came home with me, being on visits to their friends, and my nephew, the Major [George Augustine Washington], too much indisposed to afford me any aid."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

SUNDAY, AUGUST 5.

At Mount Vernon: "Since the date of my last despatch to you of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, I have received your letters of the 26<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

*From Alexander Hamilton's Letter.*—"I received the most sincere pleasure at finding in our last conversation, that there was some relaxation in the disposition you had before discovered to decline a reelection. Since your departure, I have lost no opportunity of sounding the opinions of persons, whose opinions were worth knowing, on these two points; first, the effect of your declining upon the public affairs, and upon your own reputation; secondly, the effect of your continuing, in reference to the declarations you have made of your disinclination to public life. And I can truly say, that I have not found the least difference of sentiment on either point. The impression is uniform, that your declining would be to be deplored as the greatest evil that could befall the country at the present juncture, and as critically hazardous to your own reputation; that your continuance will be justified in the mind of every friend to his country by the evident necessity for it. . . . I trust, Sir, and I pray God, that you will determine to make a further sacrifice of your tranquility and happiness to the public good. I trust, that it need not continue above a year or two more. And I think, that it will be more eligible to retire from office before the expiration of the term of election, than to decline a reelection."—*Philadelphia, July 30.*

Thomas Jefferson also, in writing to Washington on the same subject, under date of May 23, said, "The confidence of the whole Union is centred in you. Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence or secession. North and south will hang together, if they have you to hang on; and, if the first corrective of a numerous representation should fail in its effect, your presence will give time for trying others not inconsistent with the union and peace of the States."

SUNDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Mount Vernon: "With respect, however, to the interesting subject treated in your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> instant, I





can express but one sentiment at this time, and that is a wish, a devout one, that, whatever my ultimate determination shall be, it may be for the best. The subject never recurs to my mind but with additional poignancy; and, from the declining state of the health of my nephew, to whom my concerns of a domestic and private nature are entrusted, it comes with aggravated force. But as the All-wise Disposer of events has hitherto watched over my steps, I trust, that, in the important one I may soon be called upon to take, he will mark the course so plainly, as that I cannot mistake the way."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph*.

*From Edmund Randolph's Letter.*—"Permit me, then, in the fervor of a dutiful and affectionate attachment to you, to beseech you to penetrate the consequences of a dereliction of the reins. The constitution would never have been adopted, but from a knowledge that you had once sanctioned it, and an expectation that you would execute it. It is in a state of probation. The most inauspicious struggles are past, but the public deliberations need stability. You alone can give them stability. You suffered yourself to yield when the voice of your country summoned you to the administration. Should a civil war arise, you cannot stay at home. And how much easier will it be to disperse the factions, which are rushing to this catastrophe, than to subdue them after they shall appear in arms? It is the fixed opinion of the world, that you surrender nothing incomplete."—*Philadelphia, August 5*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

At Mount Vernon: Issues a proclamation respecting the opposition to the excise laws imposing a tax on domestic distilled spirits.<sup>1</sup>

The excise law of the 3d of March, 1791, was extremely offensive to the people in many parts of the country, but especially to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania west of the Alleghany Mountains, whiskey at that time being their most important item of trade. Soon after the publication of the law public meetings were held in the counties of Fayette, Alleghany, Westmoreland, and Washington, at which the law was denounced as inimical to the interests of the country, and at a meeting in Pittsburgh, August 21, 1792, resolutions were passed recommending that no intercourse or dealings should be held with any one who had accepted or might accept an office to carry

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<sup>1</sup> The proclamation was sent to Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, for his signature, and then published at Philadelphia, September 27.



out the provisions of the act; and that all aid, support, or comfort should be withheld from them. In course of time this movement assumed an organized form, which finally culminated in armed opposition and violence.

The proclamation earnestly admonished and exhorted all persons to refrain and desist from combinations to obstruct the operation of the law, "inasmuch as all lawful ways and means will be strictly put in execution for bringing to justice the infractors thereof and securing obedience thereto."

#### MONDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: "*Georgetown*, October 1.—I called at Gunstonhall, the proprietor [George Mason] just recovering from a dreadful attack of the colic. . . . I proceeded to Mount Vernon & had a full free & confidential conversation with the President. . . . He declares himself quite undecided about retiring, desirous to do so, yet not decided if strong motives against it exist."—*Thomas Jefferson to James Madison*.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7.

At Mount Vernon: "As Mrs. Washington and myself expect to set out to-morrow for Philadelphia, I have taken advantage of the good opportunity afforded by Mr. Robert Lewis of sending Harriot [Washington] to Fredericksburg."—*Washington to Mrs. Betty Lewis*.

#### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Philadelphia: "*October 15*.—The President of the United States, his Lady, and Family, arrived here on Saturday afternoon [October 13], from Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"In the year 1790, the Federal Government removed from New York to Philadelphia, for a ten years residence, and to give time to prepare the City of Washington for a permanent location. I came two years after, with my father's family, to fix myself for life in Philadelphia. Living in the same town, I had frequent opportunities of seeing the President, and attending his reception days in the morning, and those of Mrs. Washington in the evening: a pleasure of which I availed myself for several years; and, at the opening of Congress, which the President did in person, I was always a spectator. On these occasions he went in state, drawn in a coach by four horses; and taking the Vice President's chair in the Senate Chamber, where the House of Representatives was assembled, he read his Speech. His





successor, John Adams, followed this custom. But Jefferson, dispensing with personal attendance, sent his speech, in the form of a Message, to both houses; a mode which has been in use ever since; and is, no doubt an improvement, because it has put an end to long and angry speeches in each house, when the answer to the President was under debate. A message requiring no answer, that cause of contention, often protracted for days, was happily laid aside.

"Washington's stables in Minor Street,<sup>1</sup> contained some of the finest horses in the Union, both for carriage and saddle. The sixteen stalls were generally filled. He inspected them every morning, and thus insured good grooming and care. Those stables were shown by me to all strangers under my guidance; being, as I always thought, one of the most attractive sights in the City. I have seen the President in his large white coach start from his door, with six of those splendid horses, driven by a coachman and two postillions, suitably dressed in livery. His rides for health and recreation were very often to Belmont, the country seat of Judge Richard Peters, who had been his friend and intimate acquaintance during the long war of the Revolution. The gardens at Belmont, on the right bank of the Schuylkill about five miles from town, are remarkable for their umbrageous and retired walks; where the Fir-trees, Hemlocs and Pines, cast their deep shades, from trees of one hundred years growth. There it was the great man sought relaxation from the cares of Government. A tree must still stand in those grounds which he planted with his own hands; it was pointed out to me by one of the family. . . .

"Washington's personal presence was majestic. Six feet high and finely proportioned; no individual of his day was so remarkable for dignity and grace in deportment when in public. At the receptions, his manners were so engaging and affable, yet exercised with discrimination, that it pleased and contented every one. Sir Robert Liston, the British Minister, was so surprized, that he said to his friends: 'I have read much about this great man; but no passage in his history prepared me to see such commanding dignity in person and behavior.' Beloved Man! Can the bosom of an American suppress its pride when your story is told! Can it calm the glowing,—the tender affection, the heart-felt gratitude, which the recollection of your services awakens? No, Never! Never!"<sup>2</sup>—*MS. of Samuel Breck.*

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<sup>1</sup> A small street extending from Fifth to Sixth Street, directly in the rear of the President's house.

<sup>2</sup> From a "Sketch of General George Washington," by Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia, forming part of the contents of a manuscript volume entitled "Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society personally known to the Writer." The sketches, twenty in number, were written by Mr. Breck in the summer of 1862. Samuel Breck was born in Boston, July 17, 1771, and died at Philadelphia, September 1, 1862. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature for many years, and a member of Congress 1823-25.



TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Philadelphia: "November 7.—Yesterday the President of the United States met both Houses of the National Legislature in the Senate Chamber and delivered his speech."<sup>1</sup>—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

Dr. Ashbel Green, chaplain of Congress from November 5, 1792, until the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington City, has left us in his "Reminiscences" the following description of Washington's manner of delivering his speech at the opening of Congress:

"There was more of the indefinable quality called *presence* in President Washington than any other person I have ever known. In his general manners he was eminently courteous and kind; and yet to the last, I could never speak to him without feeling a degree of embarrassment such as I have never felt in the presence of any other individual, man or woman, with whom I was well acquainted. In his observance of appointments he was punctiliously exact. After I was chaplain, I believe I was present at all his speeches on the opening of a session of congress; for the custom of sending a message to congress, which was introduced by Mr. Jefferson, was then unknown. Twelve o'clock at noon, was the usual hour agreed on for his opening speech, and in no instance did he fail in a punctual attendance at that hour; indeed, he commonly crossed the threshold of the door where the congress sat, exactly when the clock was striking the hour of twelve. The two houses always assembled to receive him in the senate chamber. When he entered, all the members of both houses rose from their seats, and stood up until he had taken his seat, which he did immediately after bowing to his audience. When he was seated, he looked around on the audience for a minute or two, and then took out his spectacles from a common red morocco case, and laid them on his knee, and then took from his side-pocket his written speech. After putting on his spectacles he rose and began his address, which he read closely. He read distinctly and audibly, but in no other respect was his reading excellent. Dr. Witherspoon had heard George the Third deliver one of his speeches to the British parliament, which he said was in the very best style of elocution. This could not be said of the speeches of Washington; his elocution had no glaring fault, and no high excellence."

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Philadelphia: "November 10.—Yesterday (Friday) the Members of the Senate waited on the President of the United States, at his own house, with an answer to his

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<sup>1</sup> "November 6, 1792.—About noon fifteen guns were fired at corner of Ninth and Market Streets because the President delivered his address to Congress, which met yesterday."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.



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speech to both Houses of Congress."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: "The mulberry trees may be planted about in clumps, as mentioned in my letter by last post to the gardener. They are not trimmed, because, as I am informed, these trees may be propagated by cuttings from them, and save me the trouble and expense of sending more from this place. With respect to the shrubs from Mr. Bartram's botanical garden, directions at the foot of the list are given so fully, as to render it unnecessary to add aught concerning them in this letter; but the grapes the gardener must take particular care of, as they are of a very fine kind."—*Washington to Anthony Whiting*.

While Washington was absent from home, discharging the duties of President of the United States, it was his custom to exact from the manager at Mount Vernon, once in each week, a full report of the proceedings on all the farms. These were regularly answered each week by the President, and sometimes oftener. His letters frequently filled two or three sheets closely written. The importance he attached to these letters, and his diligence in preparing them, may be understood from the fact that he first made rough drafts, which were copied out by himself in a fair hand before they were sent off. Press copies were then taken, which he preserved.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: On this day, the Speaker (Jonathan Trumbull) preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms and attended by the members of the House of Representatives, waited on the President, with an answer to his speech to both Houses of Congress.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: "*December 13.*—The President called on me to see the model and drawings of some mills for sawing stone. After showing them, he in the course of a subsequent conversation asked me if there was not some good manufactories of porcelain in Germany; that he was in want of table china, and had been speaking to Mr. Shaw,



who was going to the East Indies to bring him a set, but he found that it would not come till *he should no longer be in a situation to want it*. He took occasion a second time to observe that Shaw said it would be two years at least before he could have the china here, before which time he said he should be where he should not want it. I think he asked the question about the manufactories in Germany merely to have an indirect opportunity of telling me he meant to retire, and within the limits of two years."—*Jefferson Anas.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Philadelphia: "*December 27.*—I waited on the President on some current business. After this was over, he observed to me, that he thought it was time to endeavor to effect a stricter connection with France, and that Gouverneur Morris should be written to on this subject."—*Jefferson Anas.*

1793.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9.

At Philadelphia: "*January 9.*—With three of my daughters and some of their friends, went on the roof of the small building Southwest corner Ninth and Market Streets and saw Mr. Blanchard take his aerial flight out of the prison yard [Sixth and Walnut Streets]. Cannon fired from daylight to the time of his departure, between ten and eleven o'clock A.M."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

"*January 10.*—Mr. BLANCHARD, the bold AERONAUT, agreeably to his advertisement, at five minutes past ten o'clock yesterday morning rose with a BALOON from the Prison Court in this city, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, there assembled on the occasion. . . . As soon as the clock had struck 10 everything being punctually ready, Mr. Blanchard took a respectful leave of all the spectators, and received from the hands of the President a paper, at the same time the President spoke a few words to this bold adventurer, who immediately leap'd into his boat which was painted blue and spangled; the baloon was of a yellowish color'd-silk highly varnished, over which there was a strong net work—Mr. Blanchard was dressed in a plain blue suit, a cock'd hat and white feathers. . . .

"About half after 6 o'clock last evening we were happy to meet Mr. Blanchard again in this city going to pay his respects to the President of





the United States.—He informed us, that his aerial voyage lasted forty-six minutes, in which time he ran over a space of more than 15 miles and then descended a little to the eastward of Woodbury in the state of New Jersey—where he took a carriage and returned to Cooper's ferry—and was at the President's, as we have already mentioned at half past six o'clock last evening."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19.

At Philadelphia: "January 19.—Dined with the President of the United States on Market Street, with our Speaker [Gerardus Wynkoop] and eighteen members of the [Pennsylvania] House [of Representatives]. I cannot help remarking the ease and great sociability shown to all by the President."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 20.

At Philadelphia: "I have been favored with your letter of the 6th instant, congratulatory on my reelection to the chair of government. A mind must be insensible indeed, not to be gratefully impressed by so distinguished and honorable a testimony of public approbation and confidence; and as I suffered my name to be contemplated on this occasion, it is more than probable that I should, for a moment, have experienced chagrin, if my reelection had not been by a pretty respectable vote. But to say I feel pleasure from the prospect of commencing another tour of duty would be a departure from truth."—*Washington to Henry Lee*.

At the second election for President and Vice-President under the Constitution, fifteen States chose electors, Vermont and Kentucky having been admitted into the Union,—the former on March 4, 1791, and the latter on June 1, 1792. Washington received one hundred and thirty-two votes, the full vote of the college. John Adams, having received the second highest number of votes (seventy-seven), was declared to be Vice-President.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

At Philadelphia: "If I had words that could convey to you an adequate idea of my feelings on the present situation of the Marquis de Lafayette, this letter would appear to you in a different garb. The sole object in writing to you



now is, to inform you that I have deposited in the hands of Mr. Nicholas Van Staphorst, of Amsterdam, two thousand three hundred and ten guilders, Holland currency, equal to two hundred guineas, subject to your orders.

"This sum is, I am certain, the least I am indebted for services rendered to me by the Marquis de Lafayette, of which I never yet have received the account."—*Washington to the Marchioness de Lafayette.*

The Marquis de Lafayette, who on the declaration of war by France against Austria (April 20, 1792) was in command of the Army of the Centre, fifty-two thousand strong, was at his camp at Maubeuge at the time of the insurrection of June 20, 1792. Having denounced the dangerous policy of the Jacobins, and refusing, after the revolution of August 10, to obey the orders of the Assembly, he was removed from the command and his impeachment decided upon. He fled into Belgium, was taken prisoner by the Austrians, and handed over by them to the Prussians, by whom he was imprisoned first at Wesel, and afterward (March, 1793) at Magdeburg. The marchioness was retained a prisoner at Paris, but was subsequently permitted to live on the family estate in Auvergne (Chavaniac), under the responsibility of the municipality of the village.

After a year's incarceration at Magdeburg, Lafayette was transferred to Austria (May, 1794) for safe-keeping, and passed three years and more in a loathsome dungeon at Olmutz, where he was treated with barbarous cruelty. With much difficulty, his wife and two daughters, Anastasie and Virginia, got permission in October, 1795, to share his captivity. Much sympathy was felt for him in the United States and in England. In Parliament, Fox, Wilberforce, and Sheridan were active in his behalf, and Washington wrote (May 15, 1796) to the emperor, Francis II., asking that he might be allowed to come on parole to the United States. He was at length set free, September 19, 1797, by the victories of Bonaparte.

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

At Philadelphia: Is waited upon by a joint committee of both Houses of Congress and notified of his unanimous re-election to the office of PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The committee was composed of Rufus King, of New York; Ralph Izard, of South Carolina; and Caleb Strong, of Massachusetts, on the part of the Senate; and William Smith, of South Carolina; James Madison, of Virginia; and John Lawrence, of New York, on the part of the House of Representatives.





FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "*February 23.—Yesterday* (February 22) being the Anniversary of the *Birth-Day* of our beloved fellow citizen, GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President of the United States of America*, who was born on the 11th of February 1732, old stile: Capt. Fisher's volunteer company of Artillery & three companies of Light Infantry, paraded at the State house, from whence they marched to the Artillery ground, and proceeded to the corner of Ninth and Market streets where they fired 15 rounds, and gave three cheers; afterwards, they marched down Market street, and gave a salute as they passed the President's house; from whence proceeding down Market to Third street, they returned to the State House."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"All the shipping in the Harbour had their colours hoisted out, and the bells of Christ church rang peals every half hour, during the day. Most of the Members of both houses of Congress, and many hundreds of respectable citizens, waited on the President, to pay him a visit of personal respect, & offer their sincere congratulations on the occasion. Indeed every possible testimony of joy was expressed throughout the city of Philadelphia; and the beauty of the weather added greatly to the scene, by seeming to welcome the day on which our trusty Patriot, Victorious General, and excellent Chief Magistrate, entered his SIXTY SECOND YEAR. In the evening there was an elegant ball at Oeller's Hotel [Chestnut Street, above Sixth]; and in many other places the day was closed with conviviality and heart-felt rejoicings.

"Disclaiming as we do, all pretensions to adulation, it was impossible for us, it is impossible for any American, or perhaps for the people of any nation upon earth, to refrain from expressing a degree of satisfaction at the return of every revolving year that prolongs the life of a man, whose virtues have raised him to the very highest pitch of esteem.

"Oft as this auspicious day,  
Sacred to mem'ry, shall return,  
Let Freedom pour the grateful lay,  
And haughty Tyrants mourn!"—*Idem*.

MONDAY, MARCH 4.

At Philadelphia: "*March 5.—Yesterday*, our beloved and venerable GEORGE WASHINGTON, came to the Senate Chamber of Congress, and took the usual oath of office, which was administered to him by Judge [William] Cushing, at



noon, in presence of an immense concourse of his fellow citizens, members of both Houses of the United States, Legislature, and several foreign ministers, consuls &c.—There was likewise an assemblage of ladies, attending on this solemn occasion, and the day was extremely serene; for, Providence has always smiled on the day of this man, and on the glorious cause which he has ever espoused, of LIBERTY and EQUALITY.

“After taking the oath, the President retired, as he had come, without pomp or ceremony; but on his departure from the House, the people could no longer refrain obeying the genuine dictates of their hearts, and they saluted him with three cheers.”—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

“March 5, 1793.—I was present yesterday at the ceremony of administering the oath of office to Mr. Washington on his re-election for the next four years as President of the United States. It was administered by one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the Senate Chamber, in the presence of the Senators and as many individuals as could be crowded into the room. The President first made a short speech, expressive of his sense of the high honour conferred on him by his re-election. There was nothing particular in the ceremony itself. . . .

“There was one thing, which I observed yesterday in the Senate Chamber, which, if not accidental, will serve to mark the character of the people, though it was trifling in itself. The portraits of the King and Queen of France, which were presented, I believe during the war, were covered with a curtain, a circumstance which was not the case most certainly when I have been there on former occasions. Alas! poor Louis!

“Deserted at his utmost need  
By those his former bounty fed!”

“The French, those murderous imitators will, I fear, supply the rest of this passage, and in the very spirit, too, which actuated the assassins of the unfortunate Darius. I don't know whether I mentioned to you formerly that the key of the Bastile, given to a certain great man here by La Fayette, is hung up in a glass frame in the principal room of the great man's house, with an engraving of Louis XVI., *le patriote Roi des Français*, opposite to it. In the drawing-room of Mr. Jefferson there are three busts,—of Franklin, Paul Jones, and La Fayette, three gentlemen, the first of whom had talents without virtue, the second *deserved* hanging, and the last, not improbably, may meet with that fate. The French principles are gaining ground fast in this country; you will have heard of their rejoicings at the late successes of the French; you will have heard of the attacks upon





the President himself for his levees and other appendages of monarchy and aristocracy; the name of 'citizen' is bandied about, and in the course of last month a motion was made in the House of Representatives, in the very spirit of Cromwell and democracy, that the mace of that House should be broken up as a useless bauble, and the silver, of which part of it is composed, sent to the public mint. The mace is somewhat in the form of the ancient Roman Fasces; it consists of thirteen arrows bound together, and an eagle on the top."—*Edward Thornton to Sir James Bland Burges, Bart.*

SATURDAY, MARCH 23.

At Philadelphia: "If it can be esteemed a happiness to live in an age productive of great and interesting events, we of the present age are very highly favored. The rapidity of national revolutions appears no less astonishing, than their magnitude. In what they will terminate is known only to the Great Ruler of events; and, confiding in his wisdom and goodness, we may safely trust the issue to him, without perplexing ourselves to seek for that, which is beyond human ken; only taking care to perform the parts assigned to us, in a way that reason and our own consciences approve."—*Washington to David Humphreys.*

SUNDAY, MARCH 24.

At Philadelphia: "I shall leave this on Wednesday next, so as to be at Georgetown on the Monday following (the first of April); and if not detained there by business, shall be at Mount Vernon the day after. I shall take Osborne and the two postillions with me, and eight horses."—*Washington to Anthony Whiting.*

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*April 1.*—The President of the United States left town last Wednesday afternoon [March 27], on a visit to Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 9.

At Mount Vernon: "On Thursday next [April 11] at one o'clock, I mean to pay the last respect to the remains of my deceased Nephew—by having the funeral obsequies



performed. . . . The funeral will be in the presence of a few friends only.”—*Washington to David Stuart.*

The nephew whose death is referred to was Major George Augustine Washington, son of the President's brother Charles, who had been living at Mount Vernon since 1784, and had taken charge of the estate as manager in April, 1789. His health had been failing for some time from a pulmonary affection. Major Washington served in the Revolution as an aide to General Lafayette in his Virginia campaign.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12.

At Mount Vernon: “War having actually commenced between France and Great Britain, it behoves the government of this country to use every means in its power to prevent the citizens thereof from embroiling us with either of those powers, by endeavouring to maintain a strict neutrality. I therefore require, that you will give the subject mature consideration, that such measures as shall be deemed most likely to effect this desirable purpose may be adopted without delay; for I have understood, that vessels are already designated as privateers, and are preparing accordingly. . . . I shall set out to-morrow [for Philadelphia] but will leave it to the advices, which I may receive to-night by the post, to determine whether it is to be by the most direct route, or by the one I proposed to come, that is, by Reading &c.”—*Washington to Thomas Jefferson.*

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17.

At Philadelphia: “April 19.—The *President* of the *United States* arrived in town, from his southern tour last Wednesday [April 17] in good health.”—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

“My visit to Mount Vernon, intended to be short when I set out, was curtailed by the declaration of war by France against Great Britain and Holland; for I foresaw, in the moment information of that event came to me at that place, the necessity for announcing the disposition of this country towards the belligerent powers, and the propriety of restraining, as far as a proclamation would do it, our citizens from taking part in the contest.”  
—*Washington to Henry Lee, May 6.*





FRIDAY, APRIL 19.

At Philadelphia: A Cabinet meeting at the President's house. Present, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, General Knox, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. It was agreed unanimously, "That a proclamation shall issue forbidding our citizens to take part in any hostilities on the seas, with or against any of the belligerent powers; and warning them against carrying to any such powers any of those articles deemed contraband, according to the modern usage of nations; and enjoining them from all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those at war." It was also unanimously agreed that a minister from the Republic of France shall be received.

MONDAY, APRIL 22.

At Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation, reciting "that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands, on the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers;

"I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those powers respectively, and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition," etc.

The proclamation of neutrality may be considered, in regard to its character and consequences, one of the most important measures of Washington's administration. It was the commencement of that system to which the American government afterward inflexibly adhered, and to which much of the national prosperity is to be ascribed. But this act, founded on the clearest principles of justice and policy, was at variance with the prejudices, the feelings, and the passions of a large portion of the citizens, blinded for the time by their partiality for republican France and antipathy for their ancient enemy. It also presented the first occasion which was thought a fit one for openly assaulting a character around which the affections of the



people had thrown an armor heretofore deemed sacred, and for directly criminating the conduct of the President himself. It was stigmatized as a royal edict, an unwarrantable and daring assumption of executive power, and an open manifestation of the President and his political friends of partiality for England and hostility to France.

Washington saw that a deadly blow was aimed at his influence and his administration, and that both were at hazard; but he was convinced that neutrality was the true national policy, and he resolved to maintain it whatever might be his immediate loss of popular favor. Under date of July 21 he wrote to Henry Lee, "But in what will this abuse terminate? For the result, as it respects myself, I care not; for I have a consolation within, that no earthly efforts can deprive me of, and that is, that neither ambitious nor interested motives have influenced my conduct. The arrows of malevolence, therefore, however barbed and well pointed, never can reach the most vulnerable part of me; though, whilst I am *up* as a *mark*, they will be continually aimed. The publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers<sup>1</sup> are outrages on common decency; and they progress in that style, in proportion as their pieces are treated with contempt, and are passed by in silence, by those at whom they are aimed."

#### WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24.

At Philadelphia: "April 24.—After dinner Mr. and Mrs. Barge and my three daughters went to Rickett's circus [Market and Twelfth Streets]. General Washington and family were present."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

"April 30.—Took two men down to the meadow [below the city] to repair fence and gate-posts, and while there President Washington came to see his mare [on pasture]."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

#### SUNDAY, MAY 5.

At Philadelphia: "In the conversation you may have with a certain gentleman [Viscount de Noailles] to-day, I pray you to intimate to him gently and delicately, that, if the letters or papers, which he has to present, are, knowingly to him, of a nature which relates to public matters, and not particularly addressed to me, or if he has any verbal communications to make of a similar kind, I had rather they should come through the proper channel. Add thereto, generally, that the peculiar situation of European affairs at

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<sup>1</sup> *The National Gazette and The Aurora.*





this moment, my good wishes for his nation aggregately, my regard for those of it in particular, with whom I have had the honor of an acquaintance, my anxious desire to keep this country in peace, and the delicacy of my situation, render a circumspect conduct indispensably necessary on my part."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

The Viscount de Noailles, who married a sister of the Marchioness de Lafayette, had served with distinction in the United States during the Revolution, and at Yorktown was appointed, in conjunction with Colonel John Laurens, to arrange with Lord Cornwallis the details of the capitulation. Having engaged with enthusiasm in the early movements of the French Revolution, and acted a conspicuous part, he at length found himself in a proscribed party, and was obliged to flee from his country to escape the rage of the contending factions. He passed by way of England to this country, and arrived at Philadelphia on May 3, 1793. The President exercised much caution in receiving any of the French refugees, as is indicated by the above quoted letter, and De Noailles with others never saw him but in public. Louis Marie, Viscount de Noailles, resided for some time in Philadelphia. He died at Havana, Cuba, January 9, 1804.

#### FRIDAY, MAY 17.

At Philadelphia: Receives an address from the merchants and traders of Philadelphia, expressing the high sense they entertained of the wisdom and goodness which dictated the late proclamation of neutrality, and their determination to pay the strictest regard to it.

To this address, which was signed by about three hundred of the principal merchants and traders of the city of Philadelphia, the President made the following reply: "Fully persuaded that the happiness and best interests of the people of the United States will be promoted by observing a strict neutrality in the present contest among the powers of Europe, it gives me pleasure to learn that the measures which I have taken to declare to the world, their disposition on this head, has given general satisfaction to the citizens of Pennsylvania. The friends of humanity will deprecate war wherever it may appear: and we have experienced enough of its evils in this country, to know, that it should not be wantonly or unnecessarily entered upon. I trust, therefore, that the good citizens of the United States will shew to the world, that they have as much wisdom in preserving peace at this critical juncture as they have heretofore displayed valour in defending their just rights."



SATURDAY, MAY 18.

At Philadelphia: "*May 20.*—Last Saturday afternoon [May 18] at two o'clock Mr. Genet, being introduced by Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, produced his credentials to the President; he was received and acknowledged as Minister Plenipotentiary from the Republic of France to the United States of America."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

Edmund Charles Genet, "Citizen Genet," who succeeded M. Ternant as Minister from France to the United States, arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in the French frigate "L'Embuscade," April 8, 1793, and was received with open arms by the citizens. Bearing secret instructions to foment a war between this country and Great Britain, he began at once to fit out privateers to prey on British commerce, and gave authority to every French consul in America to constitute a Court of Admiralty to dispose of prizes brought into American ports by French cruisers. Genet travelled by land to Philadelphia, where, as well as on his route, his reception was of the most enthusiastic character, and although momentarily subdued by the calmness and dignity of the President, when presenting his credentials, he soon resumed his former attitude, and continued his violation of the sovereignty of the United States by commissioning privateers. When reminded of this offence by the Secretary of State, Genet denied the doctrine of neutrality as contrary to right, justice, and the laws of nations, and threatened to appeal from the President to the people, and actually undertook in July to fit out a privateer at Philadelphia in defiance of the government. It was a vessel captured by "L'Embuscade," the "Little Sarah," named by him "Le Petit Démocrate." Matters having thus reached a point where forbearance toward the insolent French minister was no longer required by the most exacting courtesy, the President called the Cabinet together on the first day of August, when it was decided that the French government should be requested to recall their minister, because he was offensive to that of the United States. This was acceded to, and M. Fauchet was appointed in his place, who arrived in February, 1794. Mr. Genet did not return to France, and, marrying the daughter of Governor George Clinton, became a naturalized citizen of the United States. He was twice married, his second wife being a daughter of Samuel Osgood, the first Postmaster-General under the Constitution.

MONDAY, JUNE 24.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*June 25.*—Yesterday the President of the United States left this city on a visit to his seat in Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.





SUNDAY, JUNE 30.

At Mount Vernon: "I expect to return to the seat of government about the 10th of next month."—*Washington to Thomas Jefferson.*

MONDAY, JULY 1.

At Mount Vernon: "The very polite invitation which you have given me, in the name of the citizens of Alexandria, to celebrate with them the approaching anniversary of American Independence, is received by me as a mark of attention meriting my warmest thanks; and as the best proof I can give of my feelings on the occasion will be to accept the invitation, I shall accordingly have the pleasure of meeting them at Alexandria on the 4th inst."—*Washington to the Committee on Celebration.*

THURSDAY, JULY 4.

At Alexandria: Participates in the celebration of the day, and dines with the citizens of Alexandria.

"*Alexandria*, July 11.—On a signal-gun from the camp of captain Hannah, the day [July 4] was ushered in by 15 rounds from two 12 pounders under the direction of Mr. Isaac Roberdeau—these were returned by 15 from the camp. At noon 15 from a six-pounder, commanded by captain Hannah were answered by 15 from the 12 pounders. Then divine service began in the Protestant Episcopal Church, where the President of the United States attended, and a discourse suited to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Davis.

"At 3 o'clock the company, to the number of one hundred and ten, sat down to an elegant dinner in Mr. Wise's long room. . . . The President gave the toast 'Prosperity to the town of Alexandria;' and, after drinking the health of the company, retired. . . .

"Words cannot express the happiness of the company; which was increased by beholding the pleasure that beamed on the countenance of their illustrious and revered neighbour. His extraordinary talents and virtues had contributed, in a signal manner, to the attainment of that blessing which they were now assembled to commemorate. Him, therefore they could not but contemplate, in some sort, as the Father of the Feast—The feast of Reason and the flow of Soul.' "—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 18.



## THURSDAY, JULY 11.

At Philadelphia: "July 12.—Yesterday forenoon the President of the United States arrived in town from the Southward."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

"My journey to and from Mount Vernon was rapid, and as short as I could make it. It was occasioned by the unexpected death of Mr. Whiting, my manager, at a critical season for the business with which he was intrusted."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington to Henry Lee*, July 21.

## SATURDAY, JULY 13.

At Philadelphia: "July 13.—Went to see Mr. Ricketts ride, and saw there the President and his lady."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

"July 16.—The benefit to the poor, last Saturday [July 13], by Mr. Ricketts, produced 430 dollars, which is intended as a beginning for establishing a *Fund*, to be placed in the hands of the Corporation, for the purpose of laying in *Fire-Wood*, to be distributed in the winter to such poor families as may require it.<sup>2</sup> The appearance of the President of the United States, with his family, amongst his fellow-citizens, always adds to the satisfaction we receive from those innocent public amusements, and it was rendered particularly agreeable by a handsome compliment, very genteely tho' indirectly, paid by Mr. Ricketts, who being obliged in the middle of the performance to drink a glass of wine, was required by one of his people to give a toast: He instantly drank off a bumper to the health of *The Man of the People*. This operated like electricity, in producing a general clap of applause, accompanied by a huzza from every part of the Circus."—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*.

## SUNDAY, JULY 21.

At Philadelphia: "I should have thanked you at an earlier period for your obliging letter of the 14th ultimo,

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Whiting died in the early part of June. He was succeeded as manager of the Mount Vernon farms by William Pearce, who took charge in October.

<sup>2</sup> The amount realized on this occasion, with an additional sum of two hundred and one dollars derived from a performance of a like character by Mr. Ricketts, on the 19th of May, 1796, now form, together with other donations, what is known as the *City Fuel Fund* of six thousand seven hundred dollars principal, the interest of which is used for supplying the deserving poor with coal during the winter.





had it not come to my hands a day or two only before I set out for Mount Vernon, and at a time when I was much hurried, and indeed, very much perplexed with the disputes, memorials, and what not, with which the government were pestered by one or the other of the petulant representatives of the powers at war, and because, since my return to this city, nine days ago, I have been more than ever overwhelmed with their complaints. In a word, the trouble they give is hardly to be described."—*Washington to Henry Lee.*

#### MONDAY, JULY 29.

At Philadelphia: "*July 31.*—Died on Sunday last [July 28], after a short but severe illness, universally lamented, Mrs. Mary Lear—the amiable and accomplished wife of TOBIAS LEAR, Esq. Secretary to the President of the United States—and on Monday her Funeral was attended by a train of unaffected mourners, to Christ Church burying ground, where her remains were entombed!

"Youth, Beauty, Virtue, Loveliness and Grace, in vain would soothe 'the dull cold ear of Death.'"—*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser.*

"*July 30.*—We have lately had a very affecting death in this city. Mrs. Lear, the wife of Mr. Lear, the President's Secretary, died on Sunday last, after a short but very severe illness. She was only 23, and beloved and respected by all who knew her, and she and her husband had been fond of each other from infancy. He attended the funeral himself, and so did the President and Mrs. Washington. Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Jefferson, General Knox, Judge Wilson, Judge Peters, and myself were pall-bearers."—*James Iredell*<sup>1</sup> to Mrs. Tredwell.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 1.

At Philadelphia: A Cabinet meeting to take into consideration the conduct of M. Genet, and what course should be pursued in reference thereto. It was unanimously agreed that a full statement of his actions should be made in a

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<sup>1</sup> Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from February 10, 1790, until his death, October 20, 1799.



letter to Gouverneur Morris (Minister to France), that in the letter his recall should be required, and that his correspondence with the Secretary of State should be communicated through Mr. Morris to the Executive Council of France. It was also taken into consideration whether a publication of the whole correspondence and a statement of the proceedings should not be made by way of appeal to the people. The meeting adjourned without coming to any conclusion on the latter proposition.

*August 2.*—An adjourned meeting of the Cabinet. On the question of the appeal to the people coming up, Mr. Jefferson, after referring to the discussion thereon, and giving his reasons for opposing such action, makes the following statement in his *Anas*: "The President manifestly inclined to the appeal to the people. Knox, in a foolish incoherent sort of a speech, introduced the pasquinade lately printed, called the funeral of George W——n, and James W——n [Judge Wilson, of the Supreme Court], King and Judge, &c., where the President was placed on a guillotine. The President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his since he had been in the government which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that *by God* he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made *Emperor of the world*; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a King. That that *rascal Freneau* sent him three of his papers every day, as if he thought he would become the distributor of his papers; that he could see in this, nothing but an impudent design to insult him: he ended in this high tone. There was a pause. Some difficulty in resuming our question; it was, however, after a little while, presented again, and he said there seemed to be no necessity for deciding it now; the propositions before agreed on might be put into a train of execution, and perhaps events would show whether the appeal would be necessary or not."

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 26.

At Philadelphia: "I expect to be at Mount Vernon about the 20th of next Month for a stay of 8 or 10 days."  
— *Washington to William Pearce.*

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9.

At Philadelphia: "I think it would not be prudent either for you, or the clerks in your office, or the office





itself, to be too much exposed to the malignant fever, which, by well authenticated report, is spreading through the city. The means to avoid it, your own judgment under existing circumstances must dictate.”—*Washington to Henry Knox.*

## TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10.

Leaves Philadelphia: “*September 11.*—Yesterday morning the President of the United States set off from this city for Mount Vernon.”—*Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser.*

## WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18.

At Washington City: Takes part as a Mason in the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States. The stone was laid at the southeast corner of the edifice.

“The President of the United States, the Grand Master P. T. and the Worshipful Master of [Alexandria Lodge] No. 22 taking their stand to the east of a large stone, and all the Craft forming a circle westward, stood a short time in awful order. The artillery discharged. The Grand Marshal delivered the commissioners [Thomas Johnson, David Stuart, and Daniel Carroll] a large silver plate with an inscription thereon, which the commissioners ordered to be read, and was as follows:

“‘This Southeast corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States of America, in the City of Washington, was laid on the 18th day of September, 1793, in the thirteenth year of American independence, in the first year of the second term of the presidency of GEORGE WASHINGTON, whose virtues in the civil administration of his country have been as conspicuous and beneficial, as his military valor and prudence have been useful in establishing her liberties, and in the year of Masonry, 5793, by the President of the United States, in concert with the Grand Lodge of Maryland, several lodges under its jurisdiction, and Lodge No. 22 from Alexandria, Virginia.’

“The artillery discharged a volley. The plate was then delivered to the President, who, attended by the Grand Master P. T. and three most Worshipful Masters, descended to the cavazion trench and deposed the plate, and laid it on the corner-stone of the Capitol of the United States of America, on which was deposed Corn, Wine, and Oil, when the whole congregation joined in reverential prayer, which was succeeded by Masonic chanting honors, and a volley from the artillery. The President of the United States and his attendant brethren ascended from the cavazion to the east of the corner-stone; and there the Grand Master P. T., elevated on a triple rostrum, delivered an oration fitting the occasion, which was received with brotherly love and commendation. At intervals, during the delivery of



the oration, several volleys were discharged by the artillery. The ceremony ended in prayer, Masonic chanting honors, and a 15-volley from the artillery.

"The whole company retired to an extensive booth, where an ox of 500 lbs. weight was barbecued, of which the company generally partook, with every abundance of other recreation. The festival concluded with fifteen successive volleys from the artillery, whose military discipline and manœuvres merit every commendation. Before dark the whole company departed with joyful hopes of the production of their labor."—*Georgetown*, September 21, 1793.

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

At Mount Vernon: "The continuation and spreading of the malignant fever, with which the city of Philadelphia is visited, together with the absence of the heads of departments therefrom, will prolong my abode at this place until about the 25th of October; at or about which time, I shall myself, if the then state of things should render it improper for me to take my family, set out for that city, or the vicinity, say Germantown."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph*.

#### MONDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At Mount Vernon: "The accounts from the city [of Philadelphia] are really affecting. Two gentlemen now here from New York, Colonels Platt and Sergeant, say, that they were told at the Swede's Ford of Schuylkill, by a person who had it from Governor Mifflin, that, by an official report from the mayor of the city [Matthew Clarkson], upwards of three thousand and five hundred had died, and that the disorder was raging more violently than ever."—*Washington to James Madison*.

The yellow fever of 1793, the spread of which was due to the neglect of sanitary precautions in its early stages, was most disastrous in its consequences. The fever first made its appearance in a lodging-house in the eastern part of the city in July, but it was not until the middle of August that its progress began to attract attention, and about the 25th of the month a general exodus of the population commenced. The epidemic lasted from the 1st of August to the 9th of November, during which period the number of deaths was over four thousand.





WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 23.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall set out, so as to be in Germantown or thereabouts on the 1st of November, if no difficulties should be encountered on the road. . . . It is not in my power to despatch a servant before me. I shall have but two, neither of whom can be spared for such a purpose. These, with five horses, Mr. Dandridge, and myself, form the total of my family and equipage."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph*.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: "Tomorrow I leave this for Philadelphia or the vicinity of it; where, when you have occasion to write to me, direct your letters."—*Washington to William Pearce*.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1.

At Germantown: "Germantown, November 2.—I overtook the President at Baltimore, and we arrived here yesterday. . . . The fever in Philadelphia has so much abated as to have almost disappeared. The inhabitants are about returning."—*Thomas Jefferson to James Madison*.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

At Germantown: "I will mention a proverb to you which you will find worthy of attention all the days of your life; under any circumstances, or in any situation you may happen to be placed;—and that is, to put nothing off 'till the Morrow, that you can do to day."—*Washington to Howell Lewis*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Germantown: Receives a communication from Henry Hill and others, Trustees of "The Public School at Germantown," tendering the school buildings for the accommodation of Congress should they convene at that place.

"The Public School at Germantown," incorporated in 1784, was on the south side of School Lane, a short distance west of the main street. The



building, erected in 1760-61, is still standing and used for its original purposes. It is now known as the *Germantown Academy*, and is in good repute as an educational institution. The plan of education embraces all the studies necessary to prepare young men to enter the sophomore class at college. Congress did not accept the offer of the Trustees, but convened at Philadelphia on Monday, December 2, all danger from the yellow fever having by that time been dispelled.

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24.

At Germantown: "The malady with which Philadelphia has been sorely afflicted, has, it is said, entirely ceased;—and all the Citizens are returning to their old habitations again.—I took a house in this town when I first arrived here, and shall retain it until Congress get themselves fixed; <sup>1</sup> although I spend part of my time in the City."—*Washington to Colonel Burgess Ball*.

The house in Germantown at which the President lived in the month of November, 1793, is still standing, on the west side of the main street, now known as Germantown Avenue, in the Twenty-second Ward of the city of Philadelphia, and about six miles northwest of Independence Hall. The house—a substantial stone structure about forty feet square, with considerable back buildings, and numbered 5442—is directly opposite Mill Street (formerly Church Lane), and faces an open area which until recent years was known as Market Square. It was erected in 1772, and at the time of its being occupied by Washington was owned by Colonel Isaac Franks, of the Army of the Revolution. It is now owned and occupied by Elliston Perot Morris, a great-grandson of Samuel Morris, captain of the First City Troop 1776-86. Mr. Morris is the fortunate owner of the letter written by General Washington to Captain Morris, dated Morristown, January 23, 1777, in which he thanks the "Captain and Gentlemen" of the Troop for the many essential services which they had rendered to their country and to him personally during the course of the campaign which ended at Princeton on January 3.

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: Addresses both Houses of Congress in the Senate Chamber. "Exactly at 12 o'clock the President arrived, accompanied by the Secretary of State, the

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<sup>1</sup> "*Germantown*, November 27.—The President will be established [in Philadelphia] in about a week, at which time Congress is to meet."—*Thomas Jefferson to Mr. Pinckney*.





Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary at War, and the Attorney General &c and in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens and foreigners delivered to both Houses his address."<sup>1</sup>

The state of affairs, both external and internal, was largely explained in the President's speech and in a separate message accompanied with many documents. In these were comprised the reasons for the course he had pursued respecting foreign powers, and suggestions for additional legislative enactments to protect the rights of American citizens and maintain the dignity of the country. It was in allusion to these communications to Congress that Mr. Fox made the following remarks in the British Parliament, January 31, 1794: "And here, Sir, I cannot help alluding to the President of the United States, General Washington, a character whose conduct has been so different from that which has been pursued by the ministers of this country. How infinitely wiser must appear the spirit and principles manifested in his late address to Congress, than the policy of modern European courts! Illustrious man, deriving honor less from the splendor of his situation than from the dignity of his mind; before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance, and all the potentates of Europe (excepting the members of our own royal family) become little and contemptible! He has had no occasion to have recourse to any tricks of policy or arts of alarm; his authority has been sufficiently supported by the same means by which it was acquired, and his conduct has uniformly been characterized by wisdom, moderation, and firmness. Feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest, which secured the independence of America, he did not choose to give up the system of neutrality. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults and provocation of the French minister Genet could turn him from his purpose. Intrusted with the welfare of a great people, he did not allow the misconduct of another, with respect to himself, for one moment to withdraw his attention from their interest. He had no fear of the Jacobins, he felt no alarm from their principles, and considered no precaution as necessary in order to stop their progress."

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Philadelphia: Receives from the House of Representatives, through the committee, Messrs. Madison, Sedgwick, and Hartley, an answer to his address of December 3.

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<sup>1</sup> *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, December 4.



TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: Is waited on by the Senate, and the Vice-President in their name presents him with an answer to his address.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: "All my landed property, east of the Apalachian mountains, is under Rent, except the estate called Mount Vernon. This, hitherto, I have kept in my own hands: but from my present situation, from my advanced time of life, from a wish to live free from care, and as much at my ease as possible, during the remainder of it, and from other causes, which are not necessary to detail, I have, latterly, entertained serious thoughts of letting this estate also, reserving the mansion-house farm for my own residence, occupation, and amusement in agriculture; provided I can obtain what, in my own judgment, and in the opinion of others whom I have consulted, the low rent which I shall mention hereafter; and provided also I can settle it with *good farmers*."— *Washington to Arthur Young*.

*Extract from the above quoted letter:* "No estate in United America is more pleasantly situated than this. It lies in a high, dry and healthy country, 300 miles by water from the sea, and, as you will see by the plan, on one of the finest rivers in the world. Its margin is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water; from the bed of which and the innumerable coves, inlets, and small marshes, with which it abounds, an inexhaustible fund of rich mud may be drawn, as a manure, either to be used separately, or in a compost, according to the judgment of the farmer. It is situated in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold, and is the same distance by land and water, with good roads, and the best navigation (to and) from the Federal City, Alexandria, and George-Town; distant from the first, twelve, from the second, nine, and from the last, sixteen miles. The Federal City, in the year 1800, will become the seat of the general government of the United States. It is increasing fast in buildings, and rising into consequence; and will I have no doubt, from the advantages given to it by Nature, and its proximity to a rich interior country, and the western territory, become the emporium of the United States. . . . This river, which encompasses the land the distance above-mentioned, is well supplied with various kinds of fish, at all seasons of the year; and, in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herrings, bass, carp, perch, sturgeon &c. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate; the whole shore, in short, is one





entire fishery. There are, as you will perceive by the plan, four farms besides that at the mansion-house: these four contain 3260 acres of cultivable land."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31.

At Philadelphia: "It has been my intention ever since my return to the city, to contribute my mite towards the relief of the *most* needy inhabitants of it. The pressure of public business hitherto has suspended, but not altered my resolution. I am at a loss, however, for whose benefit to apply the little I can give and in whose hands to place it . . . and therefore have taken the liberty of asking your advice."—*Washington to William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

(To be continued.)



## THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 175.)

## V. WILLIAM PENN'S FIRST MARRIAGE.

WILLIAM PENN, by the death of his father, "came into the possession of a very handsome estate, supposed to be worth at that time not less than fifteen hundred pounds per annum; so that he became, in point of circumstances, not only an independent, but a rich man."

This statement, made by Clarkson,<sup>1</sup> has been followed by successive biographers; Janney, Dixon, and probably others repeat it. The property which the son received was substantially that in Ireland, the Shangarry and adjoining estates; if there was any other of importance that came into his possession from his father, I have seen no account of it.

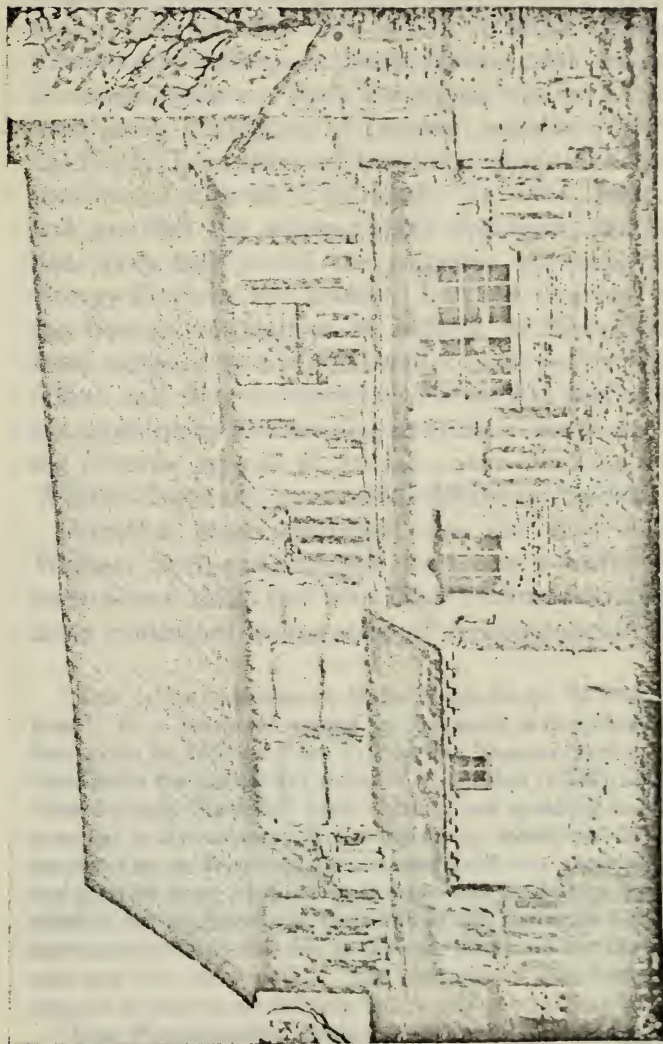
Penn's first marriage followed about a year and a half after the death of the Admiral. In the mean time he had been again imprisoned six months (1670-71), at first in the Tower, and then in Newgate, for being at the Friends' meeting in Wheeler Street, London, and for refusing to take the oath of allegiance (tendered as a "snare" to the Friends, who would take no oaths); had written several more political and religious pamphlets; and had made his first religious visit to Holland and Germany.

The years of his courtship and of his first marriage—as late, at least, as his first return from Pennsylvania—form the halcyon period of Penn's career. There is about these years an air of hopeful and buoyant cheerfulness. The accounts given of the Springetts by Mary Penington, and of the Peningtons by Thomas Ellwood, are at once romantic and idyllic. Upon these details it will always be pleasant, in the study of the Founder's varied experiences of sunshine and cloud, to linger.

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Penn," p. 33.







KING'S FARM, CHORLEY WOOD.

WHERE WILLIAM PENN AND GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT WERE MARRIED 1672.



Early in 1668, it is said, William Penn first met Gulielma Maria Springett.<sup>1</sup> She was then living in the family of her stepfather, Isaac Penington, with her mother, Mary Penington,—previously the wife of Sir William Springett, her (Gulielma's) father,—at Bury House, near Amersham, in Buckinghamshire. Isaac Penington was the son of Alderman Isaac Penington, of London, sometime lieutenant of the Tower, Lord Mayor of London, and one of the judges who condemned Charles I. to death. In 1654, Isaac, the son, had married the widow, Mary Springett, and somewhat later both had joined the religious movement of which George Fox was the leader. In 1658 they had settled at the Grange, at Chalfont St. Peter's, in Bucks, which had been assigned as a residence (not conveyed) to Isaac by his father, and they continued to live in that part of the country, amid many vicissitudes, until their death and burial in the Friends' ground at Jordans, near Chalfont, where also William Penn and most of his family are buried.<sup>2</sup>

Gulielma Maria Springett was the only child of Sir William Springett, Knight, who was a native of Sussex, born about 1620, and who died February 3, 1643/4, of a fever contracted at the siege of Arundel Castle, in Sussex,

<sup>1</sup> This is the statement of Maria Webb, in the "Penns and Peningtons." In a document quoted in that work, a narrative said to have been given by William Penn to a certain Thomas Harvey, and by him repeated to the (unknown) writer, it is said that in 1663, after his return from Ireland, Penn had been visiting and speaking in the Friends' meetings in the country; then, upon being summoned by his father to come to him, at Wanstead, he attended on his way a meeting in London, and after its close, "happening to be in the house of a Friend who resided in the neighborhood, Gulielma Maria Springett came in and was introduced to him; this was in the year 1663, and was the first time he ever saw his future wife." The authority of this document in some respects appears to me dubious, but on this point it may be trustworthy.

<sup>2</sup> Isaac Penington died October 8, 1679, while he and his wife were on a visit at Goodenstone Court, a property belonging to her, in Kent. His remains were brought to Jordans ground for interment. Mary Penington died (as also stated in the text), while on a visit to her daughter Penn, at Worminghurst, in Sussex, September 13, 1682, and was buried at Jordans.





where he was commanding as a colonel in the Parliamentary army. His wife, Mary, afterwards Mary Penington, was the daughter of Sir John Proude, Knight, and was born about 1624.<sup>1</sup> She died at Worminghurst, in Sussex, September 18, 1682, a little more than a fortnight after the sailing of the "Welcome" for Pennsylvania (and a few months later than the death of William Penn's mother, the widow of the Admiral). Her daughter, Gulielma Maria, whose name thus represented those of both parents, was a posthumous child. She was born "a few weeks after the death of her father," Maria Webb says,<sup>2</sup> and as this occurred, as already said, February 3, 1643/4, her birth may have been either in the closing days of 1643, old style, or the beginning of 1644. Maria Webb says, "it may be presumed she was born in 1644, but we have no exact record of the date." She was thus some six or seven months older than William Penn.

The Peningtons continued to live at Chalfont Grange until 1666. The property had been confiscated in 1660, as belonging to the regicide alderman, but they had remained there six years, apparently on sufferance by the Crown. To whom it went, on their ejection in 1666, is not definitely stated; some of the alderman's town property was obtained by the Bishop of Worcester, and some in the country by the Duke of Grafton, illegitimate son of Charles II. by his mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland.<sup>3</sup> The Peningtons were

<sup>1</sup> The narrative of her early life and first marriage, the death of her husband, her becoming a Friend, and her later experiences at Chalfont and Amersham, is given in Maria Webb's "Penns and Peningtons," and, as already suggested in the text, is a most interesting picture of real life. Many details concerning her and her family are given in that work, and also in W. H. Summers's "Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts," an almost equally interesting book, published in London, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> "Penns and Peningtons."

<sup>3</sup> "A local tradition asserts that the notorious George Jeffreys [Judge of the 'Bloody Assize'], who is credited with the erection of the Greyhound Inn at Chalfont St. Peter's, resided at the Grange before the erection of his house at Bulstrode. It is added that a portrait of the 'Unjust Judge' was long preserved at the Grange under peculiar cir-



repeatedly visited, while they remained at the Grange, by Thomas Ellwood, and for a time he resided there as tutor to their children. His description of them in his autobiography includes several references to the young girl, Gulielma, with whom, it was suggested, he had fallen in love, and whom, as his ill wishers suggested, he might carry off. He had, however, no such schemes; he admired her, but at a respectful distance. Of a visit to the Peningtons, at the Grange, about 1659, Ellwood says,—

“I mentioned before, that during my father’s abode in London, in the time of the civil wars, he contracted a friendship with the Lady Springett, then a widow, and afterwards married to Isaac Penington, Esq., to continue which he sometimes visited them at their country lodgings, as at Datchet, and at Causham Lodge, near Reading. And having heard that they were come to live upon their own estate at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, about fifteen miles from Crowell [the home of the Ellwoods], he went one day to visit them there, and to return at night, taking me with him.

“But very much surprised we were when, being come hither, we first heard, then found, they were become Quakers; a people we had no knowledge of, and a name we had till then scarce heard of.

“So great a change, from a free, debonair, and courtly sort of behavior, which we formerly had found them in, to so strict a gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our expectation of such a pleasant visit as we used to have, and now had promised ourselves. Nor could my father have any opportunity, by a private conference with them, to understand the ground or occasion of this change, there being some other strangers with them (related to Isaac Penington), who came that morning to visit them also.

“For my part I sought and at length found means to cast myself into the company of the daughter, whom I found gathering some flowers in the garden, attended by her maid, who was also a Quaker. But when I addressed myself to her after my accustomed manner, with intent to engage her in some discourse which might introduce conversation on the footing of our former acquaintance, though she treated me with a cour-

cumstances. Jeffreys had given strict orders that it was never to be removed from the walls of the house. After his disgrace, accordingly, it was removed to the cellar, fastened to the wall, and bricked in. So says tradition; but tradition says many strange things.” (Summers, “Jordans and the Chalfonts,” p. 95.) Alderman Penington remained a prisoner in the Tower from his commitment in 1660 to his death, December, 1661. His jailer was that same Sir John Robinson whose acquaintance we made at the time of Penn and Mead’s trial.





teous mien, yet, as young as she was, the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon me, that I found myself not so much master of myself as to pursue any further converse with her. Wherefore, asking pardon for my boldness for having intruded myself into her private walks, I withdrew, not without some disorder (as I thought at least) of mind."

Penn's courtship, if begun so early as 1668, progressed without undue haste. He is particularly said to have visited Guli, in Bucks, after the death of his father, in 1670, and upon his release from Newgate, in 1671. His pamphlet, "A Seasonable Caveat against Popery," is dated at "Penn in Buckinghamshire," 23d of Eleventh month (February), 1670, a few months after his father's death, and as this was not far from the young lady's neighborhood, it may suggest calls upon her at that time.

The time of the marriage has been left by the biographers quite obscure. Janney mentions it briefly, without assigning any date. Dixon says, "the marriage was performed in the early spring of 1672, six or seven months after his liberation from Newgate." Maria Webb states that no family documents are forthcoming relative to this period in Penn's life. But Summers, in his more careful investigation of local sources, supplies from contemporary documents all the data that are needed to complete the account, and the marriage certificate itself has been found of record, and an abstract of it has been obtained for this work.

In the Jordans Friends' Monthly Meeting Book, under date of 7th of Twelfth month, 1671 (February 7, 1671/2), there is this minute:

"William Penn, of Walthamstow, in the County of Essex, and Guli-elma Maria Springett, of Tiler's End Green, in the County of Bucks, proposed their intention of taking each other in marriage. Whereupon it was referred to Daniel Zachary and Thomas Ellwood to inquire into the clearness of their proceedings and give an account to next meeting."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Jordans and the Chalfonts," p. 153.—Penn is here described as "of Walthamstow," and Mr. Summers suggests that Lady Penn's residence,—that of the Admiral,—though always spoken of as at Wanstead, may have been really in Walthamstow, the parish adjoining. But Mr. Summers is at a loss to explain why Gulielma is described as "of Tiler's End



These preliminary proceedings took place at a monthly meeting held at the house of Thomas Ellwood. He had married Mary Ellis in 1669, and had taken up his abode at Hunger Hill, or Ongar Hill, not far from Beaconsfield, in the Jordans and Chalfont region. In this house he lived until his death in 1713. His poetical "Directions to my Friend Inquiring the Way to My House" run thus:

"Two miles from Beaconsfield, upon the road  
To Amersham, just where the way grows broad,  
A little spot there is called Larkin's Green,  
Where, on a bank, some fruit trees may be seen;  
In midst of which, on the sinister hand,  
A little cottage covertly doth stand;  
'Soho!' the people out, and then inquire  
For Hunger Hill; it lies a little higher,  
But if the people should from home be gone,  
Ride up the bank some twenty paces on,  
And at the orchard's end thou may'st perceive  
Two gates together hung. The nearest leave,  
The furthest take, and straight the hill ascend,  
That path leads to the house where dwells thy friend."

At the next monthly meeting, March 6, 1671/2, the records show that "the consent and approbation of Friends" was given to the marriage, and it duly followed on the 4th of the following month, April, 1672. An old manuscript volume, kept in that time by Rebekah Butterfield, a Friend, at Stone Dean, a dwelling within sight of Jordans, is now preserved by Mr. Steevens, of High Wycombe, Bucks, and records thus:

Green." Her stepfather, Isaac Penington, was then in Reading jail, on religious account, and her mother was engaged in building the house at Woodside, near Amersham, five miles from Tyler's Green, where the Peningtons subsequently lived. Mr. Summers suggests that Gulielma was in lodgings at Tyler's Green, and that she may have been staying with some of the Penn family. There were Penns in Bucks who were then Quakers, for in the petition of the Quaker women of the country (1659) for the abolition of tithes, there are among the four hundred and seventeen signatures those of Anne and Elizabeth Penn. It seems to me, however, a more reasonable suggestion that—there being no clear evidence as to her residence elsewhere at this time—Mary Penington was herself lodging at Tyler's Green, and her daughter with her.





"4th of 2nd Mo. 1672. They [W. P. and G. M. S.] took each other in marriage at Charlewood, at a farmhouse called Kings, where Friends meeting was y<sup>a</sup> kept, being in y<sup>e</sup> parish of Rickmansworth, in y<sup>e</sup> county of Hertford."

The certificate of marriage is as follows :

**Whereas**, William Penn, of Walthamstow, in the County of Essex, and Gulielma Maria Springett, of Penn, in the County of Bucks, having first obtained the goodwill and consent of their nearest friends & Relations, did in two publick Monthly Meetings of the people of God called Quakers, declare their intention to take each other in Marriage, & upon serious and due consideration, were fully approved of the said Meetings, as by several weighty testimonies did appear.

These are now to certifie al persons whom it doth or may concern that upon the fourth day of the second month in the year one thousand six hundred seventy two, the said WILLIAM PENN and GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT did, in a godly sort & manner (according to the good old Order and practise of the Church of Christ) in a publick Assembly of the People of the Lord at King's Charle-wood in the County of Hertford, solemnly and expressly take each other in marriage, mutually promising to be loving, true and faithful to each other in that Relation, so long as it shal please the Lord to continue their natural lives.

In testimony whereof we then present, have hereunto subscribed our names, the day and year afore written.

Margret Penn  
Rich. Penn  
Isaac Penington  
John Penington  
Mary Penington  
Mary Penington Jun  
Elizabeth Springett  
Alexander Parker  
George Whitehead  
Sam : Newton  
W<sup>m</sup> Welch  
Geo : Roberts  
Tho : Zachary  
James Claypoole  
Tho : Rudyard

Robt. Hodgson  
John Jenner  
Charles Harris  
Edward Man  
Sam : Hersent  
Rich : Clipsham  
Robt. Jones  
Tho : Ellwood  
Martin Mason  
Tho : Dell  
Edward Hoar  
John Puddivat  
John Jigger Sen  
Abraham Axtell  
John Costard

Giles Child  
Stephen Pewsey  
John Harvey  
Elizabeth Walmsly  
Rebecca Zachary  
Mary Ellwood  
Jane Bullocke  
Mary Odingsells  
Elizabeth Murford  
Mary Newton  
ffrances Cadwell  
Helena Claypoole  
Sarah Mathew  
Sarah Welch  
Mary Welch  
Martha Blake



[Certified to be an Extract from the Register or Record numbered 168 Bucks, and entitled a Register of Marriages formerly kept by the Society of Friends at the Monthly Meeting of Upper Side.]<sup>1</sup>

TABLE, GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT.

Herbert Springett, of Sussex.	Sir John Proude, m. Anne Fagge.
Sir William Springett, b. circa 1620, d. 1643/4.	Mary Proude, b. circa 1624, d. 1632.

GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT

m.

WILLIAM PENN.

King's Farm, Chorley Wood, is still a well-known and readily identified place. Though in Hertfordshire, it is but half a mile from the Bucks line. The name of the place is said to be derived from its having once been a hunting-box of King John. "The present house," says Summers, "probably dates from the latter part of the fifteenth century. The front, which is timber framed, presents one feature of interest in a curious old window, and there is a large door of very similar style, which probably in Penn's time was the main entrance, but is now concealed from view by a modern structure used as a dairy. The back of the house, where the entrance door now is, seems rather newer than the front, but was probably built earlier than 1672. The large room to which the window just now mentioned belongs is probably the one in which the marriage took place, and presents an interesting farm-house interior. The house is very much hidden from view by an immense barn, solidly built, and strengthened by numerous buttresses. This is said to have been fortified by an outpost during the civil war, by which party does not appear, and the loop-holes then pierced in the wall, which were only bricked up a few years ago, are still distinctly visible from the interior. The

<sup>1</sup> Copy furnished from the General Register Office, Somerset House, London, August 11, 1896.





old farm has not passed unnoticed by artists, but its historic interest seems to have hitherto been overlooked."

Following the marriage, Penn and his young wife went to live at a house he had rented (probably), Basing House, Rickmansworth. It also is in Herts, but near the line of Bucks. Here they made their home for about five years, going in 1677 to Worminghurst, in Sussex, a property of his mother. Basing House is still standing, but much changed in appearance. Mr. Summers says (1895) it "is so shut in by a high wall with a row of trees behind it that little can be seen of it from the street, while what little is visible is so modernized by stucco and other alterations that there is some difficulty in picturing its original appearance. The garden front is less changed, but a fine avenue of trees and an extensive lawn have disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

At Rickmansworth three children were born, all of whom died in infancy, while a fourth, Springett Penn, born at Walthamstow, Essex, lived to grow up. Quoting again Mr. Summers: "Towards the end of 1672 Penn became the father of a little girl, who was named Gulielma Maria. She only lived a few weeks, and was buried at Jordans. Next year a boy was born, and called William. He lived about a year, and was then laid to rest beside his sister." (This statement is also made, though not exactly in these words, in Maria Webb's book, and may be derived from it.) Later, according to Mr. Summers, a third child was born (a girl), of whom Penn speaks in a letter to George Fox, December 10, 1674: "My wife is well, and child; only teeth, she has one cut." This child was named Mary or Margaret. She died not long after this letter to Fox, and was buried at Jordans with her brother and sister.

These statements, substantially true, are not quite exact.

<sup>1</sup> Maria Webb says ("Penns and Peningtons"), "The house at Rickmansworth . . . is more perfect than any other of his [Penn's] residences. The front has evidently been modernized, perhaps early in the present century; the rear, opening on the garden, appears not to have been altered; but the lawn, with the avenue of fine trees, no longer exists."



The two children, William and Mary (or Margaret), were twins, and were born February 28, 1673/4. The record of the births of all the four, as made by the Friends' Monthly Meeting for the Upper Side of Bucks, is as follows:

"1672, 11 mo. 23: Gulielma Maria Penn, daughter of William & Gulielma Maria Penn, born at Rickmansworth, Herts.

"1673, 11 mo. 28: William & Mary Penn, twins, children of William & Gulielma Maria Penn, born at Rickmansworth.

"1675, 11 mo. 25: Springett Penn, son of William and Gulielma Maria Penn, born at Walthamstow, Essex, parish of Rickmansworth."<sup>1</sup>

The registry of the deaths of these children appears in the record of Friends' Meeting for the Upper Side of Bucks,<sup>2</sup> where the death of the first, Gulielma Maria, is stated to have occurred First month (March) 17, 1672; of William, Third month (May) 15, 1674; and of Margaret (Mary), Twelfth month (February) 24, 1674, this last being ("old style") nine months later than William's death, and not three months earlier, as it might appear at first glance.

Three children had thus been born and had died before the birth of Springett Penn. It is Springett who is referred to in Penn's account of his return from his religious tour in Holland and the Rhine country, in 1677, when he says, "The 5th of the next week [November 1] I went to Worminghurst, my house in Sussex, where I found my dear wife, child, and family all well." Worminghurst was part of the inheritance of Guli from her father; she and her husband appear to have removed to it from Rickmansworth early in the year 1677, for in describing his departure for the Continental journey, he says, "On the 22d of the Fifth Month [July], 1677, being the first day of the week, I left my dear wife and family at Worminghurst in Sussex . . . and came well to London that night. The next day I employed myself on Friends' behalf that were in sufferings [in prison,

<sup>1</sup> From Friends' records at Devonshire House, London, as given by Mr. J. Henry Lea, *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. XVI. p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Coleman's "Pedigree," p. 8.





etc.] till the evening, and then went to my own mother's in Essex." <sup>1</sup>

Three children of William Penn and his wife were living in 1682, when he sailed for Pennsylvania. These were Springett, born in 1675 at Walthamstow, as already mentioned, and Letitia and William, Jr., born probably at Worminghurst. The letter of counsel to his wife and children, written by Penn on his departure, is well known, and has been many times published. The warmth of his affection for his wife appears in one of the first paragraphs :

"My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom and let it dwell with thee in my stead, while thou livest."

But the letter of which this is part was evidently not intended for the children, when written, but to be given them when they should become old enough to understand its import. Springett was then only seven years old, and the others younger. There are in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the originals of three letters written by Penn to the little children, in a juvenile style adapted to their years,—missives of familiar parental simplicity. These letters bear the date of August 19, 1682,

<sup>1</sup> Worminghurst descended to William Penn, Jr., as an inheritance from his mother, upon her death in 1694. He sold it about 1707, and before his death, in 1720, "had probably squandered the proceeds," Maria Webb remarks. "The house," she adds, "was situated on an eminence overlooking the beautiful south downs of Sussex, and within a few miles of the sea. It was razed to the ground long since, and the Worminghurst estate absorbed in the domains of the Duke of Norfolk. Only the stables now [1867?] remain to mark the spot."



not quite a fortnight before the "Welcome" left the Downs. They are all upon one sheet, and bear the superscription, "For Springett Penn, at Worminghurst, Sussex.—By Arundell Bagg." The letters are here given :

"MY DEAR SPRINGET

"Be good, learn to fear God, avoide evil, love thy book, be kind to thy Brother and Sister & God will bless thee & I will exceedingly love thee. farewell dear child

"thy dear Father

"WM PENN.

"19<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>mo</sup> 82."

"DEAR LETITIA

"I dearly love y<sup>e</sup> & would have thee sober, learn thy book, & love thy Brothers. I will send thee a pretty Book to learn in. ye Lord bless thee & make a good woman of thee. farewell

"Thy Dear Father

"WM PENN.

"19<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>mo</sup> 82."

"DEAR BILLE

"I love thee much, therefore be sober & quiet, & learn his book, I will send him one, so y<sup>e</sup> Lord bless y<sup>e</sup>. Amen

"Thy dear father

"WM PENN."

One other child, Gulielma Maria, was buried at Jordans in 1689, making the fourth then dead. The time of her birth is not stated, but it was evidently later than August, 1682, when the letters above were written, and no doubt after October, 1684, when Penn returned from Pennsylvania. The register of burials of the Upper Side of Bucks Meeting of Friends shows that she died at Hammersmith, in Middlesex, Ninth month (November) 20, 1689.<sup>1</sup>

Springett Penn died, as has already been mentioned, in 1696. The memorial of him prepared by his father, "Sorrow and Joy in the Loss and End of Springett Penn," is pathetic throughout, and in places beautiful,—one of the finest of many fine compositions from his hand. It discloses his sad

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Coleman's "Pedigree," p. 8.





sense of loss; it was upon this eldest of his then living children that he had evidently placed his hopes. There are many touching expressions in the memorial which might be quoted, but I confine myself to a few passages which suggest the character of the young man and relate to the circumstances of his death:

“My very dear child, and eldest son, Springett Penn, did from his childhood manifest a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both respects. For, besides a good share of learning and mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it much beyond his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, that made him beloved and consequently lamented: but especially his humility, plainness and truth, with a tenderness and softness of nature, which, if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. . . . He desired if he were not to live, that he might go home to die there, and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my house; for so much stronger was his spirit than his body that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed, and a symptom it was of his greater journey to his longer home. . . . Feeling himself decline apace . . . somebody fetched the doctor; but, as soon as he came in, he said, ‘Let my father speak to the doctor, and I’ll go to sleep,’ which he did and waked no more; breathing his last upon my breast, the tenth day of the second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one and twentieth year. So ended the life of my dear child and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope . . . in whom I lose all that a father could lose in a child, and he was capable of anything that became a sober young man, my friend and companion, as well as a most affectionate and dutiful child.”

Springett died at Lewes, on the south coast, where he had been taken, no doubt, for more favorable air and surroundings. He was buried at Jordans, making the fifth of Penn’s children then interred there.



Preceding Springett three years, his mother, Gulielma Maria Penn, had died, February 23, 1693/4. Her death occurred at Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, to which place, it would appear, Penn had gone after being acquitted before the King (William III.) and Council, of Jacobite plotting, being thus enabled to quit the seclusion which he had maintained for three years. He wrote from "Hodson" (Hoddesdon), on the 11th of Tenth month (December), 1693, to Thomas Lloyd and others at Philadelphia, announcing his "enlargement" and the friendliness of the King, and added, "From the Secretary, [Sir John Trenchard] I went to our meeting at the Bull and Mouth; thence to visit the sanctuary of my solitude; and after that to see my poor wife and children; the eldest [Springett] being with me all this while. My wife is yet weakly; but I am not without hopes of her recovery, who is of the best of wives and women."

In the memorial which he prepared of her, "An account of the Blessed End of my Dear Wife, Gulielma Maria Penn," he says she "departed . . . in the fiftieth year of her age; being sensible to the very last. . . . She did, at several times, pray very sweetly, and in all her weakness manifested the most quiet, undaunted, and resigned spirit, as well as in all other respects. She was an excellent person, both as wife, child, mother, mistress, friend and neighbor. . . . She quietly expired in my arms. . . . I hope I may say she was a public as well as private loss; for she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of a more than common capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet most equal and undaunted in danger; religious as well as ingenuous, without affectation; an easy mistress and a good neighbor, especially to the poor; neither lavish nor penurious; but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues: therefore, our great loss, though her own eternal gain."

It would appear that her health had been for some time declining, but there seems to be no distinct evidence on this point. She was buried at Jordans ground, near her





children. She had been nearly twenty-two years married. Four of her children were dead, three survived.<sup>1</sup>

Of these three surviving children, Springett, the oldest, who died three years later, has been fully mentioned. Letitia, next in age, lived to be an old woman. While a girl, she accompanied her father to Pennsylvania in 1699, and is often referred to in his letters as "*Tishe*,"—a two-syllabled diminutive of her name, more common in old times than now. She seems to have been a lively and probably a self-willed girl. Her father, writing from Pennsbury to James Logan, in July, 1701, just before his final return to England, said, "I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with *Tishe*. I know not what to do. Samuel Carpenter seems to excuse her in it; but to all that speak of it, say I shall have no need to stay, and a great interest to return." And there is the story of Watson "that when she was at Thomas Evans's place, at Gwynedd, seeing the men at threshing, she desired to try her hand at the use of the flail, which to her great surprise brought such a racket about her head and shoulders, that she was obliged to run into the house in tears, and expose her playful freak to her father!"

Letitia Penn married William Aubrey. The marriage seems to have been arranged after her return to England

<sup>1</sup> A portrait of Gulielma Maria Penn, on glass, is described by Maria Webb (note following preface, "*Penns and Peningtons*") as in the possession, 1867, of "the descendants of Henry Swan, of Holmwood, Dorking, who died 1796." This picture was engraved for Mrs. Webb's book, and its resemblance to the portrait of Hannah Middleton Gurney, wife of Joseph Gurney, of Norwich (great-grandparents of Joseph John Gurney), known as the "*Fair Quakeress*," was remarked. Mrs. Webb, however, pointed out that while the dresses are precisely alike in the two pictures, and there is other resemblance as to the figures, the faces differ, and she concluded that the portraits are genuine in each case, and that the engraver of the "*Fair Quakeress*" picture (Hannah Middleton Gurney), working about 1746, had copied the dress of Gulielma Maria Penn as a contemporary figure. The picture of Gulielma Maria Penn is given in the "*Penns and Peningtons*" (English edition), and that of Hannah Middleton Gurney in A. J. C. Hare's "*Gurneys of Earlham*" (London, 1896).



with her father and step-mother in 1701. A letter from Penn to Logan, 3d February, 1701/2, written at Kensington, says, "My wife and little Johnne well at Bristol. Tishe with me." And, writing from London, 21st June, 1702, he says, "My wife hitherto is kept by her father [*i.e.*, detained with him on account of his illness] whence she is coming next week to Worminghurst on my daughter's account, in likelihood to marry." A few weeks later the arrangements were well forward, for William Penn, Jr., wrote to James Logan, from Worminghurst, August 18, "I was much surprised at what you told me about my sister's engagement to W. Masters, but we find little in it, for she has been at the meetings [of the Friends, to ask approval and oversight of the marriage, according to their rules of discipline] and he was here, but could prove no engagement, for it passed the meetings, and she is to be married the day after to-morrow."

The alleged engagement to William Masters (of Philadelphia) referred, no doubt, to some intimate acquaintance—of whatever degree—existing during Letitia's visit here. Upon her departure for England, care had been taken to procure for her, from the monthly meeting of the Friends, a certificate that she had "behaved herself here very soberly and according to the good instructions which she hath received in the way of truth," etc., and that, as far as they knew, she was under no engagement of marriage.<sup>1</sup>

But Logan, who was evidently under the impression that Letitia had given William Masters reason to consider her pledged to him, wrote to Penn that though he supposed she had by that time "changed her name," yet he added, "I cannot forbear informing thee of what has been too liberally discovered of her, and among the rest by some that signed the certificate, viz.: that she was under engagement of marriage, before she left this place, to William Masters; the said signers, upon some unhappy information given them, lately expressed so great dissatisfaction at what they had

<sup>1</sup> See a fuller citation of the certificate in Watson's "Annals," Vol. II. p. 117.





done that it had been proposed to send over and contradict or retract it."

The marriage to William Aubrey took place on the 20th of August, 1702. A letter from Penn to Logan, dated at London, September 6, says, "My daughter is married next Fifth-day will be three weeks. We have brought her home, where I write, a noble house for the city, and other things, I hope, well. But S. Penington's, if not S. Harwood's, striving for William Masters, against faith, truth, and righteousness, will not be easily forgotten, though things came honorably off to his and the old envy's [*? enemy's*] confusion, his father's friends nobly testifying against the actions of both." And William Penn, Jr., in a letter of about the same time, wrote Logan, "My sister Letitia has, I believe, a very good sort of man, that makes a good husband. William Masters, whatever grounds he had for it in Pennsylvania, made a mighty noise here, but it lasted not long."

The Founder, among his other characteristics, had that which is not uncommon with great men, and also small, a decided dislike for having his plans crossed, and a strong confidence that whoever did so must surely deserve condemnation. In this case it is probable that he would have done as well to let Letitia's Philadelphia affair go forward, instead of nipping it, as he doubtless did. In all the subsequent history of the Penn family, William Aubrey figures solely and entirely as an exacting and unpleasant person. His father-in-law's complaints of his demands for money on that side, and poor Logan's struggles to meet them on this, form a feature of the Penn-Logan letters for years. If it were the fact, as seems to be suggested, that her father broke off the Philadelphia match and arranged that in London, he must have had occasion many times bitterly to rue at least the latter portion of the performance. In December, 1703, Penn wrote to Logan that he had heretofore sent him "three several letters" about "son Aubrey's affair," the payment to him of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum. September 2, 1704, he again writes on the subject of "Son Aubrey's affairs," and adds, "In the mean time both



son and daughter clamor, she to quiet him that is a scraping man, will count interest for a guinea (this only to thyself), so that I would have thee fill his attorney's hands so full as thou canst." In 1706, August 14, Logan wrote to Penn, "I know not how to behave to W. Aubrey and his wife; they have never wrote since their last angry letter. Please and keep it to thyself, for I still honour my young mistress, and would by no means break with them." In 1707, June 10, Penn writes, "But my son-in-law Aubrey grows very troublesome, because he gets nothing thence [Pennsylvania] about to an open break, did I not bear extremely." Finally, a month later, when Logan was preparing to come to England, Penn wrote, July 5, "All our loves are to thee, but W. A. a tiger against thee for returns. Come not to him empty as thou valuest thy credit and comfort."

Which quotation will suffice, no doubt, for the subject; there are several more in the Penn-Logan letters.

William and Letitia Aubrey had no children. She survived him fifteen years. He died about May 21, 1731, as he was buried at Jordans May 23 of that year. April 6, 1746, Letitia's remains were also interred there. The stone marking her grave (placed there, with others, by Granville Penn, in the present century) bears the name "Letitia Penn," instead of Letitia Aubrey.

There are letters from Letitia among the Penn manuscripts in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but none that need occupy much of our attention. The following, in 1734/5, to her half-brother, John Penn, who was then in Pennsylvania, is given as an example:

LETITIA AUBREY TO JOHN PENN.

"LONDON ye 23 Jany 1734/5

"DEAR BROTHER

"I was very glad of y<sup>e</sup> favour of thine, & to hear of your safe arival; that thee found things better y<sup>a</sup> expected; y<sup>e</sup> my Brother Thomas has put them upon a better footing y<sup>a</sup> you heard before thee went. I heartily wish all may be settled to your & y<sup>e</sup> whole familys Comfort; am obliged to thee for thy kind expressions in thy Letter; to serve me I have show'd my nephew what thee writes and believe he will send a





Power to end y<sup>t</sup> vexatious affaire of Mount Joye<sup>1</sup> by ye first shipe y<sup>t</sup> it can be gott ready to go by; J. Logan informs me y<sup>t</sup> five thousand acres of Land taken up in Sr J. Faggs name, now mine, is settled upon intirely, y<sup>t</sup> there is not enough left for one plantation, wch I think very strang there is no Law to hinder such things y<sup>t</sup> every one may enjoye theire right; if this be ye case y<sup>t</sup> I cannot have my land there My request is y<sup>t</sup> I may have it somewhere else, my circumstances will not permit my loseing it, also the other five he saith he dont know where to take it up y<sup>t</sup> any will bye it, all wch I intreat thee to Consider me in & make it thy own case y<sup>a</sup> I hope for redress; thee knows what I have in England so leave it. I am very glad to find y<sup>t</sup> I may expect my money so sone, altho' I cannot have it at better interest, nor security any where, I am senceable of: I must desier thy assistance in y<sup>t</sup> affaire of R. Ashton, who has never paide me, altho' his promises from time to time to my brother; & also to speak to my Brother about proclamation money he wroot me of, wch would be very acceptable to me to receive it; I perceive thee finds it a plentiful & pleasant Country; but not beyond old England. I am with sincere good wishes & Dear Love

"Thy affect. Sister and true friend

"LAETITIA AUBREY

"Mary desierys her Respects may be presented to thee."

(Endorsed: "To John Penn Esq. Propriator of ye Province of Pennsylvania att Philadelphia, America.

"per CAPTIN RICHMAN.")

Letitia Aubrey's will is dated July 20, 1744; she describes herself as of London, widow. At the time of her death she lived at Christ Church, Spitalfields. Her will contains several specific legacies. To her nephew William Penn, 3d, son of her brother William, she gave a silver cup and salver, silver teakettle, tortoise-shell cabinet, etc. To others she left other pieces of plate, etc., including "a broad piece of gold to Eleanor Aubrey, now Clark, niece

<sup>1</sup> The allusion here is to the manor of Mount Joy, part of what is now Upper Merion Township, Montgomery County. The manor was given Letitia by her father, October 24, 1701, being supposed to be seven thousand eight hundred acres, at a yearly rent of one beaver skin. On July 10, 1730, William and Letitia Aubrey sold the property to Sir Archibald Grant, "of that part of Great Britain called Scotland." (Cf. article "The Old Iron Forge—'Valley Forge,'" PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVII.) I am not able to explain why, if the sale was made to Sir Archibald Grant in 1730, there were still perplexities about it in 1734/5.



of my late husband, William Aubrey." Remembering her great-nieces and nephew, children of her niece Gulielma Maria (Penn) Fell (daughter of William Penn, Jr.), she left forty pounds to Robert (Edward) Fell; fifty pounds to Mary Margarett, who afterwards married John Barron; and forty pounds to Gulielma Maria Frances, who afterwards married John Newcomb. To her nephew William Penn, 3d, she bequeathed all her American estate for life; after his death to his daughter Christiana Gulielma, who afterwards married Peter Gaskill. To the "poor women" of Devonshire House Friends' Meeting, Bishopsgate Street, London, she left fifty pounds,—the Friends about that time being somewhat pressed in their undertaking to care for their poor members. The residue of her estate—which after these special gifts must have been small—she left to her nephew William Penn, 3d, and his daughter Christiana Gulielma.<sup>1</sup>

William Penn, Jr., deserves more full notice than would be appropriate in this part of the narrative. We shall consider him separately, after speaking of his father's second marriage.

SUMMARY: WILLIAM PENN'S CHILDREN BY HIS FIRST WIFE.

WILLIAM PENN, Founder of Pennsylvania, married, first, at King's Farm, Chorley Wood, Hertfordshire, April 4, 1672, GULIELMA MARIA, daughter of Sir William Springett, Knight, and his wife Mary (daughter of Sir John Proude, Knight). GULIELMA MARIA PENN was born about the end of 1643 or beginning of 1644 (O. S.), and died at Hoddesdon, Herts, February 23, 1693/4. Her children by William Penn were:

1. Gulielma Maria, born at Rickmansworth, Herts, January 23, 1672/3; died there March 17, 1672; buried at Jordans.

2. William, born February 28, 1673/4, at Rickmansworth; died there May 15, 1674; buried at Jordans.

3. Mary, or Margaret, twin with William, born at Rick-

<sup>1</sup> These details are from Westcott's "Historic Mansions," pp. 32, 33.





mansworth, February 28, 1673/4; died there February 24, 1674; buried at Jordans.

4. Springett, born at Walthamstow, January 25, 1675; died at Lewes, April 10, 1696; buried at Jordans; unmarried.

5. Letitia, born (?) preceding 1682, probably at Worminghurst, Sussex; married, August 20, 1702, William Aubrey, of London; died without issue, and was buried at Jordans, April 6, 1746. William Aubrey was buried at Jordans, May 23, 1731.

6. William, Jr., born (?) preceding August, 1682, probably at Worminghurst; married and had issue. See details later.

7. Gulielma Maria, born (?) later than August, 1682, probably at Worminghurst; died at Hammersmith, Middlesex, November 20, 1689.

(To be continued.)



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 247.)

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

"CAMP AT WHITE MARSH, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR :

"The procuring good and easy Winter Quarters for the Troops under your Excellencies Command—and Covering the Country from the Depredations of the Enemy as far as Possible without too much fatigue to the Army—are Objects of the first Consequence, & to which too much Attention cannot be paid.

"A Chain of Cantonments has been proposed (and supported with very plausible Arguments) from Lancaster to Reading and the Intermediate villages between them,—to which Cantonments I can't agree for the following Reasons.

"Because by taking Quarters at the Distance of sixty miles west of Philadelphia, you at once give up to the enemy all the Delaware State, the Eastern shore of Maryland, the Counties of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Bucks and Chester.

"Because by this access of fine Country the Enemy will be enabled to draw supplies, not only for the Winter—but to lay up Stores for the next Campaign—to vittual their Transports—carry Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoyne's army to Great Britain—and perhaps bring out an Equal Number to Re-enforce Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe early in the Spring.

"Because the sick and feeble of the Army in the Respective Hospitals will in a great Measure be left between the Enemy and us—Otherwise Intermixed with the healthy Troops—and subject them to the same Disorders that the Sick may be Infected with.

"Because you cannot in these Villages procure cover for





more than one-third of your Effective's without casting to the Mercy of Weather and Howling Wilderness—those families who flew before the Enemy to these very places for Shelter—giving up ease & Affluence, for Liberty and Protection.

“Because other States are Subject to Invasion—who will naturally conclude if these are given up to Destruction—that it may be their case next, and will thereby be deterred from giving that aid, which they otherwise would afford—least they should first Irritate, & afterwards be left to the Mercy of a more than savage foe.

“Because the Eyes of the World are upon us—and we have given the Country some Ground to expect, some Protection—since the Junction of so great a part of the Northern Army.

“For these Reasons I am positively against taking Quarters at the places before Mentioned—but would propose making good our Quarters in a Position that will at once afford cover to the Country and enable you to draw supplies for your Army—from the Vicinity of the Enemy—in doing of which you will not only Distress them—but save for the use of the next Campaign those Stores which you would be necessitated to expend if Quartered at the Distance of Sixty Miles from the Delaware River.

“You will also leave such Houses as can be procured in that Country to be Converted into Hospitals for the use of the Sick and Convalescents—to which the feeble of the Army may be collected & Commissioned Officers sent (in Proportion to the Number of the Sick) to superintend them—who will not only preserve Order but Introduce Discipline amongst the Convalescents, by obliging them to appear clean on the parade and Manœuvre them whenever the weather will permit, which will be more conducive to their health and be a means of saving men's lives than the whole powers of the *Materia Medica*—they will also afford protection to our Stores by Detering any small party from attempting their Destruction.

“For these Reasons, and to sweeten the tempers of those



Officers that at present may be a little sowered as well as for the ease & Conveniency of others, I am Induced to meet those Gentlemen in Sentiment, who are for Quartering the Army at Willmington & in its Vicinity—which with the aid of some Hutts will afford Cover sufficient.

“The Position is such as to give the Enemy the Greatest Annoyance—with the least fatigue to your own Troops.

“Your Excellencies own good Judgment will point out the proper Measures necessary to guard against that Surprize which some Gentlemen *Effect* so much to dread—I can only assure your Excellency that whatever Position you may think most proper, I shall always be ready to acquiesce with, & to serve you with the best Service of your most Ob<sup>t</sup> and very Hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

“ANT<sup>y</sup> WAYNE.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“WHITEMARSH, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY!

“From a cursory view of the present state of your Army compared to the Position of the Enemy I am fully convinced that your Troops should immediately go into quiet, peaceable Winter Quarters. By the various Fatigues of the Campaign, your Men are dispersed thro’ many parts of the Country, incapable of taking the Field at this advanced Season. The Hospitals are crouded with Sick and Invalids, occasioned, in a great Measure, by the want of clothing & Rest—Your Officers are very discontented, as their Families are suffering at Home, not being able to purchase the Necessaries of Life. The Credit of the Mony is so amazingly decreased, by the prevailing Avarice of the Times, that the recruiting Service rests upon a very precarious Basis. Your great Dependence must therefore be upon the present Army. To make it respectable, it is necessary to collect the feeble together; to nurse and cloath them, and give to the whole such a Spirit of Discipline and Order, as will make them truly formidable. The Enemy is in good Quarters, not to be attack’d, without the greatest Hazard. He





will not attack you, unless he imagines he has a manifest Advantage. In this Situation, you have much to loose, nothing certain to gain.—As therefore another Campaign is morally inevitable, your Troops should be put in the best Situation, to open it early, with vigor & Activity. To fix upon the Line of Cantonment, is a matter of Perplexity. If you attempt covering the Country from the Excursions of the Enemy, you make a Winter's Campaign necessary. But that Position w<sup>h</sup> will give them the greatest Check, consistant with the Ease of the Troops, is the most eligible. That part of Pennsylvania w<sup>h</sup> lays between the Delaware and the Schylkill seems best calculated for this Purpose. While it preserves a Communication with the Southern and Northern States, it gives some kind of Security to New Jersey. A removal to Wilmington and Places adjacent, would give the Enemy the full command of the Delaware, and perhaps, Effect a Separation of the States. It cannot be supposed that the large Villages in the back parts of Pennsylvania are so crouded with Inhabitants as to give no Shelter to the Army. Should the Buildings be too scanty to receive all the Troops, the Deficiency might be made up by substituting Hutts, w<sup>h</sup> would prove a sufficient cover for the more healthy and robust.

“I am, with great Submission, your

“Excellency's most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“J. M. VARNUM.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOODFORD.

“CAMP, 1<sup>st</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1777

“DEAR GEN<sup>l</sup>

“Upon considering the several places purposed for the winter cantoonments of the army, I think the Villages from Reading to Lancaster, with the addition of some Hutts, the most Eligable position for the Troops in their present situation.

“Were the men warmly clad, I should give it as my Opinion that Willmington, or some post nigher the Enemy should be taken in preference to the above, where we might



annoy them in their Forrageing &c. in the course of the Winter.

“But upon considering our present circumstances & looking forward to the operations in the spring, I think the advantages we should give them of possessing a part of this state & the Lower Countys, would be overballanced by our having a vigorous army ready to take the Field early in the next campaign, with sufficient Magazines of provision & Forrage laid up in the course of this Winter.

“If the Range of Cantoonments I purpose should meet the approbation of your Excellency, after hearing the sentiments of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers, I would purpose that as much Forrage & provisions as possible, of every kind, be immediately drawn from the Country between our Quarters & the Enemy & that such as we had it not in our power to remove be destroy’d, saveing a bare sufficiency for the subsistence of the Inhabitants, & that the Country in our Rear be kept as a Reserve.

“Previous to the removal of the Army, I would recommend that one or more, Gen<sup>l</sup> Officer go with the D. Q<sup>r</sup> Master Gen<sup>l</sup> to view the cover that can be procured for the Troops, & make their Report to your Excellency as speedily as possible.

“If these Villages are found too much crouded with the Refugees from Philadelphia & its neighbourhood, I should think it no great hardship for them to be obliged to remove to the Farm Houses contiguous, & that the D. Q<sup>r</sup> Master Gen<sup>l</sup> (after having ascertain’d their numbers), be order’d to assign them Quarters at a distance that it would be unsafe to squander the Troops in, & that the publick waggons remove their affects. I am with great respect your Excellencys most Obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“W<sup>m</sup> WOODFORD.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WEEDON.

“DEAR SIR:

“I have agreeable to your Excellency’s direction, considered in every point of view I am able ‘a proper position for this Army during the winter’—Three plans for facilitating



and it seems that it is not necessary for it to have a cause.

(1911)

A philosopher might say that the world is a whole, and that it is not possible to say that it has a cause. But this is not the case. The world is not a whole, and it is not possible to say that it has a cause. The world is a collection of parts, and each part has a cause. The world is not a whole, and it is not possible to say that it has a cause. The world is a collection of parts, and each part has a cause.

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this desirable purpose have been proposed, viz<sup>t</sup> Hutting, Drawing them down to Wilmington & its vicinity, or cantoning them in the back country from Reading to Lancaster.—In my opinion there will be great inconveniences attending any measure we may take—The first plan is certainly the most desirable, but I fear the least eligible; & both for reasons so obvious that they hardly need mentioning. Does not the present situation of affairs promise another Campaign? Tis true that by wintering your Troops within ten or fifteen miles of the enemy you might in some measure cover the country contiguous thereto, but would not this subject your Army to a winter campaign? Add to this the unhealthy quarters they would be confined to, rendered still the more so by the very nature of the materials which compose them. Our service has already driven us to this necessity on a former occasion, which proved more fatal to the troops than all the actions they fought during the campaign!—Let us benefit by experience.—Your army, Sir, is now much reduced by hard service & other sufferings during this Summer & Fall; I fear & believe, I may say with truth, (& consequently on this occasion with propriety) that a third of them tho' now in the field, are more fitting for the Hospital than the Camp: without Blanketts, without Shoes, & in short almost destitute of every comfort required by the strong & robust, much more the weak & feeble. What then must be the effects of keeping them out all winter in this dispiriting situation? Can you promise yourself service from them in the spring? When the Enemy find your troops exhausted by fatigue, they will no doubt avail themselves of it. What must then necessarily follow is disagreeable & needless to anticipate—Troops undisciplined, worn-out by service, deprived of every comfort which is necessary to restore health & vigor, cannot be supposed to support an attack against those who thro' the Winter have been in comfortable quarters, constantly trained in Manœuvring & other exercises. That this will be the case, I make not the least doubt.



“A position at Wilmington, I should have no very great objection to, if the troops could be covered in a tolerable compact body, but this I fear cannot be done; & Cantoning by Detachment is a dangerous experiment.—I look Sir, on this Army as the Herculean hinge, on which American Independence turns.—The covering this, or the other spot for the space of three or four months is not a motive sufficient to hazard, or expose this Army for, the object is in nowise adequate to the disadvantages that may result from it: you would in my opinion subject yourself to frequent alarms by taking post at Wilmington, Christiana, Newport & Chester, particularly at the latter. The Enemy are masters of the River, have a numerous Fleet at their command, and within one nights march of you—I should not indeed dread a surprize, but supposing the enemy not inclined to attack you by a sudden march, (which at the same time they would have in their power) but to manœuvre up the Schuylkill & cross above you, should we not be in the predicament we have all this campaign been endeavouring to shun, by keeping their left-flank must we not instantly leave our quarters, perhaps at a season of the year when our magazines could not be got off.—The sick must fall into their hands also, unless we fight them & are successful—Should any disaster attend us, by an action with them in this situation, what would be the consequences? a total Annihilation of this Army, & with it, the Liberties of America!—Upon the whole sir, distressing as it is to leave a country uncovered, & at the mercy of an ungenerous Enemy, who no doubt will ravage & plunder the inhabitants; yet Sir, we must view our affairs in a more extensive Scale. Subjugating a few individuals who must be left at their mercy, or possessing a small tract of country for a few months goes but a small way in the American cause, while you have this Army in full health.—That we must have another Campaign is, I believe, beyond controversy, prudence therefore dictates a timely provision for the same, the success of it will depend on the health & discipline of your Troops, the care & vigilance of your Officers, and





early operations in the Field.—To provide for such important purposes, I give it as my opinion this army be quartered as soon as circumstances will permit, in a country where not only your Officers may have it in their power to make themselves comfortable during the winter, but your troops be relieved from heavy guards, covered from the inclemency of the weather, *nursed in sickness*, disciplined & restored to their former health & vigor—This Sir, & this alone, will give you the Superiority over your Enemy.—Your Hospitals are now as strong nearly as your Battalions: & while you are followed by an army of feeble invalids, what reward can you expect for your unwearied exertions, by any atchievements such Troops can obtain? The Chain of Cantonments from Reading to Lancaster has been mentioned, I cannot with precision say they are the most eligible, but from the small knowledge I have of the country, should suppose them the most likely to cover the troops, & afford them rest thro' the winter.

“I am Sir y<sup>r</sup> very H<sup>bl</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“G. WEEDON.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

“December 1<sup>st</sup> 1777

“SIR:

“Agreeable to your Excellency's requisition I transmit you my Sentiments on the Question proposed in Council yesterday.

“I would beg leave to premise that agreeable to my Sentiments, the Army should continue in a Position, where they can most effectually Annoy the Enemy, untill it shall be absolutely necessary on Account of the Severity of the Weather to Quit the Field—2<sup>dly</sup> That the Preservation of the Army by getting them into good Winter Quarters, will be of much greater Utility, than any small Advantages, which can be gain'd over the Enemy by keeping the Army near their Lines.

“With regard to the place, Proper for the Army to



take Winter Quarters, I must confess, I am more inclined to join in sentiment with those Gentlemen who propose Lancaster for the Right of the Cantonment & Reading for the left, than with those who propose Wilmington—my reasons are these. Wilmington &c. are so near the Enemy that there is the greatest probability of their frequent Alarming us, consequently the end intended, that is, the Ease of the Army will not be answered.

“2<sup>dly</sup> Our Army will certainly diminish, at least for the Winter, by a Number of the Soldiers receiving permission to return to the different States they came from which would perhaps enable the Enemy to gain material Advantages over us, especially if it should be found necessary, on account of Covering, to Quarter the Men some distance apart.

“3<sup>dly</sup> The upper Part of Pennsylvania would be left entirely to the Mercy of the Enemy, & the Communication with the Eastern States cut of.

“4<sup>thly</sup> The Enemy will have it in their power to draw more Supplies from the Jersey, than it would be possible for them to draw from the lower Counties, even if they were entirely given up to them, for if the Army lay at Wilmington, one armed Vessell would be sufficient to prevent us from affording any relief to the Jerseys.

“Perhaps if your Excellency was to order some Person to Reconnoitre the Country from Reading to Easton it would be found more Eligible, to make Reading the right of the Cantonment, & Easton the left, than any other place proposed, especially if the Hint thrown out by a Gentleman in Council, was adopted, that is, to erect Hutts for the more Robust, & let the Feeble be quartered in Houses, &c.—In Reading the Refugees from Philadelphia are less numerous than in Lancaster, Lebanon, &c. Reading, Allentown Bethlehem & Easton lie in a direct line, very near the same distance from Philadelphia—a few miles in front of this Line, is Maxetawny & Macungy, one, if not two Divisions may be Quartered with the greatest ease, & here the Troops would be ready, either to protect our Stores, or prevent





any considerable Ravages in the Country. Your Excellencys

“Most obed<sup>t</sup> & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“P: MUHLENBERG.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCOTT.

“WHITE MARSH, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR :

“After Considering maturely the matter Proposed Yesterday with regard to the Quartering the Troops for this Winter, I have at Length thought that Wilmington and its Neighbouring Villages the most Elligable.

“I would not wish to Trouble your Excellency with my Reasons as it was so very Fully spoke upon Yesterday. I am Your Excellencys

“Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“CH<sup>r</sup> SCOTT.”

OPINION OF COUNT PULASKI.

“I leave the choice of Ground to those who are well acquainted with the Country, & confine myself to considering the advantages which will attend a continuance of the Campaign, and the Inconveniencies which will flow from retiring to Winter Quarters—Our continuing in a state of activity will give courage to our Friends, be an antidote to the effeminacy of young Soldiers, and enure them to the fatigues which Veterans undergo—keep them in the exercise of their profession and instruct them—Whereas the inactivity of winter quarters will ruin the Army, discourage the Country, leave an extent of Territory for the Enemy to ravage and depopulate ; besides how do we know what Reinforcements the Enemy may receive before the next Campaign. For my part therefore I only think that the invalids of each Regiment should be suffer'd to retire where they may under the direction of proper officers be refreshed and recruited—with all the rest collected I would make a vigorous attack upon the Enemy as soon as the Schuylkill is frozen.

“C. PULASKI.



"In case winter quarters are determined upon, I solicit His Excellency to allow me the body of Cavalry and Infantry to remain near the Enemy's Lines."<sup>1</sup>

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL DU PORTAIL.

"By taking Winter Quarters from Lancaster to Reading, we abandon to the Enemy, Jersey, and all the Country adjacent to Derby, Chester, and Wilmington, one of the richest Tracts in this part of the Continent. By establishing them at Wilmington we cover the Country, and do not so completely abandon that part of it which is before Philadelphia, nor even Jersey, because our proximity to the Enemy and the ease with which we could throw ourselves upon the Rear of their Lines in case the Schuylkill should be frozen, will keep them in respect, and put it out of their power to send considerable Detachments on the other side of Delaware from the fear of weakening themselves too much—and the small detachments which they may send will be greatly restrained by the Jersey Militia—The Position then of Wilmington answers the end of making subsistence very difficult to Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe, who has not only his Army to feed but likewise the Inhabitants of the Town, and who must besides furnish Provisions for the Army of Gen<sup>l</sup> Bourgoyne if he means that they should embark for England.—This position farther deprives him of the means of recruiting in the Country, extending himself in it, adding to the number of his Partisans, in a word gaining the Country. It has besides the advantage of rendering his Communication with his fleet difficult, for I imagine the Vessels will not be able to approach Philadelphia when the Ice prevails—I should not omit mentioning a case in which this Inconvenience would be very considerable—if War should be declared between France and England, and Gen<sup>l</sup> How from a dread of finding himself blocked up in the Spring by a French Fleet, should wish to quit Philadelphia, we shall be within distance at Wilmington for hindering his Embarkation of which we should have timely notice.

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.





“This Position then unites great Military advantages—but it must be confess’d at the same time that these very advantages ought perhaps to prevent our taking it—because the Enemy probably will not suffer us there, and will march against us.—Thus to ask whether the Position of Wilmington is eligible, is to ask at the same time whether it is eligible to expose ourselves to an Action, and perhaps more than one.

“If the season were less advanced, I don’t see why we should avoid them—but at present—what end would be answer’d. if we should gain an advantage we should be unable to pursue it—if we Experience a Check, we run the risque of seeing our Army dissipated in the rude marches consequent on a defeat—Consistently with the plan which we ought to form of putting our Army in good condition this winter and preparing it for a good Campaign, we ought not to have it’s Repose preceded by a Defeat.

“As to the other points to be consider’d in this Question, whether Wilmington or Lancaster will be the most proper Situation for furnishing the Army with every necessary—I cannot decide, being ignorant of the Country—but it appears to me in general that this point deserves our most serious attention—it is much better to lose Soldiers in Combats with the Enemy to whom we cause a Loss at the same time, than to lose them by Disorders, & Desertion arising from their Misery. Misery destroys a part of an Army and leaves the other without Vigour, without Courage, and without good Will—we should find ourselves then in the Spring with a Body of an Army incapable of any thing, and consequently have no right to expect a successful Campaign.<sup>1</sup>

“DU PORTAIL.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

“SIR :

“Whether the army should retire into winter quarters in the interior part of this State or to Wilmington and its environs, or whether it ought not to take post nigher to the enemy and remain in huts during the winter, are questions

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



of such importance and the arguments for and against each of those measures so many and cogent that I confess myself at a loss how to decide upon them.—To leave so large a proportion of the most valuable part of the State uncovered as we unavoidably must do should we quarter in either of the places mentioned may have a very unhappy effect upon the minds of the inhabitants, and render it extremely doubtful whether much, if any assistance could be drawn from this State the ensuing campaign—few men have a less opinion of the importance of the militia in their present state than myself, but I am apprehensive that should our friends be disgusted as it is highly probable they would be, the executive powers would not be able to make drafts therefrom to fill up the thirteen regiments raised in the state which form no inconsiderable part of the continental army.

“If the observations made yesterday are founded on facts, that so great a part of the army are in a sickly situation, it does not appear clear to me that we should find shelter for more than the invalids, the question then is whether the remaining part of the army would be more comfortably lodged in huts at the distance of sixty miles from Philadelphia, than they could be at twenty or thirty. I am of opinion that they could not, and therefore advise, that the weak and infirm be immediately collected together and quartered between Lancaster & Reading, that the residue of the army take a strong position on the other side Schuylkill, where wood is plenty, out of surprising distance, and there hut themselves for the winter. I am with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient & humble servant

“WHITEMARSH, Decem<sup>r</sup> 1, 1777.”

“JAMES IRVINE.

“SIR

CIRCULAR LETTER.<sup>1</sup>

“I wish to recall your attention to the important matter recommended to your consideration some time ago—namely

<sup>1</sup> For some reason the written opinions just given were inconclusive, and the General again desired an expression of sentiment. It was doubtless owing to some political pressure brought to bear upon him, urging an attack on the British in Philadelphia.





—the advisability of a winter's Campaign and, practicability of an attack upon Philadelphia with the aid of a considerable body of militia, to be assembled at an appointed time & place—particular reasons urge me to request your Sentiments on this matter by the morning, and I shall expect to receive them in writing accordingly by that time. I am, Sir, Y<sup>r</sup> most Obed<sup>t</sup> Ser.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“Dec<sup>r</sup> 3, 1777.”

(To be continued.)



## ANDREW HAMILTON AND JOHN PETER ZENGER.

BY BERNARD C. STEINER.

The famous libel trial of Zenger, in which Hamilton so ably defended him, is one of the best-known incidents in New York's colonial history. The bold doctrine that truth of facts in the alleged libel could be set up as a defence, and the complete success Hamilton had in impressing that doctrine upon the jury, are familiar to every reader of American history. Yet famous as this trial is, little is known of the early life of Hamilton, and no one has suggested a reason why Zenger turned to him for assistance, when threatened with the vengeance of the officers of the Crown. The ordinary accounts<sup>1</sup> of Hamilton state that about 1697 he came to Accomack County, Virginia, married into a wealthy family there, and removed to Philadelphia before 1716. We are now able to add considerably to this sketch and fill in the meagre outline to some extent. The following statements are derived from the records of the Province of Maryland and those of Kent County in that Province. The investigation of the latter records was kindly undertaken by the Hon. James Alfred Pearce, of Chestertown, Maryland.

On March 26, 1708, Andrew Hamilton, described as of Northampton County, Virginia, bought of John Toads, of Kent County, Maryland, an estate in that county containing six hundred acres of land, and known as "Henberry." Henberry was situated on the north side of the Chester River, where the present town of Millington now stands. For this estate in fee simple, Hamilton paid two hundred pounds sterling and obtained a warranty deed, which was recorded in the County Clerk's office on September 15, 1708. On this plantation Hamilton lived for a number of years, and, as his legal fame spread, he practised law not only in

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, that in "Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography."





Kent and the adjoining counties, but as far to the north as Philadelphia.

In 1715 an Assembly was summoned by Governor John Hart, largely for the purpose of codifying the existing law of the Province. To that Assembly, Andrew Hamilton was chosen as one of the four deputies from Kent County. It was his only legislative experience in Maryland, and he was not prompt in performing it. The Assembly met on April 26, but Hamilton did not appear until May 4, after the sergeant-at-arms had been sent for him. He excused himself with the plea that, when the Legislature came together, he was engaged as counsel in an important case before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and so was far from his Chester River plantation. The delegates did not accept the excuse, but fined Hamilton forty-five shillings for his absence. They put him at once, however, on the Committee of Laws. Just what share the eminent lawyer had in the statutes passed at this session is uncertain, but it is interesting to see that his committee was so successful in its work of codification that the forty-six chapters of the act of 1715 "formed<sup>1</sup> the *substratum* of the statute law of the Province, even down to the Revolution, and the subsequent legislation of the Colony effected no very material alterations in the system of general law then established."

During the next two years Hamilton gave up his Maryland residence and became an inhabitant of Pennsylvania. The records of Shrewsbury Parish, in which Millington lies, have been examined, but show no mention of Hamilton, so probably his son James was born in Virginia, before Hamilton removed from that Colony. At some time while a resident of Kent County, Hamilton added to his landed property by buying a neighboring plantation called "Partnership," containing two hundred and eighty-five acres. At his removal to Philadelphia, Hamilton left his property in the hands of Gilbert Falconar. On September 16, 1717, Falconar bought Hamilton's land for four hundred and



thirty-five pounds current money of America. Mrs. Anne Hamilton, by writing endorsed on the deed, formally gave up her dower rights to the lands. The deed was recorded on June 16, 1718, and closes the connection of Hamilton with Maryland.

Zenger<sup>1</sup> was born in Germany in 1697, came to this country in 1710, and was apprenticed to William Bradford in the same year. On the expiration of his apprenticeship he went to Maryland. Mr. Hildeburn thinks he may have married his first wife there. Of this I find no evidence. He had settled in Kent County, probably at Chestertown, the county-seat, as early as 1720. His press there was doubtless the first one on the Eastern Shore. No mention of him can be found on the pages of the Kent County land records, nor in the books of St. Paul's Parish, in which Chestertown is situated. On April 12, 1720, he petitioned the Assembly for authority to print the session laws. The lower House assented to this petition, and suggested that he be paid seven hundred pounds of tobacco per "body" or copy. The number of copies is not stated, presumably it was not to be large. Later in the session, the House of Delegates refused to make an appropriation to the Chancellor to pay him for having a manuscript copy of the laws sent to each county, as had been the custom. This expense, they said, was unnecessary, since Zenger had been authorized to print the laws. No trace of these printed laws can be found. At a second session, held during the same year, Zenger (whose name is also spelled Zanger and Zinger in the records) petitioned the lower House to naturalize him and his family. He represented himself as of Kent County. The petition was received on October 18, the bill passed the lower House on the 19th, and the upper House on the 20th. It was the first act of the session, and cost Zenger a fee of one pound ten shillings, to be paid to the Speaker, and another of fifteen shillings, to be paid to the clerk of the lower House.

Shortly after this, Zenger returned to New York, and

<sup>1</sup> Hildeburn, "Printers and Printing in New York," p. 20.





married there in 1722. In view of the connection of both these men with Kent County at so nearly the same time, is it extravagant to conjecture that, when Zenger's difficulties arose, he remembered the reputation of the former Kent County lawyer and called him to his aid? Whether this was the reason we cannot surely tell, but it seems plausible. At any rate, the scattered facts here gathered together throw some additional light on the careers of one of America's first great lawyers and one of her first skilful printers.



UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF  
BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

TRANSLATED BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

[Paul Leicester Ford, in *The Nation* for July 30, 1896, prints for the first time the following account of Braddock's defeat. The writer is not known, but Mr. Ford is of opinion that "it must have been the earliest account printed in France, and the writer seems to have extracted part of it from some English version. It is remarkable also as being the only French narrative that names Washington or describes his part in the defeat, which it does with high praise." Mr. Ford gives the original French of that portion which deals with the actual battle; and in the translation I have indicated my principal departures from the bad punctuation of the original.]

ACCOUNT |

Of the Victory won by the French, over a Corps | of English Troops, commanded by General Braddock, | near the Ohio in North America.

In the early days of the month of July, General Braddock came and encamped at the Little Meadows, this side of Fort Cumberland on Will's Creek (*Wills-Chreck*), with his Army Corps composed of two thousand Men, & with Artillery, Baggage & Munitions. In order to profit by the eagerness which the Troops exhibited, he thought he ought not to delay marching on the French, who had gathered their forces at Fort du Quesne. He advanced towards them with 1200 men & ten pieces of cannon, & left the rest at the Little Meadows under command of Colonel Dunbar (*Dumbar*), whom he ordered to come and join him as promptly as he possibly could. After encamping, on July 8, at ten miles' distance from Fort du Quesne, he marched again on the 9<sup>th</sup>, to advance upon this Fort. [The original has a comma here.] In debouching out of a Wood which he had been obliged to traverse, his Troops were attacked with great fury by Detachments of French & Indians posted in ambush upon the hills which bordered the outskirts of the Wood, & whence they rushed with such impetuosity upon the columns which were executing the debouchment, that the Troops fell into confusion. [Comma here.] In spite of every effort made by General Braddock and his Officers to rally them, two Regiments of the Corps sent from Ireland, which gave way from the beginning of the attack, increased the disorder, & hastened the rout, which was so bad that the Officers, abandoned by their Soldiers, were seen exposed alone to the fire of the enemy. General Braddock, who kept up the greatest





activity on all sides, & who had five Horses killed under him [read *lui*, instead of *lieu*], was shot in the arm & in the chest, and rendered *hors de combat*. Colonel Sir Peter Halket (*Halkette*), who backed him with much bravery, was slain on the Field of Battle, where nearly sixty Officers were killed or wounded. [Semicolon here.] In the midst of the efforts they were making to bring back the Fugitives, Colonel Washington again distinguished himself on this occasion in a manner which has won for him great praises. The remnants of this Army Corps withdrew to Will's Creek (*Wills-Creek*) beside Colonel Dunbar, obliged by the haste of their Retreat to abandon Artillery, Baggage, Tents & Munitions, which fell into the hands of the Enemy. General Braddock was carried to Will's Creek (*Wuills-Creek*), and died there of his wounds on the 13<sup>th</sup>. [Comma.] Messrs. Robert Orme and Roger (*Roget*) Morris, his Aides-de-Camps, were wounded; Mr. William Shirley (*Chirley*), Secretary of War in this Corps of Troops, & son of the Governor of Virginia, was slain; Sir John St. Clair, second Quartermaster-General, and Mr. Matthew Leslie (*Lecsley*), Quartermaster-General's Assistant, were both wounded; in Halket's Regiment, whose Colonel was left dead on the Battle Field, Mr. Gage, who is its Lieutenant-Colonel, was wounded, and two Captains killed. [Comma.] Of the Subalterns in the same Regiment, there were two Lieutenants & two other Officers killed, & eight Lieutenants or other Officers wounded; in Dunbar's Regiment, Mr. Burton (*Button*), Lieutenant Colonel, & Mr. Sparks (*Sparkes*), Major, were wounded; Captain Cholmondeley (*Cholmeley*) killed, and Captains Bromley [*?*] (*Brouwer*) & Ross (*Noss*) wounded; of the subaltern Officers in this Regiment there were five of them killed & eight wounded; in the Artillery Corps, Captain-Lieutenant Smith was killed, & three Lieutenants wounded; in the Engineer Corps, three Officers wounded; in the Detachment of Marines, two Officers killed; in the Volunteer Corps, Captain Stone of Warburton's (*Warbuton*) Regiment wounded; in the independent Companies of New York, Captain Gates was wounded, one Lieutenant killed, & two others wounded; in the Virginian Troops, Captain Stephen (*Stephens*) was wounded, and Captains Polson (*Poulston*) and Peyronie (*Peronie*) killed, besides four subaltern Officers killed & one wounded. We do not know the amount of the French loss, which is quite trifling; & we might perhaps have won, if the Troops from Ireland had stood firm.

After the remnants had been got together at Will's Creek, Colonel Dunbar & Colonel Washington marched with the Troops to Fort Cumberland, and the latest advices thence, dating July 19, shew that they were intrenched there, and that nothing new had taken place in this interval of eleven days. On the night of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, there was talk of some new movements of the French on the bank of the Monongehela [*sic*]; but while they were awaiting Reinforcements in the Camp, there was room to hope that they were in condition to hold out against



[the enemy], in case he returned to the charge. If the reports we have had from the Indians be true, the Corps of the French before the action was superior in number, and amounted to 1100 men of regular Troops, supported by 600 Indians. The latter still say that their loss was not very heavy for the fury with which the Americans answered to the first efforts of the Assailants; but every thing published on this head is but vague; and we are only waiting for further Advices concerning exacter details of this Fight, & the consequences which such a fatal opening of the Campaign will have had.

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A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

(Continued from page 275.)

1802.

537. Joseph Caldwell & Elizabeth  
Burd, Both of Springfield, Delaware  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 23.
538. Andrew Anderson & Hannah  
Levering, Both of Lower Merion, C<sup>r</sup>  
of Montg<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sunday April 4.
539. Andrew Boon & Elizabeth Culin,  
Both of Salem County New Jersey, Sun-  
day Even<sup>s</sup> April 4.
540. Charles Jones & Mary Alloway, Both  
of Lower Merion, Montg<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday, April 8.
541. John Johnston of the North<sup>a</sup> Libert<sup>a</sup>,  
Phil<sup>a</sup> & Elizabeth Price of Ridley, Chest<sup>r</sup>  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> April 11.
542. Benjamin Brotherton & Hannah  
Zilley. Both of the Northern Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> April 18.
543. John Ferguson & Rebecca Jones. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> May 4.
544. W<sup>m</sup> Richers, lately of Hamburgh, &  
Mary Wallace of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 9.
545. Benjamin Harrison & Margaret  
Bickley. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Evening,  
May 29.
546. John Cummings & Catherine  
Kelcher. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. July 27. Tuesday.



547. Jacob Tyson & Susannah Evans,  
Both of Upper Derby, Delaware C<sup>r</sup>,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. July 29. Thursday.
548. John Welker of Germantown, and  
Rachel Wright of Bristol, Bucks C<sup>r</sup> on  
Monday Even<sup>s</sup> August 2<sup>d</sup>.
549. James W. Sloan of Baltimore, &  
Ann Williamson of Greenwood, Bucks  
C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Sep. 18.
550. Abraham Baily & Rachel Carpenter,  
Both of Chester County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Friday Ev<sup>s</sup>  
October 22<sup>d</sup>.
551. Byard Earnest & Mary Shives,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 23.
552. Patton M<sup>c</sup>Connell & Jane Ander-  
son, Both of Blockley, Phil<sup>a</sup> County,  
Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 7.
553. Daniel Jennifer Adams of Wilmington,  
Delaware, & Prudence Moore of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Friday Even<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 10.
554. John Wigglesworth & Mary  
Dunkarly, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 25.
555. Lodowick Sprogell & Margaret Jen-  
kins, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 23.

*Nineteen Couple.*

1803.

556. David Lund from Boston, now  
of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Hannah Lowden of Bur-  
lington, New Jersey. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 4.
557. John Woodward of Bristol, Penn-  
sylv<sup>a</sup> & Jane Vandergrift of Lower  
Dublin, Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 20.
558. Edward Simmons & Jane Gibson.  
(Blacks.) Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 3—
559. John Marple & Elizabeth Man-  
ington. Both of Philadelphia, 17<sup>th</sup>  
of March. Thursday Evening.





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560. Alexander Stuart & Frances Mathers. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> April 7.
561. James Powers & Sarah Bower. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> April 9.
562. James Murphy of Egg Harbour, & Prudence Wood of Cohansey, Both of New Jersey. Sunday Ev<sup>s</sup> April 10.
563. John Carpenter, jun<sup>r</sup> of Phil<sup>a</sup> and Ann Crampton of Wilmington, State of Delaware. Sat<sup>y</sup> Evening, April 16.
564. John Breoland & Anne Brannan. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> April 17.
565. Henry Lawell of Oxford Township & Mary Mayer of the Northern Lib<sup>a</sup>. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> April 28.
- 566 } Edward Gorman & Margaret Holmes.  
& } Sam<sup>l</sup> Vollens & Mary Claypoole. All  
567 } of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>s</sup> May 1.
568. W<sup>m</sup> Dyer of Germantown & Sarah Crook of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>s</sup> May 8.
569. Jonathan Evans & Margaret Dempsey, Both of Willistown, Chester C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Friday Ev<sup>s</sup> May 13.
570. John Sisty & Hannah Pippitt, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>s</sup> May 22.
571. Joseph S. Walter & Deborah Wood, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 30.
572. W<sup>m</sup> Powell, Esq<sup>r</sup> & Sarah Wetherill. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Evening, June 2<sup>d</sup>.
573. Israel Brady of Burlington, N. J. & Catherine Carrol of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 5.
574. Adam Herknefs & Elizabeth Bringhurst, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 22.
575. Philip Halzel & Lydia Southwick, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Ev<sup>s</sup> July 11<sup>th</sup>.
576. Richard Heacock of Hiltown & Jane Griffith of New Britain, Bucks County Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>.



577. John Rufsell & Hannah Turner,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>g</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>.
578. Robert Spaven & Anne Maxwell,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Aug<sup>t</sup> 29.
579. John Davis & Hannah Morris,  
Both of East Town, Chester C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Saturday A.M. Sep<sup>t</sup> 3.
580. Andrew Boon & Rachel Dare,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Tuesday Evening, Sep<sup>t</sup> 6.
581. John Martin & Ruth Stephens,  
Both of Chester County, Pennsylvan<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Evening, Sep<sup>t</sup> 8.
582. Ezekiel Taylor & Mary Ann Cox,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Ev<sup>g</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 13.
583. Conrad Harman & Eliza Sands.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Ev<sup>g</sup> Oct. 16.
584. Adam Metz & Sarah Smart—  
Both of Goshen, Chester C<sup>y</sup> Pennsylv<sup>a</sup>.  
Wednesday Nov. 2.
585. John Jones of Radnor, Del. C<sup>y</sup> &  
Rebecca Tarrance of Upper Merriion,  
Mont<sup>y</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday, Nov. 10.
586. Obadiah Lloyd & Hannah Nixon,  
Both of Salem, N. Jersey, Friday Ev<sup>g</sup> Nov. 11.
587. James Beverlin of Charlestown &  
Magdalen Ginder of Tredyffrin—  
Both of Chester County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tues-  
day P.M. Nov. 22.
588. Peter Connor & Mary Ann Wood,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup> Nov. 22.
589. Caleb Dobbins & Anne Maddock.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 8.
590. James Hannum, Esq<sup>r</sup> & Sarah Reese,  
Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 13.
591. James Morris & Honoria Thomas,  
Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 15.
592. W<sup>m</sup> Patton of Great Valley, Chest<sup>r</sup>  
County & Mary Robinson of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup>  
Evening Dec<sup>r</sup> 24.





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593. W<sup>m</sup> Lewis & Margaret Gilmer,  
Both of Phila. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 29.
594. Henry Trimble & Sarah Whiteman.  
Both of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Pennl<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Ev. D<sup>r</sup> 31.

*Thirty Nine Couple.*

1804.

595. Hosea Beldon & Mary Snead.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1.
596. Edward Siter & Sarah Taylor. Both  
of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Pennl<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 26.
597. Stephen Clawson, j<sup>r</sup> of Stamford,  
Connecticut, & Mary Wheland of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>—also—
598. George Boswell & Elizabeth Jones,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 2.
599. David Hooven & Catherine Engles.  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> County, Pennl<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Feb<sup>y</sup> 16.
600. John Barney & Mary Wigglesworth,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 8.
601. Edmund Gaskill & Sophia Champion,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>—also—
602. Charles P. Harrison, late of G. Brit<sup>n</sup>,  
& Elizabeth Porter of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day  
Evening, March 25.
603. D<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> S. Cumming & Catharine La-  
comb, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>—also—
604. John Edwards & Hannah Wood,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Evening, 27<sup>th</sup>  
of March.
605. Jesse Suplee of Blockley, Philad<sup>a</sup>  
County & Sarah Beaumont of New-  
town, Delaware C<sup>y</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 12.
606. John Smith, Esq<sup>r</sup> of the City of Wash<sup>n</sup>  
& Catharine Loxley of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
May 3.
607. James Milton of Blockley, Phil<sup>a</sup>  
County, & Rachel Harding of Delaware  
C<sup>y</sup>. Thursday P.M. May 10.



608. Benjamin Crozier & Jane Anderson,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 19.
609. Griffith Street & Mary Egbert,  
Both of Frankford, Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Lord's Day  
Evening, May 20.
610. Joseph Watson of Philad<sup>a</sup> & Marg<sup>t</sup>  
Rodman of Burlington, N. J.  
also,
611. Jared Saxton & Margar<sup>t</sup> Mowry,  
Both of the N. Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
May 24.
612. W<sup>m</sup> Hamilton & Hannah Ustick.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 7.
613. Thom<sup>s</sup> H. Griffith of Oxford, Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>y</sup>  
& Elizabeth Johnson of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Ev<sup>s</sup> June 14.
614. James M<sup>c</sup>Cartner & Elizabeth  
Wright. Both from Ireland, now of  
Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> P.M. June 16.
615. W<sup>m</sup> Kneafs & Mary Honeyman.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> June 23.
616. John Howell & Frances Faußett.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 12.
617. Neal Sweeney & Elizabeth George.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> July 26.
618. Mordecai Thomson of Delaware C<sup>y</sup>,  
& Hannah Adams of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>.—  
Thursday Aug<sup>t</sup> 23.
619. John Riley & Ann Hill Phillips.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 25.
620. John Sinket & Sarah Downing.  
Both of Germantown. Sund<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 20.
- 621 } Joseph Worthington & Amelia Evans.  
    & } John Patton & Elizabeth Evans. All  
622 } of West Chest<sup>r</sup> Pennfa. Wed<sup>y</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 29.
- 623 } Amos Griffith & Mary Heeler. Both  
    & } of Haverford, Delaware County.  
624 } John Rawlins & Sarah Alloway.  
    & } Both of Lower Merriion, Montg<sup>y</sup> County.  
    Thursd<sup>y</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 6.





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625. Benjamin High of Vincent, and  
Elizabeth Green of Charlestown, Both  
of Chester County. Sat<sup>r</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 8.
626. Jacob Cooper Stout & Eliza Schmaltz.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Monday Ev<sup>e</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 10.
627. Christ<sup>n</sup> F. Hilsmen & Christiana  
Witts. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>e</sup> Sep. 23.
628. Sam<sup>l</sup> Thomas of Eastown, & Ann Hoopes  
of Willistown, Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> County, P<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. Sep. 27.
629. Cap<sup>t</sup> Jethro Myrick & Rebecca Beckley.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>e</sup> Oct. 2.
630. Edw<sup>d</sup> Levis of Springfield, Delaw<sup>e</sup> C<sup>r</sup>  
& Mary Price of Montg<sup>r</sup> County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. Oct. 4.
631. W<sup>m</sup> Horn of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Rebecca Kunkle  
of Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Even<sup>e</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 11.
632. W<sup>m</sup> Thomas & Maria Smith.  
He of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup>. She of Delaware C<sup>r</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. Oct. 18.
633. John Silence & Mary Jackson.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>e</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 18.
634. W<sup>m</sup> Pollock & Catherine Kennedy.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>e</sup> Oct. 25.
635. Cap<sup>t</sup> Michael Hopkins of Boston,  
& Madame Elizabeth Tardy of Rochelle in  
France. Sunday Even<sup>e</sup> Oct. 28.
636. Charles Minife of Washington City,  
& Anna King of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>e</sup> Oct. 30.
637. Samuel Levis, jun<sup>r</sup> & Rebecca Levis,  
Both of Delaware County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday, P.M. Nov. 1.
638. James Owens & Ann Helm, Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>e</sup> Nov. 18.
639. W<sup>m</sup> Galloway & Marg<sup>t</sup> Hutchinson,  
Both of West Chester. Mond<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>e</sup> Nov. 26.
640. Peter Rauschenberger & Anne  
Wethman. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thurs<sup>r</sup> E<sup>e</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 6.



641. Benjamin Buckman & Eunice Ma-  
ther. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 11.
642. Jacob Leidy of Bucks C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup> &  
Marg<sup>t</sup> Baxter of New Castle C<sup>y</sup>—Delaware.  
Wedn<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 12.
643. Nathan Pawling & Priscilla Thomas.  
Both of Eastown, Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
On Thursday A.M. Dec<sup>r</sup> 20.
644. John Turner & Ann M<sup>c</sup>Leod.  
Both of Southwark, Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
December 20.
645. W<sup>m</sup> Sayres of Cumberland C<sup>y</sup> N. J.  
& Hannah Emmes of Phil<sup>a</sup>—Also—
646. Caleb Cobourn & Ann Dizer. Both  
of Chester, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 27.

*Fifty Two Couple.*

(To be continued.)





## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

LETTER OF THOMAS GATES, ESQ., TO CAPTAIN J. MARTIN, 1783.—  
The original of the following letter is in the collection of Mr. James H. McAllister, Fort Hunter, Pennsylvania :

"NEW YORK June 8, 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"I wrote you immediately on my arrival at Fishkill since which I have not been favored with any from you, but I suppose there may be one laying at fishkill where I proposed in my last to stop till I heard from you but meeting with a favorable opportunity of going to this place I set out by water and arrived here a few days ago after a very agreeable passage.

"New York is in the greatest confusion occasioned by the large embarkations it is supposed not less than eight thousand Tories & tradesmen belonging to the City will in the course of the next week embark for the bleak shores of New Scotland and about 7000 have already sailed.

"Likewise a fleet of Transports from Jamacia arrived this day under convoy of Adm<sup>l</sup> Greaves on board of which the Hessian Troops are to embark.

"I suppose the Brittish will leave this place by the first of September and not before.

"Yesterday arrived here a Packett from England the Definitive Treaty not yet signed.

"I find that a greater part of the capital merchants here, are determined to leave this place with the Brittish, and are now busy selling off at vendues their stock in trade which puts a stop to business being done in any other line at present; they appear to be very unhappy, and say openly, that the contest between America and Great Britian was occasioned by the ambition avarice and perfidy of the Tories—in short they are treated here, with as much indifference as they could be, were they with you or any other part of the United States of America.

"Several of the first charracters in that line Col. Holland amongst the number are going to England with a view of Petitioning Government for pensions . . . of the loss they have sustained by this War, have refused to accept of lands in Nova Scotia.

"I conversed with an officer of the Brittish Army, who saw Col. Holland 2 days ago, on long Island.

"It is the Gentleman's opinion that the King of England will do something pretty for those Loyalists who were before this War in the line of Gentlemen, and I can assure you from good authority that the Tories who were men of property has not the distant thought of living in any part of the United States would they even be admitted. . . ."

BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE DESCRIBED.—From the diary of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, of the "Congress Own" Regiment, commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen, we have extracted the following short account of the part taken in the battle of Brandywine by the regiment, and its



retreat to Philadelphia and vicinity. Those portions of the diary which have been preserved (a part was stolen while the diarist was in the army) are, unfortunately, too fragmentary to publish.

"September 11, 1777.—About one o'clock the enemy appeared in motion advancing towards us. Our regiment was posted on the right of the Army, and was the first attacked and among the last to leave the field. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry was carried on by both sides the whole afternoon with scarcely any intermission. The enemy were much superior to us in numbers, as but a small part of our army were engaged, the greater part being away on the left. In justice to the brave officers and men of our regiment, Col. Hazen thought himself obliged to affirm, that no troops behaved better, nor any troops left the field in greater order. Four officers, and seventy three non-commissioned officers and rank and file of the regiment were killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

"In the engagement I lost my knapsack, which contained the following articles, viz. 1 uniform Coat—brown faced with white; 1 shirt; 1 pr. Stockings; 1 sergeants sash; 1 pr. knee buckles;  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb Soap; 1 Orderly Book; 1 Mem<sup>o</sup> Book, of Journal and state of my company; 1 quire paper; 2 vials ink; 1 brass Ink horn; 40 Morning returns, printed blanks; 1 tin gill cup; A letter and a book entitled Rutherford's Letters. I likewise lost my hat, but recovered it again.

"The weather was very warm, and tho' my knapsack was very light, was very cumbersome, as it swung about when walking or running, and in crossing fences was in the way so I cast it away from me, and had I not done so would have been grabbed by one of the ill-looking Highlanders, a number of whom were firing and advancing very brisk towards our rear. The smoke was so very thick that about the close of the day I lost sight of our regiment, and just at dark I fell in with the North Carolina troops, and about two o'clock in the morning (Sept. 12), arrived at Chester, just as the whole of the baggage wagons were leaving. I saw several regiments which had been halted for a rest. I searched around for tidings of my regiment, but could only find one officer and three or four men. I rested by one of the camp fires until day, when I heard that my regiment was coming. About 8 o'clock it reached Chester, when the whole body of troops that was there marched towards Darby. On a hill, just beyond Darby, we halted and rested for two hours, and then marched until we came to the Lancaster road, near Gardner's Place, where we halted and at the edge of a woods rested for the night.

"September 13.—The different regiments marched down to the Middle Ferry on Schuylkill, crossed on the Floating Bridge, and proceeded through the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia to Germantown, just back of which we halted and pitched our tents.

"September 14.—Tents struck, baggage sent off to Bethlehem, and marched to Swede's Ford, crossed, the water up to our middle, thence to Merion meeting-house, when we turned into the Lancaster road and kept on until we came near the eleven mile stone, when we halted in the woods and rested for the night. Here a number of our men joined us, whom we thought had been captured." J.

#### LETTER OF CHARLES THOMSON TO SAMUEL RHODES, 1757.—

"EASTON, July 28, 1757  
"3 o'clock P.M.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I intend at this time to prevent your request by informing you that we go on but slowly. Yesterday the Gov. met the King & in answer to what the King had said the day before told him that he agreed with him





in gathering up the dead bodies & burying them and in cleaning away the blood, that he is ready to forget all that has past & will cheerfully & heartily enter into a league of friendship which shall last forever; that with respect to Moses Tetamy's son, he was very sorry for the accident, that the person who is supposed to have committed the crime is now in prison & should be tried by our Laws and that Teed should have notice of the Tryal, that he might appoint certain persons to attend to see that Justice be done. He then spoke to Tetamy & condoled with him, desired him to attend the Trial & by a string of wampum wiped away the Grief from his heart.

"This day the King was to open his heart & tell us his grievances & the cause of the mischief. But tho he is publicly call'd upon to open his heart, I believe they had rather he wd be silent. When the whole of some people's conduct is put together since their coming to this Town, it will appear somewhat surprizing. I need not mention the importance of the business we are come about. The welfare of the Province & the lives of thousands depend upon it. That an affair of so much weight should be transacted with soberness all will allow; how then must it shock you to hear that pains seem to have been taken to make the King drunk every night since the business began. The first two or three days were spent in deliberating whether the King should be allowed the privilege of a Clerk. When he was resolute in asserting his right & would enter on no business without having a Secretary of his own, they at last gave it up, and seem to have fallen on another scheme, which is to unfit him to say anything worthy of being inscribed (?) by his Secretary. On Saturday under pretence of rejoicing for the victory gained by the King of Prussia & the arrival of the Fleet, a Bonfire was ordered to be made & liquor given to the Indians to induce them to dance. For fear they should get sober on Sunday & be fit next day to enter on business, under pretence that the Mohawks had requested it another bonfire was ordered to be made & more liquor given them. On Monday night, the King was made drunk by C. Weiser, on Tuesday by G. Croghan; last night he was very drunk at Vernon's and Vernon lays the blame on the Comin & G. Croghan. He did not go to sleep last night. This morning he lay down under a shed about break of day & slept a few hours. He is to speak this afternoon. He is to be sure in a fine capacity to do business. But thus we go on. I leave you to make reflections. I for my part wish myself at home. A small party of Indians came in on Tuesday from Diahogo. Yesterday we had advice that 200 or 300 are coming in to Fort Allen. A small party is this minute come to Town. Those who came in on Tuesday say that all the Ind: as far as the Lakes & beyond the Lakes have their Eyes this way to see what will be the Event of this Treaty. Time & paper is almost out. My dear friend farewell. My complim'ts to your family. I am with sincerity yr affectionate fr'd  
C. THOMSON."

LETTER OF MARGARET MORRIS TO HER SISTERS, 1776.—The incidents related in the following letter of Mrs. Margaret Morris give fuller details than noted in her diary. See "The Burlington Smiths," p. 169. She lived in the house formerly occupied by Governor William Franklin.

"BURLINGTON Decem<sup>r</sup> 12, 1776.

"... We are to our own amazement still favour'd with calmness while all around is in confusion & Terror. . . . We went to bed last Night without fear, trusting in the Arm that has cover'd us; altho' the Gondolas lay just before our door & the Report of an Intention to fire



the town in the Night had reach'd us about 9 o'Clock, & our good Uncle W. sent down & begg'd us to come with the whole family up there & in turning it in my mind, I got a little unsettled, but when I had concluded to stay where Providence had placed me & trust in him alone, my mind received the answer of Peace & in that peace, I went to sleep & awoke in the same. . . . this morning a Galley with a great many Men (& number of empty Boats) came ashore at our Wharf, I order'd the Children to keep within Doors & went away myself down to the shore & ask'd what they were going to do, they said to fire the Town if the regulars enter'd. I told them I hoped they would not set fire to my House—which is your House & who are you,—I told them I was a Widow with only children in the House, & they called to others & told them to mark that House, there was a Widow & Children & no Men in it—but said they, it's a Mercy we had not fired on it last Night seeing a light there, as we several Times pointed the Guns at it, thinking there was Hessians or Tories there, but a Hair of your Head shall not be hurt by us. See how Providence looks on us; then they offer'd to move my valuable Goods over the River but I pointed to the Children at the door & said, see, there, all my Treasure, those Children are mine, & one who seem'd of Consequence said, good Woman make yourself easy, we will protect you—now tho' I place no Confidence in the arm of Flesh, yet I have abundant Cause of humble Gratitude, that those hardy Men did not treat me roughly. I can write no more, my Letter is called for—may God in whom we trust preserve you & us—my Anna has been confined to her Bed all day yesterday & Willy [Gulielma Maria Morris, afterwards Smith] has a return of her Fever, when the Firing came heavy yesterday we went into the Cellar, having heard it was safer than above stairs & poor Anna got so terrified that she threw her Cloathes on her & crept down stairs, but seeing none in the House thought we were fled & today, though she can't hold up her Head she will be down. . . .

"M. M.

"This proof of dear B<sup>r</sup> Wells [Richard Wells] Love in coming to see us at this Time can never be enough acknowledged, how kind was it to run the risk, for our Sakes, may God reward him for it, & keep his dear Family safe."

LETTER OF COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE, 1780.—The following letter of Colonel Richard Butler is addressed to "Lieut. Col." Francis Nichols, of the Pennsylvania Line:

"CAMP OLD BRIDGE 18<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1780

"MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND.

"I dare say you begin to think I have forgot you, but be Assur'd I have not, my Silence has proceeded from a Cause that I well know must give you pain therefore [torn] it as long as I could it is no less a cause my friend than the virtuous Soldiers of the United & Independent States of America Starving, & had not God in his mercy Regarded us more than our Country we must have disbanded. Fruit has been Substituted instead of Meat & its not uncommon to see our worthy Officers & Soldiers sit down to boiled & Roasted Apples & bread for dinner, & the Country people will neither give them buttermilk or any other supply under heav<sup>n</sup> but even shoot our Soldiers which (Contrary to all our Exertions) happen to take a sheep or other article of support, not adverting to their breach of Contract in giving them no pay for Seven months together, & when they do pay, will not take the money they pay them in. I ask any honest man if such Perseverance has ever been





known, I declare on my hon<sup>r</sup> that seven days out of the first fifteen of this month neither officer or Soldier drew one bit of meat, in many of the Regiments & generally the case was the same.

"I am now Pain'd with the Prospect of what must happen at the Expiration of the time of our Levies, the distress our few soldiers must undergo who Remain in doing the Duty of our Army that should be at least thirty thousand & they will not be seven thousand, I fear that Desertions & other disagreeable events will be the consequence & if Immediate steps are not taken to form an Army for the war I would not wish to be the Persons that must Acc<sup>t</sup> for the Consequence to the People.

"Inclos'd is the Certificate you desir<sup>d</sup> me to get, I drew it as L<sup>t</sup> Col. but the Gen<sup>l</sup> objected as the promotion (he said) was undue, he express<sup>d</sup> his Regret at the loss of so good an officer & wish<sup>d</sup> it in his Power to serve you. Adieu my Dear Friend I am yr Hub. St.

"R. BUTLER.

"LT COL FR. NICHOLS."

EARLY PRINTING IN PHILADELPHIA (PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 444).—From the records of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church of New York, a son (William) of Bradford, the first printer, married November 25, 1716, into the old Dutch family of Van Hoorn (now called Van Horne).

The record of marriage is as follows:

"William Bradford & Sytje Sandford, Nov. 25, 1716."

The maternal ancestry of the said wife is as follows:

"1. Jan Cornelius Van Hoorn and Hillegond Joris, came to New Amsterdam prior to 23<sup>d</sup> June, 1645, when a lot was patented to him 'South of the Marketvelt Steegie.'

"2. Cornelius Janszen Van Hoorn, m. Oct. 4, 1659, Anna Marie Janszen.

"3. Vrontje Van Hoorn, bapt. July 25, 1666, m. 27 February 1686, Abraham Santvoort.

"4. Sytje Santvoort, bapt. April 14, 1695, m. Nov. 25, 1716 William<sup>3</sup> Bradford Jr."

The remains of her son William<sup>3</sup> Bradford, who married Rachel Budd, and some of his descendants, now rest in Laurel Hill Cemetery, Philadelphia, having been removed from the graveyard of the Second Presbyterian Church.

The genealogy of William<sup>1</sup> Bradford, the first printer, is published in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. IV. p. 183.

Germantown, Philadelphia.

MARVIN A. DE L. VAN HORN.

JOHN HART, "THE SIGNER."—John R. Stevenson, Esq., of Haddonfield, New Jersey, sends us a copy of an agreement between Edward and John Hart, "the Signer," and John Coxe. His investigations developed that Edward Hart, of the Newton, Long Island, family, went to Stonington, Connecticut, and between 1711 and 1713 removed to Hopewell, New Jersey, where one or more brothers were already settled. A search of the records at Trenton has failed to reveal any other title than the following agreement to the homestead of John Hart, "the Signer":

"January 10, 1742. Between Edward Hart and John Hart son of the said Edward both of Hopewell in the county of Hunterdon yeomen and John Coxe one of the executors of the last will and testament of Daniel Coxe, deceased being empowered by said will to sell the



lands in Hopewell. The said Edward Hart and John Hart have agreed to purchase the plantation whereon the said Edward Hart now dwells and resides scituate lying and being in Hopewell N J @ 23<sup>c</sup> per acre (with interest) when surveyed.

	£	s.
" May 21 1744 Paid . . . . .	60.	2
Dec 4 1744 Pd by J <sup>no</sup> Hart . . . . .	30.	0
Dec 18 1749 Pd by E <sup>d</sup> Hart . . . . .	19.	0
May 8 1753 Pd by J <sup>no</sup> Hart . . . . .	35.11.	6
	<hr/> 144.13.6"	

#### NEVIUS BAPTISMS FOUND ON THE CONEWAGO RECORDS.—

Nov. 26, 1773, Aaltie. Roelof Voorhees, Elizabeth Nefis.  
 Feb. 5, 1775, Rachel. Willen Swart Degraaf, Willemp Nefis.  
 Aug. 6, 1775, Roelof. Roelof Voorhees, Elisabet Neeffe.  
 Nov. 4, 1775, Johannes. Jan Monfoort, Femmetie Nefis.  
 July 28, 1776, Johannes. Willem Swart Degraaf, Willemp Nefis.  
 Jan. 4, 1778, Jannete. Willen Swart Degraaf, Willemp Nefis.  
 Nov. 28, 1779, Abraham. Willem Swart Degraaf, Willientie Nefis.  
 March 17, 1782, Jannetie. Martienus Nefus, Ida Hogelant.  
 July 21, 1782, Jan. Jan Monfoort, Femmetie Nefus.  
 Nov. 10, 1782, Jeremia. Williem Swart Degraaf, Willemp Nefis.  
 Aug. 17, 1784, William. William Swart Degraaf, Willientie Nefis.  
 Nov. 17, 1784, Johannis. Martienus Nefus, Ida Hogelant.  
 June 25, 1786, Femmetie. William Swart Degraaf, Willente Nefus.  
 March 22, 1790, Femmetie. Martinus Nevius, Magdalena Hoagland.  
 April 4, 1790, Martinus. William Swart Degraaf, Willemp Nefis.

LETTERS OF GOVERNOR JONATHAN BELCHER, OF NEW JERSEY, TO MR. JOHN SMITH, OF PHILADELPHIA.—Contributed by Thomas Stewardson, Esq.

"SIR.

"Your good Father went from hence 21st curr<sup>t</sup> towards Amboy and N. York, there to be under the prescriptions and directions of the famous Dr McGraw, whose Endeavours, I pray God, to succeed, to recover him to his Health. With my Compliments to Mrs Smith,

"I remain, Sir,

"Your ready Friend

"J. BELCHER.

"BURLINGTON

"October 23, 1751."

"S<sup>r</sup>

"The Bearer hereof, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Andrew Oliver Esq<sup>r</sup>, who is my Nephew, & bound to Phil<sup>a</sup> where he is wholly a Stranger; I ask your Civility & Friendship to him also to the Gentleman in company with him, Josiah Quinsey, Esq<sup>r</sup> who has an Affair to negotiate with your Govern<sup>mt</sup>, & any Respect you shew him, will much oblige, S<sup>r</sup>,

"Your Friend &

"most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>"

"J. BELCHER.

"ELIZ<sup>A</sup> TOWN

"March 17 1755."

#### Queries.

LOCKWOOD.—In the year 1835 there was published anonymously in Philadelphia a work entitled "The Insurgents: An Historical Novel," in two volumes. The story is based on Shays's Rebellion, which broke





out in this Commonwealth in 1786, and the scene is laid in the Connecticut Valley. It is said to have been written by Ralph Ingersoll Lockwood, a lawyer of New York, who died a long time ago. What is known about the author?

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

Groton, Massachusetts.

### **Book Notices.**

**SOUTHERN QUAKERS AND SLAVERY. A STUDY IN INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.** By Stephen B. Weeks, Ph.D., Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press, 1896. 8vo. 414 pp. Price, \$2.

The Quakers have occupied such a unique position in the social and economic evolution of the South that their history is worthy of special and careful study. In the present volume the planting and development of their various settlements in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee have been traced with the greatest care from the beginning; also their relations to other religious bodies and to contemporary institutions. The most important of these institutions was slavery. The author traces very carefully the growth of the opposition of Quakers to slavery, and shows how this opposition caused them to emigrate in large numbers to the free West, thus becoming prominent in the early settlement of the Old Northwest, particularly Ohio and Indiana. This emigration was so large that Quakers have disappeared entirely from South Carolina and Georgia, while the Virginia Yearly Meeting was laid down more than fifty years ago. North Carolina Yearly Meeting was also much weakened by removals, but not until it had produced many men who have become famous in the annals of Quakerism.

The author has endeavored to produce a narrative strictly in accord with the manuscript records of the Society and of other original sources of information. No labor has been spared to make the work accurate and complete. He has not only traced the earlier movement southward and the later movement westward, but has given the names of many individuals and families who first went to the South and in the next generation sent representatives to the West. In this way much material relating to the personal history of the pioneers and their families has been gathered from the records and preserved in condensed form. He has examined for this work nearly all the manuscript records of the Society in the South known to be extant. We can heartily commend this interesting and valuable work of Dr. Weeks to our readers.

**A WREATH OF VIRGINIA BAY LEAVES.** Poems by James Barron Hope, selected and edited by his daughter, Janey Hope Marr. Richmond, Virginia, 1895. 159 pp. Illustrated.

We have received a copy of Mr. Hope's poems, who, it has been claimed, was "Virginia's Laureate." He was chosen poet by Congress in 1881, to celebrate the Yorktown Centennial, while the State of Virginia requested him to commemorate in verse the erection of the Lee monument at Richmond in 1837. He died in September of that year, and when the corner-stone was laid in October, his poem was read by Captain McCabe. The book is well printed on excellent paper and liberally illustrated.

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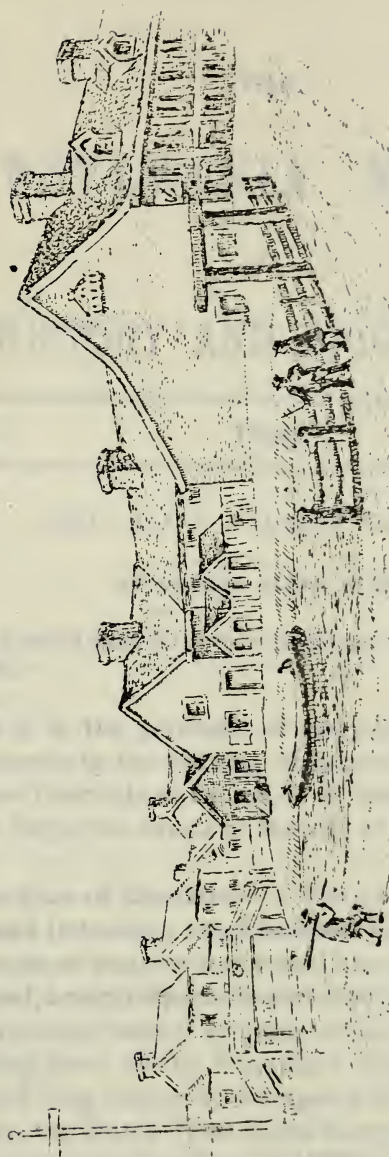
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THE BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN, THIRD OF THE NAME, SITUATED IN BUDD'S ROW, SOMETIMES KNOWN AS THE  
"BOATSWAIN AND CALL."





THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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No. 4.

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THE BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

[Being a report made to the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, November 9, 1896.]

While it is the privilege of story-tellers, as Sir Walter Scott observes in the opening chapter of "Kenilworth," to commence their tale at an inn, it is compulsory in the historian to begin the annals of the city of Philadelphia with a tavern.

At the time of the arrival of Penn's company the site of our city and immediate neighborhood was not nearly so great a wilderness as some writers would have us imagine. There was, indeed, a very respectable sort of settlement here, serving for a convenient basis of communication with the more western trading-posts on the Schuylkill River, which had been established long before by the agents of that great trading monopoly, the Dutch West India Company.

For many years previous to William Penn's proprietorship there had been at Philadelphia (later so called) a constant landing of traders and of those inhabitants of West



Jersey who were accustomed to go down to the sea in ships. The favorite landing-place was on the bank of the Delaware, between the present Walnut and Dock Streets, and it was directly back of this landing, on the higher bluff, that the Blue Anchor Tavern was subsequently built.

There were other stopping-places along the north Delaware serving a similar purpose, and at these landings or trading-posts it was the custom to establish ordinaries. In the year 1671 it was proposed by Captain Carr, on behalf of the townspeople of New Castle, and Plantations on Delaware, to the Governor and Council, "That ye number of Victuall<sup>r</sup> or Tappers of Strong Drink be ascertained, That is to say, Three only for ye Towne & *some few up ye River*, who ye Offic<sup>r</sup> shall think fitt & approve." Of the "*some few up ye River*," the Blue Anchor Tavern became one.

So far as can be ascertained at present, the first owner was one Captain William Dare, and there can be no doubt whatever that he was the landlord, if not "*mine host*," when Penn arrived there in the fall of 1682.

Of this Captain William Dare it is known that he was a master mariner and afterwards a resident of Cohansey, West Jersey, where he became in time quite a prominent person. It seems probable that he came originally from New England, for we find that he had a release from Charles Pickering, attorney for William Wright, of Boston, for all debts due the said Wright, June 26, 1693.<sup>1</sup>

The first building known as the Blue Anchor Tavern was of brick, was sixteen feet front by about thirty-six feet long, and stood directly in the middle of the present Front Street, then Delaware Front Street, about one hundred and forty-six feet north of Dock Creek, now Dock Street.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Minutes Board of Property, Book "F," "Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. XIX. p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> I arrive at this definite statement thus: The lot granted by Penn to Griffith Jones to remove the Blue Anchor upon was on the west side of Front Street, directly back of the public landing-place. On the north was vacant land, on the south land and log-house of George Bartholomew, whilst in front, on the east side of Front Street, Griffith Jones owned to the river, which east side lot, being in front of the public land-





front of the Blue Anchor was the primitive wharf whereat Penn came ashore on his arrival from Chester, and which he erected into a public landing-place for the inhabitants of Philadelphia forever.

On the 18th of January, 1682 (O. S., 1683 N. S.), William Dare sold the Blue Anchor Tavern to Colonel Edward Hill, of Shirley, on the James River, Virginia.<sup>1</sup> No land was conveyed, only the building, the grantor never having acquired any title to the land upon which it stood.

Colonel Edward Hill, whose tomb with armorial bearings the writer has seen in the fields at Shirley, and whose portrait yet hangs upon the walls of that ancient colonial mansion, was a member of the Virginia Council, and exceedingly wealthy and influential. The deed to Colonel Edward Hill conveys simply "*one house being & standing in the City of Philadelphia in the said province knowne by the name of the blue anchor.*"

It is not probable that Colonel Hill ever personally dispensed liquors at the Blue Anchor bar during his ownership, which it may be presumed was in some way because of his old trading connections with the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware.

By a deed recorded "20th of ye 9th month, 1684" (recited in next deed), Colonel Edward Hill, "for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to him in hand paid," conveyed the Blue Anchor Tavern to Griffith Jones, of the city of Philadelphia, merchant, who held it until 1686.

When Griffith Jones took title to the tavern from Colonel Hill, in 1683, as in the former deed, no land was conveyed. He simply came into possession of a brick house "knowne by the name of the blue anchor," and standing directly in the middle of Delaware Front Street, which it probably

ing-place, he sold to one Elfrith, which Elfrith's lot was declared to run from the east side of said Delaware Front Street to the landing, being in front of where the Blue Anchor stood. See *infra*.

<sup>1</sup> Recited in deed of Griffith Jones to George Bartholomew, Deed Book E 1, Vol. 5, p. 361, etc., office Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia.



obstructed to a serious extent, and right in front of the public landing-place on the bank of the Delaware. There appears, however, to have been some agreement as to a lot to move the house upon at an early date, Griffith Jones obtaining from Penn, by warrant of Sixth month 24, 1683, and survey of Tenth month 4, 1684, a lot of land almost directly back of the tavern, on the west side of Front Street, for the purpose of rebuilding on. The Patent of Confirmation, Penn to Griffith Jones, for this lot, dated Fifth month 16, 1684, recorded Eighth month 16, 1684, recites that:

“Whereas there is a Lott of land in the County of Philadelphia, containing in breadth sixteen foot to remove the blew ancor house upon being the breadth of the sd house & in length on the North side of the sd Lott from Delaware Front street to the Swamp fourty three foot and from the swamp to the front street, on the south side of the sd Lott thirty Six foot, bounded northward with a vacant Lott, Eastward w<sup>th</sup> the Delaware Front Street, Southward w<sup>th</sup> George Bartholomew to the house [log-house] and westward to the Swamp.”<sup>1</sup>

By deed of Third month 16, 1686,<sup>2</sup> recorded Fifth month 7 (July), 1686, Griffith Jones sold the Blue Anchor Tavern to one George Bartholomew, of Philadelphia, carpenter. This deed recites that:

“Wheras by one deed poll of assignment bearing date y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1682, William Dare, then resident in the said province [Pennsylvania] did Bargain Sell Sett over and Lett unto Colonel Edward Hill, of Virginia, his heirs, Execs., Administs. & assigns for ever One house being & standing in the City of Philadelphia in the said province, knowne by the name of the blue anchor and that for the Consideration in the said deed poll exprest—the same containing Warrantie & severall other clauses therein—and also he the said Edward Hill for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds sterling to him in hand paid by the said Griffith Jones, did grant, bargain, sell, assign and make over to him the said Griffith Jones, his heirs & assignment, The above mentioned assignment—and also Wm. Penn, Proprietarie—of the Province of Pennsylvania, by his letters patent of Confirmation,—did confirm unto the said Griffith Jones—a certain Lott of Land in the

<sup>1</sup> Exemplification Record, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> Deed Book E 1, Vol. 5, p. 361, etc., Philadelphia.





said Countie, containing in breadth sixteen foot (To remove the blue anchor house upon, Being the breadth of the said house) and in Length on the north-side of the said Lott from Delaware front street to the Swamp fourtie Three foot, & from the Swamp to the Front Street on the south side of the said Lott, Thirttie Six foot, Bounded Northward with a vacant Lott, Eastward with Delaware Front Street, Southward with the said George Bartholomew's Logg-house, westward with the swamp, situated between Wall-nutt street on the north, and Spruce street on the South."

It will be observed from the above that George Bartholomew owned other land,—namely, a twenty-foot lot once the property of James Boyden, south of the Blue Anchor, and towards Dock Creek, there being also several other owners between his south line and the creek bank, placing the site of the first tavern, as before stated, at the distance of about one hundred and forty-six feet from the then bank of the Dock Creek. Bartholomew also acquired a rear lot, back of the tavern, and running into the swamp.

All of this property, including the Blue Anchor,—which we may safely conclude was moved back from the street soon after Bartholomew purchased it,—he mortgaged, Fourth month 3 (June), 1686 [Deed Book E 1, Vol. 5, p. 364], to Griffith Jones, and dying soon after, insolvent, his widow reconveyed the tavern property to Griffith Jones, together with the other mortgaged land, who by deed August 6, 1690 [Sixth month 19, according to another recital], sold the same to Thomas Budd, who also acquired the remaining land to the Dock Creek, whereupon he gradually demolished the old buildings and erected a row of timber and brick houses called in after-times "Budd's Long Row." Into the southernmost house of the row the Blue Anchor Tavern was moved, so that it then stood at the corner of Delaware Front Street and Dock Creek.

This would agree with the statement of Watson, who thought that he was speaking of the original tavern when he wrote:

"This landing house, called the Blue Anchor, was the southernmost of ten houses of like dimensions began about the same time, and called



'Budd's long row'—They had to the eye the appearance of brick houses, although they were actually framed with wood and filled in with small bricks, bearing the appearance of having been imported."

Mr. Watson states that he saw this third Blue Anchor Tavern, then known as the "Boatswain and Call," pulled down, and that the tavern was twelve feet on Front Street by twenty-two feet on the Dock Creek side, much smaller than the original house.

The precise date of the removal or abandonment of the original building as a public house cannot be definitely ascertained, because it is impossible to find out just when Thomas Budd finished his houses, but it must have been before Fourth month 8, 1697, at which time Thomas Budd conveyed to Anthony Morris:<sup>1</sup>

"Two brick messuages & tenements with the lots or pieces of ground and other improvements thereunto belonging situate lying and being on the west side of Delaware Front street in Philadelphia—containing forty feet in front a little more or less and in length down to the Dock [*i.e.*, westward] Bounded South with the house and land of said Thomas Budd, Northward with a piece of vacant ground, Eastward with the said Front street, and westward with the said Dock creek. Said messuages and tenements are standing and being upon certain lots of land included in three several patents [that is to say] One Sixteen foot lot part thereof in a patent Recorded in Patent Book A. p. 39, Granted by the Proprietary, William Penn, to Griffith Jones, who by his indenture—16 May, 1686, conveyed the same to George Bartholomew."

In the Colonial Records there are two references to the Blue Anchor Tavern that are of interest.

"At a Council held at Philadia., y 18th of 10<sup>br</sup>, 1700.

"Griffith Jones, first Purchaser and Henry Elfrith, mean Purchaser under him complain That *part of a Bank Lott in the ffront Street, before the Blue Anchor*, granted by the Prop'rs, Comm'rs by patent to the said Griffith Jones, and by him sold to John Townsend, who sold it to the said Elfrith, was by a Publick Order of Gov<sup>r</sup> Lloyd, attended by the Justices, taken for the use of the Publick, the said Elfrith's building hindred and stop't, to their great Damage."

<sup>1</sup> Recorded Eleventh month 7, 1712. Deed Book E 7, Vol. 8, p. 263, Philadelphia.



the first of these is the fact that the  
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the thirty-first is the fact that the  
the thirty-second is the fact that the

Henry Flower and others appeared before the Council and certified that the justices "stopt" Elfrith's building about 1691.

"Att a Council held at Philadelphia y<sup>e</sup> 19th of 10<sup>br</sup>, 1700.

"The Business of Henry Elfret and Griffith Jones being adjourned yesterday to this morning, was again brought on.

"Ordered that David Lloyd, in whose hands several papers relating to that Affair are said to be lodged, should be call'd and accordingly he came, and produced a petition signed by several Housekeepers and Inhabitants, requesting that there being the greatest Conveniency of a landing Place & harbour at that place of the bank [of the Delaware] *where the blue Anchor stood*, it should be ordered by the Gov. and Council, who have power thereof, to be laid out for a Public Landing place & harbour, that being the Inducing reason at first to Settle the Town where it now is. There was also produced an Order of Council held at Philadia y<sup>e</sup> 4th 6 Mo, 1691, in y<sup>e</sup> rough Draught, that then should the place be reserv'd for a Landing place, &c."

The order, dated Sixth month 4, 1691, was produced and satisfaction given to Elfrith for the loss which he had suffered.

Of those who actually dispensed liquors at the Blue Anchor we know but little. There is but slight question that Captain Dare maintained it himself to January, 1682 (O. S., 1683 N. S.). After this the claim that Alice Guest kept the tavern is open to discussion.

From 1686 to 1689 it was kept by George Bartholomew in person.

At the time of the Revolution the Blue Anchor at Dock Creek and Front Street was changed to the "Boatswain and Call," and was kept in after-years by Peter Evans, being No. 138 South Front Street (O. S. No.).

Some time about the beginning of the present century it was torn down, in Watson's recollection, and in after-years the present "Blue Anchor Tavern," on Dock Street, above Second, continued the old name.

No attempt has been made here to trace the title of the old public landing-place, or to ascertain by what fortune it became again private property, to be bought and



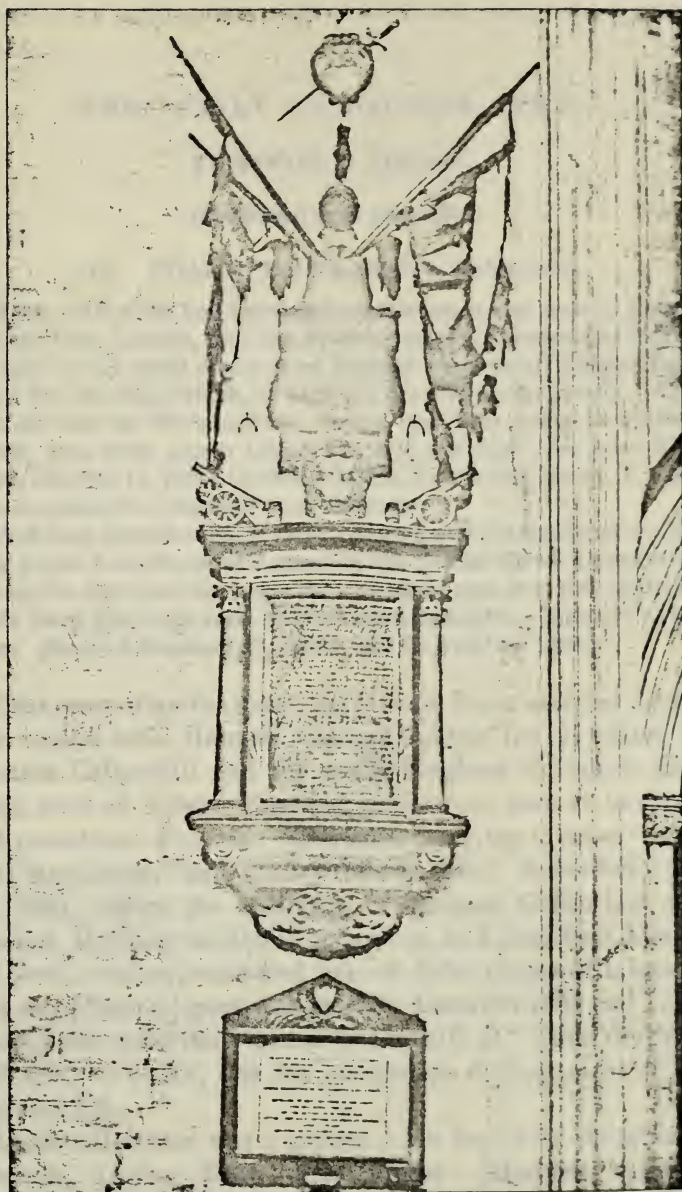
sold. At present the great wharves of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company cover the site, and a heedless crowd cross constantly over the spot where the Founder first set foot on Philadelphia's soil.

The curious, however, can still mark, in the grade of Water Street, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty feet north of Dock, a slight depression, which runs from the river to Front Street, marking, doubtless, the shelving bank which formed a pathway over which William Penn travelled from the landing to the Blue Anchor Tavern in the year 1682.









ARMOUR AND TABLET OF ADMIRAL PENN IN THE NAVE OF ST. MARY  
REDCLIFF OPPOSITE THE FONT.



## THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 390.)

### VI. WILLIAM PENN'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

[NOTE.—After the last instalment of this paper had gone to press, I received from London, from the Friends' records of Sussex and Surrey, the dates of the births of the three younger children of William Penn by his first marriage, which, on page 390, are given conjecturally. They were all born at Worminghurst, Sussex, the dates being as follows: Letitia, born First month (March) 6, 1678; William, Jr., born First month (March) 14, 1680; Gulielma Maria, born Ninth month 17, 1685. This completes the record of these children.

I find that, notwithstanding care in dealing with the double-dated Old-Style period from the 1st of January to the 25th of March, I have made at least one slip in saying (page 383, and again page 384) that Gulielma Maria Penn died three years before her son Springett. It should be *two* years. She died February 23, 1693/4, and he April 10, 1696.]

Two years after the death of his wife, Penn married again. His second wife, Hannah Callowhill, was the daughter of Thomas Callowhill and the granddaughter of Dennis Hollister, both of Bristol, England, prosperous men of business and prominent Friends. (Clarkson describes them as "eminent merchants," and Janney follows this.) A deed of June 26, 1661, shows the marriage of Thomas Callowhill and Hannah Hollister as about occurring, and describes him as a "button-maker, sonn and heir of John Callowhill, late of said city [Bristol] gent, deceased." Later, in 1682 and 1711, other deeds describe Thomas Callowhill as "linen draper," and this, no doubt, was his occupation during most of his business life.

Dennis Hollister was a grocer. He had four daughters, Hannah, Lydia, Mary, and Phebe. Hannah married Thomas Callowhill; Lydia married Thomas Jordan, a grocer; and Mary married Simon Clement, a merchant.

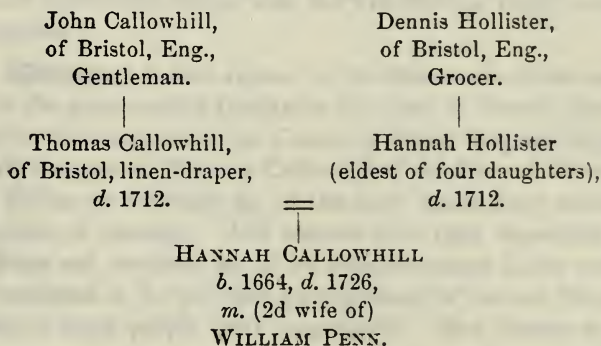




Penn, of course, was well acquainted with families of Friends in all parts of England, and doubtless knew the Callowhills. His courtship of Hannah,<sup>1</sup> as appears from letters preserved among the Penn papers of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, was warmly pursued in the later months of 1695. It is probable, but is not clear from these letters, that the engagement of marriage had then been made.<sup>2</sup>

The Bristol records of the Friends record the birth of Hannah Callowhill, daughter of Thomas and Annah (*sic*), of High Street, Bristol, Second month (April) 18, 1664. She was, therefore, nearly thirty-two years old at the time of her marriage.

#### ANCESTRY OF HANNAH CALLOWHILL.



<sup>1</sup> Clarkson says, Penn "had long felt an extraordinary esteem" for Hannah Callowhill.

<sup>2</sup> The letters preserved (of course by Hannah Callowhill) are some ten in number; one or two, though addressed on the outside to her father, appear to be intended for her. They convey many ardent representations of regard, and earnestly urge her not to delay the marriage. Some passages suggest the thought that the wooer was more in love than the lady, but we may reflect that he was a fluent letter-writer. In one letter he says, "This is my eighth letter to thy fourth, since I saw thee." A few days later, "This is my tenth letter to thy fourth, which is a disproportion I might begin a little to reproach thee for, but I do it so gently, and with so much affection that I hope it will prevail with thee to mend thy pace." One or two letters at the close of the series, just before the marriage, discuss details of house-keeping, the style and furnishing of a carriage, etc.



The marriage proceedings were regularly conducted according to the Friends' order, which, newly set up in 1672 when Penn was first married, had now become well settled and recognized. The intention of marriage was declared to the "men's meeting," at Bristol, November 11, 1695, and the meeting gave leave to proceed, February 24, 1695/6. On the 5th of March following the marriage took place.<sup>1</sup>

The certificate of the marriage follows. I am not aware that it has heretofore been published. Penn's biographers generally refer to his second marriage, as to his first, vaguely and indefinitely, most of them not giving even the date:<sup>2</sup>

[The memorial or copie of the certificate of William Penn's and Hannah Callowhill's marriage the certificate itselfe being wrott on a pece of Parchment stamp't with the five shillings stamp according to the statute.]

**W**hereas it doth appeare by the Memorials of the mens meeting of the people called Quakers in the City of Bristoll that William Penn of Warminghurst in the County of Sussex Esq and Hannah Callowhill daughter of Thomas Callowhill of the City of Bristoll Linen drap did on the eleaventh day of the ninth month 1695 manifest their intentions of marriage. And whereas such their intentions were on the ffoure and twentieth day of the eleaventh month in the yeare afore-said published in the publique meeting house of the said People in the p'sence of many people there congregated. Now forasmuch as there appeares noe just cause wherefore a marriage betwixt the said William Penn and Hannah Callowhill should not be consumated. We therefore whose names are hereunto subscribed are witnesses that on the day of the date hereof the said William Penn taking the said Hannah by the hand did declare that he did take the said Hannah Callowhill to be his wife. And that the said Hannah holding the said William by the hand did declare that she did take the said William Penn to be her husband.

<sup>1</sup> The certificate, it will be seen, says "one thousand six hundred ninety & five." It is so recorded, but the antecedent dates show that it should be ninety-five-six (1695/6). It is another of the errors of Coleman's "Pedigree" that he states that this marriage occurred 1699.

<sup>2</sup> Dixon ("Life of Penn," p. 286) says the marriage occurred "in January."





And that also the said William Penn and Hannah Callowhill holding each other by the hand did mutually promise each to other to live together husband and wife in love & faithfullnes according to God's holy ordinance untill by death they shall be separated. And also the said William and Hannah as a further testimony of such their taking each other & of such their promise to each other have hereunto with us subscribed their names this fifth day of the first month in the yeare one thousand six hundred ninety & five.

WILLIAM PENN

HANNAH PENN.

George Bowles	Joshua Mallet	Rich Sneade	Thomas Callowhill
Thomas Sturg	John Whiting	Charles Harford	Anna Callowhill
Alexander Pyot	John Clarke	Benja. Coole	Sp: Penn
Gilbert Thompson	Nathaniel Wade	Richard Vickris	Laetitia Penn
Thomas Bivin	James Stretter	John Field	W <sup>m</sup> Penn Jur
John Corke	William Lickfold	Rog <sup>r</sup> Haydock	Thomas Harris
Henry Goldney	Thamazin Yeamans	John Boulton	Walter Duffield
Mary Russel	Thomas Jordan	John Vaughton	Phebe Harris
Elizabeth Goldney	John Everard	John Tompkins	Mary Clement
Sarah Hersent	Abraham Jones	D. Wherly	John Lloyd
Lydia Gregory	John Harper	Marg <sup>t</sup> Duffield	George Stephens
Paul Moon	Hen <sup>t</sup> Dickinson	Briget Haynes	Hump: Crosley
Nicho Reist	J. Penington	Eliz. Penington	
Tho: Speed	W. Penington	George Diton	
Mary Speed	Mary Wherly	Robert Bound	
Tho Lewis	Sarah Jones	Tho Hicks	
Alce Cooper	Judith Dighton	John Clement	
Katherine Bound	Elizabeth Cooke	James Millard	

[Certified to be an Extract from the Register or Record numbered 116, and entitled a Register of Marriages of the Society of Friends.]<sup>1</sup>

This certificate suggests some remark. It will be noticed that the contracting parties, the bridegroom and bride, sign their names, preceding those of the witnesses. In 1672, as will be seen by referring to the Penn-Springett certificate, this was not the case, the witnesses only signing. In this certificate, also, for some peculiar reason, the record kept in London has the signature of Penn and his wife in *fac-simile*, and in the certified copy forwarded me the copyist

<sup>1</sup> Copy furnished from the General Register Office, Somerset House, London, July 4, 1896.



has again cleverly imitated the two signatures. Among the witnesses are William Penn's three children, Springett (then within a few weeks of his death), Letitia, and William, Jr. The bride's father and mother sign, she writing her name, it seems, Anna. Thomas Jordan appears, but not his wife Lydia, though deeds show her living as late as 1711. Mary Clement signs, but her husband Simon is absent. Henry Goldney, often referred to in Pennsylvania affairs, and one of the mortgagees of the Proprietorship later, is a signer. He was then living in London; it was at his house in White Hart Court that George Fox died, January 13, 1690/91.<sup>1</sup>

Penn is described in this certificate as of Worminghurst; that continued to be his home, apparently, until 1697, when, his biographers say, he removed to Bristol. In 1699, on the 3d of September, almost precisely seventeen years after his first departure in the "Welcome," he sailed the second time for Pennsylvania, in the "Canterbury," accompanied by his wife and his daughter Letitia. They reached Chester at the end of November, and landed at Philadelphia December 3. "My passage was long, three months," Penn wrote in a letter to Secretary Vernon, March 10 following, "but merciful in that the northwesterners had purged this town from a distemper that raged two or three months therein, brought as believed from Barbadoes, of which 215 died."

Going first to the large house of Edward Shippen, on Second Street, north of Spruce, afterwards called the "Governor's House," where they remained about a month, Penn and his family then took up their residence in the famous house of Samuel Carpenter, the "Slate-Roof House," on Second Street, south of Chestnut; and here, on the 29th of January (1699/1700), the first child of the Founder, by his second marriage, was born,—John Penn, known usually as "the American," from the fact that he only, of William Penn's four children, was born on this side of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Goldney himself died October 6, 1724.—*Breviate*.

<sup>2</sup> Foot-note in "Penn-Logan Correspondence," Vol. I., extract from a letter: "Third-day, 31st 11 mo., 1699. Our Governor has a son, born





A letter from Isaac Norris when the boy was past a year old, dated at Philadelphia, March 6, 1700/1, says, "The Governor, wife and daughter well. . . . Their little son is a comely, lovely babe, and has much of his father's grace and air, and hope he will not want a good portion of his mother's sweetness, who is a woman extremely well beloved here, exemplary in her station, and of excellent spirit." There are several allusions to the child in his father's letters to James Logan, from England, after the family had returned there. They sailed, on the homeward voyage, in the "Dolmahoy," November 3, 1701, and on the 4th of January, 1701/2, Penn wrote from Kensington (London), "We had a swift passage—twenty six days from the Cape to soundings, and thirty [to] Portsmouth. . . . Tishe and Johnne after the first five days hearty and well, and Johnne exceeding cheerful all the way." And in another letter of the same date he says, "Wife and father and child are going this week for Bristol." February 3 following (1701/2) he says, "My wife and little Johnne well at Bristol." Again, from London, June 21, 1702, "I bless the Lord mine were lately well, my last son thriving much, and Johnne perpetually busy in building or play, otherwise but when he eats or sleeps, as his mother informs me. I have not been with them but seventeen days these five months." And a year and a half later the little boy had been taught to remember the city of his birth, for a letter from his father, written at London, December 4, says, "My wife, Johnny, (who is still going to Philadelphia in Pennsylvania), Tommy and Hannah, were also pretty well last post."

The allusions just made, "my last son thriving much" and "Tommy and Hannah," signify two more children. They

last First-day night, and all like to do well." The title applied to John was early used. *Vide* letter from Penn to Logan, London, March 10, 1703/4: "Remember poor Johnnee, the little American, according to what I writ, both of his grandfather's lot and land, and what I gave him in my former letters."—"Penn-Logan Correspondence," Vol. I. p. 277.



were both born at Bristol, in the house of their grandfather Callowhill. The Friends' records of Bristol Meeting, preserved at Devonshire House, London, show these entries:

"1701/2, 1 Mo. [March] 9—Thomas Penn born at dwelling-house of Thomas Callowhill, son of William and Hannah Penn.

"1703, 5 Mo. [July] 30—Hannah Margarita Penn born at Thomas Callowhill's in James Parish, daughter of William and Hannah Penn."<sup>1</sup>

John Penn, the son born at Philadelphia, from these references of his father's and from such other evidence as we have concerning him, seems to have been a lively and well-tempered person. Watson says he "was quite an amiable man," and adds that in the estimation of James Logan he was "his favorite of all the proprietor's children."<sup>2</sup> We may note at this point, since he died unmarried, the main facts concerning him. He was in his nineteenth year at his father's death, and had spent much of his time, subsequently to his father's apoplectic stroke in 1712, with his mother's relatives at Bristol.<sup>3</sup>

Following the authority of his father's will, his mother, by "a deed of appointment," in November, 1718, "directed and appointed" that John should receive one-half of the Proprietary estate in Pennsylvania, the three lower counties,

<sup>1</sup> Entries cited by J. H. Lea, *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XVI. p. 334.—An allusion is made in a letter of Penn to Logan, from London, June 6, 1703: "... My poor wife going down to-morrow to Bristol to lie in." Again, in a letter to Logan from Worminghurst, August 27, 1703: "I came from Bristol three weeks ago, and was there but about fourteen or sixteen days, on occasion of my wife's lying in, who this day month four weeks was brought to bed of a daughter, whom we call Hannah Margarita. They with my two sons were lately well, and so am I, bless God, at present."

<sup>2</sup> "Annals," Vol. I. p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Watson says of John ("Annals," Vol. I. p. 116), "He had been brought up in Bristol, in England, with a cousin, as a merchant in the linen trade, a situation in which he gave his parents much satisfaction." The latter clause of this statement could refer only to his mother, as he was but twelve years old at the time of his father's disability. There are a number of references in Hannah Penn's letters, in 1716 and 1717, to his being at Bristol.





and "elsewhere in America." He seems to have taken his heirship, with the subsequent development of its great value, cheerfully and without appearance of pride, and to have borne himself kindly towards his younger brothers. He came to Pennsylvania in September, 1734, landing at Chester, in company with his sister Margaret and her husband Thomas Freame, and was ceremoniously welcomed at Philadelphia on the 20th of the month. He remained here a year, returning in September, 1735, to attend to the litigation with Lord Baltimore over the Maryland boundary. For some years before his visit here he had a country place at Feens, near Maidenhead, in Berkshire, and maintained there what seems to have been a modest bachelor establishment. His death occurred October 25, 1746. He was buried at Jordans. The journal of Rebekah Butterfield says,<sup>1</sup>—

"5th of 9th Month November 1746, Daniel Bell, Isaac Sharples, and Sarah Holland were at y<sup>e</sup> burial of John Penn at Jordans. S. H. lodged at A. B. [Abraham Butterfield's]. Y<sup>e</sup> rest went away. There was y<sup>e</sup> Herse, seven Coches, and two Chaises. It was a large Meeting."

And in another part of her journal she had inserted an extract from a local newspaper, the *Oxford Flying Weekly Journal*, of November 1, 1746, as follows :

"On Tuesday night last, being the 25th of October, after a long and painful illness, which was borne with the greatest fortitude, resignation, and cheerfulness, died at Hitcham, in the County of Bucks, John Penn, Esq., the eldest of the surviving sons of William Penn, Esq., late Proprietary of the province of Pennsylvania; a gentleman who, from his strict justice and integrity, the greatness of his mind, his universal benevolence to all mankind, and his many other amiable qualities, was a worthy successor to his great father. In his life he was highly esteemed by all who knew him, and his death is as generally lamented. He dying without issue, his estate in Pennsylvania descends to his next brother, Thomas Penn, Esq., who for many years resided in that province for carrying on the settlement thereof, upon the foundation which was laid by their father."

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Summers, "Jordans and the Chalfonts," p. 248.



Mr. Summers says, in his "Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts" (p. 269), "In a plan of Jordans burying ground, made by John Wilkinson, of Wycombe, from the original by Rev. B. Anderson, Vicar of Penn (who obtained the information from Prince Butterfield in 1798), and now in possession of Mr. J. J. Green, it is distinctly stated that the grave opposite Isaac Pennington's is that of 'William Penn's son John,' not of John Pennington, as stated on the stone. This is confirmed in Wilson Armistead's 'Select Miscellanies,' 1851, Vol. VI. p. 160. It also states that Margaret Freame's son Thomas is buried in the same grave with his mother."

John Penn died unmarried, and left his one-half interest in Pennsylvania and the lower counties to his brother Thomas for life, giving Thomas thus a three-fourths interest. There is a portrait of John Penn, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the Philadelphia Library.

Penn's residence, after his return from America, in 1701, was for a time at lodgings at Kensington, but his wife no doubt spent a good deal of her time at her father's house in Bristol. Leaving Kensington, the biographical sketch prefixed to his "Select Works" says "he removed to Knightsbridge, over against Hyde-Park corner, where he resided for some years.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1706 he removed with his

<sup>1</sup> Describing Norfolk Street, Strand, built about 1682 on part of old Arundel House, Wheatley and Cunningham's "London Past and Present" (London, 1891) cites (Vol. II. p. 601) the following from Hawkins's "Life of Johnson":

"The last house at the south-west corner of the street was formerly the habitation of the famous William Penn, of whom it is well-known that his circumstances at a certain period of his life were so involved that it was not safe for him to go abroad. He chose the house as one from whence he might, upon occasion, slip out by water. In the entrance to it he had a peeping-hole, through which he could see any person that came to him. One of these who had sent in his name, having been made to wait more than a reasonable time, knocked for the servant, whom he asked, 'Will not thy master see me?' 'Friend,' answered the servant, 'he has seen thee, but he does not like thee.' The fact was that Penn had, from his station, taken a view of him, and found him to be a creditor."





family to a convenient habitation, about a mile from Brentford, and eight from London, where he dwelt some years. . . . In the year 1710, the air near London not being agreeable to his declining constitution, he took a handsome seat at Rushcomb, near Twyford, in Buckinghamshire,<sup>1</sup> [*sic*] where he had his residence during the remainder of his life."

The fourth child of Penn by his second marriage was Margaret. The Bristol Friends' records show:

"1704, 9th Mo. [November] 7, Margaret Penn, born at Thomas Callowhill's, in James Parish, daughter of William and Hannah Penn."

Margaret lived to grow up, and married Thomas Freame. There are extant lively letters from her to her brother Thomas, written a few years later, to which we must refer in a chapter on the family life at Ruscombe after Penn's disability. Just before Margaret's birth, in a letter of her father to Logan, dated at Bristol, October 7 (1704), he says, "Herself [the wife of William Penn, Jr.] and the three pretty children are all pretty well, for aught I hear, as through the Lord's mercy my three also are, and myself as well as my circumstances will admit; but my family increases apace, which I account a mercy, and yet it sometimes makes me thoughtful when I look forward."

The fifth child was Richard. The Bristol Friends' records show his birth at his grandfather's, in Bristol:

"1705/6, 11th Mo. [January] 17, Richard Penn, born at Thomas Callowhill's, son of William and Hannah Penn."

The sixth child was Dennis. He was born at Ealing, near London,—the residence spoken of above as "a mile

This story, if authentic at all, seems to me quite as likely to belong to the period, in 1691, after the accusation by the "informer" Fuller, when Penn found it most prudent to go into retirement. He remained in London much if not all of the time, and very likely declined to see troublesome visitors.

<sup>1</sup> Ruscombe was in Berks, about six miles from Reading. It is curious that a narrative of Penn's life, prepared not long after his death, should make the error of locating it in Buckinghamshire.



from Brentford." The Friends' records for London and Middlesex show :

"1706/7, 12th Mo. [February] 26, Dennis Penn, born at Ealing, county of Middlesex, son of William Penn, gent., and Hannah Penn, of Worminghurst."

The six children, until the death of Hannah Margarita, a year after Dennis's birth, were all living and doing well. There are numerous allusions to them in the Penn-Logan letters. Isaac Norris, writing from London, March 3, 1706/7, says, "He [William Penn] had appointed a day for my attendance, but did not come, being hindered by the birth of another son, as I since hear, about Fourth-day last. She [H. P.] lies in at Ealing, about eight miles off, and he's there." Thomas Callowhill writes from Bristol, March 23, 1706/7, to James Logan, "I received letters this week from both the Proprietor and my daughter. They are both and their family in pretty good health—she scarce got out of her confinement, for she was delivered of a son named Dennis, not a full month since. She has now four sons and two daughters—I bless God, healthy and hopeful. They are living at a place called Ealing, near London."

Dennis Penn was named for his mother's grandfather, Dennis Hollister, of Bristol. He survived his father, and was assigned by his mother, in her deed in 1719, a share of the Pennsylvania property. He died, however, in his minority, in January or February, 1722/3. The "Breviate" in the Boundary Case states<sup>1</sup> that his death occurred February 6, 1722. Rebekah Butterfield's journal gives the date of his burial at Jordans ground as January 8, 1722/3. One or the other account is wrong a month.

Hannah Margarita, the third child, born at Bristol (as above) July 30, 1703, died at Bristol in February or March, 1707/8, while her father was in prison in London. A letter from Isaac Norris to James Logan, dated at London, March 6, 1707/8, says, "Our Proprietor and Governor is still in the Fleet, good lodgings, has meetings there, is often visited,

<sup>1</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d series, Vol. XVI. p. 440.





and lives comfortably enough for the circumstance. Their daughter Hannah is dead at Bristol.”<sup>1</sup>

And not only the death of this favorite child, but the birth of one more, making seven children of his second marriage,—as there had been seven of the first,—occurred while Penn was still in confinement. This last child, named Hannah, for her mother, was born in London; she lived but a few months. The Friends’ records give both her birth and death. Those for London and Middlesex show:

“Hannah Penn, born Seventh mo. [September] 5, 1708, Parish of Ludgate, City of London, daughter of William, Esquire, and Hannah.”

And the records for the Upper Side of Bucks show:

“Hannah Penn, daughter of William Penn, late of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, England, and Hannah, his wife, departed this life at Kensington, in the county of Middlesex, on the four and twentieth day of the eleventh month, one thousand seven hundred and eight, [January 24, 1708/9], and was buried at New Jordans, aforesaid.”<sup>2</sup>

A letter from Penn to Logan, sent over by Governor Gookin, and dated at London, September 29, 1708 (a few days before his release from the Fleet prison upon the compromise of the Ford claim), says, “My poor wife had a quick and easy time for her last child-bearing, almost a month since, and has a daughter of her own name, in the room of an excellent child [Hannah Margarita] that died last spring, the love and admiration of all that knew her.” And a few weeks later, December 29, 1708, writing again to Logan, he says, “My poor wife is better, that has been ill to a dangerous circumstance. All mine by her are well, which are six in number, thro’ mercy, and so is my son Penn now, though dubious a month ago, and my daughter Aubrey, but my son’s wife is at present out of order.”

The five children who survived, after the death of Hannah (as above) in January, 1708/9, were all living when their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. foot-note by Deborah Logan, “Penn-Logan Correspondence,” Vol. I. p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in Coleman’s “Pedigree,” p. 8.



father died in 1718: John, Thomas, Margaret, Richard, and Dennis. Of John we have already spoken. Thomas and his family must be treated of at length. Margaret, as heretofore mentioned, married Thomas Freame. The marriage took place in 1727. An allusion in the "Breviate" of the Boundary Case ("Pennsylvania Archives," 2d series, Vol. XVI. p. 443), where she is quoted as a party, July 5, 1727, to "a family deed of indenture sextipartite,"<sup>1</sup> says she joined in its execution with Thomas Freame, "whom she was then going to marry."

Among the Penn family letters in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is one from London, May 7, 1723, from Thomas Freame to John Penn. It begins "Dear John," is deferential and polite in tone, and uses the Friendly expressions "thee," "thy," etc. The writer had apparently been at Ruscombe, and had been ill there. He says, "Pray give my kind regards to thy sister Peggy." This may have been the beginning of the courtship. Letters from Thomas Penn to John Penn (Margaret's brothers), October 25 and 31, 1727, refer to Thomas Freame as if married to Margaret, and in May, 1728, a letter suggests the expectation of a child.

The Freames came to Philadelphia with John Penn in September, 1734, and appear to have lived here for some years. Thomas Freame's name appears in the list of the captains of the seven companies raised in Pennsylvania in 1740 to take part in the expedition under Wentworth and Vernon, which made the futile attack on Carthagera, in Spanish South America, in March, 1741. A daughter of the Freames, Philadelphia Hannah, was born in Philadelphia<sup>2</sup> in 1746, and married, May 8, 1770 (being his second wife), Thomas Dawson, an Irish gentleman, who in 1770 was made Baron Dartrey, and in 1785 Viscount Cremorne,

<sup>1</sup> The six parties were John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, Margaret Penn (jointly with Thomas Freame), and two trustees, Joseph Wyeth and Sylvanus Bevan.

<sup>2</sup> John Jay Smith's address, November 18, 1867. Introduction to "Penn-Logan Correspondence," Vol. I. p. 32.





both in the Irish peerage, the latter honor being "of Castle Dawson, County Monaghan, Ireland." He died 1813, and the viscounty expired with him, as he left no descendants. The barony (Cremorne), however, was continued by a great-nephew, Richard Dawson, created Earl of Dartrey, 1866. He was a lord-in-waiting to the Queen 1857-58 and 1859-66. John Jay Smith spoke of him (1867) as a "nobleman of large income," and "in high favor." Viscount Cremorne's wife (Philadelphia Hannah) died in 1826, Coleman's "Pedigree" says. The famous Cremorne Gardens, in London, on the Thames, occupied a site which Viscount Cremorne had owned, and where he had resided.<sup>1</sup> "There was a lovely portrait of Philadelphia Hannah Penn, Lady Cremorne, in the great north room of Stoke,<sup>2</sup> painted by Sir Joshua [Reynolds], and one of the last acts of the late Mr. [Granville John] Penn was the presentation of this portrait, and that of her husband, to Earl Dartrey. Some of the Cremorne furniture and china and plate was at Pennsylvania Castle in 1865."<sup>3</sup>

A child of the Freames (Thomas) was buried at Jordans August 2, 1746. Margaret Freame was buried there February 12, 1750/1. Rebekah Butterfield's journal contains these entries:

"2nd of 6th Month August 1746, Benjamin Holmes, Thomas Whitehead, and William Penton was at y<sup>e</sup> burial of Thomas Freame, grandson to our friend William Penn, at Jordans."

"12th of 12th Month, 1750, [February 12, 1750/51] Daniel Bell and Jane Hoskins, of Pensilvania, was at y<sup>e</sup> burial of Margrate Frame. There was a hearse and seven Coaches in all. They went away after Meeting from Jordans."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1825 the property belonged to Granville Penn.—Wheatley and Cunningham's "London."

<sup>2</sup> Residence of John Penn, son of Thomas (nephew of Margaret Freame, first cousin of Philadelphia Hannah), Stoke Poges, Bucks, England. To be spoken of more particularly later.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Smith's address.—Pennsylvania Castle, to be hereafter referred to, was a residence of John Penn, son of Thomas, on the island of Portland, near the Isle of Wight.

<sup>4</sup> These citations from Butterfield MSS., in "Jordans and the Chalfonts," pp. 248, 250.



The stone over her grave is believed to be the one (placed with the others in recent time) marked "Mary Frame."

Richard Penn and his family must be spoken of at length later. The death of Dennis Penn, the fifth of the children of William Penn by the marriage we are now describing, has been mentioned.

The apoplectic stroke which disabled William Penn occurred at Bristol on the 4th of October, 1712.<sup>1</sup> He was writing an earnest letter to Logan, some passages of which may be here cited. After impressively urging Logan "to move all springs that may deliver me from my present thralldom" of money troubles, he refers to a plan he had entertained of assigning his proprietary patent to trustees, for the maintenance of a government which would protect the Friends in Pennsylvania, and plaintively adds, "But I am not to be heard, either in civils or spirituals, till I am dead." Other passages follow:

"I am now to tell thee that both my daughter and son Aubrey are under the greatest uneasiness about their money, which I desire, as well as allow thee, to return per first [opportunity] . . . I have paid William Aubrey, (with a mad bullying treatment from him into the bargain), but [? about] £500, which with several hundreds paid at different times to him here makes near £1100, besides what thou hast sold and put out to interest there,—which is so deep a cut to me here,—and nothing but my son's [Aubrey probably] tem-

<sup>1</sup> The time of this stroke is precisely fixed by the date of Penn's letter to Logan, cited in Janney's "*Life of Penn*" (p. 525), with Hannah's postscript to it, also dated. Maria Webb says ("*Penns and Peningtons*," p. 426, Philadelphia edition) that it occurred "on the 24th of Fifth month,"—i.e., July,—and Summers has followed this ("*Jordans and the Chalfonts*," p. 224). And I regret to say that in the "*Memorial History of Philadelphia*," Vol. I. p. 173, I have said that it occurred on the 4th of August, my mistake being that I took "Eighth month," with which Penn's date begins, in its modern form. (Hannah's postscript is dated "13th 8ber," which I did not note.) In a foot-note to this present essay (p. 13) I have followed Maria Webb's authority, and said the seizure occurred July 24! Thus are errors repeated when once committed!





pestuous and most rude treatment of my wife and self too, should have forced it from me.

"I writ to thee of our great and unhappy loss and revolution at Bristol, by the death of our near and dear friends, father and mother Callowhill; so shall only say he has left all his concerns in America to poor John, who had almost followed his grandfather, and who by his sorrow at his death and burial, and also by his behaviour since, has justified my special regards to him, as of an uncommon character and capacity. Now, through the Lord's mercy, he is on the recovery, as I now likewise am, by the same Divine goodness; for I have been most dangerously ill at London."

A few sentences followed, and then, in the midst of one, his pen stopped: he had sustained a second stroke of apoplexy. October 13, Hannah Penn added on the other side of her husband's letter a pathetic postscript to Logan: "The enclosed my poor husband wrote, but had not time to finish before he was taken ill with a second fit of his lethargic illness, like as about six months ago, at London; which has been no small addition to my late most severe exercises. But it has pleased the Lord, in the midst of judgments to show us mercy, in the comfortable prospect of his recovery, though as yet but weak. And I am ordered by the doctors to keep all business from him until he is stronger. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

February 5, 1712/13, Hannah Penn again wrote to Logan, from Ruscombe, where, as already mentioned, the family home had been fixed in 1710. Her husband, she says, recovered from the seizure at Bristol, "so as by easy journeys to reach London, and endeavored to settle some affairs, and get some laws passed for that country's [Pennsylvania's] ease; but finding himself unable to bear the fatigues of the town, he just reached Ruscombe when he was seized with the same severe illness that he has twice before labored under. And though, by the Lord's mercy, he is much better than he was, and in a pretty hopeful way of recovery, yet I am forbid by his doctors to trouble him with any business till better."

<sup>1</sup> These letters in full in Janney's "Penn," pp. 525, 526.



These three strokes of apoplexy—the first in London, in the spring of 1712; the second at Bristol, in October; the third at Ruscombe, probably in January—permanently disabled Penn's mental powers, and left his physical strength so shattered that he gradually declined until his death at Ruscombe, July 30, 1718. The "Life" prefixed to his "Select Works" describes the closing six years as "a continual and gradual declension." The sale of his proprietary rights in Pennsylvania to the Crown, begun before the first stroke, was suspended and never completed, the Crown lawyers advising that he was incompetent for so important an act. His will he had made in London in the early part of 1712, at the time of a severe illness,—probably the first stroke of apoplexy, though in the codicil to the will, added at Ruscombe, May 27 of that year, he says it—the former—was made "when ill of a feavour at London."

The condition of Penn's health, though year by year it declined, permitted him to go about for some time. Hannah Penn wrote to Logan, February 16, 1713/14, that "he was at Reading [Friends'] meeting last First-day, as also two or three times before, and bore it very comfortably, and expressed his refreshment and satisfaction in being there." A visitor in the spring of 1713 "found him to appearances pretty well in health, and cheerful of disposition, but defective in memory . . . nor could he deliver his words so readily as heretofore." A year later the same visitor "found him very little altered." He "accompanied him in his carriage to Reading meeting," where he rose up "to exhort those present," and spoke "several sensible sentences, though not able to say much," and on leaving the meeting took "leave of his friends with much tenderness." Thomas Story, in the autumn of 1714, found him with "his memory almost quite lost, the use of his understanding suspended. . . . Nevertheless no insanity, no lunacy, at all appeared in his actions, and his mind was in an innocent state. . . . That he had a good sense of Truth is plain by some very clear sentences . . . he spoke in an evening meeting we had together there; . . . so that I was ready to think this was a sort of





sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."

The "visitor" spoken of above again came to Ruscombe in 1715 and the two following years. In 1715 he found Penn's memory more deficient, "but his love and sense of religious enjoyments apparently continued, for he still often went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short but very sound and savoury expressions. . . . This year he went to Bath, but the waters there proved of no benefit." In 1716 the visitor found him "much weaker than last year;" he could not remember the names of those who called, "yet by his answers it appeared he knew their persons." In 1717 he "found his understanding so much weakened that he scarce knew his old acquaintances; and his bodily strength so much decayed that he could not well walk without leading, nor express himself intelligibly."

In February, 1714/15, Hannah Penn wrote to Logan that "he has had two or three little returns of his paralytic disorder, but I thank the Lord it went off, and he is now in pretty good health, not worse in his speech than for some months past, nor can I say he is better; but when I keep the thoughts of business from him he is very sweet, comfortable and easy, and is cheerfully resigned to the Lord's will, and yet takes delight in his children, his friends, and domestic comforts as formerly."

He must have been still in such condition of body and mind in 1716 as to be thought capable of signing the commission to Governor Keith, when he was sent out to supersede Governor Gookin, for the record made by the Council at Philadelphia, upon its reception, was, that it was "from the proprietor."<sup>1</sup> Hannah Penn, however, in her letter of reproof to Keith, May 20, 1723, used the expression, "As thou wert chosen in the time of my husband's weakness, by means of his friends only, to that important trust," etc. In March, 1717, about a year and a half before his death,

<sup>1</sup> "Colonial Records," Vol. III. p. 1.



Hannah Penn wrote to Logan that she had continued to live for three or four years at Ruscombe, which was a large house, and carried a heavy rent, solely on her husband's account, "for he has all along delighted in walking and taking the air here, and does still, when the weather allows, and at other times diverts himself from room to room," etc.

After Penn's death, about 1730, a man named Henry Pickworth, for some object (as Penn's friends thought, mere malevolence), asserted that Penn had died insane at Bath. Joseph Besse, the author subsequently of the well-known work, the "Sufferings" of the Friends, published a refutation of the story, and cited the testimony of Simon Clement (Hannah Penn's brother-in-law, husband of her sister Mary). Clement's statement, in brief, was that in all his illness Penn never had any symptoms of insanity. "He was indeed attacked with a kind of apoplectic fit in London, in the month of May, 1712, from which he recovered, and did go to the Bath, and from thence to Bristol, where he had a second fit about September [October ?] following; and in about three months after he had the third fit at his own house at Rushcomb, which impaired his memory [etc.] . . . But . . . so far from any show of lunacy . . . his actions were regular and orderly, and nothing appeared in his behaviour but a loving, meek, quiet, easy temper, and a childish innocence," etc.

Penn was near the completion of his seventy-fourth year when he died. The close came between two and three o'clock in the morning of July 30, 1718. He was buried on the 5th of August at the Jordans ground, where his dust remains. Thomas Story's journal gives a few details relating to his death and funeral:

"We arrived at Ruscombe late in the evening, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. . . . On the 5th I accompanied the corpse to the grave, where we had a large meeting," etc.

Rebekah Butterfield's journal says the burial was in the





presence of "twenty or thirty publick Friends [*i.e.*, ministers] and a vast number of Friends and others."

The ground at Jordans has been repeatedly described by visitors, and pictures of it showing the stones that now mark the graves are numerous. One of these views is given as an illustration to Mr. George L. Harrison's report (1882) of his visit to England, by authority of Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, to procure approval of the proposition to remove the remains of William Penn to Philadelphia for reinterment. The stones are, unfortunately, in several particulars wrongly lettered. That of Letitia Aubrey is marked "Letitia Penn." The death of Gulielma Maria Penn is given as 1689, that being the time of the death of the last child of Penn's first marriage. Margaret Freame is marked "Mary Frame." And, as already mentioned, the grave marked "John Penington, 1710," is believed to be that of John Penn, "the American," who died 1746.

Prince Butterfield, brother to Rebekah, whose memoranda concerning burials at Jordans and other Quaker events are esteemed a valuable source of our modern knowledge, informed the sometime vicar of Penn, the Rev. B. Anderson, that, "contrary to the rest, William Penn's head lies to the south, and the remains of his second wife, Hannah Penn, are laid upon his; also that he [P. B.] saw William Penn's leaden coffin when the grave was opened to bury his second wife."

It appears by Penn's interrupted letter, October, 1712, that Thomas Callowhill and his wife had then recently died. It is evident that Thomas Callowhill was not only a valuable friend to his son-in-law, but also a useful citizen of Bristol. An earlier letter from Penn to Logan, dated at London, January 16, 1704/5, says, "and if my wife's mother should die, who is now very ill, I believe not only my wife and our young stock, but her father too, would incline thither [Pennsylvania]. He has been a treasure to Bristol, and given his whole time to the service of the poor Friends' funds, till they made eight per cent. of their money, and next the city poor, where, by act of Parliament he has been



kept in [office] beyond form, he has so managed to their advantage that the city Members gave our Friends, and my father[-in-law] in particular, an encomium much to their honor, in the House.”<sup>1</sup>

WILLIAM PENN'S CHILDREN BY HIS SECOND MARRIAGE.

WILLIAM PENN, the Founder, married, second, at Bristol, March 5, 1695/6, HANNAH, only daughter and child of Thomas Callowhill and his wife Hannah (daughter of Dennis Hollister). HANNAH PENN was born April 18, 1664, at Bristol, and died December 20, 1726, and was buried (in the same grave with her husband) at Jordans. Her children by William Penn were:

1. John, “the American,” born at Philadelphia, January 29, 1699/1700; died unmarried at Hitcham, Bucks, England, October 25, 1746; buried at Jordans, November 5.

2. Thomas, born at Bristol, England, March 9, 1701/2; married and had issue. See details later.

3. Hannah Margarita, born at Bristol, England, July 30, 1703; died at Bristol in February or March, 1707/8.

4. Margaret, born at Bristol, England, November 7, 1704; married, 1727, Thomas Freame, and had issue: (1) Thomas, buried at Jordans, 1746; (2) Philadelphia Hannah (said to have been born at Philadelphia, 1746, and to have died 1826), who married Thomas Dawson, created Viscount Cremorne; and perhaps others. Margaret Freame died in February, 1750/51, and was buried at Jordans on the 12th of that month.

5. Richard, born at Bristol, England, January 17, 1705/6; married and had issue. See details later.

6. Dennis, born at Ealing, Middlesex, England, February 26, 1706/7; died, unmarried, February 6 (or January?), 1722/3, and was buried at Jordans.

7. Hannah, born in Ludgate Parish, London, September 5, 1708; died at Kensington, January 24, 1708/9, and was buried at Jordans.

<sup>1</sup> “Penn-Logan Correspondence,” Vol. I. p. 355.





EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from page 314.)

[LETTER 126.]

“TOTAWA N. J.

“We received in the Line sometime ago a Circular Letter from Colonel Johnston, Colonel Rich<sup>d</sup> Humpton and Lieut. Colo<sup>l</sup> Jos. Harmer, who are a Committee from the Line to endeavour to get the Depreciation of the officers and soldiers of the Line settled—they inform us that a Committee of five from the Assembly was appointed to consider and report their opinion on the Business. In another Letter we have their Report, viz<sup>t</sup>:

“‘STATE OF PENNSYLVAA

“‘IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

“‘Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> Sept 1780 P.M.

“‘The Report of the Committee appointed to confer with certain officers of the Penna. Line of Continental Troops, on the subject of a Memorial presented to this House in behalf of said Troops, was read the Second time, and on Consideration was approved and recommended to the immediate attention of the next General Assembly; and likewise order’d to be inserted in the Minutes.’

“The Report is as follows :

“‘The Committee appointed to confer with the officers appointed by the Pennsylvaa Line, on the subject of a Memorial presented by said officers in consequence of sundry Resolutions of Congress, recommending it to the several States to make up the Depreciation to their respective Troops beg leave to report : That it appears to your Committee, that the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line have greatly suffered in consequence of the Depreciation of their pay; and that, if it had not been for the attention which this House has heretofore paid them, by furnishing them with sundry refreshments and clothing, their situation



must have been Deplorable, the officers seem fully sensible of this, and express'd their gratitude for the repeated Benefactions they have received from the Legislature of this State—But the late amazing Depreciation of the Currency has been such, that they have little to depend upon, but those gratuities, their pay being scarcely worth receiving. The officers of the Penna Line request notes to be given for the arrearages on such principles as appear to your Committee to be equitable and just—

“They require their accounts to be adjusted and liquidated, and the Depreciation to be made up to them, calculating it at the period they have received their pay; and deducting therefrom the price of whatever Refreshments and other gratuities they have at different times received from this State, which were given them in consequence of the Depreciation. They are sensible of the state of the Finances, and many of them would be satisfied without receiving any money at present, but wish the faith of the State to be pledged for their payment when the situation of our finances would admit; and in the meantime for their accounts to be settled, and notes payable in specie given for arrearages, these not to be negotiable by the privates; but those given to the officers to be negotiable.

“On the whole your Committee are of opinion that it would be doing justice to the officers and men to take this matter up as speedily as possible, it would attach the Troops to the State, and contribute to relieve and satisfy a number of brave men. And should it appear to the House too late in the present Session to enter on so important a business, they think it would be advisable and necessary to recommend it to be taken up as early as possible by the next Assembly.

“Your Committee have only to add, that in their opinion whatever is adopted with respect to the officers of the Pennsylvania Line, ought to take place with the few officers belonging to the State Navy, who have suffer'd equally and who have equal claims to the attention of the Legislature.

“Extracts from the Minutes

“SAML STERETT, Clark.”

“It is expected the new Assembly will take the above into immediate consideration.

“Oct. 23<sup>d</sup> '80.”

[LETTER 127.]

“TOTAWA N. J.

“The Honourable the Congress having been pleased to appoint Colonel Pickering Quarter Master General of the Army of the United States of America—vice Major General





Greene, (who Declined serving longer in that important Office) has lately took the Direction of that Department.

“Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene Received His Excellency’s thanks in Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders for the Judgment, Asseduity, and attention, he Display’d in the Direction of that Department.

“The — instant His Excellency Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene set out for Carolina to take Command of the Southern Army. We hear that Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates who now Commands to the Southard is to be Recall’d, to answer for his Conduct at the Battle of Camden.

“On the — instant Monsiere the Minister Plenopotentiary who lately arrived from France and on his way to Head Quarters, when he approach’d the Park of Artillery was saluted with the Discharge of thirteen pieces of Ordinance. On the 26th instant I was Invited with a number of others to Dine with Major J. Moore and the Field Officers of the Brigade—we spent our time verry agreeably, for the afternoon, suped, and spent the Evening as Jovally as we could wish. About 12 o’clock at Night each as great as a Lord, Reel’d home in a state to his own tent.

“Oct. 27<sup>th</sup> 1780.”

[LETTER 128.]

“TOTAWA N. J.

“In the Order of the 23rd instant—the Light Infantry are Order’d to move from their present Position and take Post near Cranetown Gap. And the Officers throughout the Army to draw two Rations each till further Orders.

“On the Evening of the 25th, the Light Infantry with some Heavy Artillery march’d toward Eliz<sup>th</sup> Town. They went on an Intended Expedition to Staten Island, but from some Neglect or Delay with the Boats (which were on Wheels and to be Drawn by Land to the Place) that were to Tranceport the Troops across the Sound, the Expedition fell through and they obliged to Return without attempting anything, which was a Great mortification to the Marquis De La Fayette who commanded.

“The plan was to be on the Island an hour before Day-light, divide the Infantry in two Collumns, who were to



storm two small Encampments of the Enemys, Lees Corps & a Detachment of Foot to storm Symcoe's Legions Encampment, then all Unite at the close and carry the Forts—which it is Generally thought would have been done had not the Misfortune of the Boats prevented.

"Oct<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1780."

[LETTER 129.]

"TOTAWA N. J.

"Yesterday the whole Army paraded for Review, and just before the Review began, came by Express some good News from the Southern Army. His Excellency General Washington and the Minister Plenipotentiary from France came on upon the Right of the front Line and was saluted by the discharge of thirteen Pieces of Cannon from the Park. The[y] passed down the Line and was saluted by the different Regiments and officers in Rotation as usual. They made an Elegant appearance, attended by their Aids and Moyland's Regiment of Light Dragoons.

"The news as follows:

"Extract from the Orders of this Day.

"HEAD QUARTERS TOTAWA Oct<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> '80.

"The Gen<sup>l</sup> has the Pleasure to Congratulate the Army on an Important advantage lately Obtain'd in North Carolina, over a Corps of one Thousand four Hundred men, British Troops and New Levys commanded by Colonel Ferguson. The Militia of the Neighbouring Country under Colonel Williams, Shelby and others having Assembled to the Amount of about Three Thousand men, Detached 1600 of their Number on horseback to fall in with Colonel Ferguson's Party on its March to Charlotte, they came up with them at a place call'd *King's Mountain* advantageously Posted and gave them a total Defeat, in which Colonel Ferguson, with 150 of his men were kill'd 800 made Prisoners & one thousand five hundred stand of Arms taken.

"On our side the loss was Inconsiderable—we have only to Regret that the Brave Colonel Williams was mortally wounded. This advantage will in all probability have a very important Influence upon successive Operations in that Quarter. It is a proof of the Spirit and Resources of the Country.'

"The Enemys successes to the Southard this Campaign has given them amazing spirits but I'm in hopes we shall soon Retaliate upon them.





"Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates now writes that he believes we are Even with them at present.

"South Carolina and Georgia are at present in the Hands of the Enemy, and I find they are in North Carolina. They are likely to give us great deal of Trouble yet."

[No date.]

[LETTER 130.]

"TOTAWA N. J.

"In the General Orders of the first instant, the plan of an Arrangement, and present Establishment of the Army was publish'd and is as follows :

" 'HEAD QUARTERS TOTAWA NOV<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1780.

" "The Commander in Chief has the Happiness to Inform the Army, that the Honourable the Congress has been pleased by their Acts of the 3<sup>d</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of October to pass the following Resolutions.

" "He is entirely persuaded that the liberal provision now made will give Universal satisfaction, and while it Evinces the Justice and Generosity of Congress, will prove a New motive to the Zeal and Exertions of the Officers.

" "That such of the Sixteen additional Regiments as have not been Anexed to the Line of some particular State, and all the separate Light Corps in the Army, both of Horse and foot (Colonel Hazen's Reg<sup>t</sup> excepted) and also the German Battalion, be reduc'd on the first day of Jany. next.

" "That the non-commissioned officers and privates in their several Corps be Incorporated with the Troops of their Respective States, and that such of them as do not belong to any particular State, be anexed to such Corps as the Commander in Chief shall direct.

" "The Regular Army of the United States from and after the first Day of Jany next consist—of four Regiments of Mounted and Dismounted Dragoons or Legionary Corps—Four Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Artillery, Forty nine Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Infantry, exclusive of Colonel Hazen's Reg<sup>t</sup>, Co<sup>l</sup> Armand's partizan Corps, Major Lee's ditto and one Reg<sup>t</sup> of Artificers.

" "That each Reg<sup>t</sup> or Legionary Corps, consist of four Troops of Mounted Dragoons, and two of Dismounted Dragoons, each consisting of Sixty privates with the same number of Commissioned and Non-commissioned Officers as at present.

" "That the partizan Corps Commanded by Colonel Armand and Major Lee, shall consist of three troops of mounted and three of Dismounted Dragoons of fifty men each, to be officered by the Commander in Chief, by the Approbation of Congress, and that the Commander in Chief be authorized to Direct a Mode for compleating, Recruiting and supplying the said Corps.



““That each Regiment of Artillery consist of Ten companies, and that each Company consist of Sixty five non-commissioned officers and Mattresses, with the same number of Commissioned Officers as at Present.

““That each Regiment of Infantry requested from the several States shall consist of one Colonel, one Lieut. Colonel and one Major. Where the full Colonels are to continue or one Lieut. Colonel commandant & Two Majors. Where the Colonels are not continued; Nine Captains, Twenty two Subalterns, one Surgeon, one Surgeon's Mate, one Sergeant Major, one Quarter Master Sergeant, Forty five Sergeants, one Drum Major, one Fife Major, Ten Drummers, Ten Fifers, Six hundred and twelve Rank & file. That there be one Captain and two Subalterns to each Company, and that the Four Supernumeraries have the rank of Lieutenant, one of which is to reside in the State to which he belongs, to enlist and forward Recruits, one Drum & Fife to attend the Recruiting Officer, the other three supernumery officers to do the duty of Pay Master, Quarter Master, and Adjutant, in their respective Regiments.

““And that the Regiment of Artificers consist of eight Companies, and each company of sixty Non-commissioned Officers and privates.”’

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1730.”

[LETTER 131.]

“TOTAWA N. J.

““That the whole of the Troops be Enlisted during the War, and join their Respective Corps by the first day of January next. That the several States furnish the following Quotas:

““New Hampshire—two Regiments of Infantry.

““Massachusetts Bay—ten Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Infantry &  
one of Artillery.

““Rhode Island—one Reg<sup>t</sup> of Infantry.

““Connecticut—five Reg<sup>ts</sup> of Infantry &  
one of Cavalry.

““New York—two Regiments of Infantry  
one of Artillery.

““New Jersey—two Regiments of Infantry.

““Pennsylvania—six Regiments of Infantry,  
one ditto of Cavalry,  
one ditto of Artillery &  
one ditto Artificers.

““Delaware—one Regiment of Infantry.

““Maryland—five Regiments of Infantry.

““Virginia—eight Regiments of Infantry,  
one of Artillery &  
two ditto of Cavalry.

““North Carolina—four Regiments of Infantry.

““South Carolina—two Regiments of Infantry.

““Georgia—one Regiment of Infantry.





““That the Regiments of Cavalry, Artillery, and of Artificers as they now stand be considered as belonging to the States respectively, to which they are or may be assign'd which States shall compleat them to their full compliment, Supply them with Necessarys, and in every Respect treat them as if originally raised therein, and that such other States as now have Non-commissioned Officers or Privates in any of the Regiments Afforesaid, be credited in their Quotas for such men according to their number from time to time; for which purpose the Commander in Chief is hereby directed to specify such Non-commissioned Officers and Privates, and the States to which the[y] Formerly belong'd in the returns he shall make to the States, and in his Annual Return to Congress.

““That the Regiment Commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen be continued on its present Establishment and that all Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates being foreigners belonging to any of the Reduced Regiments and Corps be Incorporated therewith, and all Volunteers from foreign States, who are now in the service, or may thereafter joine the American Army be Anexed to the said Regiment.

““That the Commander in Chief and the Commanding Officers in the Southern Department, direct the Officers of each State to meet and agree upon the Officers for the Regiments to be raised by the Respective States, from those who Incline to Continue in Service, and where it cannot be done by Agreement, to be Determined by Seniority, and make returns of those who are to remain, which is to be Transmitt'd to Congress, together with the names of the Officers reduc'd who are to be allow'd Half Pay for *Life*.

““That the Officers who shall continue in service to the end of the War shall be entitled to Half Pay during *Life*, to commence from the time of their Reduction.

““That the Officers at Camp be Impower'd and Directed to use every Prudent Measure and improve every favourable opportunity, to enlist for the Continuance of the War, such of the men belonging to their Respective States, as are not engaged for that Period.

““That Two Dollars be granted to the Recruiting Officer, for every able bodied soldier he shall enlist for the war, who shall join the Army, and that a sum not exceeding Fifty Dollars be allowed to Every such Recruit.

““That the Clothing be furnish'd and regularly served out to the Troops as it becomes Due, and that a full Compensation be made for any Arrearages of Clothing.”

“And in yesterdays Orders was the following Amend-  
ment:

“In the Publication of the Extracts of the Resolves of Congress of the 3d and 21st of October last, there was an Omission of Part of that



of the 3d Declaring that the Retiring Officers should be entitled to Land at the Close of the War, agreeable to the Resolution of the 16th of September 1776. Tho the Resolution of the 21st is silent on this Article, the Gen<sup>l</sup> has no doubt that it remains in force.'

"I was likewise in yesterdays Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders appointed Quarter Master of the Tenth Regiment of Pennsylv<sup>ia</sup> from the First instant.

"Nov<sup>r</sup> the 4<sup>th</sup> 1780."

[LETTER 132.]

"TOTAWA, N. J.

"On the Fifth instant our Division Paraded for Muster and Inspection.

"Extract from the Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the Sixth instant.

"The General has just received information that Colonel Ogden and Capt. Dayton, who were in Eliz<sup>th</sup> Town, were taken last night in their *Beds* by the Enemy a Convincing proof that they have the most minute Intelligence of every thing that passes in that Place, and that it is Dangerous for an Officer (except with a Guard or under sanction of a flag) to remain there during the Night; he has assured the Officers in General Orders that if any of them were taken out of the line of their duty and by their own Imprudence that their Exchange should be postponed while there is an Officer remaining in captivity of their *Rank*.

"He again repeats this in the most solemn terms, with his full Declaration that whenever they are Exchanged they shall be arrested and a full Investigation had into the circumstances of their Capture.

"The Gen<sup>l</sup> means this as a Caution to the Army, not as a Reflection upon the present conduct of Colonel Ogden who he has reason to believe was in the execution of business by proper authority. He is yet uninformed of the reason of Capt. Dayton's being at Elizabeth Town. It is with infinite regret the Gen<sup>l</sup> is obliged once more to Notice the Disorderly Conduct of soldiers arising in a great measure from the abuse of Passes. The whole Country is overspread with straggling soldiers with the most frivolous pretences, under which they commit every specimen of Robbery and Plunder. In a ride he took the other day he found soldiers as low as Accquackenack Bridge on both sides the River, and as far as he has ever yet gone Round the environs of the Camp, the Roads and the farm Houses are full of them.

"To remedy this Evil and to have the Army ready for any sudden Imergency, the General does in the most express and possitive terms forbid all but General Officers and Officers Commanding Regiments, to Grant Passes, and not more than eight from a Regiment are to be given by the latter in a Day, and these only to soldiers of Orderly Conduct.'





"I have been thus particular in sending you a copy of the above Orders of the Sixth instant, for a reason I shall acquaint you with. . I was unhappily *arrested* upon them!

"ORDERLY OFFICE, TOTAWA, NOV<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1780.

"SIR

"You are hereby order'd in arrest for "a breach of General Orders of the Sixth Instant in Granting a pass to Daniel Quinn, a Soldier in the 10th Pennsylvania Regiment."

"By His Excellency's Command

"JNO STAGG, Asst Adj<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>.

"Lieut ENOS REEVES

"10<sup>th</sup> Pennsylv<sup>a</sup> Regt.'

"Think! Oh Think! my Dear Philander, what I must suffer in my present situation. In disgrace, in arrest! for a breach of Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders! and by His Excellency's command!

"If there is any thing in this Life, that can equal the Punishment of the Damn'd, it must be an Officer in Arrest.

"Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1780."

[LETTER 133.]

"In the late Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the 9<sup>th</sup> Instant a Court Martial was order'd to Assemble for the tryal of all such Prisoners as shall be brought before them. On this same day I received a note from the Judge Advocate to prepare Tryal. As they are short I shall give you the whole Proceeding of the Court.

"TOTAWA NOV<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1780.

"The Court whereof Colo<sup>l</sup> Bailey is President reassembl'd agreeably to the Orders of the Commander in Chief, and proceeded to the Tryal of Lieut. Reeves of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Pennsylvania charged with "A breach of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the Sixth Instant in Granting a pass to Daniel Quinn, soldier of the 10<sup>th</sup> Penna. Regiment."

"Lieut. Reeves pleaded "*Not Guilty*."

"The Judge Advocate read to the Court the Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant, and produced to the Court the Pass annexed:

"Daniel Quinn soldier in the 10<sup>th</sup> Penna. Regiment has permission to pass to the Light Infantry Camp and Return this Evening before Roll Call he behaving himself as a good Soldier."

"Which Lieut. Reeves admits to be his writing and signing. Lieut.



Reeves also admits that Quinn pass'd by virtue of this pass to, or near the Light Infantry Camp, where the pass was taken away from him.

“‘Lieut. Colonel Hay, produced by Lieut<sup>r</sup> Reeves being sworn says : “It has been an Invariable Rule in the Regiment never to admit more than two men from a Comp<sup>y</sup> to be absent on passes at a time. This custom was previous to the late Orders, and it has also been customary in general for the Orderly Sergeants of the Companies to write the passes and sign them to the Company officers; they also signed them, and I sign them afterwards. By this means the Officers of the Comp<sup>y</sup> and the Sergeants, could account for their men. Sometimes it happen'd that the Officers only signed the paper previous to my signing them.”

“‘*Ques. by Lieut. Reeves.*—“Have you not often refused to sign passes because not signed by the Officer commanding the Company?”

“‘*Ans.*—“I have; and in case the off<sup>r</sup> of the Company was absent, I have required it to be signed by the Orderly Sergeant.”

“‘Colonel Hay adds—that he has always found Lt<sup>r</sup> Reeves a very punctual Duty Officer.

“‘Capt. Patton produced by Mr. Reeves was sworn :

“‘*Ques. by Lt<sup>r</sup> Reeves.*—“Have you not frequently in the absence of Col. Hay Countersigned passes as Command'g officer of the Regiment?”

“‘*Ans.*—“I have.”

“‘*Ques.*—“Did you not require them to be signed to you by the Commanding Officers of Companies?”

“‘*Ans.*—“I always made it a Rule, if they were not signed, I refused to sign them.”

“‘*Ques.*—“Did not the Soldiers usually carry the passes themselves to be signed by the Command'g Officer of the Regiment?”

“‘*Ans.*—“I never knew it otherwise, except in some particular cases where an Off<sup>r</sup> wanted a pass for his waiter.”

“‘*Ques. by the Court.*—“Do you recollect signing any pass for any soldier in the Company Mr. Reeves belongs to on the 7th Instant?”

“‘*Ans.*—“I do not recollect being asked to sign any for that Company that day.”

“‘*Ques. to Col. Hay.*—“Did not the Soldiers usually carry the passes themselves to be signed by the Commanding Officer of the Reg<sup>t</sup>?”

“‘*Ans.*—“They did.”

“‘The Court then adjourned till tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

“‘November the 11<sup>th</sup> 1780.

“‘The Court met according to Adjournment, and resumed the Tryal of Lieut. Reeves.

“‘Daniel Quinn produced by Mr. Reeves was sworn :—

“‘*Ques. by Lieut. Reeves.*—“When I gave you the pass on the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant, did I not order you to carry it to the Command'g Officer of the Regt. to be signed?”





“ ‘Ans.—“Yes.”

“ ‘Ques.—“Why did you not get it signed?”

“ ‘Ans.—“I could not find the Command’g Officer.”

“ ‘Ques.—“What Officer did you look for?”

“ ‘Ans.—“I looked for Capt. Patton as I knew that Co<sup>l</sup> Hay was not at home.”

“ ‘Ques.—“Why did you not wait for it to be signed?”

“ ‘Ans.—“Because Col. Stewart order’d me to come to him that day and I was in a hurry.”’

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 17, 1780.”

[LETTER 134.]

“ ‘Lieut. Reeves then read his Defence which is anexed :

“ ‘GENTLEMEN,

“ ‘Let the Conduct of an Officer in the Army be ever so unexceptionable, yet through the neglect of others, it sometimes happens that his Character, *Honor* and future Happiness in Life may depend on the Sentence or determination of a Court.

“ ‘I am happy to be Tried by Gentlemen who serving in Military Characters can easily and with certainty determine Right from wrong in that Line.

“ ‘It is certain the Soldier went to the Light Infantry Camp with the Pass in question, without being Sign’d by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment. But it was without either my knowledge or consent. For which crime he has since been brought to Tryal and pled *Guilty*.

“ ‘It appears by Quinn’s evidence, that I ordered him to go to the Commanding Officer to get the pass signed, and that he did search for him, but not finding, went off with the pass in a Clandestine manner, in the situation it was found.

“ ‘But had the Guard attended to the Orders of the 19<sup>th</sup> of August last, the soldier had not pass’d, nor I have been arrested. Since the date of the above Order (of August the 19<sup>th</sup>,) it has been required by the Commanding officers of the Regt. to which I belong, that the passes be signed to them by the Officers Commanding Companies, and (without they write the pass themselves) they required the same of the first Sergeants.

“ ‘I never till now knew what it was to be arrested, during five campaigns service as an officer—one in Virginia and four in the Continental Army. Nor now but through the neglect or ignorance of a Soldier.

“ ‘When I received my *arrest* I did not then know but what the Soldier had got his pass properly signed. I think it plainly appears from the evidence of Colonel Hay and Captain Patton, that I was not only Justifiable in signing the pass, but that I was acting according to



the Orders and Established Rules of the Regiment, and in the perfect line of my Duty.

““ I am Gentlemen

““ with due Respect

““ Yours &c

““ ENOS REEVES.””

“Extract from the Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the 14<sup>th</sup> Instant :

“At a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial of the Line whereof Colonel Bailey is president, the 10th Instant Lieut. Reeves of the 10<sup>th</sup> Penna. Regt. was Tried for “A breach of Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders of the 6<sup>th</sup> Instant in Granting a pass to Daniel Quinn sold<sup>r</sup> in 10<sup>th</sup> Penna Regt.”

“The Court on consideration are of Opinion that Lieut. Reeves sign’d a pass for Daniel Quinn to pass to the Light Infantry Camp, on which Quinn pass’d in breach of Gen<sup>l</sup> Orders—But it appears to the Court that it was the intention of Lieut. Reeves that the pass should be sign’d by the Commanding Officer of the Regiment. On this consideration and the custom of the Regiment, they think Lieut. Reeves excusable.

“The Commander in Chief approves the Sentence and Lieut. Reeves is Released from his Arrest.’

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1780.”

[LETTER 135.]

(Omitted, as it contains nothing of interest.)

[LETTER 136.]

“In an exchange of prisoners dated Nov. 10, 1780, the following prisoners were exchanged :

“Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln, Brig. Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson, Waterbury and Duportail ; three Colonels ; nine Lieut. Colonels ; eleven Majors, among which was Major Eccleston, taken the night of the surprise at Elizabeth Town, mentioned in Vol iv, letter 78, page 27 ; and forty eight Captains ; among them were Sample and Weaver (the former has already joined), and Sealy taken at Paramus, mentioned in Letter 86 page 50 ; Gifford and Bett taken with Major Eccleston, and Capt. Lansdale mentioned in Vol III., taken with yourself at Middlebrook. One hundred and eleven Lieutenants, forty three Ensigns. One Cornet, three Quartermasters ; three Adjutants ; six Volunteers ; one Deputy Adjutant General





and one Deputy Quartermaster General, the most of whom have been prisoners since the taking of Fort Washington in 1776. All our privates at New York are exchanged, some of whom have come out, and the remainder expected daily. Total of the officers 244.

"About three days ago a party of the enemy was out at Newark, where they burnt a house belonging to Mr. Neil and drove off about 100 head of cattle, but a party of Continental troops and some Militia gather'd and retook the most of them.

"Nov. 23, 1780."

[LETTER 137.]

"TOTAWA, JERSEY.

"On the twenty-third instant, a number of officers arrived at headquarters from the French army at Rhode Island, among which was two general officers and other officers of distinction.

"In the above days order we were ordered to march on the 24th at 11 o'clock.

"About ten o'clock we were passed in Review by his Excellency Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, the French Generals and other officers, and all the general officers in camp. The morning being wet the orders of march were countermanded. Our baggage was to have been left on the ground with the tents standing. Where our destination was I cannot inform you. But there was fresh horses order'd for the artillery and ammunition wagons, and a large number of boats on wheels, with good teams to move them were waiting to attend us. The left wing of our Army, which is on the other side the North river have marched down as low as White Plains, waiting further orders. The French army (in America) are in Barracks at Newport, Rhode Island. It appears to me that the present movement and disposition of our Army is only a manœuvre in order to prevent the enemy from sending a reinforcement to South Carolina, which is said to be on foot with them, and some accounts from that place say their army much want. It is currently reported and generally believed that they are at a



great distance from Charleston, and in a late action a considerable party defeated and the remainder in a fair way to be *Burgoined*."

[LETTER 138.]

"WICKS' FARM.

"In the orders of the 26th instant the Light Corps of the Army is dissolved, the Marquis de La Fayette and the officers and men under his command had his Excellency's warmest thanks. Major Parr's Rifle Corps are to continue and march with the Penna. Line.

"The other day when we had orders of march, the Army on the other side of the River, made a forage as low as King's Bridge and loaded three hundred wagons without opposition. The whole Army marched on the 27th inst. for Winter Quarters, the Massachusetts and Connecticut Line to the North River and the Pennsylvania Line toward Morristown. On the night of the 27th lay in a wood within about four miles of Rockaway river. The officers quartered at a house where we had a few necessaries, and when I came to settle thro' a clown of a fellow, he understood calculating to his own advantage, as well as any speculator in the country. Says he in good times the bill would be about nine shillings, and as hard money has fell one half, that is eighteen shillings, the depreciation of that at seventy five for one, made it amount to one hundred and ninety odd dollars. And the fellow told me so with as much confidence as if it was all right.

"On the 28th we marched about 8 o'clock. I breakfasted with Adjutant M'Lean at the hospitable family of Mr. Dorsey at Troy. The regiment halted in the wood near Morristown, when I rode on to Mr. Wicks', where I supped and spent the evening with his very agreeable daughter. The party that marched under Colonel Craig to begin to build or repair our huts, fixed upon the old huts of Gen. Hand's brigade, near Mr. Wicks' house for our station this Winter, and extended the line towards Mr. Kemble's, till near the left where two regiments turn the flank into the huts, formerly the First Connecticut Brigade. The logs of





the old huts of the Maryland Brigade being very convenient I hope we shall be able to get our men under cover in a very short time.

"The division arrived in the afternoon of the 29th and pitched tents in a wood near Dr Liddel's house. I had the pleasure of finding that agreeable family in perfect health, but a little mortified at the army coming to Winter so near them. We last Winter destroyed six hundred acres of woodland for him and his step-father, and I suppose this Winter will clear the plantation of every tree.

"Nov. 30, 1780."

[LETTER 139.]

"MOUNT KEMBLE.

"Gen. Wayne has it in command from His Excellency Gen. Washington, to inform the Pennsylvania Line, that Major Talmadge with a party of sixty dismounted Dragoons of the Second Regiment surprised Fort George on Long Island and captured a Colonel, Captain, Lieutenant, Surgeon and fifty men in it. That he destroyed the works, burned a vessel loaded with stores in the harbor and the King's magazines of Forage at Cowan containing upwards of three hundred tons of hay, and returned without the loss of a man, having only one wounded—of the enemy seven left dead and wounded in the Fort.

"We have been so fortunate as to fall into the huts formerly belonging to the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment; tho' they are out of repairs we shall be able to get our men under cover in three or four days. On this instant all the soldiers moved into their houses. I immediately set about repairing a room for myself, had it floored &c. I moved my baggage into it on the 7th inst. and have it in tolerable repair, but not in elegant order like my room was last Winter.

"On the evening of the 2d we had a smart snow, when I had to ride through the country in search of wagons to carry on the business of hutting, and the day following, as far as John Stiles Esq. where I dined with Lieut. Col. Hay.

"December 8, 1780."



[LETTER 140.]

"MOUNT KEMBLE.

"I have not had the happiness of a line from you, since your departure from camp. Capt. Hicks was here not many days ago, for the first time since his return from Maryland, and remained with me two days. Our friends in Georgetown are very well and would much like to see us. Mr. Voorhees was not at home—Miss Nancy is a remarkable fine girl and exceedingly handsome. There is a dancing school there and in Chestertown.

"Major Parr's Rifle Corps is advanced while we are building—they lately searched the shore from Newark to Rahway and destroyed all the small craft on the way. There has been an amazing trade carried on from the Jersey shore to the city of New York, but we hope to put a stop to it.

"Last week a person was hung in Morristown for passing counterfeit money, and now several refugees are in confinement, who have been taken as spys, passing thro' the country. As they have been sometime with the enemy, it is supposed they will also swing. Two horse thieves were also taken with five horses in a marsh—The militia took them, threatened to burn them out of the reeds before they would deliver themselves up, and had begun to set fire to the sides.

"December 14, 1780."

[LETTER 141.]

"MOUNT KEMBLE.

"On the 17th inst. I assisted the brigade and other Quarter Masters to lay out in lots the remaining woodland belonging to Mr. Wicks, to be cut and corded by one hundred and fifty of the Draft whose time expires on 15th. When they have cut fifteen cord each, which is about twenty two hundred cord, they will get their discharge.

"We hear that a large embarcation is taking place at New York—it is supposed for the Southward. But to be prepared for them least they should mean to pay us a visit before we get into our huts and are properly fixed, I was ordered off with the Brigade Quarter Master to the Magis-





trates in the vicinity of the Camp in order to procure sixty teams to assist in throwing up three small works on the height in our rear, to cover the encampment, for which purpose one hundred men are on that fatigue. That evening we rode as far as Squire Thompson's at Menden, where we remained all night. Early next morning Mr. Hughes, Brigade Q. M., went to the Justices at Black River, and I to those at [torn] a tiresome jaunt, as I did not return till late in the evening. The teams have since arrived and the works go on so briskly, that I hope in a few days we shall be able to bid the enemy defiance. The men throughout the Line are in their huts and the officers go briskly on with the inside work of theirs. Our works on Mount Kemble consist of two small redoubts and a blockhouse that will contain about forty men—the six pieces of artillery are to be stationed there.

"On the 22d inst. the whole officers of the regiment dined with Lieut. Col. Hay, where we got tolerable happy.

"December 28, 1780.

"P.S.—Mr. Wicks who has been sick for several days past, died and was buried yesterday."

[LETTER 142.]

"On the 23d all the officers of the regiment dined with me and the gentlemen of our family; on the 24th, a regimental dinner at Capt. Patton's, and on Christmas Day all the officers of the Brigade dined with the Field officers, we had an elegant entertainment and kept up the frolick till late and got half tipsy. From what I have said of frolicks and entertainments among ourselves, don't fancy that all our time is taken up in this manner and the ladies neglected. No! Heaven forbid! if that was the case we should be monsters indeed. I generally spend the following afternoon with the fair sex, some of our agreeable neighbors Miss W[ic]ks, Miss L[idde] or both; their company and a dish of tea and pleasant chat.

"December 29, 1780."

(To be continued.)



WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 369.)

1794.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: "*January 6.*—On Wednesday last [January 1], New Year's day—Members of both Houses of Congress—Heads of Departments—Foreign Ministers—Members of the Society of the Cincinnati—Officers of the Militia, &c., waited on the President of the United States, to offer him the compliments of the Season."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser.*

THURSDAY, JANUARY 9.

At Philadelphia: "The news of this evening is, that the Queen of France is no more.<sup>1</sup> When will the savages be satiated with blood? No prospect of peace in Europe, and therefore none of internal harmony in America. We cannot well be in a more disagreeable situation than we are with all Europe, with all Indians, and with all Barbary rovers. Nearly one half the continent is in constant opposition to the other, and the President's situation, which is highly responsible, is very distressing. He made me a very friendly visit yesterday, which I returned to-day, and had two hours' conversation with him alone in his cabinet."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams, January 9.*

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "*February 24.*—Saturday [February 22], being the anniversary of that auspicious event the birth of the President of the United States, the same was

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<sup>1</sup> Marie Antoinette was executed October 16, 1793.





observed here with unusual demonstrations of joy.”—*Dunlap and Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser*.

“A Federal Salute ushered in the dawn, and the bells of Christ Church rang peals at intervals through the day. At noon the Members of both Houses of Congress—the Heads of Departments—the Foreign Ministers—his brother veterans, the Society of the Cincinnati—the Governor, Civil and Military Officers of this Commonwealth—the Reverend Clergy—the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania—and a great assemblage of other citizens, waited on the President at his house to pay him their respects and congratulations.

“The Light Horse, Artillery, & Light Infantry, which paraded in honor of the day, were more numerous than on any recent occasion—and their truly soldier-like appearance merits the highest approbation. Repeated federal salutes were fired in the course of the day, by the artillery in High Street. The field officers of the militia were dressed in new and elegant uniforms on this occasion. The general joy and hilarity evinced this day, indicate that the purest republican principles actuate the public mind. The President enters into the 63d year of his age.

“The Managers of the City Dancing Assembly gave a Ball in the evening. They were honored with the company of the President and Mrs. Washington, several of the Foreign Ministers, a number of the members of Congress, the Secretaries of the treasury and of war, the Governors of the State and of the Western Territory, and the most brilliant display of beauty, perhaps, ever exhibited in this city. The countenances of all present, appeared perfectly congenial with the happy occasion.”—*Idem*.

“Saturday last [February 22] M. Fauchet, the new Minister from France was introduced to the President of the United States, by Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State.”<sup>1</sup>—*Idem*.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

At Philadelphia: “Enclosed you will find three Bank notes for one hundred dollars each; out of which pay the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Muir of Alexandria Fifty pounds, and take his signature to the enclosed receipt.”—*Washington to William Pearce*.

This was an annual subscription to the Orphan School under the care of the Rev. James Muir, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Alexandria. The following item in Washington’s will refers to this school: “To the

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<sup>1</sup> Edmund Randolph was appointed Secretary of State on the second of January as successor to Thomas Jefferson, who had resigned from the office December 31, 1793. The place of Mr. Randolph as Attorney-General was supplied by William Bradford, of Pennsylvania.



Trustees, (Governors or by whatsoever other name they may be designated) of the Academy in the Town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in Trust, Four thousand dollars, or in other words twenty of the shares which I hold in the Bank of Alexandria toward the support of a Free School, established at, and annexed to the said Academy for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who in the judgment of the trustees of the said Seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. . . . And to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be that, these twenty shares are in lieu of and not in addition to the Thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago [December 17, 1785] in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid toward the support of that institution."

## SUNDAY, MARCH 2.

At Philadelphia: "The price of Midlings and Ship stuff in Alexandria is greatly below the selling price in this market; especially the first, which is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  dollars the barrel of 196 lbs—and the latter, from a dollar and half to two dollars p<sup>r</sup>. hundred—but as these articles never are so high there as here, you must enquire the most favorable season to dispose of them, and do it to the best advantage.—Keep me informed from time to time of the prices of Superfine and fine flour, that I may know when to strike for mine;—and ask the Miller why he does not, as usual, note in his weekly returns the number of barrels he has packed of *all* the different kinds."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

## SUNDAY, MARCH 23.

At Philadelphia: "Mr. Smith has, I believe, been furnished with fish from my landing, and if he will give as much as another, ought to have the preference;—but before you positively engage, enquire what the other fisheries are disposed to sell at.—4/. p<sup>r</sup>. thousand for Herrings, and 10/. p<sup>r</sup>. hundred for shad is very low.—I am, at this moment, paying 6/. a piece for every shad I buy."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

## SUNDAY, MARCH 30.

At Philadelphia: "I am sorry to hear your drilled and other wheat, makes but an indifferent appearance.—I was





in hopes such extreame fine weather as we have had during the whole month of March would have occasioned a pleasing change in both.—As grain puts on different looks at this season, according as the weather, while growing, happens to be, let me know from time to time how mine comes on.—If it stands thick enough on the ground, such uncommon mildness and warmth as we have had since February, must have recovered that Crop greatly, as well as the Winter Barley.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

The letters from which the last three quotations are made form part of a series of one hundred and sixteen, written by Washington to William Pearce, manager of the Mount Vernon farms from October, 1793, to January, 1797. The originals are in the possession of the Long Island Historical Society, and were published in 1889, with a historical and genealogical introduction and notes by Moncure Daniel Conway, being volume iv. of the *Memoirs* of that society. The letters quoted, it will be perceived, were all written on Sunday, and, with but few exceptions, this is the case with the entire series, it having been the custom of the President to devote the afternoon of that day to his private correspondence.

Upon a careful perusal of the letters comprising the series, we find that the smallest as well as the most important matters connected with his Mount Vernon interests are noted with a detail almost painfully minute. Letter after letter, many of them of considerable length, devoted to instructions as to building, labor, crops, and, in brief, everything pertaining to the management of a large landed estate; disclosing an ability for the supervision of business by an absentee that would be remarkable had the writer been entirely free from responsibility other than the proper conduct of his own affairs. And when we reflect that these letters were written during the most trying and exacting period of Washington's life, we may well be impressed with the extraordinary qualities of a mind which could thus calmly withdraw from the engrossing consideration of matters of state, the harassing care of great office, to devote itself, with unfailing regularity, to the accurate and voluminous direction of private affairs, of which these letters are a most striking proof.

Truly a remarkable record of a remarkable mind!

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 6.

At Philadelphia: “I had no doubt but that the late capture of our Vessels by the British Cruisers, followed by the Embargo<sup>1</sup> which had been laid on the Shipping in our

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<sup>1</sup> Congress, in retaliation of the “Provision Order” of the British Council of November 6, 1793, passed (March 26, 1794) a joint resolution laying an



Ports, w<sup>d</sup> naturally occasion a temporary fall in the article of provisions;—yet, as there are the same mouths to feed as before;—as the demand, consequently, will be as great; and as the Crops in other parts of the world will not be increased by these means, I have no doubt at all, but that, as soon as the present impediments are removed the prices of flour will rise to what it has been (at least) for which reason hold mine up to the prices mentioned in my last; and if they are offered, make a provisory agreement, to be ratified, or not, by me;—an answer to which can be obtained in a week.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 8.

At Philadelphia: “April 9.—I arrived here [Philadelphia] on Monday evening; and yesterday dined with the President. The question of war or peace seems to be as much in suspense here as in New York when I left you. I am rather inclined to think that peace will continue, but should not be surprised if war should take place. In the present state of things, it will be best to be ready for the latter event in every respect.”—*John Jay to Mrs. Jay.*

TUESDAY, APRIL 15.

At Philadelphia: “Let me know whether the message, which in the evening of yesterday I requested you to draw, will be ready by eleven o’clock this forenoon?”—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

This message was the one in which Mr. Jay was nominated to the Senate as envoy extraordinary to England. The message which was sent in the next day, April 16, is as follows: “Gentlemen of the Senate; The communications which I have made to you during your present session, from the despatches of our minister in London [Thomas Pinckney], contain a serious aspect of our affairs with Great Britain. But, as peace ought to be pursued with unremitting zeal, before the last resource, which has so often been the scourge of nations, and cannot fail to check the advanced

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embargo on commerce for thirty days. The measure seemed to have chiefly in view the obstructing the supply of provisions for the British fleet and army in the West Indies. It operated quite as much against the French.





prosperity of the United States, is contemplated; I have thought proper to nominate, and do hereby nominate, John Jay, as envoy extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majesty."

The nomination of Mr. Jay, which was confirmed April 19, was made in consequence of a motion introduced in the House of Representatives (April 7), that all commercial intercourse with Great Britain and her subjects be suspended so far as respected all articles of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, until the surrender of the frontier posts, &c. This motion, if adopted, would have led directly to war.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 25.

At Philadelphia: "April 26.—Yesterday about 11 o'clock, the President, accompanied by the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and a number of respectable citizens, went down the river in one of the New Castle packets, to Fort Mifflin and other places on the banks of the Delaware."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### TUESDAY, MAY 6.

At Philadelphia: "To tell you that the order of his Britannic Majesty in council, of the 8th of June last, respecting neutral vessels, had given much discontent in the United States, and that that of the 6th of November and its result had thrown them into a flame, will hardly be news to you when you shall receive this letter. The subsequent order of the 8th of January has in a degree allayed the violence of the heat, but will by no means satisfy them without reparation for the spoliations on our trade, and the injuries we sustain from the non-performance of the treaty of peace. To effect these if possible by temperate means, by fair and firm negotiations, an envoy extraordinary is appointed, and will, I expect, sail in a few days. Mr. Jay is chosen for the trust. Mr. John Trumbull goes as his private Secretary."—*Washington to Tobias Lear*.

The order of the British Council of the 8th of June, 1793, directed that armed vessels should arrest and send into port vessels loaded with corn or meal or flour destined for France, and all neutral vessels, save those of Denmark and Sweden, which should attempt to enter any blockaded port.



The order of the 6th of November, which was partially revoked by that of the 8th of January, 1794, directed English vessels to seize and bring to British ports "all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony."

FRIDAY, JUNE 6.

At Philadelphia: "June 6.—I had the honor of an interview with the President of the United States, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Dandridge, his secretary. He received me very politely, and after reading my letters, I was asked to breakfast."—HENRY WANSEY, *Excursion to the United States in 1794*.

"The President in his person, is tall and thin, but erect; rather of an engaging than a dignified presence. He appears very thoughtful, is slow in delivering himself, which occasions some to conclude him reserved, but it is rather, I apprehend, the effect of much thinking and reflection, for there is great appearance to me of affability and accommodation. He was at this time in his sixty-third year, being born February 11, 1732, O.S., but he has very little the appearance of age, having been all his life-time so exceeding temperate. There is a certain anxiety visible in his countenance with marks of extreme sensibility. . . .

"Mrs. Washington herself made tea and coffee for us. On the table were two small plates of sliced tongue, dry toast, bread and butter, &c. but no broiled fish, as is the general custom. Miss Custis her grand-daughter, a very pleasing young lady, of about sixteen, sat next to her, and her brother George Washington Custis, about two years older than herself. There was but little appearance of form: one servant only attended, who had no livery; a silver urn for hot water, was the only article of expence on the table. She appears something older than the President, though, I understand, they were both born in the same year; short in stature, rather robust; very plain in her dress, wearing a very plain cap, with her grey hair closely turned up under it. She has routs or levees (whichever the people chuses to call them) every Wednesday and Saturday at Philadelphia, during the sitting of Congress. But the Anti-federalists object even to these, as tending to give a super-eminency, and introductory to the paraphernalia of courts."—WANSEY.

SUNDAY, JUNE 15.

At Philadelphia: "If nothing, unforeseen by me at present, intervenes to prevent it, I shall leave this city for Mount Vernon the day after tomorrow; (tuesday) but as





the weather is warm, my horses fat and out of exercise, and I may have occasion to stop a day on the road, it is not probable I shall reach home before Sunday or Monday next."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 17.

Leaves Philadelphia: "June 19.—The President left this city on Tuesday [June 17], on a visit to his seat in Virginia."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser.*

"Baltimore, June 19.—At five o'clock this afternoon I reached this place, and shall proceed in the morning."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall endeavour to be back by the time I allotted before I left Philadelphia, if I am able; but an exertion to save myself and horse from falling among the rocks at the Lower Falls of the Potomac, whither I went on Sunday morning [June 22] to see the canal and locks, has wrenched my back in such a manner as to prevent my riding; and hitherto has defeated the purposes for which I came home. My stay here will only be until I can ride with ease and safety, whether I accomplish my own business or not."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

MONDAY, JUNE 30.

At Mount Vernon: "I expect to leave this place on Thursday [July 3] for Philadelphia; and if, upon inquiry at Georgetown, I should find the upper road the smoothest and best, I shall proceed by it."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

MONDAY, JULY 7.

At Philadelphia: "July 9.—Monday afternoon [July 7] the President of the United States arrived in town from the southward."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser.*



"*Philadelphia*, July 13.—I arrived in this City myself on Monday [July 7]; made rather worse by my journey, and a wetting I got on the Road on Saturday; having travelled all day through a constant Rain. . . . P. S Mrs. Washington desires you will send her by the first Vessel to this place one doz<sup>n</sup> of the best Hams, and half a doz<sup>n</sup> Midlings of Bacon.—Weigh the whole and send me the Account of it."—*Washington to William Pearce*.

THURSDAY, JULY 10.

At Philadelphia: "*July 10*.—I waited on Mr. Randolph, who immediately accompanied me and introduced me to the President of the United States. He said little or nothing to me upon the subject of the business on which I am to be sent [as Resident Minister to the United Netherlands]. All his directions and intentions on this head I am to receive through the medium of his Ministers. I dined with him General and Mrs. Knox, Mr. Randolph and Mr. Bradford were there, and also Mrs. R. Morris."—*Diary of John Quincy Adams*.

"*July 11*.—By the invitation of the President, I attended the reception he gave to *Piomingo* and a number of other Chickasaw Indians. Five Chiefs, seven Warriors, four boys and an interpreter constituted the Company. As soon as the whole were seated the ceremony of smoking began. A large East Indian pipe was placed in the middle of the Hall. The tube which appeared to be of leather, was twelve to fifteen feet in length. The President began and after two or three whiffs, passed the tube to *Piomingo*; he to the next chief, and so all round . . . When it was finished, the President addressed them in a speech which he read, stopping at the close of every sentence for the interpreter to translate it . . . *Piomingo* then desired he might be excused from giving his talks at this time, being very unwell, but promised to give them in a few days. They then made several inquiries respecting the Cherokees who have recently been here.<sup>1</sup> Their questions discovered a mixture of curiosity and animosity. These two nations are at war, and the Chickasaws spoke of the others as perfidious people. The *fides punica* it seems is not confined to civilized nations.

"The informal conversation was held while wine, punch and cake were

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<sup>1</sup> "*June 7*.—Yesterday arrived here in the brig *Fame*, Capt. Hunt, eight days from Charleston, twenty-one Indian Chiefs, or head warriors, of the Cherokee nation, deputed by that nation to treat with the President of the United States. They were conducted from the place of landing to the accommodations provided for them by the directions of the Governor of this State."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.





carrying round . . . These formalities employed about an hour ; after which they rose, shook hands with us all, and departed."—*Diary of John Quincy Adams.*

SUNDAY, JULY 20.

At Philadelphia: "I know of no pursuit in which more real & important service can be rendered to any Country, than by improving its agriculture—its breed of useful animals—and other branches of a husband-mans cares."—*Washington to Sir John Sinclair.*

WEDNESDAY, JULY 30.

At Germantown: "*August 3.*—I removed to this place on Wednesday last [July 30], in order to avoid the heat of the City of Philadelphia.—It is probable I shall remain here until about the middle of September."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

At Germantown: Issues a proclamation warning the insurgents in the western parts of Pennsylvania to desist from their opposition to the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills.

In this proclamation, after briefly stating the doings of the insurgents, the measures thus far pursued by the government, and the principal points of the law which authorized force to be employed against insurrectionary movements, the President expressed the opinion that the time had come when it was necessary to call out the militia for this purpose ; and the insurgents were warned that, unless they should disperse before the 1st of September, the law would be put in execution. In pursuance thereof a requisition was issued for raising 12,950 of the militia,<sup>1</sup> to be held in readiness to march at a moment's warning: Pennsylvania, 5200 ; New Jersey, 2100 ; Maryland, 2350 ; Virginia, 3300. The militia were called out on the 2d of September, and the President, in a proclamation of the 25th of the month, expressed his satisfaction at learning of their patriotic alacrity in obeying the call, and that a force, which, according to every reasonable expectation, was adequate to the exigency, was already in motion to the scene of disaffection.

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<sup>1</sup> This requisition was afterward augmented to fifteen thousand.



SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Germantown: "I will undertake without the gift of prophecy, to predict, that it will be impossible to keep this country in a state of amity with Great Britain long, if the posts are not surrendered. A knowledge of these being my sentiments would have little weight, I am persuaded, with the British administration, and perhaps not with the nation in effecting the measure; but both may rest satisfied that, if they want to be in peace with this country, and to enjoy the benefits of its trade, to give up the posts is the only road to it. Withholding them, and consequences we feel at present continuing, war will be inevitable."—*Washington to John Jay*, at London.

It was stipulated in Article VII. of the definitive treaty of peace of September 3, 1783, that the British government should with all convenient speed withdraw its armies from every post, place, and harbour within the United States. The troops, however, had not as yet been withdrawn from the posts of Mackinaw, Detroit, Fort Erie, Niagara, Oswego, Oswegatchie (on the St. Lawrence), and Port-au-fer and Dutchman's Point on Lake Champlain. It was the opinion of the President that all the difficulties with the Indians were the result of the conduct of the British agents protected by these frontier posts. They endeavored to remove friendly tribes over the line, and also to keep those who were hostile to the United States in a state of irritation; and they also furnished the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions to carry on the war. From these facts came the positive conviction (expressed in the above-quoted letter) that without their surrender a state of amity with Great Britain could not long be continued. The surrender of these posts, thus urged by Washington, was incorporated in Article II. of the "Jay Treaty," concluded at London, October 25, 1795, it being stipulated that His Majesty should withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace with the United States; this evacuation was to take place on or before the first day of June, 1796.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14.

At Germantown: "Love is a mighty pretty thing, but like all other delicious things it is cloying; and when the first transport of the passion begins to subside, which it assuredly will do, and yield—oftentimes too late—to more sober reflections, it serves to evince, that love is too dainty





a food to live upon *alone*, and ought not to be considered further than as a necessary ingredient for that matrimonial happiness which results from a combination of causes; none of which are of greater importance than that the object on whom it is placed should possess good sense,—good dispositions,—and the means of supporting you in the way you have been brought up, and who, at the same time, has a claim to the respect of the circle in which he moves.”—*Washington to Eliza Parke Custis.*

Eliza Parke Custis, to whom this letter was addressed, was the eldest child of John Parke Custis, the son of Mrs. Washington, who died in November, 1781. At the date of the letter she was living at Hope Park, Fairfax County, Virginia, with her mother, who had married Dr. David Stuart, their former residence having been at Abingdon. Miss Custis married (March 21, 1796) Thomas Law, who had been chief of a large district in Bengal. In England his family was opulent and distinguished. Her sister Martha Parke Custis married (January 6, 1795), at the age of seventeen, Thomas Peter, son of Richard Peter, of Georgetown, Maryland. The two younger children, Eleanor Parke and George Washington Parke Custis, were brought up at Mount Vernon, as has been previously stated.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Philadelphia: “*September 21.*—We left our Quarters at German Town yesterday, and are again fixed in this City.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

The President occupied the same house at Germantown in 1794 as in the previous year. Under date of September 24, 1794, the following entry occurs in his Cash Book: “Isaac Franks in Full for House rent &c at Germ town p<sup>r</sup> rect.—201.60.”

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28.

At Philadelphia: “I leave this on Tuesday for Carlisle, where I shall (from the information I expect to receive from the Insurgent Counties of this state) be better enabled to determine whether I shall proceed on with the Troops, than I can do here.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

Leaves Philadelphia: “*September 30.*—Having determined from the Report of the Commissioners, who were appointed



to meet the Insurgents in the Western Counties in the State of Pennsylvania, and from other circumstances—to repair to the places appointed for the Rendezvous, of the Militia of New Jersey Pennsylvania Maryland & Virginia; I left the City of Philadelphia about half past ten o'clock this forenoon accompanied by Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton (Secretary of the Treasury) and my private Secretary [Bartholomew Dandridge].<sup>1</sup>—Dined at Norris Town and lodged at a place called the Trap—the first 17, and the latter 25 miles from Philadelphia.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“At Norris Town we passed a detachment of Militia who were preparing to March for the Rendezvous at Carlisle—and at the Trap late in the evening, we were overtaken by Major [John] Stagg principal Clerk in the Department of War with letters from Gen<sup>l</sup> Wayne & the Western Army containing official & pleasing accounts of his engagement [August 20th] with the Indians near the British Post at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake—and of his having destroyed all the Indian Settlements on that River in the Vicinity of the said Post quite up to the grand Glaize—the quantity not less than 5000 Acres—and the Stores &c of Col<sup>o</sup> McGlee [M'Kee] the British Agent of Indian Affairs a mile or two from the Garrison.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Reading, Pennsylvania: “October 1.—Left the Trap early, and breakfasting at Pottsgrove 11 Miles we reached Reading to Dinner 19 miles farther where we found several detachm<sup>ts</sup> of Infantry & Cavalry preparing for their March to Carlisle.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“October 2.—An accident happening to one of my horses, occasion<sup>d</sup> my setting out later than was intended—I got off in time, however, to make a halt (to bait my horses) at Womelsdorps [Womelsdorf] 14 miles and to view the Canal from Myerstown towards Lebanon—and the Locks between the two places; which (four adjoining each other, in the dissent from the

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<sup>1</sup>“September 30.—That great and good man General Washington, President of the United States, set out from his house on Market Street, with Secretary Hamilton on his left and his Private Secretary on his right, to head the troops called out to quell the insurrection to the westward.”—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.





Summit ground along the Tulpihockin; built of Brick;) appeared admirably constructed.—Reached Lebanon at Night, 28 miles.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3.

At Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania: “October 3.—Breakfasted at Humels T[own]. 14 M and dined and lodged at Harrisburgh on the Banks of the Susquehanna 23 miles from Lebanon.

“At Harrisburgh we found the first Regiment of New Jersey (about 560 strong) comm<sup>d</sup> by Col<sup>o</sup> Turner drawn out to receive me—passed along the line, to my Quarters—and after dinner walked through and round the Town which is considerable for its age (of about 8 or 9 years)—The Susquehanna at this place abounds in the Rock fish of 12 or 15 Inches in length & a fish which they call Salmon.”—*Washington's Diary*.

“Harrisburgh, October 6.—On Friday last [October 3], the president of the United States arrived in this town. The pleasure excited, in beholding, for the first time, our beloved chief, in this borough, is not easily described. An address was delivered to him, by the burgesses, in behalf of the inhabitants of the town, which he was pleased to answer.”—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 16.

#### SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4.

At Carlisle, Pennsylvania: “October 4.—Forded the Susquehanna; nearly a mile wide, including the Island. At the lower end of w<sup>ch</sup> the road crosses it. On the Cumberland side I found a detachment of the Philadelphia light horse ready to receive, and escort me to Carlisle 17 miles; where I arrived about 11 O'clock.—two miles short of it, I met the Governors of Pennsylvania [Thomas Mifflin] & New Jersey [Richard Howell] with all the Cavalry that had Rendezvoused at that place drawn up—passed them—and the Infantry of Pennsylvania before I alighted at my quarters.”—*Washington's Diary*.



" *Carlisle*, October 8.—On Saturday last [October 4] the President of the United States arrived here. Every exertion was made by the respectable army now encamped, and by the inhabitants of this place to receive him with that respect correspondent to those sentiments of attachment and veneration, with which every good man and patriot had been long impressed. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Jersey, at the head of their respective equadrans of horse, and the friends of government inhabitants of this town, met him at some distance from the borough. The President was escorted by a detachment of Philadelphia horse, who left the camp at three o'clock in the morning of that day, and who arrived at the river as he had just passed it. He was accompanied by Secretary Hamilton, and his private secretary Mr. Dandridge. This grand procession passed through the borough to the camp. Here the horse formed on the right and left wings of the army, drawn up in martial order, and forming a line the most respectable ever perhaps before displayed. Besides the great mass of respectable yeomanry, there might be seen as private troopers some of the principal officers of the state government, members of the senate and house of representatives of Pennsylvania, officers who had commanded regiments in the continental service, merchants of the most respectable characters and fortunes, lawyers of eminent talents and property. Amongst the infantry as volunteer soldiers, there are young gentlemen of the first families in the respective states. Some of them men of great opulence, and a number of them of consequence in the commercial world.

"The line was composed of the cavalry before mentioned, a regiment of artillery with 16 pieces, with the infantry from various parts of Pennsylvania, amounting in the whole to near three thousand men beautifully equipped, and all in handsome uniforms. The army was reviewed by the President who appeared to enjoy the utmost satisfaction at the illustrious display of patriotic exertion; he remarked, as we are informed, that he had never beheld a more respectable body of troops, and some gentlemen who had been American officers in the late war with Great Britain, admitted that they had never seen at any period of the war so strong and fine a body of cavalry. In the evening the court house in this borough was illuminated by the federal citizens, and a transparency exhibited with the following inscriptions in large illuminated characters—in the front of the transparency, 'WASHINGTON IS EVER TRIUMPHANT.' On one side, 'THE REIGN OF THE LAWS;' on the other side, 'WOE TO AN-ARCHISTS.'"—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 17.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At *Carlisle*: "October 5.—Went to the Presbyterian Meeting and heard Doct<sup>r</sup> Davidson Preach a political Sermon, commendatory of order & good government; and the excellence of that of the United States."—*Washington's Diary*.





"October 6th<sup>1</sup> to October 12.—Employed in organizing the several detachments, which had come in from different Counties of this State, in a very disjointed & loose manner;—or rather I ought to have said in urging & assisting Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin to do it; as I no otherwise took the command of the Troops than to press them forward, and to provide them with necessaries for their March, as well, & as far, as our means would admit.—To effect these purposes, I appointed General [Edward] Hand adjutant General on the 7th. On the 9th William Findlay and David Redick—deputed by the Committee of Safety (as it is designated) which met on the 2d of this month at Parkinson's Ferry [now Monongahela City] arrived in Camp with the Resolutions of the said Committee;—and to give information of the State of things in the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania to wit—Washington Fayette West<sup>d</sup> [Westmoreland] & Allegany in order to see if it would prevent the March of the Army into them.—At 10 o'clock I had a meeting with these persons in the presence of Gov<sup>r</sup> Howell (of New Jersey) the Secretary of the Treasury. Col<sup>o</sup> Hamilton, & Mr Dandridge:—Gov<sup>r</sup> Mifflin was invited to be present, but excused himself on Acc<sup>t</sup> of business. . . . On the 10<sup>th</sup> the light & legionary Corps under the immediate Command of Maj<sup>r</sup> [William] McPherson—The Jersey Regiment & Guirneys [Colonel Francis Gurney] from Philadelphia, commenced their March under the orders of Governor Howell; and the day following the whole body of Cavalry (except the three Troops of Phil<sup>a</sup> Horse commanded by Capt<sup>a</sup> [John] Dunlap, as part of the legion above mentioned) under Gen<sup>l</sup> White<sup>2</sup>—a new formed Corp of Independant uniform Companies under & several other Corps under the Command of Gov<sup>r</sup> Mifflin Marched all for the Rendezvous at Bedford."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12.

At Chambersburg, Pennsylvania: "October 12.—Having settled these matters; seen the Troops off, as before mentioned; given them their Rout & days Marching; and left Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> [William] Irvine to organize the remainder of the Pennsylvania detachments as they might come in, & to March them & the Jersey Troops on when refreshed,—I set out from Carlisle about 7 oclock this Morning—dined at Shippensburg 21 miles & lodged at Chambersburgh 11 m. further where I was joined by the Adg<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Hand."—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> On Monday, October 6, a number of the principal inhabitants of Carlisle presented the President with an address, which he answered.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony W. White, Adjutant-General of New Jersey.



MONDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Williamsport, Maryland: "October 13.—Breakfasted at Greencastle [Pennsylvania] 10 Miles, & lodged at Williamsport, 14 Miles further."—*Washington's Diary*.

"Williamsport, October 14.—With pleasure we announce to the public, that the President of the United States arrived here last evening, in good health—his presence made every heart rejoice, and beat high with affection and gratitude—last night every window was illuminated—Early this morning he set out for Cumberland."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 25.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14.

At Bath, Virginia: "October 14.—About Seven oclock, or half after it, we left Williamsport; and travelling up, on the Maryland side of the River, we breakfasted at one — 13 miles on our way—& crossing the Potomac a mile or two below Hancock Town lodged at the Warm Springs; or Bath [now Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, West Virginia]; 16 miles, from our breakfasting stage—and 29 from Williamsport."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 15.—Left Bath by seven oclock; & crossing the Cacapehon Mountain, and the Potomack River by a very rough Road, we breakfasted at one Goldens—distant about 7 Miles—Bated our horses at a very indifferent place abt 13 Miles further on—and lodged at the old Town 33 or 34 Miles—This distance from the extreme badness of the Road, more than half of it being very hilly, & great part of it Stoney, was a severe days journey for the Carriage horses; they performed it however well."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Cumberland, Maryland: "October 16.—After an early breakfast we set out for Cumberland—and about 11 oclock arrived there.—Three Miles from the Town I was met by a party of Horse under the command of Major [George] Lewis (my Nephew) and by Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> [Samuel] Smith of the Maryland line, who Escorted me to the Camp; where, finding all the Troops under Arms, I passed along the line of the Army; & was conducted to a house the Residence of Major Lynn of the Maryland line (an old Continental Offi-





cer) where I was well lodged & civilly entertained."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 17th & 18th.—Remained at Cumberland, in order to acquire a true knowledge of the strength condition &c of the Troops;—and to see how they were provided, and when they could be got in readiness to proceed.—I found upward of 3200 Men (Officers included) in this encampment; Understood that about 500 more were at a little Village on the Virginia side, 11 Miles distant, called Frankfort, under the command of Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> [Daniel] Morgan; that 700 more had arrived at that place the evening of the 18<sup>th</sup> und<sup>r</sup> Brig<sup>r</sup> Mathews—and 500 More were expected in the course of a few days under Col<sup>o</sup> Page.—and That the whole were well supplied with Prov<sup>ns</sup> Forage & Straw.—Having requested that every thing might be speedily arranged for a forward movement, and a light Corps to be organized for the advance under the command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Morgan, I resolved to proceed to Bedford next morn<sup>g</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 19.

At Bedford, Pennsylvania: "October 19.—In company with Gen<sup>l</sup> [Henry] Lee, who I requested to attend me, that all the arrangements necessary for the Army's crossing the Mount<sup>ns</sup> in two columns might be made;—Their Routs & days Marches fixed, that the whole might move in Unison—and accompanied by the Adjutant General and my own family we set out, ab<sup>t</sup> eight oclock, for Bedford, and making one halt at the distance of 12 Miles, reached it a little after 4 oclock in the afternoon being met a little out of the Encampment by Gov<sup>r</sup> Mifflin Gov<sup>r</sup> Howell—& several other Officers of distinction.—

"Quarters were provided for me at the House of a M<sup>r</sup> [David] Espy, Prothonotary of the County of Bedford—to which I was carried & lodged very comfortably."—*Washington's Diary*.

"October 19.—The Cavalry this morning escorted the President about five miles from [the Cumberland] camp when he requested the Troops to return & taking leave spoke to Major George Lewis as follows: 'George, You are the eldest of five nephews that I have in this Army, let your conduct be an example to them and do not turn your back untill you are ordered.' . . . The Presidents 5 nephews are Major George Lewis, Commandant of the Cavalry. Major Lawrence Lewis Aid de Camp to Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Morgan. Mr. Howell Lewis in Capt Mercer's troop and Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup> Washington (son of Col. Ch's Washington), and Mr. Lawrence Washington (son of



Col. Sam'l Washington) both of whom are light horsemen in the troop lately commanded by Capt. Lewis."—*Diary of Robert Wellford, Surgeon-General.*

# MONDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Bedford: "October 20.—Called the Quarter Master General, Adjutant General, Contractor, & others of the Staff departm<sup>t</sup> before me, & the Commander in chief [Henry Lee], at 9 o'clock this morning, in order to fix on the Rout of the two columns & their stages;—and when they w<sup>d</sup> be able to put the Army in motion.—Also to obtain a correct return of the strength—and to press the commanding Officers of Corps to prepare with all the Celerity in their power for a forward movement.—Upon comparing acc<sup>ts</sup> it was found that the army could be put in motion [on the] 23<sup>d</sup>—and it was so ordered. . . . Matters being thus arranged I wrote a farewell address to the Army through the Commander in chief Gov<sup>r</sup> Lee—to be published in orders—and having prepared his Instructions and made every arrangement that occurred, as necessary I prepared for my return to Philadelphia in order to meet Congress, and to attend to the Civil duties of my Office."—*Washington's Diary.*

# TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21.

Leaves Bedford: "Bedford, October 23.—We understand the President of the United States left Bedford, on his return to Philadelphia, on Tuesday last [October 21]."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 28.

"From Cumberland and Bedford, the army marched in two divisions into the country of the insurgents. As had been foreseen, the greatness of the force prevented the effusion of blood. The disaffected did not venture to assemble in arms. Several of the leaders who had refused to give assurances of future submission to the laws were seized, and some of them detained for legal prosecution. A Mr. Bradford, who, in the latter stages of the insurrection, had manifested a peculiar degree of violence, and had openly advocated the appeal to arms, made his escape into the territories of Spain.

"But although no direct and open opposition was made, the spirit of insurrection was by no means subdued. A sour and malignant temper dis-





played itself, which indicated but too plainly that the disposition to resist had only sunk under the pressure of the great military force brought into the country, but would rise again should that force be suddenly removed. It was, therefore, thought advisable to station for the winter, a detachment, to be commanded by major general Morgan, in the centre of the disaffected country.

"Thus, without shedding a drop of blood, did the prudent vigour of the executive terminate an insurrection which, at one time, threatened to shake the government of the United States to its foundation."—*Marshall's Washington*, Vol. V. p. 589.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26.

At Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna:<sup>1</sup> "Thus far I have proceeded without accident to man horse or carriage, altho' the latter has had wherewith to try its goodness; especially in ascending the North Mountain from Skinners by a wrong road; that is,—by the old road which never was good and is rendered next to impassible by neglect. . . .

"I rode yesterday afternoon thro' the rain from York Town to this place, and got twice in the height of it hung (and delayed by that means) on the rocks in the middle of the Susquehanna . . . I do not intend further than Lancaster to-day.—But on Tuesday, if no accident happens I expect to be landed in the City of Philadelphia."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton*.

#### TUESDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At Philadelphia: "October 29.—Yesterday morning the President of the United States, and his suite arrived in town from Bedford."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"Philadelphia, 31 October.—By pushing through the rain, which fell more or less on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, I arrived in this city before noon on Tuesday, without encountering any accident on the road, or anything more unpleasant than the badness of the ways, after the rains had softened the earth and made them susceptible of a deep impression of the wheels."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton*.

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<sup>1</sup> Now Columbia, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.



THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30.

At Philadelphia: "November 1.—The Chevalier DE FREIRE was on Thursday [October 30] presented by the Secretary of State, to the President, as Minister Resident of Her Most Faithful Majesty [Maria-Frances-Isabella, Queen of Portugal], to the United States of America, and was received as such.

"We also hear that Madam FREIRE was yesterday [October 31] introduced to the President and Mrs. Washington."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Philadelphia: "November 19.—This Day at twelve o'Clock the President of the United States met both Houses of the Legislature, in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, and delivered his Address."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Philadelphia: "November 22.—This day the Senate waited on the President of the United States, and the Vice President in their name presented him with an answer to his speech to both Houses of Congress."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"December 1.—Last Saturday [November 29] at twelve o'clock the House of Representatives of the United States waited on the President with their answer to his speech."—*Idem*.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Philadelphia: "December 4.—We are happy in announcing to the public that the President of the United States means to honor the OLD AMERICAN COMPANY with his presence at the THEATRE this evening."—*The Aurora*.

"Old American Company.—THEATRE.—CEDAR [or South] Street.—LAST NIGHT THIS SEASON.—FOR THE BENEFIT of MR. and MRS. HALLAM.—*This Evening, Thursday, December 4.*—Will be presented, a Comedy, called THE YOUNG QUAKER; or The Fair Phila-





delphian. Written by O'Keefe, and performed in London with the most unbounded applause.—End of the Play (by particular desire) the Pantomime Ballet of the TWO PHILOSOPHERS.—To which will be added, a new Musical Piece, called The CHILDREN in the Wood.—The MUSIC by Dr. Arnold, with additional SONGS by Mr. Carr.—End of the Farce, Mr. Martin will recite Dr. Goldsmith's celebrated Epilogue in the character of Harlequin.—The whole to conclude with a LEAP through A Barrel of FIRE."—*Idem*.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: "*December 11.*—Yesterday returned from the western expedition MACPHERSON's volunteer battalion of blues,<sup>1</sup> headed by their friend general [Frederick] Frelinghuysen, who commanded the legion. At Broad-Street they were received under a discharge of artillery by a detachment which went out for that purpose—from Schuyl-kill they were escorted into the city by Captains [John] Dunlap, [Abraham] Singer, and [Matthew] M'Connell's Horse, in full uniform—their companions in the late truly glorious, successful, and bloodless expedition. . . . As they passed the President's House who was at the door, the band played; the Father of his country, expressed in his countenance, more than can be described."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30.

At Philadelphia: "The considerations, which you have often suggested to me, and which are repeated in your letter of the 28th instant, as requiring your departure from your present office, are such as to preclude the possibility of my urging your continuance in it. This being the case, I can only wish that it was otherwise.

"I cannot suffer you, however, to close your public service, without uniting with the satisfaction, which must

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<sup>1</sup> A special body of volunteers formed for the purpose of assisting in quelling the "Whiskey Insurrection." They were organized into a battalion, and in compliment to their commander, Major William Macpherson, styled themselves "Macpherson Blues." On the threatened war with France, in 1798, the "Blues" were reorganized.



arise in your own mind from a conscious rectitude, my most perfect persuasion, that you have deserved well of your country."—*Washington to Henry Knox.*

Timothy Pickering, at this time Postmaster-General, was appointed to succeed General Knox as Secretary of War on the 2d of January, 1795.

1795.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation appointing Thursday, the nineteenth day of February, as a "Day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "A month from this day, if I should live to see the completion of it, will place me on the wrong (perhaps it would be better to say on the advanced) side of my grand climateric; and although I have no cause to complain of the want of health, I can religiously aver, that no man was ever more tired of public life, or more devoutly wished for retirement than I do."—*Washington to Edmund Pendleton.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 28.

At Philadelphia: "A plan for the establishment of a university in the Federal city has frequently been the subject of conversation; but, in what manner it is proposed to commence this important institution, on how extensive a scale, the means by which it is to be affected, how it is to be supported, or what progress is made in it, are matters altogether unknown to me."—*Washington to the Commissioners of the Federal District.*

In continuing this letter, Washington wrote, "It has always been a source of serious reflection and sincere regret with me, that the youth of the United States, should be sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education. Although there are doubtless many, under these circumstances, who escape the danger of contracting principles unfavorable to republican government, yet we ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and





susceptible minds, from being too strongly and too early prepossessed in favor of other political systems, before they are capable of appreciating their own.

"For this reason I have greatly wished to see a plan adopted, by which the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres could be taught in their fullest extent, thereby embracing all the advantages of European tuition, with the means of acquiring the liberal knowledge, which is necessary to qualify our citizens for the exigencies of public as well as private life; and (which with me is a consideration of great magnitude) by assembling the youth from the different parts of this rising republic, contributing from their intercourse and interchange of information to the removal of prejudices, which might perhaps sometimes arise from local circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 2.

At Philadelphia: "After so long an experience of your public services, I am naturally led at this moment of your departure from office (which it has always been my wish to prevent), to review them. In every relation, which you have borne to me, I have found that my confidence in your talents, exertions, and integrity has been well placed. I the more freely render this testimony of my approbation, because I speak from opportunities of information, which cannot deceive me, and which furnish satisfactory proof of your title to public regard. My most earnest wishes for your happiness will attend you in your retirement."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

Mr. Hamilton resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury on the 31st of January. Oliver Wolcott, Jr., was appointed his successor on the 3d of February.

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

At Philadelphia: Thanksgiving day. Attends Christ Church, Second Street above Market.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The national university in which the first President took so much interest, and towards the endowment of which he bequeathed the fifty shares of the Potomac Company donated to him by the State of Virginia, has not as yet been established. Several attempts, however, have been made to procure the proper legislation, but no positive action by Congress has been taken. The site selected by Washington is now occupied by the National Observatory.

<sup>2</sup> This building, erected 1727-44, is still standing in perfect preservation; present rector, Rev. Charles Ellis Stevens.



"On a thanksgiving day appointed by the President for the suppression of the western insurrection,<sup>1</sup> I preached a sermon in his presence. The subject was the Connection between Religion and Civil Happiness. It was misrepresented in one of our newspapers. This induced the publishing of the sermon,<sup>2</sup> with a dedication to the President, pointedly pleading his proclamation in favour of the connection affirmed. . . .

"The father of our country, whenever in this city [Philadelphia], as well during the revolutionary war as in his Presidency, attended divine service in Christ Church of this city; except during one winter [1781-82]; when, being here for the taking of measures with Congress towards the opening of the next campaign, he rented a house<sup>3</sup> near St. Peter's Church [Third and Pine Streets], then in parochial union with Christ Church. During that season, he attended regularly at St. Peter's. His behaviour was always serious and attentive; but as your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to truth to declare, that I never saw him in the said attitude. During his Presidency, our vestry provided him with a pew, ten yards in front of the reading desk. It was habitually occupied by himself, by Mrs. Washington, who was regularly a communicant, and by his secretaries."—*William White to the Rev B. B. C. Parker*, November 28, 1832.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20.

At Philadelphia: "*February 20.*—Cash paid M<sup>r</sup> John Greenwood of the City of New York in full for his services as Dentist to the present date, viz. 60 Dollars, sent by Post in B. Notes."—*Washington's Cash Book*.

This early practitioner of dentistry in America was the son of Isaac Greenwood, of Boston, the first to follow the profession in that city. He

<sup>1</sup>This was not a thanksgiving day appointed especially for the suppression of the Western or Whiskey Insurrection; but was the date named in the President's proclamation of January 1, for a "Day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer," in which mention was made of the "seasonable controul which has been given to a spirit of disorder in the suppression of the late insurrection."

<sup>2</sup>"A Sermon on the Reciprocal Influences of Civil Policy and Religious Duty. Delivered in Christ Church, in the City of Philadelphia, on Thursday, the 19th of February, 1795, Being a day of General Thanksgiving. By William White, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: March 2, 1795." 8vo, pp. 36.

<sup>3</sup>No. 110 South Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets. This house, which at the time was the property of Benjamin Chew, was taken down about 1830. The house which now stands on the site is known as No. 242 South Third Street.





enlisted at the early age of fifteen in the Revolutionary army, was in the battle of Bunker Hill, and served in the expedition to Canada under General Arnold. He was also at the battle of Trenton, and afterward entered the naval privateer service, in which he remained until the close of the war. Mr. Greenwood then settled in New York, and became known as a successful dentist; he has the reputation of being the first in the United States to strike up a gold plate to serve as a base for artificial teeth, without a knowledge of it ever having been done before that time, 1799.

John Greenwood, however, is best known as being the dentist of the first President, his services beginning at New York in 1789, at which time he constructed for him a complete set of teeth, including both upper and lower jaw. The entire upper portion was carved from a piece of sea-horse or hippopotamus tusk; into the lower portion, worked out of the same material, human teeth were inserted and fixed permanently by means of gold pivots. He afterward constructed other sets for the President.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23.

At Philadelphia: "*February 24.*—Sunday last [February 22] was the Birth-day of the President of the United States, when he entered into the *Sixty-Fourth* year of his age. The Auspicious Anniversary was yesterday celebrated with every expression of respect becoming the Members of a Free Republic towards the Father of his Country. The Members of both Houses of Congress—Foreign Ministers—the Reverend Clergy, and other Citizens, and respectable Foreigners, assembled at the House of the President, to offer their congratulations.

"At noon, a Federal salute was fired by a detachment of the Artillery—immediately after both Branches of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, preceded by the Governor, the President of the Senate [William Bingham], and Speaker of the House of Representatives [George Latimer], the Officers of the Militia—and the Members of the Cincinnati, went in procession from the State House, escorted by a Military Corps, to the House of the President of the United States—to present their felicitations on the occasion."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"*February 26.*—On Monday last [February 23] the anniversary of the President's birth was celebrated. The artillery announced the dawning of the day by a federal salute. In the morning the President was waited on



by Congress, the Cincinnati, and a vast number of citizens. In the evening he attended at a ball and supper given in honour of the day, by the City Dancing Assembly. The rooms were crowded by a brilliant assemblage of the Fair of the metropolis. Near 150 ladies, and nearly twice the number of citizens were present. A greater display of beauty and elegance no country, we believe, could ever boast of. Most of the foreign Ministers attended with their ladies.

"After the supper the President gave the following toast: 'The Dancing Assembly of Philadelphia—May the members thereof, and the Fair who honour it with their presence, long continue in the enjoyment of an amusement so innocent and agreeable.'"—*Idem*.

"The President's birth-day was celebrated with uncommon zeal and attachment, and I never saw him in better health and spirits. The crowds of gentlemen that waited on him in the day were innumerable, and in the Assembly at night it was scarcely possible to move. I came off a little after eight, having business of great importance to attend to, and indeed the room was much too crowded to be comfortable."—*James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell*, February 26.

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

At Philadelphia: "*February 28, 1795.*—I received [February 24] an invitation by my father from Mrs. Washington to visit her, and Col. [Thomas] Hartley politely offered to accompany me to the next drawing-room levee.

"On this evening my dress was white brocade silk, trimmed with silver, and white silk, high-heeled shoes, embroidered with silver, and a light blue sash, with silver cord and tassel tied at the left side. My watch was suspended at the right, and my hair was in its natural curls. Surmounting all was a small white hat and white ostrich-feather, confined by brilliant band and buckle. Punctual to the moment, Col. Hartley, in his chariot, arrived. He brought with him Dr. Price, from England, who has sought America as an asylum, having given some political umbrage to his own government.

"The hall, stairs, and drawing-room of the President's house were lighted by lamps and chandeliers. Mrs. Washington, with Mrs. Knox, sat near the fire-place. Other ladies were seated on sofas, and gentlemen stood in the centre of the room conversing. On our approach, Mrs. Washington arose and made a courtesy—the gentlemen





bowed most profoundly—and I calculated my declension to her own with critical exactness. The President soon after, with that benignity peculiarly his own, advanced, and I arose to receive and return his compliments with the respect and love my heart dictated. He seated himself beside me, and inquired for my father, a severe cold having detained him at home.”—*Charlotte Chambers to Mrs. James Chambers.*

Charlotte Chambers, the writer of the above-quoted letter, was the daughter of General James Chambers, of the Pennsylvania line, and granddaughter of Benjamin Chambers, the founder of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. She married Israel Ludlow in November, 1796. In a subsequent letter, dated March 11, also to her mother, referring to a visit paid her by Mrs. Washington, she writes, “On taking leave, she [Mrs. Washington] observed a portrait of the President hanging over the fire-place, and said ‘she had never seen a correct likeness of General Washington. The only merit the numerous portraits of him possessed was their resemblance to each other.’”

Miss Chambers was also present at the birth-night ball, February 23, of which, in a letter dated the 25th, she gives her mother the following description:<sup>1</sup> “Dr. Rodman,<sup>2</sup> master of ceremonies, met us at the door, and conducted us to Mrs. Washington. She half arose as we made our passing compliments. She was dressed in a rich silk, but entirely without ornament, except the animation her amiable heart gives to her countenance. Next her were seated the wives of the foreign ambassadors, glittering from the floor to the summit of their headdress. One of the ladies wore three large ostrich-feathers. Her brow was encircled by a sparkling fillet of diamonds; her neck and arms were almost covered with jewels, and two watches were suspended from her girdle, and all reflecting the light from a hundred directions. Such superabundance of ornament struck me as injudicious; we look too much at the gold and pearls to do justice to the lady. However, it may not be in conformity to their individual taste thus decorating themselves, but to honor the country they represent.

“The seats were arranged like those of an amphitheatre, and cords were stretched on each side of the room, about three feet from the floor, to preserve sufficient space for the dancers. We were not long seated when General Washington entered, and bowed to the ladies as he passed round the room. ‘He comes, he comes, the hero comes!’ I involuntarily but softly exclaimed. When he bowed to me, I could scarcely resist the im-

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<sup>1</sup> These letters are printed in a volume published at Philadelphia in 1856, entitled, “Memoir of Charlotte Chambers, by her Grandson Louis H. Garrard.”

<sup>2</sup> Query, Dr. Thomas Redman.



pulse of my heart, that almost burst through my bosom, to meet him. The dancing soon after commenced."

# MONDAY, MARCH 9.<sup>1</sup>

At Philadelphia: "I am directed by the President of the United States to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., and that of the present day;—and to express to you his regret at your despair of bringing your plan of a national monument to a fortunate issue."—*Bartholomew Dandridge to Giuseppe Ceracchi.*

Giuseppe Ceracchi, an Italian sculptor, a pupil of Canova, came to this country in 1791. He sought the aid of Congress in the erection of a monument to the American Revolution, but that body did not favor the design. Ceracchi modelled a bust of Washington from life in 1792, which, although rather severe in style, is claimed to be an admirable representation of the man. The mouth is particularly remarkable for its fidelity of expression. This bust is owned by the estate of the late Gouverneur Kemble of New York. He also repeated it in colossal size. Ceracchi returned to Europe in 1795, and was executed in 1802, for a supposed connection with an attempt to assassinate Napoleon.

# SUNDAY, MARCH 29.

At Philadelphia: "*March 30.*—I dined yesterday with the President. He was in fine health and spirits, and so were Mrs. Washington and the whole family. There is now there an elderly sister of Miss Custis's [Eliza Parke Custis] not so handsome as herself, but she seems to be very agreeable."—*James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell.*

# THURSDAY, APRIL 2.

At Philadelphia: "*April 2.*—We dined to-day with the President and Mrs. Washington, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, the Chevalier and Madame Frere (who is truly an elegant woman) Don Philip Jaudennes and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Van Berckel, Mr. and Mrs. Randolph, Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> "*March 9.*—At four o'clock with the Speaker and twenty-two members of the [Pennsylvania] House [of Representatives], dined with President Washington. He was exceedingly affable to all."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*





and Mrs. Wolcott, Mr. and Mrs. Pinckney, and Mr. and Mrs. Coxe. Madame Frere and Madame Jaudennes were brilliant with diamonds."—*Mrs. William Cushing to —*.

#### TUESDAY, APRIL 14.

Leaves Philadelphia: "April 16.—On Tuesday [April 14] the President of the United States set out from this city for his seat at Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"Tuesday, April 14.—Left Phil<sup>a</sup>. for Mt. V. reached Wilmington. April 15.—Reached Rogers Susq<sup>a</sup>. April 16.—Baltimore. April 17.—Bladensburgh. April 18.—George Town. April 19.—Mount Vernon and remained there until the 26<sup>th</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, APRIL 26.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "April 26.—Came to George Town. April 27.—In the federal city. April 28.—Arrived at Bladensburgh. April 29.—Baltimore. April 30.—Rogers's—Susquehanna. May 1.—Came to Wilmington. May 2.—Arrived at Philadelphia."—*Washington's Diary*.

"Philadelphia 4<sup>th</sup> May.—I arrived in this city on Saturday [May 2] at noon."—*Washington to William Pearce*.

#### MONDAY, MAY 4.

At Philadelphia: "I intended, but forgot when I was at Mount Vernon, to measure the size of the picture frames in the parlour; which contains my picture<sup>1</sup>—Mrs. Washington—and the two child<sup>r</sup>. I wish you to do it, and send me the account in your next letter. Measure the frames (I believe they are all of a size) from out to out; and then

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<sup>1</sup> The three-quarter-length representing Washington in the costume of a colonel in the Virginia militia, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon, in May, 1772, the first original portrait of the Pater Patriæ. George Washington Parke Custis, referring to this portrait in his "Recollections," says, "This splendid and most interesting picture formed the principal ornament of the parlor at Mount Vernon for twenty-seven years." The picture is now owned by General George W. C. Lee; the original study for the head is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



on the inside, where they show the Canvas, or picture."—  
*Washington to William Pearce.*

SUNDAY, MAY 10.

At Philadelphia: "I am sorry to find by your last reports that there has been two deaths in the family since I left Mount Vernon; and one of them a young fellow.—I hope every necessary care and attention was afforded him.—I expect little of this from McKoy [an overseer],—or indeed from most of his class; for they seem to consider a Negro much in the same light as they do the brute beasts, on the farms; and often treat them as inhumanly."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

MONDAY, JUNE 8.

At Philadelphia: "*June 9.*—I dined yesterday in the family way with the President . . . The whole family made the usual inquiries concerning you and sent you the usual compliments."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

TUESDAY, JUNE 16.

At Philadelphia: "*June 18.*—Mr. Adet was presented to the President on Tuesday [June 16], and, accompanied by the Secretary of State made me a visit immediately after his audience. I was not at home, but in Senate. On Wednesday morning I returned his visit at Oeller's hotel."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

Pierre Auguste Adet succeeded M. Fauchet as Minister from France to the United States. In 1797 he broke off diplomatic relations, presenting the note of the Directory declaring that France would treat neutrals as they allowed themselves to be treated by the English. Before returning to his own country he issued an address to the American people intended to inflame them against the policy of their government.

(To be continued.)





DIARY OF LIEUTENANT FRANCIS NICHOLS, OF  
COLONEL WILLIAM THOMPSON'S BATTALION OF  
PENNSYLVANIA RIFLEMEN, JANUARY TO SEP-  
TEMBER, 1776.

CONTRIBUTED BY THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY.

[The diary of Lieutenant Francis Nichols, which he kept while a prisoner of war, is preceded by his account of the unsuccessful assault on Quebec by the combined forces of Montgomery and Arnold, December 31, 1775, in which he was captured. This account was written on "February 9, 1776, in the Seminary at Quebec," where he was confined with other American officers. Lieutenant Nichols entered the Continental service as second lieutenant of Captain William Hendrick's company; was transferred to the First Pennsylvania Line; was commissioned captain, to date from January 1, 1776; and left the service as major of the Ninth Regiment of the Line. After the war he was appointed the first United States marshal for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and died at Pottstown, Montgomery County, February 13, 1812.]

*December 31, 1775.*—The American army made the attack on the City of Quebec. General Montgomery with his army attacked at a place called the Potasse, close by the river St. Lawrence; Col. Arnold and his detachment, composed of the troops that marched with him through the Wilderness, attacked on the opposite side at St. Roque. They marched at five o'clock in the morning and took with them a brass field piece to aid in forcing the barriers, but the snow being deep and the road unbroken, they were forced to leave it behind, after being detained for some time in striving to bring it forward. At half after five the attack began and in a few minutes they were in possession of the first barrier, and captured two pieces of cannon. Here Col. Arnold was wounded through the leg by a musket ball, which prevented his proceeding further. The troops continued to advance and captured the first guard which consisted of thirty men. The main body of the



army got broke in striving to bring up the cannon and unfortunately missed the road, their guide being wounded, and the morning being dark, owing to the heavy snow storm, they were forced to countermarch under a heavy fire from the ramparts. Capt. Hendricks having command of the main guard, was in the rear, but he pressed to the front and joined Captains Morgan, Lamb and Lieutenants Steele and Nichols, and attacked the second barrier. Gen. Montgomery being in the advance, had the pickets cut down and passed through. The enemy hearing him encouraging his men, deserted their posts, and threw down their arms, believing that all was over, as Col. Arnold's detachment had possession of the second barrier. A drunken sailor swore he would fire one shot before he would retreat, went to a gun loaded with grape shot, and with a match fired it off, and unfortunately for us killed the brave Montgomery, Capt. Cheesman and Capt. Macpherson his aid de camps. Col. Campbell who usurped the command (for his rank was quartermaster) ordered a retreat. If Col. Campbell had advanced and joined Col. Arnold's troops, he would have met with little opposition, as the citizens had thrown down their arms and we had made numbers of regulars prisoners. When they found that Montgomery's army was retreating, the citizens were prevailed upon to secure fresh arms from the magazine, and as it became light our small number was discovered and they sallied out of the Palace gate after us. Had Col. Campbell advanced, this movement would have been prevented and our success insured. But we held our ground for near four hours under great disadvantages, our guns were getting wet and many of them thus rendered useless. We sustained a heavy fire in our front, right flank and rear. The enemy attempted to turn four guns on us, from a battery within sixty yards of us, when Col. Green ordered a heavy fire on them to prevent it, but from a volley of musketry a ball went through Capt. Hendricks' left breast and he expired in a few minutes; Capt. Lamb received a wound in his left cheek, which he requested Lieut. Nichols to tie up with a





black handkerchief he took from his stock. Our rear guard were forced to surrender to the troops which sallied from the Palace gate, and we with the greatest reluctance were forced to lay down our arms, although we had decided to make a stand until night, and if not joined by Gen. Montgomery to retreat. We did not then know of his fall. Lieutenants Cooper and Humphreys fell in the engagement, Capt. Hubbard was wounded in the heel and died shortly after, and Lieut. Steele had two of his fingers shot off. Our detachment numbered between four and five hundred, there were sixty killed and many wounded. We were treated with the greatest humanity; Gen. Carleton allowed us to send for clothing and money. We were confined in the Seminary, thirty two officers in one room, 31 by 27 feet. Some of the New England officers not having had the small pox, petitioned the General for permission to be inoculated, which he granted and assigned them a separate room; and they were allowed to walk in the entry two at a time for fresh air and exercise. We were shortly after deprived of some privileges, and pens and paper, and were moved about the building to prevent our escaping. Their fears were not ill-grounded, as we were determined should an attack be made on the city to rush out, disarm the guards, set our men at liberty and seize the arms in the magazines, while their troops were on the ramparts.

*March 10, 1776.*—I was removed to the Hôtel Dieu, sick of the Scarlet Fever, and placed under the care of the Mother Abbess, where I had fresh provisions and good attendance. For several nights the nuns sat up with me, four at a time every two hours. Here I feigned myself sick after I had recovered, for fear of being sent back to the Seminary to join my fellow officers, and I was not discharged until I acknowledged that I was well. When I think of my captivity, I shall never forget the time spent among the nuns, who treated me with so much humanity. Dr Maybin informed me that wood was so scarce in the city, that they were compelled to pull down houses in order to obtain the timber for fuel.



*May 30.*—To our great satisfaction we were supplied with fresh provisions, which were much wanted, as we had lived so long on salt pork, much of it tainted, and our health had suffered.<sup>1</sup>

*June 22.*—Mr. Murray<sup>2</sup> informed us of the battle of Three Rivers—that the British troops had just time to land before Gen. [William] Thompson hove in sight, and that if the General had been one hour sooner, he would have carried the post.

*June 25.*—Gen. Thompson, Col. [William] Irvine, and the general's aid de camp, with twenty five privates, were sent down the river on the schooner Mary, and were not suffered to see us.

*June 28.*—The Bishop and merchants of the city sub-

<sup>1</sup> [The following petition of Colonel Green and his fellow-prisoners-of-war confined in the "Seminary," the letter to Captain Foy, of August 2, and the parole of Lieutenant Abdiel McAllister, of August 3, 1776, are kindly contributed by Mr. James H. McAllister.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY—

"Impressed with a just sense of your Excellency's Humanity and Benevolence and urged by the peculiarity of our present disagreeable Situation being Destitute of both friends and money we beg leave to request that your Excellency will condescend to take our case into Consideration and grant us relief by permitting us to return to our respective homes on our Parole which we shall ever Deem sacred assuring your Excellency that we shall make it a point to Surrender ourselves to any of his Majst<sup>y</sup> Officers when and where your Excellency may think proper to direct.

"Being likewise sensibly touched with the deplorable state of our men who remain at present we take the liberty to recommend them to your Excellency's consideration earnestly soliciting that some measures may be taken for their relief, and we should be certainly happy if they could possibly return to their Families many of whom must be reduced to the greatest Distress.

"Your Excellency's compliance will be esteemed a singular favor and ever gratefully acknowledged by Your Excellency's most O<sup>b</sup>d and humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>s.

CHRISTOPHER GREEN

"and 33 others—

"SEMINARY June 6, 1776

"GENL. CARLETON."

<sup>2</sup> Major Murray, of the garrison.

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scribed a sum of money for our relief, but our pride would not allow us to accept it. When the Lieutenant Governor heard of it he was much displeased, as he was fearful that the news would get to England that we had so many friends in the city.

*July 2.*—For sometime past we have had the privilege of walking in the Bishop's garden and to the wall, where we had a prospect of the shipping in the harbor, and the lower town. On Gen. Carleton's leaving the city the command devolved on the Lieut. Governor, who issued the order depriving us of these privileges, and forbidding our conversing with any persons except in the presence of the officer of the guard.

*July 4.*—All the troops in the city set off to join the main army; those who were Roman Catholics came into the Bishop's garden to receive absolution. They kneeled down in the rain and the Bishop came, and placed his hands on their heads as fast as he could, two at a time, and they arose as cheerful as if they had never committed a sin in their lives.

In the evening Mr. Lieut. Governor thought proper to order us to our room and lock the doors, and in order to make the insult greater, gave no reason for this action. Shortly after our door was thrown open, and some of our officers sent in that we had not known were captured. The first was Lieut. [John] Hoge and Lieut. [Samuel] McFerran, and soon after Capt. [Moses] McClean and Lieut. [Abdiel] McAllister, who told us that they had gone out fishing, and wishing to get some Spruce beer up a small river that runs into the lake, Mr. Lemat with a party of Indians fired on them, killed Lieut. [Joseph] Culbertson, and Capt. [Robert] Adams, who threw himself flat in the boat was tomahawked and scalp'd, and the others taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

*July 5.*—Upon making inquiry we found that Colonel Baum<sup>2</sup> had ordered our doors to be locked; and that he

<sup>1</sup> All officers of Colonel Irvine's Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, of the Brunswick Dragoon Regiment, landed at Quebec on June 6, 1776.



disputed the command with the Lieut. Governor, which created some uneasiness in the garrison.

*July 26.*—Gen. Carleton's arrival from Montreal gave us pleasure, for he was the only friend we had in the city in authority. He sent Capt. Foy, of the Artillery, to inform us that he was sorry the commander had detained us so long, and assured us also, that had he known that the Commodore would not have us sent off, he would have chartered a vessel at his own expense. He also requested us to make out a statement of our debts that he might pay them, and a list of stores we would require for our voyage. We informed him £100. stg. would pay all our debts, and if His Excellency would advance that amount, we would remit it to any of His Majesty's officers he would select, who was then a prisoner in Pennsylvania. The next morning he sent us the money by the Barrack Master, Major Murray, with a polite note requesting that we would accept of it as a bounty from the King or himself. He also gave every private a shirt and sea-stores.

*N.B.*—This business was entirely arranged by Major Carleton, our particular friend, and a brother of His Excellency. When he called first and offered his services, we requested him to obtain our paroles for the city. He went to his brother, applied for the privilege, but reported that the General was of the opinion, that it would be financially better for us to go home on parole, and recommended our making application to him; which we did. The Major returned again and informed us with regret, that his brother had taken umbrage at our requisition, mentioning that in case of an exchange taking place, we might be included in the first. He suggested that we draw up another, that he would wait on his brother and strive to remove any difficulty that might have arisen; and that we had better not say anything about exchange. By private conversations he had with some of the officers—that they would willingly return home to their families and not take up arms against the King—we asked how Major Meigs and Capt. Dearborn were released, and he told us he believed it was on these





conditions. We replied that we never wished to see our homes again unless under honourable terms. He said such a requisition might be drawn up and those who objected might decline signing. We told him that we were all of the same mind. (We had gotten into the way of determining every thing by vote.) Finally he told us to draw a requisition for parole, and that if a cartel was settled, we might be included. This he took to his brother, and in a short time returned with his acceptance, but he was sorry to find the sentiment among the officers of the garrison, who he thought were our friends, opposed to us.

*July 30.*—Gen. Carleton allowed two of our officers to go into the city at a time, accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, to settle their accounts and procure sea-stores. He likewise suffered Gen. Thompson and Col. Irvine to pay us a visit, the first since their capture.<sup>1</sup>

*August 7.*—Capt. Endesley came to the Seminary and presented me with my sword, in the presence of all the officers; told me that it was done by order of Gen. Carleton, and that it gave him pleasure to do so, as I had done him the honor to deliver it to him on the morning of December 31, after we had made the attack on the city. He

<sup>1</sup> "SEMINARY Aug. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1776

"SIR:—

"It has been hinted to us by Gen. Thompson that the only objection his Excellency has to the word *hereafter*, being omitted in the Parole, proceeds from an apprehension that ill natured persons in the Colonies might misconstrue it to the prejudice of Maj. Meggs & Capt. Dearborn. We do not presume to point out this Difficulty, may be obviated, therefore shall only mention, that as we are fully assured that his Excellency had no intention to throw them into a disagreeable predicament with their Countrymen, a declaration of this kind if necessary from us when we arrive in the Colonies, may fully remove it.

"Your kind offers of service, and the willingness you have shown to oblige, we hope will be a sufficient Apology for our troubling so often,

"And your further Intercession with his Excellency in our behalf shall ever be esteemed a singular fav<sup>r</sup> by

"Sir your most obed<sup>t</sup>

"& oblig<sup>d</sup> humb<sup>l</sup> Servt.

"To

"CAPT. FOY—"



also informed us that we should prepare to embark on the transports for New York. Captains [John] Lamb, [Daniel] Morgan, Oswald, McClean, Lieutenants Steele, McAlister, [William] Heath and [Byron] Bruen, Mr. Wister, Mr. Duncan, Mr. McGuire, Mr. Porterfield, and Lieut. Moody and myself embarked on the ship *Lord Sandwich*; Gen. Thompson and Col. Irvine with a number of others went on board the *Prince of Wales*; Col. [Christopher] Green and others on the *John and Christopher*, and the remainder of the prisoners on the *Mermaid*.<sup>1</sup>

*August 8-9*—I spent in visiting my brother officers on the transports. Capt. Davison favored me with a boat and crew. I shall never forget his friendship and genteel treatment, his favors to me in particular.

*August 10*.—Gen. Carleton made us a present of a quarter cask of Wine and five sheep for our sea-stores, and the same quantity to the officers of the other transports. The Bishop also presented us with two casks of Wine, eight loaves of Sugar and several pounds of green Tea. The Tea we declined, as we had resolved before leaving home, not to use it during the contest, and coffee was sent in lieu of it.

*August 11, Sunday*.—At 10 o'clock a.m. we weighed anchor, the wind East, and fell down the river two miles, where we had a beautiful prospect of the city and lower town; the river St. Charles and the ruins of St. Roque. At 6 o'clock we passed the Falls of the Montmorency, and later cast anchor.

*August 12*.—We set sail this morning, passed Orleans Island, and

<sup>1</sup> "PAROLE OF ABDIEL MCALLISTER.

"I Abdiel McAllister of York County, Province of Pennsylvania hereby pledge my faith and word of Honor to General Carlton that I shall not do or say anything Contrary to the Interest of his Majesty, or his Government, and that whenever required so to do, I shall repair to whatever place His Excellency or any other of his Majesties Commanders in Chief in America shall judge expedient to order me.

"Given under my hand at Quebec Aug<sup>t</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> 1776

"ABDIEL MCALLISTER."

(True copy.)





*August 13*, the wind being from the N.E. we anchored.

*August 23*—Our last sight of land and nothing of interest until

*September 3*, when Thomas Garver died. Mr. Bruen acted as chaplain. He was sewed up in a blanket, to which a bag of stove coal was attached and his body committed to the deep.

*September 8*.—At 2 o'clock p.m. we had a hurricane which lasted three hours; sprung our mizzenmast, and were forced to lay to under bare poles.

*September 10*.—Lost the fleet; changed our course, and at ten o'clock a.m. sighted the frigate [Pearl] to windward, which bent her course towards us and fired a gun to heave to. By the lead, found soundings.

*September 12*.—At two o'clock a.m. made Sandy Hook and anchored. When day appeared we had a beautiful view of the Naversinks and Sandy Hook. We made sail and in a short time had a view of the British encampment on Staten Island and their fleet in the harbor—about 427 armed vessels and transports.

*September 13*.—Three British men of war which sailed past New York, were given a warm reception from the city, and as warmly returned their fire. This movement was to cover the landing of troops on York Island.

*September 14*.—Our army opened a heavy fire on the ships that passed the city yesterday at 2 o'clock, and engaged the troops who were landed. It will be easy to conceive what our feelings were.

*September 15, Sunday*.—More British vessels passed the city and landed troops, which brought on a skirmish that lasted for two hours.

*September 16*.—Early this morning we had a good view of two of their vessels coming down the river chased by two fire ships. After much difficulty they escaped. As the battery at Paulus Hook only fired at them, we felt certain our army had withdrawn from the city.

*September 21*.—A fire broke out in the city, supposed to have been started by our people who remained,—some were



hung on suspicion, among them one white man who was hung up by the heels to a sign post.

*September 22.*—Samuel Loring Esq., Commissary of Prisoners, notified us to prepare to disembark, but we heard nothing further until

*September 24*, when he came on board and ordered us ashore. I told him about my sword which Capt. Wilkinson had on board the frigate Pearl, which he said was up the river, and that by writing I might obtain it, I wrote the following :

“NEW YORK BAY, 24 Sept. 1776.

“SIR.

“Gen. Carleton was so kind as to order my Cutteau de Chase should be returned to me on my being landed at New York, for which purpose it was delivered to the Captain of the Pearl frigate, who I understand is some small distance up the North river. But as we are going ashore, it is impossible for me to send for it. If you will be so obliging as to make application for it, and send it on board the Lord Sandwich, Transport, before we disembark or send it by the next Flag of Truce that goes to the Continental Army, I shall ever esteem it a singular favor.

“I am Sir, your most

“obedient and most H<sup>l</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

“FRANCIS NICHOLS.

“SAMUEL LORING ESQ.”

The boat returned without seeing Mr. Loring and I lost my sword. However, as I had the honour of Endesley returning it by Gen. Carleton's order, and anxious to get on shore, I did not think much about it. My feelings on setting my feet on the Jersey shore are much easier conceived than expressed.

*September 27.*—Set out for Philadelphia in company with Adjutant Febiger and Mr. Henry, a volunteer from Lancaster.

*A List of the Officers taken in making the Attack on the City of Quebec, December 31, 1775.*

*New Hampshire.*

Capt. Henry Dearborn,  
Lieut. Nathaniel Hutchens,

Lieut. Emmi Andrews,  
Lieut. Joseph Thomas.





*Connecticut.*

Major R. J. Meigs,  
Capt. Eleazer Oswald,  
Capt. Samuel Lockwood,

Capt. Oliver Hanchett,  
Lieut. Abijah Savage,  
Quartermaster Benjamin Catlin.

*Massachusetts.*

Major Timothy Bigelow,  
Capt. William Goodrich,  
Lieut. Samuel Brown,

Lieut. John Cumston,  
Lieut. John Clark,  
Lieut. James Tisdal.

*Rhode Island.*

Col. Christopher Green,  
Capt. Samuel Ward,  
Capt. Simon Thayer,  
Capt. John Topham,

Lieut. Samuel Webb,  
Lieut. Edward Slocum,  
Lieut. William Humphreys,  
Lieut. — Shaw.

*New York.*

Capt. John Lamb,

Lieut. Andrew Moody,  
Lieut. Stephen McDugall.

*Pennsylvania.*

Lieut. Francis Nichols,  
Lieut. Archibald Steele,

Volunteers, { Mathew Duncan,  
John Jos. Henry.

*Virginia.*

Capt. Daniel Morgan,  
Lieut. William Heath,  
Lieut. Byron Bruen,

Volunteers, { John Maguire,  
Charles Porterfield.

Adjutant Christopher Febiger, a Danish officer.



THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

BY SERGEANT R——.

[From *The Phoenix* of March 24, 1832, published at Wellsborough, Pennsylvania.]

“Three or four days after the victory at Trenton, the American army recrossed the Delaware into New Jersey. At this time our troops were in a destitute and deplorable condition. The horses attached to our cannon were without shoes, and when passing over the ice they would slide in every direction, and could advance only by the assistance of the soldiers. Our men too, were without shoes or other comfortable clothing; and as traces of our march towards Princeton, the ground was literally marked with the blood of the soldiers’ feet. Though my own feet did not bleed, they were so sore that their condition was little better. While we were at Trenton, on the last of December, 1776, the time for which I and most of my regiment had enlisted expired. At this trying time General Washington, having now but a little handful of men and many of them new recruits in which he could place but little confidence, ordered our regiment to be paraded, and personally addressed us, urging that we should stay a month longer. He alluded to our recent victory at Trenton; told us that our services were greatly needed, and that we could now do more for our country than we ever could at any future period; and in the most affectionate manner entreated us to stay. The drums beat for volunteers, but not a man turned out. The soldiers worn down with fatigue and privations, had their hearts fixed on home and the comforts of the domestic circle, and it was hard to forego the anticipated pleasures of the society of our dearest friends.

“The General wheeled his horse about, rode in front of





the regiment, and addressing us again said, 'My brave fellows, you have done all I asked you to do, and more than could be reasonably expected; but your country is at stake, your wives, your houses, and all that you hold dear. You have worn yourselves out with fatigues and hardships, but we know not how to spare you. If you will consent to stay only one month longer, you will render that service to the cause of liberty, and to your country, which you probably never can do under any other circumstances. The present is emphatically the crisis, which is to decide our destiny.' The drums beat the second time. The soldiers felt the force of the appeal. One said to another, 'I will remain if you will.' Others remarked 'We cannot go home under such circumstances.' A few stepped forth, and their example was immediately followed by nearly all who were fit for duty in the regiment, amounting to about two hundred volunteers.<sup>1</sup> An officer enquired of the General if these men should be enrolled. He replied,—'No! men who will volunteer in such a case as this, need no enrolment to keep them to their duty.'

"When we were about commencing our march for Princeton, Lord Cornwallis left that place with the intention of attacking, and at one blow cutting off the rebel army. He appeared near Wood Creek or the Assanpink river, where a skirmish took place at the bridge over the creek. The Hessians were placed in front of the British troops, and endeavored to force the bridge. They retired, and we were left undisturbed for the night.

"Leaving our fires kindled to deceive the enemy, we decamped that night, and by a circuitous route took up our line of march for Princeton. General Mercer commanded the front guard of which the two hundred volunteers composed a part. About sunrise of the 3rd January 1777, reaching the summit of a hill near Princeton, we observed a light-horseman looking towards us, as we view an object when the sun shines directly in our faces. Gen. Mercer ob-

<sup>1</sup> About half of these volunteers were killed in the battle of Princeton or died of the small-pox soon after.



serving him, gave orders to the riflemen who were posted on the right to pick him off. Several made ready, but at that instant he wheeled about, and was out of their reach. Soon after this as we were descending a hill through an orchard, a party of the enemy who were entrenched behind a bank and fence, rose and fired upon us. Their first shot passed over our heads cutting the limbs of the trees under which we were marching. At this moment we were ordered to wheel. As the platoon which I commanded were obeying the order, the corporal who stood at my left shoulder, received a ball and fell dead on the spot. He seemed to bend forward to receive the ball, which might otherwise have ended my life. We formed, advanced, and fired upon the enemy. They retreated eight rods to their packs, which were laid in a line. I advanced to the fence on the opposite side of the ditch which the enemy had just left, fell on one knee and loaded my musket with ball and buckshot. Our fire was most destructive; their ranks grew thin and the victory seemed nearly complete, when the British were reinforced. Many of our brave men had fallen, and we were unable to withstand such superior numbers of fresh troops.

"I soon heard Gen. Mercer command in a tone of distress, 'Retreat!' He was mortally wounded and died shortly after. I looked about for the main body of the army which I could not discover—discharged my musket at part of the enemy, and ran for a piece of wood, at a little distance where I thought I might shelter. At this moment Washington appeared in front of the American army, riding towards those of us who were retreating, and exclaimed 'Parade with us, my brave fellows, there is but a handful of the enemy, and we will have them directly.' I immediately joined the main body, and marched over the ground again.

"O, the barbarity of man! On our retreat, we had left a comrade of ours whose name was Loomis from Lebanon, Ct., whose leg was broken by a musket ball, under a cart in a yard; but on our return he was dead, having received several wounds from a British bayonet. My old associates





were scattered about groaning, dying and dead. One officer who was shot from his horse lay in a hollow place in the ground rolling and writhing in his blood, unconscious of anything around him. The ground was frozen and all the blood which was shed remained on the surface, which added to the horror of this scene of carnage.

"The British were unable to resist this attack, and retreated into the College, where they thought themselves safe. Our army was there in an instant, and cannon were planted before the door, and after two or three discharges, a white flag appeared at the window, and the British surrendered. They were a haughty, crabbed set of men, as they fully exhibited while prisoners, on their march to the country. In this battle, my pack, which was made fast by leather strings, was shot from my back, and with it went what little clothing I had. It was, however, soon replaced by one which had belonged to a British officer, and was well furnished. It was not mine long, for it was stolen shortly afterwards.

"Immediately after the battle an officer observing blood on my clothes said 'Sergeant R—— you are wounded?' I replied 'No,' as I never expected to be injured in battle. On examination I found the end of my forefinger gone, and bleeding profusely. When and how it happened I never knew; I found also bullet holes in the skirts of my coat, but, excepting the slight wound of my finger, was not injured.

"In this battle and that of Trenton, there was no ardent spirits in the army, and the excitement of rum had nothing to do in obtaining the victories. As I had tried powder and rum on Long Island to promote courage, and engaged here without it, I can say that I was none the less courageous here than there. The Army retreated to Pluckemin mountains. The weather was extremely cold, and we suffered greatly from its severity. We stayed three or four days and then marched through New Jersey towards New York. The inhabitants manifested very different feelings towards us, from those exhibited a few weeks before, and were now



ready to take arms against the British. At Morristown I was sick of the small-pox and many of our little army died there of that disease.

"Such were some of the hardships and self-denials endured in securing the blessings now enjoyed by this free and happy Country. But the old soldiers have been almost forgotten, until they have nearly all gone to their graves. Many never received a cent of compensation for some of the most trying services, as I am sure I never did for the month for which I volunteered."





## DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from page 404.)

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL SULLIVAN.

"CAMP, WHITEMARSH, Decem<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

"DEAR GENERAL

"Agreable to your Excellency's Directions I have considered upon the Advisability of making a Winter's Campaign, and the practicability of making an Attack upon Philadelphia with the Aid of a Body of Militia to be called in for that purpose.

"Though the attacking & carrying Philadelphia is an object much to be wished yet as the Attempt carries with it an Idea of a Winters Campaign I must give my opinion against it—When this motion was first made I was in favor of it, but I was then taught to believe by those who pretended to have view'd the Enemy's Lines that their Redoubts were not Inclosed in Rear but my own observation has since convinced me of the contrary, my own opinion as well as that of a Great majority of the General Officers has been that an Attack upon the Enemies Redoubts in Front & upon the City afterward would be Hazardous & must End in Ruin to the Army; & as we find their Redoubts are Equally strong in Rear, the attempt will be Equally Dangerous—but if not altogether so, it must at Least be attended with great Hazard—and in order to make the Attempt, your naked Army must be kept in the field the greater part if not the whole of the winter. This in my opinion should never be Done but where the object is of great importance and where there is a moral certainty of obtaining the End in view, even when an Army is properly clothed against the Inclemency of the Seasons: but of your Army one third of them at Least are now con-



Event will prove that more than half your officers will leave you in a month, unless some Remedy is found out to quiet their minds & relieve their Distresses.—Under these circumstances a Winters Campaign will in my opinion Dissolve the Army: I know it has been urged that the above sad state of our affairs should induce us to Risque an Action as soon as possible and I am myself fully of that opinion—but can we compell the Enemy to it if they Decline it—if M<sup>r</sup> Howe does not come to attack us when we Lay so near him it is Evident he does not mean to fight us unless we attack his Lines—Whoever would advise to this measure puts the fate of America upon the Toss of a single Die without Reflecting upon the Dismal Situation our affairs must be in if unsuccessful in an attempt, where there are at least twenty chances to one against us—to remedy those Evils as much as possible, I most sincerely Recommend that the Army be removed immediately to Winter Quarters; That Congress fall upon some methods of affording a proper support to officers & Soldiers and that the Rank throughout the Army be settled & made known, that in Instances of Rank which give universal Dissatisfaction, the Honor of a few Individuals should be sacrificed to the good of the whole, and every method taken to Recruit the Army collect the scatter'd, Recover the Feeble & Discipline the whole, in order to take the field with vigor early in the Spring which may be by March or April & in the mean while an Apparatus should be collecting to set down before Philadelphia in form so early in the Spring as will enable us by Regular approaches to carry the Town before a Reinforcement can arrive. A Body of Militia may (if tho't necessary) be seasonably notified to join us on the Day your Excellency may fix for opening the Campaign—I know it may be objected to this plan that During the winter we leave a vast Tract of Country exposed to the Enemy, but this may be said in all cases of taking Winter Quarters. Every Army that retires to Winter Quarters must leave some Country exposed & I think it much better to give them all Pennsylvania for the winter than to Ruin that Army which must





save America, if saved at all. If a winter Campaign is carried on barely for the purpose of preventing the Enemy from Drawing provisions & Forage we shall in my opinion be the greatest sufferers—the Army cannot in a Little time act but in the partizan way. Some of Colo. Steward's Reg<sup>t</sup> will soon leave you, nine Virginia Regiments must soon go Home—The Drafts from Connecticut Leave you the first of January—this with what will be taken off by fatigue &c. will render M<sup>r</sup> Howe superior to you in the field through the winter, & if our attention is taken up in carrying on a partizan winter Campaign, you will have in the Spring the miserable remains of an Army worn out with Fatigue & totally unfit for any operations. The King of Prussia speaking of winter Campaigns says that no man having his eyes open will carry on a winters Campaign unless he has Infinite objects in view—this he says of winter Campaigns generally, but I believe if his opinion was taken upon an Armys carrying one on under our Disadvantages he would adopt a language still more forceable; he says, good winter quarters are to give Tranquillity to the minds of the Soldiers to Recruit your Army, restore Constitutions reduced by Fatigue, mend Carriages, fill up your Regiments, manœuvre your Troops, refresh your Horse, make your Arrangements & Lay your Plans for the Ensuing Campaign. All This is Essentially necessary for us at present to be about. I am therefore clearly of opinion that no time should be lost in taking the Troops to winter Quarters, & that we should immediately fall upon some method of giving Ease to our Soldiers & Satisfaction to our Officers: unless this is Done & unless all other Considerations give Way to it, I fear the Event of the next Campaign will prove that in striving to do too much we have ruined all. I am confident that if the plan I propose is adopted we shall be able in the Spring to take the field with an Army vastly superior to the Enemy even if our new Recruits should not be numerous, we have a vast number of sick, many have Deserted to their own Homes, there are upwards of a hundred Deserters from the Delaware



Regiment only, who are secreted by the Tories. Many other Regiments have almost an equal proportion. these might all be collected in the winter and with the sick which may recover & Recruits which may be added to our Army will be able to take the field with great advantage in the Spring.

"The above is with all due Submission offered by, Dear General, your Excellencys most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

"JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN.

"P.S.—The best mode I could Devise for covering the Country I pointed out in my last—Therefore forbear to repeat it in this."

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

"The Subject under Consideration before the board is whether a plan to draw together a large Body of militia in aid of the Continental Troops in the dead of winter to attack General Howe in his winter quarters is eligible or not. However desirable the destruction of General Howe's army may be & however impatient the public may be for this desirable event, I cannot recommend the measure. I have taken the most serious View of the Subject in every point in which I am able to examine it, & cannot help thinking the probability of a disappointment is infinitely greater than of success. We must not be governed in our measures by our wishes—the love of glory natural to man often prompts them to exceed the bounds of human nature in their enterprizes. I am sensible in many instances, that things pronounced impracticable have been crowned with success in the attempt. I know it is justifiable in war to leave something to chance, yet prudence forbids that being made a principle which necessity alone can justify; I am by no means inclined from an excess of caution in a council of war to rob my Country of the happy consequences that may result from a due exertion of the spirit and bravery of the Soldiery—but at the same time let us not flatter ourselves from the heat of our zeal that men can do more than





they can. To judge properly upon the subject we must first consider what human nature is capable of when aided by all the powers of art, and what is to be expected when unsupported by those necessary Assistants. In the second place we have to consider how reluctantly people will leave the pleasures of domestic life and engage in a hard and dangerous enterprize at such a rugged season of the year, especially after being out great part of the Summer. In the third and last place let us consider what a combination of circumstances are necessary to give success to the enterprize; weigh this in the Scales of probability and see how far we can promise ourselves a happy issue to the design.

“In the first place supposeing our Soldiery the best of veterans, capable of the boldest attacks, are they cloathed, are they appointed with every thing necessary for such a severe and difficult Attempt? Let any body examine the Condition of the troops, one half without breeches, shoes, or stockings, and some thousands without Blankets, and judge how far men in this situation are capable of enduring the severity of a winter’s campaign. The continental troops must be out in the field during all the time the militia are drawing together, and in the natural order of things there must be a great diminution of their Force; the troops must be subject to this evil or else go into winter quarters untill the militia are collected, in which case the officers will be dispersed, which will render it very difficult if not impracticable to draw the troops out of quarters in a condition to undertake the attack. I would not wish to spare either blood or treasure necessary to work the destruction of General Howe’s Army; the object is so important that it demands every sacrifice that human nature or national policy can justify, but to make a great sacrifice of men and money without accomplishing the design will be disgraceful to the army and discouraging to the Country.

“The militia perhaps may come together something better cloathed than the continental troops, but the different manner of their living in camp to what they have been accustomed to, together with the extraordinary hardships they



must be necessarily subject to in the undertaking, cannot fail of producing a great mortality, or at least some thousands may be expected to fall sick and be rendered incapable of duty. This will not only produce a great diminution of strength, but a numerous sick must be very distressing to those that are well.

“In Europe where they are much older in war than we can pretend to be, and where there are as hardy a race of men as are on the Globe, where the severity of the season little exceeds that of ours and where necessity, ambition and military Glory all conspire to produce winter campaigns, yet they are never undertaken without the soldiers being well cloathed and each furnished with a good watch coat and Blanket. Experience is the best of schools and the safest guide in human affairs—yet I am no advocate for blindly following all the maxims of European policy, but where reason corresponds with what custom has long sanctified, we may safely copy their Example. It must be confessed, and the fatal effects of last winter’s campaign will confirm it, that unless men are well cloathed they must fall a sacrifice to the severity of the weather when exposed to the hardships of a winter’s campaign.—The successes of last winter were brilliant and attended with the most happy consequences, in changing the complexion of the times, but if the bills of mortality were to be consulted, I fairly it would be found we were no great gainers by those operations.

“There is not only the difficulty of cloathing, but that of covering also. Tents cannot be procured, houses in the country are too scattering to quarter the troops in either for attack or defence. If the troops lye out in the weather they must soon, very soon, be rendered unfit for duty. Such a numerous body of men, hastily drawn together, all unconnected cannot be speedily so arranged as to co-operate in one great and general design. To these difficulties may be added, that of subsisting such a numerous body of troops without having large magazines previously established for that purpose, when such a cold and rigid





season, and the variableness of the weather will render transportation by land and water very difficult and uncertain.

“Hospitals proper to receive such a number of sick as we may reasonably expect there will be, will increase the distresses of the army and add to the complaints of the country—especially if the event should be unfortunate.

“The second objection I have to the measure is the difficulty of drawing out such a body of militia from the different States as will be necessary to ensure success to the Enterprise. Those States which are remote from danger, whose militia have been harassed in the Course of the Campaign will be unwilling to call them out without the most pressing necessity, and supposing the Legislators to feel all the military enthusiasm we could wish we cannot flatter ourselves that that spirit will pervade all orders of men which will be necessary to draw out such bodies as will be requisite for the Design.

“Every one that has attended to the difficulties of calling out large bodies of militia, the uncertain success of the most spirited exertions, the impatience they discover to be gone, and the trouble of managing them when here, may form a good judgment what success we can promise ourselves when we have all those difficulties to encounter in the different stages.

“It is highly probable that a requisition from the Congress to the neighboring states may produce a resolution in each to furnish their quota, but out of the number demanded perhaps not two thirds would actually march and out of the number that did march, ten to one, whether more than three fifths ever arrive at camp.

“The time of the troops being drawn together and forwarded on to camp depends on the coercive power of Government; some being stronger and some weaker, those that arrive first will get out of patience before the arrival of the others—Desertion and Disgust will be the consequence, and if either the one or the other should prevail to any considerable degree, the whole plan would be de-



feated. I would ask any one if these observations are not founded in truth and human nature, & whether it is not the true history of the militia?

“If it is, what can we promise ourselves from the attempt; when if the whole force was to arrive safe in camp—still there is a great combination of circumstances necessary to compleat the work; the failure of either may render abortive the whole scheme—

“The best way of judging of men and measures at a future period is to recur to their past conduct under similar circumstances—How difficult have we found it to draw the militia of one State to the aid of that of another even where it was necessary to give a check to the enemy from entering the State to which they belong.—

“This measure must go recommended to Congress.—From the Congress after a week or ten days consultation a resolve will take place, recommending it to the different States.—The Assemblies of each one are to be called together, their Deliberations and judgement to be had upon the propriety of the measure, and then an order after ten or twelve Days issues, to assemble the militia,—if the officers are slow and tardy as usual, to collect and march them to camp will be the business of a month.—The continental troops must be out in the field near two months on the most moderate calculation before the Scheme will be ripe for execution—We shall all this time be wasting the very vitals of the army, and risqueing a certain evil for an uncertain good, dependent upon too many contingencies for us to be very sanguine of success.

“The different States will be put to no small difficulty to provide arms for a numerous militia, which must protract the time for collecting it—Consider likewise what delays great and heavy Storms will produce. How distressing they must prove to those that are coming to camp as well as those waiting their arrival there.—

“The third and last objection I have to the measure is the great combination of circumstances necessary to crown it with success, and the improbability of such a multitude of





circumstances ever harmonizing together that are independant of each other and originate from such different springs.

“ There is in the first place a sufficient force so appointed as to be able to execute the plan of attack, it is highly improbable that such force can be put in motion and still more improbable that they will be properly equipt—Supposing the necessary force to meet properly appointed, they will be a very unwieldy machine, and it must take up a very considerable time to organize the whole in such a manner as to move in concert—Such a numerous militia cannot be drawn together very near the Enemy, where their force is collected, and always ready to take advantage of circumstances, without being very liable to surprize and defeat. Therefore, if they must be drawn together at a considerable distance from the enemy’s Lines, and first organized, and then move to the attack the variableness of the weather may interfere—Heavy storms of either rain or snow will put a total Bar to the operations for a time, and more especially the former—but suppose neither of these difficulties interferes, still the operations will be dependant upon the temper of the weather which must be neither too severe or too moderate to enable us to prepare and execute the manœuvre—If the weather is very severe the men cannot live out in the Field long enough to prepare and execute the attack—If the weather is not so severe as to freeze the rivers hard enough for men & artillery to pass over, there can no attack be made only in front of the Enemy’s lines—and how far such an attack can be expected to succeed I leave every one to judge—I am told the weather is very variable here and that Storms are frequent—both of which must ruin the platform of our operations; our whole success depending upon the Rivers being sufficiently frozen to enable us to pass over on the ice—

“ But suppose all these circumstances should happen to combine to give success to the design, which by the bye is scarcely within the limits of possibility & far out of the bounds of probability can we promise ourselves a victory?



Does history afford us an instance as a foundation for such a hope? It is agreed on all hands that there is a very formidable force in Philadelphia and every house is a fortification—can it be expected that young troops unaccustomed to such enterprises will have steadiness enough to push the Enemy from place to place untill they are totally routed from the City?—to make the attack and not totally defeat them will fall far short of the importance of the design or the expectations of the public.

“What aid can be expected from the militia? Will they come up to storm the houses? Let us recur to past experience of the militia & such a militia too as we cannot expect for the present attack and see how far we can hope for success with such troops opposed by such as we have to attack.—I must confess I think it right to trust everything to the spirit & bravery of troops that is warranted by human nature, History or our own observation. Has the present Scheme these Sanctions? Are we not rather drawn into the attempt by the brilliancy of the object than by the probability of its Success founded in either nature or Reason.

“The King of Prussia the greatest General of the age strongly protests against attacking troops by storm in villages, much more in large regular brick cities—He observes, it often proves the ruin of the best part of an army—this was verified in several attacks he made upon towns and villages last war.—Philadelphia is a great object, but I wish our reason may not be seduced from its importance to take measures to repossess it that are not warranted by history or our own observation—An attack of this nature will not depend upon the multitude that attacks, but upon their bravery—for the greater the multitude the worse the confusion when once they are thrown into disorder; and we have no reason to expect anything else from our own or others experience—Men who are brought from home with all their family feelings about them, commanded by officers who in general have little or no ambition for military glory, are not fortified for such scenes of carnage as are generally





exhibited in attacks made upon towns defended by a large body of veteran troops.—

“I am not against a winter’s campaign if the temper of the officers and the condition of the troops would admit of it, neither have I the least objection to making an attack upon Philadelphia if there was a probability of succeeding founded in human nature or the experience of mankind.—

“Let us consider the consequences that will result from a disappointment in a measure of this nature.—In the first place, it will be attended with a vast expence, and the loss of many lives to no valuable purpose—it will prove a great obstruction to the recruiting service and a defeat will give a general alarm and spread universal discontent throughout the continent—It will expose the weakness of our militia to the enemy and not only to them but to all Europe who now consider them much more formidable than they really are.—

“A winter’s campaign in the present discontented state of the officers and an attack upon the city of Philadelphia appear to me like forming a crisis for American liberty which if unsuccessful I fear will prove her grave. If the army goes through a winter’s Campaign and the recruiting service is as much injured as I expect from calling out the militia, it will be in a miserable plight to open the campaign with in the Spring; and we may reasonably expect that great Britain will rake all the kennels of Europe for troops to repair their affairs in America.

“I have wrote my mind so fully upon the subject of winter quarters, and with respect to a winter campaign that it is unnecessary to add anything further here—I would beg leave to recommend the measure suggested in that paper for recruiting the army—and filling up the continental Battalions—if the measure is adopted the army can be recruited nearly or quite as soon as the militia can be got together—the attack can be made with much more hopes of success & if we are defeated we shall still have a force to carry on a regular siege as soon as the military apparatus can be pre-



pared and the season will permit us to open batteries against the enemy's lines.

"These are my sentiments Sir upon the subject which with all due deference are submitted to your Excellency's consideration, but if your Excellency thinks a winters campaign a necessary measure, or an attack upon Philadelphia, an eligible plan, I will lend every possible aid in my power to carry it into execution; notwithstanding that this is the third year since I have paid the least attention to my own private affairs.

"NATH. GREENE *M. G.*

"CAMP, December 3<sup>d</sup>, 1777."

#### OPINION OF LORD STIRLING.

"CAMP, Decem<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1777

"SIR:

"Your Excellency's letter of this date requesting my Sentiments on 'the Adviseability of a Winters Campaign,' 'and the practicability of an Attack upon Philadelphia with the Aid of a Considerable Body of Militia to be Assembled at an Appointed Time and Place,' I have duly Considered, and in Answer to the first Question am of Opinion That in order to undertake a Winters Campaign the Troops should be fresh, in good Order and well Cloathed with at least two warm Vests two pair milled Woollen Stockings & mittens, good Shoes, Woollen Overhalls, a Good blanket Coat besides a blanket to Lodge in. Our Troops are not in this Condition, nor are they like to be provided in this Manner, they are already worn out by a long fatigueing Campaign, a Considerable part of them in the Hospitals, above one half of those in Camp are almost naked, and are walking barefooted on the Ice or frozen Ground. In short if a Winters Campaign should be attempted with them, our hopes will be deceived, the Army will be totally ruined; and we shall find ourselves without one in the Spring, the Consequences of which in the Affairs of the American States are too evident to need an enumeration, and therefore must Conclude that a Winter's Campaign [is] extreamly Unadviseable.





“As to the second Question, I have already declared my Opinion (after your Excellency’s own view of the Enemy’s lines) that it is impracticable on the side Schuylkill with the Troops now under your Command, and were you aided by all the Militia the States on this Continent can furnish by the first of february they would only serve to make the Carnage, or the Route, the greater: the only Chance we have of attacking Philadelphia to advantage, is, over the Schuylkill when it is sufficiently frozen to bear a Column of Troops to pass it; this happens to be the Case in most Winters, sometimes in one Month, sometimes in another, last Winter it was so in the beginning of January, it broke up by the Middle of that Month, and did not get firm again in the remainder of the Winter. this Uncertainty would render the Attempt very precarious. After an Immense expence in Collecting a Great body of Militia we might have no opportunity of passing the Schuylkill; the Men would be disgusted with the Service at that severe Season, without any thing to Cover them, they would return dispirited, the disappointment in the Expedition would bear the Character of a defeat & would have all the bad effects of one, it would increase our sick, hurt the Recruiting Service and prove Ruinous to the Army, but should the Schuylkill prove passable at a proper Season, I should have but little hope of our Carrying philadelphia; to storm the Streets thro’ the fire from Redoubts houses & Columns of Men, is too much to expect from any Troops.—to set down before it at that Season, and to drive them out of it by Battering, is to us impracticable, and any Attempt of the kind highly unadvisable. I am your Excellency’s

“Most Obedient Humble Servant

“STIRLING.”

OPINION OF THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

“The project of calling a large body of militia for such a day, in order to attack the ennemy in philadelphia, seems to me attended with so many difficulties, inconveniences,



and bad chances, that if it is not looked upon as a necessary and almost desperate enterprise, tho' it is a very shining and highly pleasing idea, however I cannot think it is a prudent and reasonable one. The reasons for my rejecting it are as follows—

“1<sup>st</sup> I do not believe that any body could advise your excellency to attack only the redoubts in front, whatever could be our force; such an attack would be attended with a greater loss but not a greater succès than if we had only continental troops.

“2<sup>d</sup> We must therefore expect the moment when the ice upon the Schullekill will open to us all the left side of the enemy's line and encampments. but or the climate makes a great difference between this country and the european ones, or one single fine day may frustrate all our hopes and preparations in putting a way all the ice. then we schould expect one other moment before dismissing the troops, and in my actual supposition they are to be kept a very schort time.

“3<sup>d</sup> in europe ice is brocked every night when it can facilitate the projects of the enemy; if all is not cleared, at least a ditch can be formed in the river. I know that we schould annoy theyr workmen, I know that such an operation would be very hard an[d] troublesome for them. but in the first case I'l answer that everywhere military works are performed with the same inconveniences, in the second the people of philadelphia can be employed there. when I say that we could trouble theyr operation, I suppose that our winter quarters are not in the back country.

“4<sup>d</sup> We can't expect any secrecy in our collecting those forces, we can't deceive the ennemy for theyr destination. therefore (untill we could have a respectable body in the jirsay) he can go of before fighting and then we must not entertain the hope of oppressing and destroying all that army, but only of recovering philadelphia.

“5<sup>d</sup> Supposing that we could go upon the ice we have only one way of attacking. for if we put the militia in first line, they will fall back upon the continental troops, and we can





not depend enough upon our men to believe that we could maintain order and resolution among them. if the militia is in the rear, and the regulars were repulsed, certainly they will not advance where continental troops don't succeed. if amongs us, I don't believe it would do better, therefore our only way should be to make false attacks of militia, and true ones of continental troops, to have a curtain of troops (what we call in French *un rideau*) in the whole lenght of the Schulkill, and on this side of the redoubts, in order to cover the heads of our columns, and our points of attack, and to put the disorder amongs the ennemy by an eavy fire. I wishond [?] too a body should be in the jirsay in case it would be possible for the ennemy to retreat by the delaware. and does your excellency think that such a quantity of troops could be raised ?

“6° When I consider all the difficulties of turning out some militia in interesting occasions, I can't flatter myself that all that people could be sent to your army for such a day, without the utmost difficulties. each state will have an excuse for not sending as many men as they'l be desired. the cold, the rivers, the want of cloathes of every thing will seem sufficient reasons, if not to stay at home, at least to arrive after the time of the rendezvous. every one will trust upon the another, and if we do not succeed all will be against us.

“7° have we in the continent all the cloathes, arms ammunition, &c. &c. which would be necessary for so many soldiers. Would it be possible to find subsistances enough in cattle, forage, &c. All things which I can't know, but however I think worthy of being mentioned, and that principally because the want of exactitude, the necessity of giving to them a light idea of what they are to do will engage us to keep them longer than we think.

“8. I know that all these inconveniences can not be together; because if we keep them some time, then we schall find an opportunity of going over the schulckill in case that we can prevent theyr braking the ice; on the other hand if we have them only for a few days, difficulties



of subsistence will be much lesser; and if it is impossible for the ennemy to pass the delaware, certainly a body in jersay is quite useless. I can add that in case we could not go over the ice, it is possible to throw bridges upon the river. but, Sir, I have mentionned all the difficulties which strike me, because my opiuiion is not to begin such an enterprize unless we shall be certain of succeeding. A great schame for our arms, a great mischief for our cause would attend our being repulsed when we schould attack a part of the british forces with all the united forces of America. europe has a great idea of our being able to raise when we please an immense army of militia, and it is looked upon as our last but certain ressource. if we fall this phantom will fall also, and you know that the American interest has alwais been since the beginning of this war to let the world believe that we are stronger than we can ever expect to be. if we destroy the english army, *our generous effort* will be admired everywhere, if we are rupulsed it will be called a *rash and laughable expedition*. therefore we musst not let a shining appearance and the pleasing charms of a bold fine enterprize, deceive us upon the inconveniences and dangers of a gigantesque and in the same time decisive expedition.

“However perhaps the interest of america, the wish of all the states, the instruction of Congress, the necessity of finishing the war, all these circumstances which are unknown to me, make it necessary for your excellency to hazard something in this occasion. perhaps the difficulties in the physick and moral ressources of this country are not so great as I am affraid to find them. perhaps it is possible to raise, to arm, to cloath, to subsist, to keep together and give some instructions to that so considerable army which according to my opinion is necessary. perhaps the weather is not so changeable in this country as it is in europe, or some other means than going upon the ice could seem eligible to your excellency. but if the difficulties which I fear are indeed true (what you can judge, and I can not know myself) then I am not for that expedition in considering it as only a militar one.





“if however I was deceived, or if politic circumstances should make it necessary to try such an enterprise, the following precautions seem me to be taken.

“1° I do not ascertain the number of militia to be raised because it must be as large as we can arm, cloath and subsist.

“2° All possible exertions are to be taken for having them at the appointed time which time must be now as soon as it is possible.

“3° Some instructions should take place before the operation, only for some days, because if they were marched to the ennemy without the lest idea of marching together such a disorder would prevent the succès of the less difficult enterprize.

“4° the continental troops should be sent in theyr winter quarters as soon as possible, to take a good rest, to recomfort themselves, to be reinforced by theyr men now scattered everywhere, by some recruits, and the whole to be managed and by theyr officers. under that point of vue, and principally cloathes should be delivered to them, and theyr arms put in a good order. it seems to me that this prospect could engage us to be nearer from the ennemy than lancaster is.

“5° the soldiers and principally the officers of our army should not be permitted to go home till it would be over.

“6° proper means for recruiting the army should be taken as soon as possible. one of the best according to my opinion would be (after having suppressed the substitutes) to annex a part of the militia of each state to theyr continental divisions in order to serve there for twelve months. I think such a regulation is eligible in all cases. for a strong continental army well managed and disciplined, and ready to begin an early campaign, and to make use of all the unforeseen and soudain occasions, would do much greater service than all the militia in the world. and their militia should be made use of only in a less great number or in particular circumstances.

“THE M<sup>Q</sup>UIS DE LAFAYETTE

“M. G.”



## OPINION OF BARON DE KALB.

"SIR

"When your Excellency recommended some time ago the Consideration of the practicability of an attack on the Ennemy, I was already of opinion for such an attack if it was possible to make an attempt on the City behind the lines, either by sending troops in Boats down Delawar River to land on, or below the wharf, or by crossing Schuylkill river below middle ferry either by throwing over Bridges, or upon the ice in great frosts, to fall into the Ennemies rear at the same time the army was to attack the lines in front, with several Columns.

"Sending down Troops Delawar river, seems at least very dangerous if not entirely impracticable.

"The Passage over Schuylkill appears more eligible if attempted by a considerable body of militia, or other Troops. (I say militia, because I think the regulars would be all necessary for the chief attack in front.) Posted along the right bank of said river, on the best and most advantageous spots, from whence the artillerie & even small arms could annoy the Ennemy and protect the workmen for erecting Bridges, and in some places seemingly working. for the better drawing the Ennemy on that side, there ought to be made such seeming or reall attempts in several places at the same time. As this is the weak side, there is no doubt they would considerably divide their forces, and give room to break in upon them either in front or on this side, perhaps on both at once.

"If the necessary Boats and Materials for such bridges could not be provided, or carried to the proper places to be employed, or if there was an impossibility of erecting Bridges, or preventing the Ennemies of cutting a Channel through the ice, in fine if a Passage over Schuylkill should be impracticable, it appears to me, that the attack ought rather to be dropped, then to attack the Ennemies in their strong hold, in front only, this would be running the risk of a repulse, or of a total defeat and the bad consequences thereof.





“If on the contrary the river may be crossed especially upon the Ice, the principal attack could be made on this side with the best troops, and the Militia be drawn up in Battle or in Columns before the lines to make a show, and keep up the attention of the Ennemy. for that purpose a Large body of militia from all States should be drawn together, and such measures taken for their march as to arrive all on the same day or very near, that on one hand, the expedition may take place immediately after their arrival, the Ennemies may be surprised or at least not have sufficient time to collect more forces or to add to their works, and on the other hand that the army may not be distress’d for Provisions, nor the Militia kept a long time in the field, for fear of sickness, or disgust, which is by all means to be avoided.

“Upon the whole this attack is subject to many inconveniencies, and the greatest of all, will be the necessity of a winters campaign, this will ruin the army by sickness and discontent, perhaps too by desertion, and how will another almost new one be raised, except Congress take such measures as to oblige the militia to serve constantly at least for two years, and to be put into the regulars to compleat the regiments, in fixing a certain number for every State and to be all levied at a Limited time, and there is none to be lost. if your Excellency resolve for a Winter Campaign, the Troops ought to be immediately supplied with cloathing at any rate, if not Winter quarters to take place without loss of time. But in this case where and how to take them is a matter of the highest consideration. if real Winter quarters and rest are intended, they must be taken at a distance (as between Lancaster & Reading, or Reading and Easttown) from the Ennemy. But this would give up to the Ennemy the Jeseys, the whole State of Delawar, the eastern part of Maryland, Chester, Philadelphia & Bucks Counties in this State of Pensilvania, the Ennemy would draw out of these lands, forrage, Provisions, live-stock, and what would be still worse, numbers of able men to bear arms against their country, either by consent,



delusion, or by force, besides the bad Effect it would have or produce in Political matters. This may partly be prevented by taking up Winter quarters at Wilmington and Environs with the addition of Hutts, but then there will be little or no rest, and no possibility of sending home many Officers & Soldiers for recruiting their regiments, and at the least movement of the Enemy on Schuylkill, we must come up with them, in order not to be surprised in some of our quarters or cut off from the neighbouring States and from our Stores; the greatest alertness will be required from all Commanders in those quarters, and the fatigues the army would lie under and the Sicknesses they would be subject to, call aloud on Congress for recruits and Cloathing.

“BARON DE KALB

“*Major General.*”

OPINION OF MAJOR-GENERAL ARMSTRONG.

“CAMP AT WHITEMARSH, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“In regard to the Advisability of a Winters Campaign, I answer—In keeping the Field, the hardships on both officers and privates are manifestly great, nor is there an alternative presenting your Excellency with less inconvenience, at best you have but a choice of difficulties of which Hutting in the field is in my Opinion the least of the two, and most in charecter for the Army.

“The only semblance of Quarters known to us being so remote from the Enemies Post as to leave a great part of Pennsylvania for several months fully in their power—an acquisition this, too great to be yielded to these cruel & haughty intruders, unless under a greater degree of necessity than has yet reached your Army—To the advantages of the Enemy we must here subjoin the piteous sufferings of the well minded populace, too many to enumerate, too tender to express—I wish Sir to be divested of every local prejudice in the present enquiry where the publick weal is not clearly involved, but most certainly if in present or equal





Circumstances the Whole of the Army shall retire to distant Villages already crowded with her own refugees, Pennsylvania is that moment a publick Sacrifice, her Spirits, her hopes & future exertions Civil & Military, are blasted at once! unhappy State! & well if her diseases do not contaminate some of her neighbours—a mutilated victim cursed of the other twelve—and by Britain too, who for her many-fold services to Congress & to this Army, hath now made her the capital Seat of War.

“To considerations of this sort may naturally be added a train of things relative to the great design uses & reputation of the Army, all pointing against the intelligible quarters, but at present shall omit these.

“Discipline & Economy will be better maintain’d in the field than in the villages, where quarters are so far detached—Health & vigour better maintain’d than in bad Quarters, and liable to debauchery. Hutting in the field in a dry cold winter, is by no means incompatible with health—this hath been experienced. If our Army is remote the lower Counties & some part of Maryland will probably be subject to the like incursions of the Enemy with the uncovered parts of Pennsylvania—In the field favourable Openings for annoying the Enemy may happen & be improved—Great Quantities of Provisions and Forage now convenient to the Enemy may be saved—If in the Field the Enemy will be cautious, if in quarters they will triumph, and their small partys dispersed abroad will serve their purposes & do us much damage.—On the whole I am fully of Opinion however arduous, that the present situation of our Affairs calls aloud for a Campaign, that it is advisable, practicable, honorable and will be found to be salutary.—But as far as possible to reconcile jarring difficulties, suppose one half of the Continental Troops with some Militia always in the field, and the other in quarters alternately, by which means some publick good may still be done, whilst all that ease that the nature of things can possibly admit will be granted to the Troops generally?

“With respect to the practicability of an attack on Philad<sup>a</sup>



with the aid of a Considerable body of Militia to be assembled at a certain time and place—'tis a pleasing idea at first view, and ready to elate the anxious mind, in it there is something noble & consonant to the great points in view, and did they assemble in convenient time, the attack might doubtless be made with probable success—Or their very numbers occasion the Enemy to abscond, or a desertion in their Army—Cooper's Ferry wou'd best annoy the Enemy with carcasses—but the Engineers should be knowing, provided with materials, & might throw light on the best means of attack, on whatever side of the Town it might be made. Notwithstanding these wishful things, so many are the contingencies attending the convention of a distant Militia, and the ice serving in proper time, together with the great prejudice of a disappointment, that a measure the efficacy of which must depend on such an exact coincidence of things can scarcely be advised, but must be given up as rather to be wished than expected. Such an attempt with the advantage of Boats might perhaps be matter of consideration for the Spring. I am with perfect Submission

“Y<sup>r</sup> Excellencys Most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.”

“JOHN ARMSTRONG.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MAXWELL.

“SIR,

“Your Excellencys Favour of yesterday I received concerning the Adviseability of a winter Campaign, and the practicability of an attack upon Philad<sup>a</sup>, with the Aid of a considerable body of Militia assembled at an apointed time and place. I do ashure your Excellency I think the object a verry desirable one could it be put properly into execution and without taking a winter Campaign to it, which in our present circumstances would be sufficient to ruin us of itself.

“It appears to me verry plain that General How does not think himself strong enough now to meet us in the field therefore will give us no opertunity of attacking him but to our great disadvantage. Our expectations have never been





verry sanguine that we could prevent our Enemys from taking possession of some of our Seaports but if they cannot meet us in the field they will make verry slow work in conquering the Country. It appears verry plain we must have another Campaign next summer, and the sooner we begin to prepair for it the better by taking every method in our power to prepare our present Armeys, and Increase it.

“The Attack proposed on Philad<sup>a</sup> appears to me to be liable to so many Accidents that the success of it would be verry doubtfull and should it fail our Armeys would be ruined waiting for it.

“I am therefore against the Attack and the Winter Campaign, and am your Excellency’s

“Most Obedient Humble Servant

“W<sup>m</sup> MAXWELL.

“WHITE MARSH, 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1777.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SMALLWOOD.

“CAMP, December 4<sup>th</sup> 1777

“SIR

“It will be unnecessary to point out the sufferings of the Continental Troops, from their various hard Duty, & distresses for want of Cloathing, particularly in the Articles of Blankets, Shoes & Stockings, the most essential part to enable them to encounter the severity of a Winter Campaign, and the improbability of procuring those necessary supplies, without which our prospect of success in an undertaking of this Nature must be unpromising and fruitless—The Army has already & is daily diminishing by sickness, which has in a great Measure proceeded from the want of these necessary Articles—The discontent, the disposition for resigning, & the complaints which so generally prevail among the Officers, arising in some Instances from the unsettled State of their Recruiting Accounts (which prevents the Draft of their Pay) of their Rank, in other Instances the partial Promotions which have been made, & the exorbitant Prices paid for what they must unavoidably purchase (overrunning their Pay) renders them destitute &



unable to appear suitable to their Rank, or even decent & comfortable, which call for redress & respite to regulate & remedy, this cannot be made or obtained in the course of a Winters Campaign.

“Your Excellency can be no stranger to their Distress, and the justice & motives of their Complaints, & desire to resign, which if not speedily remedied must have a dangerous Tendency, & a Winter Campaign must rather increase than diminish their Sufferings in, & Objections to the service—abstracted from which it must lessen, inervate, & render your troops less formidable, & may give an irretrievable check to your Advances in the Spring, at a Time when the Enemy will come out in high Spirits & Vigor, & perhaps may more than avail themselves of any acquisitions gained by it—from which, & sundry other Reasons which might be suggested, I am against a Winter Campaign, tho’ at the same Time I shou’d object to the Troops being canton’d so remote as to afford little or no cover to the Country, this might have a bad Tendency in several Respects, as it wou’d enable the Enemy to procure Supplies without any Risque at the same Time that it wou’d discourage the Inhabitants, & subject them to be insulted & plundered, & the Soldiery being lulled into Security wou’d be inattentive to Discipline, & in all probability so scattered over the Country, as to render it difficult to draw them to a Point, in order to open the Campaign early in the Spring, & prosecute your Measures with Vigor & Success.

“An Attack on Philad<sup>a</sup> this Winter, I think neither advisable or practicable without subjecting the Army to too great a Loss, this cannot be effected in Front, & an Attempt in Rear & on the left Flank (the only probable way of making an impression) must depend upon Contingencies, which in all probability upon our taking a Position on the other side of the Schuylkill, will be sufficiently guarded against, nor in this cold, dead Season do I think the Aids expected from Militia are at all to be depended on.

“I should therefore judge it more prudent, immediately to take the most eligible Position, for the Security, relief &





discipline of the Troops, having in View to cover as much as may be the Country, and awe the Enemy from making depredations, & should the States fall on Measures of filling up their Regiments or supplying you with a formidable Body of Militia early in the Spring, your Prospects of Success wou'd be enlarged & better'd, & it's likely a deep stroke might be made, before the Enemy cou'd possibly be reinforced. I have the Honor to be &c.

“Your Excellency's most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“W. SMALLWOOD.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL KNOX.

“CAMP, WHITE MARSH, 3<sup>d</sup> December 1777

“SIR

“I receiv'd your Excellencys orders to give my sentiments 'upon the advisability of making a Winters Campaign, and Practicability of an attack upon Philadelphia, with the aid of a considerable body of militia to be assembled at an appointed time & place.' Were it probable that S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Howe's destruction would be the consequence of a Winter's Campaign I would most chearfully give my voice and opinion for one—I think a Winter's Campaign, under the present circumstances, will be the inevitable destruction, if not of the Liberties of the Country, yet of the present Army; my opinion is founded on the following Reasons.

“Our entire want of Cloathing to keep the men from Perishing by the cold winters season.

“The improbability & impracticability of surprizing 10,000 veteran troops in a well fortified city.

“The impossibility of our keeping the field to besiege their works and city regularly, and being almost totally deficient of any warlike apparatus for so arduous an enterprize.

“The uncertainty of obtaining such a sufficient number of Militia as to make the enterprize warranted by reason, or common Military knowledge.

“My Opinion is for putting the Army in good Winter Quarters, to repair the damages done: to recruit<sup>s</sup> reform



the Army; to provide Magazines &c. In the Spring we may be enabled to strike the enemy a decisive blow, which by making a Winters Campaign I think improbable and impossible.

"I am Sir with the greatest respect, Your

"Excellency's Most Obed<sup>t</sup> H<sup>'</sup>ble Servant

"H. KNOX

"*B. G. Artillery.*"

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL POOR.

"CAMP, 4<sup>th</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup> 1777

"D<sup>r</sup> Sir

"In answer to the question Recv'd by note from your Excellency yesterday—a winters Campaign, I am sure it will be attended with Gruel loss of our numbers.

"As to the Militia troops their is but little Dependence upon them in Case you make an Asolt upon Philid<sup>ba</sup>—besides if the Rivers should be froze over the Enemy Doubtless will Contract lines & make their Situation nearly as strong as it is now.

"I think that if your Army should be Emediatly sent into winter Quarters—the Absentees Colected, that early next Spring you'd be able to take the field with Dubble the numbers that you'l have if a winters Campaign is kept up.

"as your men are much fatigued & numbers falling sick every day for want of Clothing and Comfortable habitations.

"I am Clear of Opinion that it's Best to put your Army into winter quarters without Loss of time.

"however am Ready to Complier with any Disposition that shall [be] Concluded upon.

"I am Sir your Excellency's most obedient

"H<sup>'</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

"ENOCH POOR, *B. G.*"

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL PATERSON.

"SIR

"The bad States of our Army at present destitute of Clothing and many other Necessaries, the Necessity of its





being recruited this Winter, that we may be superior to Mr How in the Spring, induces me to give my Opinion in favour of going to Winter Quarters. The Attack on Philadelphia, from the best knowledge I can obtain of the Strength of their River Works, I must think would fail, the Consequences of which would be a universal Discouragement to the Country and Army, I find my Brigade falling sick very fast, and am informed that others nigh me are equally unfortunate, should therefore think it adviseable to retire to some convenient Place for the Winter, and recruit the Army as much as possible, that we may at an early Day in Spring, take the Field & give Gen<sup>l</sup> How the so much desired Defeat.

“I am your Excellencies most

“humble Servant

“JN<sup>o</sup> PATERSON.

“CAMP, 4 Decem<sup>r</sup> 1777.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL VARNUM.

“WHITEMARSH, 3<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>, 1777

“SIR

“Having been favored with your Excellencys commands of this day, I shall give my sentiments respecting the subject matters thereof, uninfluenced by any motives but the sincere dictates of my own mind.

“Not being at Head Quarters when the subject of a ‘winters campaign was proposed,’ in order ‘to make an attack upon Philadelphia, aided by a considerable body of militia,’ I cannot be acquainted with the reasons offered in support of the proposition: your Excellency will therefore excuse me, if I do not go so fully into the arguments as otherwise might be expected.

“Winter campaigns have not, in modern times, been approved of or practised by great commanders, but upon the most important occasions—Among the ancients they were more common. Two reasons conspired to make them so; the hardiness of the soldiery, from their abstemious manner of living; and the small preparations necessary to



furnish their military apparatus. The modern use of gun powder, and the tedious preparations in the laboratory, added to the luxury and effeminacy of the times have concured, among other things, to form the modern taste. All Countries, in the same age, equally civilized seem to form their customs and manners upon a similar basis. It is not strange therefore that Americans have, in some measure, imbibed the vices of Europe. And, altho' the living of the American army is necessarily founded upon the strictest frugality, yet a few months service has not given them strength of constitution and patience of mind adequate to the severities of a winter's campaign. This will appear more evident, if your Excellency will be pleased to consider that the army is composed of men from the various parts of an extensive continent; born in different climates; accustomed, in some degree, to a different mode of living, and scarcely any of them acquainted with the manner of subsisting in camp. A considerable time is requisite to form them to the same standard. 'Till when, sickness will more or less prevail in proportion to the irregularity of their duty. From this consideration it is in part, that so very great a proportion of the troops are unfit for duty.

“Another and not inconsiderable Cause of the feeble state of the army, is their want of cloathing. From whatever source it is, I shall not decide, but it is a melancholly truth, that the men are naked. And what can we expect from them, opposed to British veterans, well clad, well provided with every necessary, when they are not in a situation to combat the severities of the season? Permit me Sir for a moment to indulge a moral sentiment. The Soldiers, their nearest connections, the country at large, nay, God himself, has committed them to our charge! We are answerable for their safety, their health, their comfort & their lives—If unnecessarily we deprive them of either, a consciousness thereof will plant daggers in our breasts that time cannot remove!—I must therefore conclude that your men are not in a situation to keep the field.

“Where are the magazines necessary for the execution





of this great and extensive plan? The commissary's department is in such a situation, that provisions can scarcely be obtained from day to day. I know of nothing like preparations to subsist a large army near the enemy's lines. In that position, we cannot depend upon live stock. Salted provisions and hard bread must be had. Where are they? In the eastern parts of Connecticut. The horses are extremely fatigued; they want rest and keeping. But, suppose they were in good plight; from what quarter is forage to be drawn to feed them? It is very difficult to obtain it in our present quiet camp. How much more so will it be when near the enemy? In what condition is our laboratory? Where are our battering cannon? Where are our mortars, shells, carcasses, &c.? By a general assault upon the City, many of these objections would be obviated; but that I esteem utterly impracticable. The collecting a large body of militia in aid of the continental troops, I presume would be attended with unsurmountable difficulties. The distance from whence many of them must come, would either totally discourage them from attempting it, or protract the time in such a manner, that when they are assembled, arranged, & provided with ammunition &c., the winter season would be past, and your army ruined. They cannot be subsisted on the march, neither could they live here without great alterations. But suppose these difficulties were removed, & we provided with covering and other accommodations for a numerous army, of what service would they be in such a kind of attack as is proposed? I will venture to say, that the scene of confusion, Horror and carnage that must ensue, would only heighten those miseries which result from a total defeat! In this kind of war, I conceive of militia, promiscuously assembled, as an huge unanimated machine, incapable of regular motion or activity; and must infallibly share the fate of that numerous host of undisciplined barbarians, who ventured to fight the Roman Marius. I will beg liberty to extend my Ideas further, and presume we had an army of regular, well appointed troops, sufficiently numerous to ensure victory in



the field, even then the attack would appear to me impracticable. It cannot be doubted but that General Howe has strongly fortified the front of the City by a chain of Redoubts, connected by Abbatis, or lines. The flanks are secured by Rivers. The City itself is made up of houses, the walls of which are proof against small shot. Thus securely posted, what probability have we of success? To rush impetuously on certain destruction, would be acting the part of madmen rather than of brave commanders.—It is the duty Sir, of all men to seek their own happiness. In military characters this is derived from glorious actions; from those exploits and successes which claim the approbation and applause of mankind. Rashness and timidity are alike unfriendly. Prudence and real magnanimity form the Hero.

“In matters of great importance, it is the sentiment of biographical writers, that we call to our assistance the example of shining characters. It is from their experience we may form our own conduct; and from the success attending their efforts, under similar circumstances, we may probably conjecture the event of our measures. What would a Marlborough have done on such an occasion? ‘He never besieged a town but he carried it;’ but he never attacked a strong village or town by assault. What would a Pyrrhus have attempted? He undertook to storm a city—He lost his army and his own life. Thus, by one rash manœuvre that dazzling Glory which astonished the universe, was sullied and eclipsed! As many instances of the like kind will be recent in your Excellency’s memory I shall not trouble you with selecting more; but observe, that, if your councils are to be formed upon popular opinions, & vulgar prejudices; or even by bodies in high authority, you will be pleased to recollect the misfortune of the Martial Turenne, who, to gratify the court of Paris, attacked a town sword in hand; the Event proved their ignorance and folly.

“Altho’ Philadelphia is a splendid object,—altho’ a total destruction of General Howe’s army would compleat your





Excellency's felicity in relieving the country from all her calamities; yet, the consequences of a defeat, would be attended with miseries beyond Description.

"The salvation of America does not depend upon a successful victory this winter; but a severe defeat would plunge us into difficulties, out of which we could scarcely extricate ourselves. In short, I dread the Consequences, and do esteem an attack, upon the principles proposed, in every respect unadvisable. However, should your Excellency order it, I shall be happy in relinquishing my own objections, knowing that if the worst should happen, we shall fall like the sacred band of Thebes.

"I am obediently your Excellency's

"most humble Servant

"J. M. VARNUM.

"4<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

"SIR

"Having only the last Evening to form, adjust & write my Opinion upon an important Question; Being very much indisposed and full of Pain, I must apologize to your Excellency for the obscure manner in w<sup>h</sup> my Ideas are conceived and expressed. But for the Circumstances mentioned, I should have added many more Arguments in support of my Sentiments. I have mentioned in a written Opinion lately, the Uneasiness of the Officers; I hope that may be considered in Connection with this.

"I am as before

"J. M. V."

(To be continued.)



# SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SECOND TROOP OF PHILADELPHIA HORSE.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS MARY C. McALLISTER.

From the close of the Revolution to our second war with England there were from one to four "troops of horse" in Philadelphia at various dates, and in 1810 the troops of the city and county were formed into a regiment, with Robert Wharton, of the First Troop, as colonel commanding. The date of the organization of the Second Troop is not known to the writer, but it was probably after the passage of the Militia Act of 1793 and prior to the breaking out, in 1794, of the "Whiskey Insurrection" in Western Pennsylvania. Its uniform was a short blue coat with buff facings and yellow buttons; a buff waistcoat with four rows of yellow buttons; a pair of close buckskin breeches; a pair of close boots with black tops; a pair of spurs; a leather cap with bear-skin crest and leopard-skin band; a leather stock; buff leather gloves; a uniform sword, carried in a buff belt across the shoulder; a pair of pistols; a cartouche-box, worn on a belt around the waist; uniform saddle and holsters having bear-skin caps; blue saddle-cloth having two rows of buff binding; and bit and bridoon-bridle with buff front and blue and buff.

The by-laws and regulations require :

"For each of the above enumerated articles not worn on parade, the delinquent member shall pay a fine of one quarter of a dollar.

"For every neglect to parade on the days prescribed by law, or when the troop is ordered out by the commanding officer, on a day's previous notice, each delinquent member shall pay a fine of one dollar; and for non-attendance at private meetings, when served with notice, a fine of one quarter of a dollar.





"The muster-roll of the troop shall be called on the parade, one hour after the time appointed for assembling; and at private meetings, one hour after the time specified in the notice, when absentees shall be fined, unless excused by sickness, or unavoidable absence.

"The officers agree to pay double fines in case of delinquency.

"The fines to be paid at the next meeting of the troop, into the hands of the Quarter-master, to remain subject to the order of the Captain, for defraying the necessary expenses of the troop.

"Should the fines be inadequate to defray the expenses of the troop, the deficiency shall be supplied by an equal payment, to be made by each member.

"A statement of the expenditures and receipts shall be made by the Quarter-master, and laid before the troop half-yearly.

"Applicants for admission into the troop shall be proposed by a member at one meeting, and balloted for at the next. But in case the member proposing is intimately acquainted with the applicant, he may request permission that he be balloted for at the same meeting: A majority of the members present agreeing thereto, he shall be balloted for accordingly.

"Each candidate, on his being elected a member of the troop, shall pay into the hands of the Quarter-master, three dollars, towards defraying the expense of the troop: The member who proposed him to be accountable for the same.

"Two thirds of the members present shall be required to admit a candidate.

"A majority of the troop to make a quorum.

"It shall be the duty of the Quarter-master, to keep an exact record of the proceedings at the several meetings of the troop, and to inform the members of the time and place of assembling, on the order of the commanding officer.—That he report at the meetings, the delinquent members, charged with fines, or such quotas as may have been agreed on, for the support of the troop: And on three months default in meeting the troop, agreeable to notice, and non-payment of fines, as aforesaid, on motion of one of the members present, the sense of the troop shall be taken by ballot, at the next meeting, whether he is any longer



to be considered as a member, or expelled the troop. A majority of the members present, constituting a quorum, to determine the same."

On September 17, 1794, the Second Troop, which was to form a part of the cavalry force called out to suppress the "Whiskey Insurrection," fully armed and equipped, assembled on Market Street, east of Twelfth, where, after being inspected by its captain, Abraham Singer, it marched, *via* Norristown, Reading, and Harrisburg, to Carlisle, where it went into camp. It mustered one captain, two lieutenants, one cornet, one surgeon, one quartermaster, two sergeants, and sixteen privates.

The most interesting event of its tour of duty took place on October 3, when the army encamped around Carlisle was paraded to receive his Excellency President Washington. When the services of the soldiery were no longer required, the cavalry reached the city in advance of the infantry, and on December 10, Singer's troop with the other two troops escorted the Macpherson Blues into the city, and as they marched down Market Street were reviewed by the President from the steps of his residence. Four days later the same courtesy was extended to Colonel Francis Gurney's regiment. During the "Fries Rebellion," sometimes called the "Hot Water War," the troop also performed twenty days' service. With the exception of escort duty performed for Presidents Washington and Adams and General Anthony Wayne, participating in the sham funeral of General Washington in December of 1799, and in local celebrations, the history of the troop is uneventful.

Captain Abraham Singer, its first commander, was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, April 25, 1765, where his parents, Casper and Eva M. Singer, were then residing. The family removed to Philadelphia, where the father with his sons Abraham and John entered mercantile life, and later the two brothers continued the partnership.

On May 8, 1794, Captain Singer was married by Bishop White to Ann, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Singleton) Tress.





His first appearance in military life was in the summer of 1786, as a private in Captain Eleazar Oswald's company of foot, which offered its services to dispossess the British of the posts and forts they held on our Western frontier.

Captain Singer was a man of good presence, courteous in his manners, exceedingly hospitable, and his death in the prime of life, January 3, 1815, was a great loss to a large circle of friends and to the community.

Joseph B. McKean, sometime Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, succeeded Captain Singer as commander of the Second Troop.



A REGISTER OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES, AND  
DEATHS, 1772-1822.

BY REV. WILLIAM ROGERS, D.D.

(Continued from page 419.)

1805.

647. Sutton Paul & Lillie Gallaher.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Saturd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 5.
648. Jonathan Griffith & Mary Snyder.  
Both of Lower Dublin, Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
P.M. Jan<sup>y</sup> 24.
649. Hazael Thomas & Tamzin Hoofman.  
Both of Goshen, Chester County. Also
650. Abraham Cobourn of Delaware C<sup>y</sup>  
& Tacey Worrell of Thornborough, Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>  
all of Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>g</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 21.
651. W<sup>m</sup> Hoskins & Elizabeth Slice.  
Both of Willistown, Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup>  
Feb. 26.
652. Michael Sisler & Letitia Griffith,  
Both of Lower Merion, Montgom<sup>y</sup> County—Also—
653. Patrick Coyne & Susannah Bein. Both  
of Upper Merion, same county. The form<sup>r</sup>  
Tuesd<sup>y</sup> P.M. The latter Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>g</sup> March 5.
654. Jacob Hagy & Hannah Robinson. Both  
of Low<sup>r</sup> Merion, Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> P.M. March 7.
655. Anthony Ireton & Mary Tranor. Both  
of Upper Derby, Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Saturday P.M. March 9.
- Joshua Thomson & Sarah Powell.  
656 Both of Haverford, Delaware C<sup>y</sup>.  
& Joshua Note & Ann Jones. Both of  
657. Providence, same County. Thursday P.M.  
March 14.





658. John Point & Sarah Mitchell. Both  
of Philad<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Evening March 16.
659. Thomas Welsh & Sarah Oliver.  
Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
March 19.
660. Jonathan Field & Rosanna Doren.  
Both of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup>  
April 17.
661. Frederick Hagamaester & Marg<sup>t</sup>  
Gorman. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Ev<sup>s</sup>  
April 21.
662. Frederic Tryon & Susannah Mitchell,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> April 23.
663. James Mitchell & Elizabeth Bell.  
Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 13.
664. W<sup>m</sup> Rofs & Mary Wood. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Monday Even<sup>s</sup> May 20.
665. Louis Emery & Elizabeth Wright.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 21.
666. George Bowdery & Lydia Crofsby,  
Both of Northumberland, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. On  
Tuesday Evening June 18.
667. James Hendry & Sarah Craig.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> July 2<sup>d</sup>.
668. Chauncey Whittlesey of Saybrook,  
Connecticut & Mary Ann Young of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday Even<sup>s</sup> July 9.
669. John Callahan & Rebecca Sko-  
field. Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Pennfy<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> July 11.
670. Thomas Stewart & Catherine Jones.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 18.
671. W<sup>m</sup> Winston & Eleanor Morris. Blacks.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 6.
672. William Leacock & Mary Bell.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 8.
673. Jefse Jones & Sarah Worrell. Both  
of Delaware County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
Aug<sup>t</sup> 15.



558 *A Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1772-1822.*

- 674 James M<sup>c</sup>Cay & Sarah Randall.  
&
675. David Beatty & Ann Cox. All  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 15.
676. Silas Thane & Mary Duey. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wednesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 21.
677. W<sup>m</sup> Atkinson Shaw of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Anna  
Marshall Smith of Burlington N. Jers<sup>y</sup>.  
Saturday Eve<sup>s</sup> August 31.
678. Joseph Strahan & Catharine Potter. .  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Even<sup>s</sup> Sep 1.
679. Hendrick Lott & Anne Hamstead.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 8.
680. Samuel Swift & Mercy Perry. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 9.
681. James Ball & Agnes Jackson. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 11.
682. John M<sup>c</sup>Dowell & Elizabeth Vance.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 24.
683. Hosea Oliphant & Eleanor Hoover.  
Both of Blockley, Phil<sup>a</sup> County, Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
P.M. Oct<sup>r</sup> 17.
684. W<sup>m</sup> Hoffman of Blockley, and  
Margaret Tyson of Derby, Delaware  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>, Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct. 31.
685. Jefse Armstrong of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> County,  
New Jersey & Hannah Morris of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
(Blacks.) Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 7.
686. Patrick Maitland & Ann Spackman.  
Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Thurs<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Nov. 21.
- 687 Matthew Wilson of Chambersberg,  
Penn<sup>a</sup> & Hannah Tomlinson of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
&
688. James Earle & Mary Abbott.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Late of G. B. Sat<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Nov. 30.
689. James Bownafs of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Esth<sup>r</sup>  
Gwin of Blockley. Thursd<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 12.
690. Isaac Hawthorn & Marg<sup>t</sup> Faucett.  
Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Dec. 18.





691. W<sup>m</sup> Kliff & Mary Rudolph. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 23.
692. John Haws & Mary Worrall. Both of Del. County  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> A.M. December 26.

*Forty six Couple.*

1806.

693. Curtis Hoops & Jane Baggs.  
Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. On  
Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 2.
694. Joshua Blackwell & Amelia Hey.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>, Late of Bristol,  
England. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 30.
695. Lemuel Reeves & Mary Tolbert.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> P.M. March 6.
696. John M<sup>o</sup>Leod, jun<sup>r</sup> & Eliza Ingels.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Thursd<sup>r</sup>  
Evening, March 6.
697. John Woodhouse & Catherine Sti-  
nard. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 8.
698. Samuel Worrell & Ann Sullivan.  
Both of Frankford. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 23.
699. Hugh Auchinclofs of New York,  
Merch<sup>t</sup> & Ann A. Stuart of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Wedn<sup>r</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> March 26.
700. Richard Kimble & Mary Kerr.  
Both of Abington, Montg<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Friday Even<sup>s</sup> March 28.
701. John Kittleman & Elizabeth Doherty.  
Both of Westown, Chest<sup>r</sup> County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Friday P.M. April 4.
702. Alexander Neal & Elizabeth Glen.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Friday Ev<sup>s</sup> April 4.
703. John Scott & Mary Jenkins.  
Both of Radnor, Del. County, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. April 10.
704. George Standley & Alce Carter. Both  
of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>f</sup>. Wed<sup>r</sup> A.M. Ap<sup>r</sup> 23.



705. W<sup>m</sup> Anderson of Brandywine,  
New Castle C<sup>y</sup> & Rachel Dick of Mar-  
cus Hook. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 1.
706. W<sup>m</sup> Hoskins & Eliza Lindsey,  
Both of Haverford, Del. C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. May 8.
707. W<sup>m</sup> Moran & Mary Ann Clarke,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> May 10.
708. John Pugh & Eleanor M<sup>c</sup>Gin-  
nefs. Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup> June 4.
709. Daniel Taylor & Phebe Livzey,  
Both of the Great Valley, Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>  
Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Monday Even<sup>s</sup> June 9.
710. Edward Robeson & Priscilla  
Moore. Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Monday Even<sup>s</sup> June 30.
711. John Thomas of Montgom<sup>y</sup> County,  
Pennf<sup>a</sup> & Margaret Smith of Blockley,  
Phil<sup>a</sup> County. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 10.
712. James Conner & Ann Freeman.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup> (Blacks). Sat<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 27.
713. W<sup>m</sup> Curll & Sarah Vanleer. Both  
of Chester County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup> Oct 2.
714. Robert Clark & Rebecca Clark.  
Both of Southwark, Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct. 5.
715. John M<sup>c</sup>Callmont of Newport,  
Delaware S: & Hannah Moore of Chest<sup>r</sup>  
C<sup>y</sup> P. Wedn<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 8.
716. Nicholas Worthington & Mary Jones.  
Both of Baltimore C<sup>y</sup> Maryl<sup>d</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup>  
Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct. 8.
717. Isaac Johnson of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> P<sup>a</sup>  
& Mary Foster of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> D<sup>l</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Even<sup>s</sup> Oct. 16.
718. W<sup>m</sup> Stockton & Ann Boozer. Both  
of Burlington, N. J. at Burlington.  
Lord's Day, P.M. Nov. 2.





719. Joseph Guenneteau & Magdalene  
Emilia Picot. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
Ev<sup>s</sup> Nov. 6.
720. Adam Weaver of Jefferson C<sup>y</sup> Virg<sup>a</sup>  
& Lydia M<sup>c</sup>Calla, of Phil<sup>a</sup> County. At  
Lower Dublin. Thursday Nov. 20.
721. John Thompson & Eliza Pearsol.  
Both of Brandywine, Chest<sup>r</sup> County, P.  
Lord's Day Even<sup>s</sup> Nov. 23.
722. Nehemiah Maull & Mary Marot.  
Both of Southwark, Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Nov. 29.

*Thirty Couple.*

1807.

723. Isaac Keller & Martha Worrell.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 5.
724. Allen Wiley of Chester C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>  
& Sarah Lamborn of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
January 7.
725. Adam Traquair & Hannah Thaw.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Jan<sup>y</sup> 15. Thursday  
Evening.
726. Robert M<sup>c</sup>Intyre & Elizabeth  
Derham. Both of Chester County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 27.
727. Robert Maull & Margaret  
Higgins. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Evening,  
February 21.
728. Thomas Cobourn & Elizabeth Wil-  
kinson. Both of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.—On  
Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> March 5.
729. James Bowen & Sarah Turner.  
(Blacks). Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 15.
730. Zachariah Kirk & Sarah Delaplane.  
Both of Chester C<sup>y</sup> P. Mond<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 23.
731. John Doyle & Lois Worrall. Both  
of Chester, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 26.
732. John Shannon & Sarah Walker.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 30.



562 *A Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1772-1822.*

733. John Cooper & Margaret Smith.  
Both of Newtown, Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday P.M. April 7.
734. Vincent King of Lancaster County,  
& Phebe Trimble of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Sat<sup>r</sup> Evening, April 18.
735. Joshua Jackson & Sarah Harbeson.  
Both of Westchester, Chester County,  
Wednesday Even<sup>g</sup> April 22.
736. Stephen Comfort, Merch<sup>t</sup>, and  
Lydia Jones. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup>  
April 25.
737. Paschal Yearsley of Chest<sup>r</sup> Count<sup>y</sup>  
& Hannah Worrillow of Delaware C<sup>r</sup>  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Ev<sup>g</sup> April 28.
738. Moses Williams & Mary Appleton.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Friday E<sup>g</sup> May 1.
739. Jacob Jones & Phebe Cannan. Both  
of Chester C<sup>r</sup> P. Wed<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>g</sup> May 6.
740. Buddell Toy & Alice Potter. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day Even<sup>g</sup> May 10.
741. Ezra Talmage & Sarah Wills. Both  
of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday Eve<sup>g</sup> May 12.
742. Thomas Price & Hannah Jones.  
Both of Lower Merriion, Montg<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup>  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday P.M. June 4.
743. Joseph Edwards & Mary Trimble.  
Both of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesday P.M.  
July 7.
744. Jacob Coleman of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Elizabeth  
Bomberger of the Northern Liberties.
745. Also, W<sup>m</sup> Eyles of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Sarah  
Rowe of Frankford. Sat<sup>r</sup> P.M. July 25.
746. John Blaney & Mary Ferrol. Both  
from Ireland. Now of Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sunday  
A.M. August 2.
747. John Roberts Worrell & Sidney  
Flounders. Both of Delaware C<sup>r</sup>  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Friday A.M. Sep<sup>r</sup> 18.





748. Thomas Collings & Sarah Dover.  
Both of the Northern Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>r</sup>.  
Lord's Day Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep. 20.
749. W<sup>m</sup> McConnell & Margaret  
McConnell. Both of Wilmington,  
State of Delaware.—Also—
750. Henry Dunlap & Mary Dearth,  
Both of the City of Washington.  
Each Couple, Thurs<sup>d</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 24.
751. John Mancill & Jane Grisell.  
Both of Middletown, Del. C<sup>r</sup>, Pennf.  
Thursday, P.M. Oct<sup>r</sup> 8.
752. Thomas P. Pearce & Mary Stanert.  
Both of the North<sup>n</sup> Lib<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>  
County. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 10.
753. Emmor Worthington & Sarah  
White. Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Pennf<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 15.
754. Jacob Moulding & Hetty Poole,  
(Blacks). Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thurs<sup>d</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
Oct<sup>r</sup> 22.
755. Aaron Hoiles & Marth Venable.  
Both of Evesham, Burlington County,  
New Jersey. Friday Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 23.
756. W<sup>m</sup> Robinson & Esther Wells. Both  
of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Nov. 7. A.M.
757. John M. Moore & Elizabeth Jones.  
Both of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> P. Thurs<sup>d</sup> P.M. Nov. 12.
758. George Jones of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Zebiah Hewson  
of Kensington. Thurs<sup>d</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Nov. 19.
759. Aaron Vogdes & Ann Hayman.  
Both of Willistown, Chester C<sup>r</sup> Pa.  
Thursday P.M. Nov. 26.
760. John Heckman of Radnor, Delaware  
C<sup>r</sup> P. & Mary Shubert of Roxborough,  
Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>r</sup>. Lord's Day Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 6.
761. Joseph Worrilow & Margaret  
Wilkinson. Both of Springfield, Del-  
aware C<sup>r</sup> Pennf<sup>a</sup>. Thurs<sup>d</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 31.

*Thirty Nine Couple.*



1808.

762. Francis Finley of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Ann  
Buckley of Chester, Del. C<sup>r</sup>, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 14.
763. Mathew Hastings & Elizabeth  
Armstrong, Both of Willistown, Ches-  
t<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 4.
764. Jacob Zell & Elizabeth Powell.  
Both of Haverford, Del. C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. On  
Thursday Ev<sup>s</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 25.
765. George Lewis of Newtown—and  
Margaret Worrell of Springfield—  
On Thursday, March 3<sup>d</sup>.
766. John Buckley of Phil<sup>a</sup> and  
Mary Brown of Tredyffrin, Chest<sup>r</sup>  
C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 3<sup>d</sup>.
767. Joel Davis & Mary Taylor. Both  
of Chester County, P. Sat<sup>r</sup> March 5.
768. Samuel Rogers and Mary Akeroyd.  
Both of New Castle C<sup>r</sup> State of  
Delaware. Sund<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Mar<sup>h</sup> 13.
769. John Warnock & Abigail Reymer.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
March 24.
770. Benjamin Jefferies and  
Frances Osborne. Both of Chest<sup>r</sup>  
County, Penn<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> March 30.
771. Isaac Cropper & Christina  
Henemen. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup>  
Ev<sup>s</sup> March 31.
772. Enos Reece & Ann Smith.  
Both of Newtown, Del. C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday April 14. P.M.
773. Benjamin Gaskill & Rebecca  
Marshon, Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>.  
Thursday Ev<sup>s</sup> April 14.
774. Bernard Vanleer & Deborah  
Parker, Both of Tredyffrin, Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup>,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Friday Ev<sup>s</sup> April 15.





775. Adam Ulrich of Dauphin C<sup>r</sup>  
& Ann Hughes of Montg<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Monday Ev<sup>s</sup> April 18.
- { 776. Charles Ramsay & Sarah Hughes,  
Both of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
777. Also. Benjamin Lamb & Ann  
George. Both of Blockley, Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>r</sup>.  
Thursday P.M. April 21.
778. Rob<sup>t</sup> Worster Jones & Ann Cath-  
arine Bob. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Lord's Day  
Even<sup>s</sup> April 24.
779. Joseph Watson & Mary Williams.  
Both of Tredyffrin, Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Monday Noon, April 25.
780. Samuel M<sup>c</sup>Dermond of Blockley,  
Phil<sup>a</sup> C<sup>r</sup> & Ann Ramsay of Lower Merion,  
Montg<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Noon, May 19.
781. W<sup>m</sup> Hughes & Margaret Baker.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 24.
782. Joseph W. Pennell & Deborah  
E. Doyle. Both of Ashton, Del. C<sup>r</sup>,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> May 24.
783. W<sup>m</sup> J. Trotter & Rebecca Conarroe,  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 9.
784. Thomas Jackson & Sarah Hobson  
Goodwin. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> June 23.
785. John Johnson & Catharine Gummere.  
Both of Cheltenham, Mont<sup>r</sup> C<sup>r</sup>, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Monday A.M. July 4. Independence.
786. Thomas Smith of Montg<sup>r</sup> County &  
Elizabeth Griffith of Delaware C<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Tuesday P.M. July 5.
787. George W. Gavin & Eleanor Kyle.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 9.
788. Sam<sup>l</sup> Thorworth & Joanna Everhart.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Frid<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 15.
789. John M<sup>c</sup>Conmy & Frances  
Wilkinson. Both of the Northern  
Libert<sup>a</sup> Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>r</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> July 26.



790. Maris Worrell & Catharine  
Lewis. Both of Delaware County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday Noon, July 28.
791. W<sup>m</sup> Robotham & Ann Williams.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thurs<sup>d</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 11.
792. W<sup>m</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Knight & Jane Shields.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 18.
793. Jacob Morris & Levina Chandler.  
Blacks. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 20.
794. John Cox & Elizabeth Conway. Both  
of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Aug. 29.
795. John Rodgers & Deborah Walker.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Frid<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 2.
796. Joseph Wallas & Hannah Ann  
Meredith. Also—
797. James Moore & Eliza Hubley.  
All of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> 15.
798. James Lewis & Rebecca Worrell.  
Both of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday  
P.M. Sep<sup>t</sup> 22.
799. Christopher Lewis Cauffman &  
Mary Robinson. Both of Upp<sup>r</sup> Derby,  
Delaw<sup>e</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> P.M. Sep. 24.
800. Thomas Curll of Del. C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>  
& Margaret Pearce of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>—  
Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 4.
801. James Lewis & Lydia Kiemer.  
Both of Brandywine, Chest<sup>r</sup> County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Even<sup>s</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 6.
802. John Wood Roebuck & Elizabeth  
C. Kerr. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Wed<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Oct. 19.
803. Lawrence Holland & Jane Loyd.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Tuesd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Oct. 25.
804. Isaiah Fox of Delaware C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>  
& Mary Matlack of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Ev<sup>s</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 8.
805. James Hornsby Page & Maria  
Nicholson. Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Sat<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup>  
Dec<sup>r</sup> 10.

*Forty four Couple.*





1809.

806. Daniel Henderson and Sarah  
Henderson. Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> County, Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
—also—
807. Caleb Yarnall & Hannah M<sup>c</sup>Clester.  
Both of Delaware County, P<sup>a</sup>. Wedn<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup>  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 4.
808. George Trainer & Elizabeth Rapp.  
Both of Charlestown, Chest<sup>r</sup> County,  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Mond<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 9.
809. John Evans & Hannah Thomas.  
Both of Lower Merion, Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup>  
Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursday P.M. Jan<sup>y</sup> 12.
810. Jonathan Jenks & Sarah K. Thomas.  
Both of Phil<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 19.
811. George Lowry & Hannah Horn,  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup> Penn<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup>  
Ev<sup>s</sup> March 2<sup>d</sup>.
812. Abraham Tustin & Rebecca Dunnehew.  
Both of Germantown. Lord's Day P.M.  
March 12.
813. Isaac Cornog & Margaret Lindsay.  
Both of Del. C<sup>y</sup> P<sup>a</sup>. Thursd<sup>y</sup> P.M. March 16.
814. Joseph Rogers of Baltimore & Hannah  
Carlisle of New Castle C<sup>y</sup> State of Delaware.  
Friday Ev<sup>s</sup> March 17.
815. Henry Gallagher & Mary Torbert,  
Both of Chest<sup>r</sup> C<sup>y</sup> P. Thursd<sup>y</sup> A.M. Mar<sup>h</sup> 23<sup>d</sup>.
816. George Delany & Mary White.  
Both of Montg<sup>y</sup> C<sup>y</sup> P. Thursd<sup>y</sup> E<sup>s</sup> Mar. 30.
817. John Phillips of Phil<sup>a</sup> & Susan Sommer  
of Germantown. Thursd<sup>y</sup> Ev<sup>s</sup> Ap<sup>l</sup> 6.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

LETTERS OF HON. JOHN JOSEPH HENRY, 1808-09.—The following interesting letters of the Hon. John Joseph Henry, written to his friend and former companion-in-arms, General Francis Nichols, refer to the compilation of his "Campaign Against Quebec, 1775," which was published in 1812, a year after his death. Judge Henry served as a volunteer in Captain Matthew Smith's company, and Francis Nichols as second lieutenant of Captain William Hendrick's company, Colonel William Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen:

"HARRISBURG Nov. 29 1808

"DEAR NICHOLS.

"Running fast the down-hill road of life my soul greets you as one among the last of that little band of heroes of 1775 & 1776, who attacked Quebec. Having an opportunity by a Mr. Merkel who has intimated that he is your acquaintance, it has occurred to me to write you a note relative to our former dolorous expedition to that horrible climate of Canada. My disease for the last six years has worried me upon many occasions to the verge of the grave, so as to deprive me of the power of doing my duty as a magistrate. In the intervals of distress and pain within the last four years I have put together on paper the story of that expedition. Its detailed principally from my own memory, assisted by the notes of Gen. Meigs and W<sup>m</sup> McCoy, one of our sergeants. It would compose an octavo of 120 pages. I know of none of us now alive but Heath, Steel, Simpson and yourself, beside a few of the privates, who are falling off daily. It would do me a pleasure that you could peruse it. Our common friend Simpson swears that it is all true. How can I get it to you?

"Yours most affectionately,

"JNO. JOS. HENRY.

"GEN. FRANCIS NICHOLS."

"HARRISBURG July 8 1809

"DEAR GENERAL.

"I received your very obliging & polite favour of the 27th ulto p<sup>r</sup> mail. My answer will be lengthy, accompanied by some queries which take up much room, but which it is my fervent prayer to you to answer, as nearly as your recollection serves. The work is now completed except some notes which it is intended to introduce at the foot of the pages where they may most aptly apply. For information upon this subject, my friends and fellow sufferers who were upon the spot, must be resorted to. A set of queries are prepared for Col. Steele, but there is a fearfulness upon my part that either his ill-health, indolence, or an apathy of mind may deter him from answering my questions. He received a letter from me shortly after the date of the one written to you, which he has not answered—perhaps it did not reach him, though the postage was paid by myself. It is presumable that according to former habits you still solace yourself by breathing the winter air of the city. God grant you may long do so. If in your peregrinations there you should hap-





pen to see our friend Steele, put him in mind of the propriety of his writing to me. He is very handsomely spoken of in the work upon many occasions, and it is no more than he deserves, as he was an intrepid and active officer. I have had a hope that to make a full display to this adverse world which seems to hate honest men, that I might do him a service in the way of bettering his fortune by obtaining from Government an office more competent to his comfortable maintenance than that he now possesses. Now-a-days we see canting puppies enjoying offices of large emolument, who were in their swaddling clothes when we were toiling for the liberties of our country, and ancient veterans are suffered to labour over the ups and downs of this life merely for subsistence and sink into the grave from sheer want unnoticed and even derided. If it could have been foreseen that such would have been the case, I should never have drawn a trigger. S. may have been imprudent, but it was always on his own means. It can be no reason why Government should not reward him by some respectable office suitable to his talents. He is honest.

"I am about to write to an Irishman Jno. M. Taylor with queries. It seems to me as if you Irishmen possessed a kind of case-hardened bodies. You are impenetrable to disease whether you act in the North or South. The last time I had the pleasure of seeing Taylor was at my own house on Susquehanna. He was hale, athletic, jocose & talkative as ever. I envied him his constitution, for we poor devils of Americans have died off or are in a dying state, while you seem as robust as ever. Taylor will be able to throw light on several passages.

"The work will make up 250 pages octavo at least. It was intended for my children only—the style is most simple in consequence. The MS. has been read by half a dozen of my friends who wish to see it in print. My eldest daughter is transcribing it—as we proceed considerable enlargements take place. If my health, which is very low, permits it may be completed by May.

"Before publishing it would give me great pleasure to submit it to the perusal of yourself Steele and Taylor, for fear some error may have crept into the text, of which I cannot be made aware but by those who know the facts as well as myself. Truth in its plainest garb is my object. You are all named and it could not be but with honor to yourselves, but it might be that I have not done sufficient justice. I now send you two extracts from the MS. by the pens of several daughters to show you the style of the work and the kind of spirit with which it is written. The language could be greatly embellished and refined by a more florid and pompous diction, but it would not redound to the advantage of truth, and would certainly destroy that simplicity which is a primary beauty in all historical composition. Gibbons, one of the most accurate of writers, and every page of his celebrated work may be read with pleasure if not profit; he is complained of for too great a redundancy of language. Even Dr Robertson who is all simplicity, has not escaped censure. I can have no objection to your showing the extracts to your friends. Don't permit them to come into print, as they are in a mutilated state and would do no credit to your friend.

"I am now obliged to keep my bed—a cold has brought on the gout, which chiefly afflicts my stomach with deadly pains. If this work was fully completed as it deserves to be—I should be without further care. I can write but now and then in the secession of pain; it has cost me much to compose this letter & the queries. The package is too large to send by mail—if another gentleman so polite as Mr. Markel could be met with, it would be very agreeable. If such a one cannot be procured, it



will be forwarded to our friend M. J. Biddle, who will send it to you safely.

"I am dear General your affectionate friend and most

"hum' Servant,

"JOHN JOS. HENRY.

"Memo.—Would you be so good as to make me out a certificate of my services, perhaps the Legislature may be prevailed upon to allow me or my family something on that score.

"GEN. FRANCIS NICHOLS."

"I do hereby Certify that Jno. Jos. Henry now Judge Henry went out a Volunteer to Cambridge and attached himself to the Rifle Corps in 1775; afterwards went through the Wilderness with Arnold to Canada, and when in Camp before Quebec he turned out on all occasions as a vigilant and active soldier, and was much respected by all who knew him. It may be justly said of him, that no man in his station, could serve his Country better. He was made a Prisoner the morning of the attack on the City of Quebec, where I understood afterwards he was put in Irons, for being one of a few who laid a plan to liberate himself and the rest of his fellow Prisoners.

"FRANCIS NICHOLS.

"POTTS GROVE the  
"23<sup>d</sup> of March 1809."

LIST OF CAPTIVES TAKEN BY THE INDIANS, and delivered to Colonel Bouquet, by the Mingoes, Delawares, Shawanese, Wyondots, and Mohickons, at Tuscarawas and Muskingam, in November, 1764.

#### VIRGINIANS, OF THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

##### *Males.*

Michael Patterson; John Burd; George Yokeham; Stephen Blankinship; Thomas Harper; Michael See; George See; John Huntzman; Adam Huntzman; Solomon Carpenter; John Gilmore; Thomas Wheat; and John Freeling.

##### *Females and Children.*

Barbara Rigar; Dorothy Rigar; Margaret Sivers; Elizabeth Sivers; Catherine Sivers; Mary Lancisco, and her Child; Elizabeth Toher; Eleanor Kincade, and two Children; Elizabeth Moufe; Eve Harper; Christiana Houfe; Margaret Yokeham; Mary M'Cord; Elizabeth Gilmore; Elizabeth Gilmore, junior; Florence Hutchinson; Mary See; Catherine See; Barbara Huntzman; Sufannah Fishback; Margaret Fishback; Peggy Freeling; Peggy Cartmill; Molly Cartmill; Peggy Reyneck; Elisabeth Slover; Elisabeth Slover, junior; Tamar, a Mulattoe Woman; Elizabeth Snodgrafs; Elizabeth Cattle.

#### VIRGINIANS, OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

##### *Males.*

Frederick Myers; Leonard Hyett; James Bell; Thomas Collins; James Price; William Young; James Harris; Christopher Harmantrout; Michael Cobble; Bridget's Son; Cawacawache; Nicholas Petro; Philip Petro; Hance; John Wifeman; Daniel Rhoads; Michael Rhoads; Henry Punnet; Mordecai Babfon.





*Females and Children.*

Eve Ice; William, Lewis, John, Thomas, Elifabeth and Catherine Ice; Rebecca Bryan; Anna Catharina; Sarah Price; Hannah Price; Sally; Katey Westbrook; Polly; Hannah; Experience Wood; Mary Clauffer; Betty Clauffer; Magdalene Clauffer; Mary Clauffer; Peggy Colly; Conogoniony; Alice Steddler; Molly Mitch; Mary Craven; Peggy Punnet.

## PENNSYLVANIANS.

*Males.*

John Jacob Le Roy; Ephraim Walter; John Walter; John Cochran; David Johnson; Morice Devine; Lodowick Clemn; Felty Clemn; Francis Innis; James Beaty; Thomas Boyd; James Campbell; Andrew Sims; Henry; Hance Adam Smeltzer; Jacob Smeltzer; Joseph (red Jacket); Joseph Studibacker; Christopher Tanner; Hance Adams; Simon; Peter; Jemmy; Pompadour; Tawanima; James Butler; Samuel Wallace; Crooked Legs; Sore Mouth; John Dunnahoe; William Leake; William Martin; James Martin; Robert Knox; John Fifher; John Riddle; John Diver; Hance Diver; John Palmer; — M'Cullough; John Gibfon; Thomas Smallman; Edward Henderfon; Daniel Clemn; George Anderfon; John Harry; Jacob Shover; Hicks; Hicks.

*Females and Children.*

Sarah Boyd; Elifabeth Smith; Hannah Smith, and her Child; Elizabeth Henry; Margaret Miller; Mary Villa; Elisabeth M'Elroy, and her Child; Mary M'Elroy; Catherine Heat; Uly Stroudman; Catherine Stroudman; Hannah Maria Sourback; Kitty; Beverly Miller; Peggy; Catherine Williams; Betty Young; Jenny Innis; Christina; Rachel Leninger; Margaret Leninger; Margaret Manfelle; Dorothy Manfelle; Elisabeth France; Hannah Smith; Catherine Lingerfield; Peggy Bafkin; Ann Finley; Mary Campbell; Mary Lowrey; Jane Lowrey; Sufannah Lowrey; Irena; Phebe; Christina Wampler; Flat Nose; Betty; Agnes Davidfon; Molly Davidfon; Rachel; Polly; Catherine Bacon; Jane Crow; Polly Crow; Dorothy's Son; David Bighead; Martha Martin; Sufannah Knox; Jane Knox; Mary Knox; Sufannah Knox; Efther Flaugherty; Elifabeth Stinson; Mary Stewart; Jane Coon; Rachel Fincher; Elifabeth Coon, and two Children; Chritopher Wampler; Rhody Boyd; Elifabeth Studubacker; Dorothy's Daughter.

VIRGINIANS, Men, Women and Children . . . . .	91
PENNSYLVANIANS, Ditto . . . . .	116
Total,	207

LEWIS OURRY,

*Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master General.*[From the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 17, 1765.]

LIST OF FRIENDS' NAMES.—From some original lists of 'Friends' families visited in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, about the year 1781, the following names have been collected by William Kite, of Germantown, Philadelphia:

*List of the members of Shreve Mount [N. J.] Meeting.*—Jacob Shinn, John Shinn, Isaiah Shinn, Anios Shinn, Jacob Merriit, Mercy Curtis, Josiah Gaskill, Joseph Cartor, Robert Curtis, Samuel Hough, Daniel D. Smith, Thomas Shinn, John Coate, Frances Ellkitton [?], Francis Shinn, Restore



Shinn, Amos Atkinson, Barzilla Shinn, Vincent Shinn, Arney Lippincott, Susanna Larzalee, Thomas Croshan, Caleb Shinn, William L. Smith, Samuel Shinn.

*Families of Bristol* [Pa.], visited, beginning of the year 1775.—Ennion Williams, Joseph Church, Sarah Marriott, John Hutchinson, Joseph Atkinson, Sims Betts, Grace Bowen, Sarah Large, Ruth Buckley, Mary Jackson, William G. McIlvain, Jacob Lancaster, Daniel Bunting, Joseph Merrick, Widow Priestly, Rebecca Allen, Samuel Allen, William Rodman, William Davis, Jonathan Butcher, William Bidgood Jr., Benjamin Swan, Jonathan Russell, Jonathan Mitchell Jr., Daniel Thomson, Widow Lenwin, Saul Bunting, James Moore Jr., Joseph Baldwin, Joseph Thomlinson, Joseph Brown, William Sisom, Ebenezer Lundy, Joseph Hall, Richard Hartshorn, Hugh Hartshorn, and a son of Samuel Bunting on Denormandies place.

*List of the members of Upper Springfield* [N. J.] Meeting, part of whom join to Holly and part to Burlington.—*Upper Springfield*: Taunton Earl, Thomas Earl, Joseph Lamb, Job Stockton, Isaiah Cruther, George Cruther, Samuel Smith, Anthony Morris, Mire Lamb. *Burlington*: Samuel Gaunt, William Stockton, David Stockton, Richard Stockton, Eben Antrim, Job Ridgway, Thomas Gaskill.

REES, OF DUCK CREEK HUNDRED.—“The tract of land which is known, at present, by the name of Duck Creek Hundred was settled in the year 1733 by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denomination. . . . The Baptist families who settled in the same district were about nine: the names of the heads of them were James Hyatt, Nathaniel Wild, David Evan, Evan Rees, David Rees, James Howel, Evan David Hughs, Joshua Edwards. These Baptist families came hither from Welsh-Tract, and were members of that church.” (From Morgan Edwards’s “History of the Baptists in Delaware.” PENNA. MAG., Vol. IX. p. 202.)

I wish to call attention to the fact that two, at least, of the Welsh families mentioned above were settled in Duck Creek Hundred several years before the date here given.

Evan and David Rees were sons of John Rees, of Duck Creek Hundred, whose will, signed November 10, 1727/8, and proved April 20, 1728, is recorded at Dover. He names son Evan and daughters Mary, Jane, Hannah, Martha, and Esther. David Rees’s name is not mentioned in the will, for the reason that he probably died before his father. His will is also recorded at Dover, signed February 12, 1727/8. He calls himself of Kent County, and mentions his brother Evan and sisters Hester and Martha. It is probable that they had settled in the Hundred some years before the dates which I have given.

THOMAS HALE STREETS.

FRANKLIN.—In the November catalogue of Mr. William Downing there is a note which merits preservation.

“AMERICA [Franklin (Benjamin)] Letter to a Friend on the Mineral Customs of Derbyshire in which the Question relative to the claim of the duty of Lot in Smitham is occasionally considered, by a Derbyshire Miner, post 8vo, 1766.”

“Mr. Ince, of Workwirth, stated that this pamphlet was written by Dr. Benjamin Franklin, the celebrated patriot and champion of American liberty and independence, during one of his visits to Mr. Anthony Tissingen, of Swanick, at whose desire it was written, and by whom the





subject matter was suggested." (Manuscript note in Mr. Walley's copy of the pamphlet, written during one of his visits to Mr. Anthony Tissingen, of Swanick.)—*Notes and Queries*, February 22, 1896.

STERLING vs. PAPER.—From the account-book of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia, from September 25, 1780, to March 25, 1781, the following items are extracted: "1 Load of Oakwood £150.; Hauling cording and sawing £40.10; £190.10.—; 12 lbs Candles, £103.—.—; Six months rent of small Stable, £168.15.—; 30 Cedar Shingles, £22.10; 18 ft board; £14.1.3; Repairs to roof and porch, £65.12.6." The treasurer notes, "There were no collections made because of the depreciation of paper monies to 175 for 1, and there was no occasion for it." The following term the accounts were kept in "hard money."

LIEUTENANT DODGE TO TIMOTHY HORSFIELD, OF BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.—

"JOHN STINSONS Oct 8 1763

"MR HOSFIELD,

"Pray send me help for all my men are killed But one and Capt. Wetterholt is amongst Dead He is shot threw the Bodey. for God Sake send me help these poor men to serve my Contrey and King so long as I live. Send me help or I am a Dead Man. This from me

"LT DODGE

"Sargent Meguire is shot threw the Bodey Pray send up the Doctor for God Sake."

THE OLD WELSH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF THE GREAT VALLEY PENNSYLVANIA, by the Rev. Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, is the title of an interesting contribution to *The Cambrian* for November, 1896.

### Queries.

HISTORY OF BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.—Where can one find a concise history of the various banks known under the above name, volume of their transactions, list of officers and directors? Mr. Robert B. Davidson, now the oldest member of the Philadelphia Stock Board, tells me that he is the last survivor of the clerical force of the last bank.

T. H. M.

IRWIN.—Robert Irwin came to this country from Ireland in 1775, and settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. There were two children, one of whom was Robert, born in Dublin, who married Catharine Singer, 1796, in Carlisle. He afterwards moved to Greensburg. Wanted, names of Catharine's parents, and did Robert Irwin, Sen., serve in the Revolutionary War?

BOWMAN.—Was there a Major Joseph Bowman in the Revolution, from Bautree, once a part of Hardwick, Massachusetts? He is said to have assisted in the capture of Burgoyne.

SKELTON—MCCLANE.—Further information is wanted concerning Patrick and Margaret (McClane) Skelton and their ancestry. Patrick Skelton and Margaret McClane were married Twelfth month 13, 1737, at the "hour of ten." Patrick Skelton was taxed in East Caln Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1753. He died Second month 8, 1780,



and his wife Margaret died First month 28, 1760. They had a son, Alexander Skelton, who married Rachel Maris. Were there other children?

LYDIA C. SKELTON.

Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

MALCOM.—The late Rev. Howard Malcom, D.D., LL.D., was the son of John James Malcom and Deborah Howard, who were married in Philadelphia in 1798. John James Malcom was the son of John Malcom and Hannah Roberts, who were married in "St. Michaels & Zion Church," Philadelphia, in 1772. Hannah Roberts was the granddaughter of Hugh Roberts, who was one of William Penn's Council. Who was the father of John Malcom? There is a vague tradition that during the Revolutionary War he was a sea-captain, and was lost at sea. Any information on this line will be gratefully acknowledged by

GRANVILLE MALCOM.

Haverford, Pennsylvania.

WARD—CHAMBERS—STEELE—CLAYPOOLE.—Joseph Claypoole, of Philadelphia, born 1677; married, second, April 10, 1716, Edith Ward, daughter of John and Sarah Ward. Their son, James Claypoole, born 1721, was sheriff of Philadelphia 1777–80. He married, second, previous to 1751, Mary Chambers, who had Captain Abraham George Claypoole, born 1756, who married, second, in 1795, Elizabeth Steele, of New York. I would like information concerning the ancestors of *Edith Ward*, *Mary Chambers*, and *Elizabeth Steele*. Was Mary Chambers a sister or daughter of David Chambers, who was bondsman of James Claypoole, sheriff?

EDWARD A. CLAYPOOL.

281 East Ontario Street, Chicago, Illinois.

WOOD.—A Joseph Wood was married to Mary Scull in October of 1747, at Christ Church, Philadelphia, and three of their children, Margaret, Mary, and William, were baptized there. Was this Joseph Wood the same who was a member of St. David's Fishing Club, Gloucester Hunting Club, and served as lieutenant-colonel and colonel in the Pennsylvania Line? He resigned July 31, 1777, and died December 12, 1788. Who were his parents?

CECIL CLAY.

Washington, District of Columbia.

GRIFFITH.—Thomas Griffith, the first pastor of the Welsh-Tract Baptist Church of Pencader Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, came from Wales in 1701. He first landed at Philadelphia, but moved thence to Delaware with his flock in 1703. His wife was Elizabeth —, and their children were Elizabeth, Samuel, Isaac, Mary, and Judith. He died in 1725, and was buried at Pennepack, Philadelphia. These facts were obtained from Morgan Edwards's "History of the Baptists in Delaware." I should like to learn something more about his family, particularly about his son Samuel,—whom he married, and the names of his children. Morgan Edwards further says that the children of Thomas and Elizabeth Griffith married among the Trueax, Gooding, Morgan, and Fulton families, and raised them eighteen grandchildren, most of whom were alive in 1770 under the names of Loyd, Ward, Holmes, Hall, Liking, Morgan, Howell, and Griffith. I shall be greatly obliged to any of the descendants of these families for any information they can give me. The family name is no longer Griffith; it was long ago anglicized to Griffin. I have a great deal of information relating to the





Griffin (Griffith) family of New Castle and Kent Counties, Delaware, which I will willingly exchange.

THOMAS HALE STREETS.

109 East Nineteenth Street, New York, N.Y.

PORTRAIT OF GENERAL LALLEMAND.—Do you know of any public or private gallery of paintings where the portrait of General Lallemand, who served under Napoleon I., can be found? After the battle of Waterloo he first went to Texas, married a Miss Stephen, of New Orleans, came to Philadelphia, and died in Bordentown on September 20, 1823.

H. ORLANDI,

*Acting Consul of France.*

524 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

COLONEL JOHN WHITE (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XX. p. 133).—Where was Colonel White buried? I have had inquiries as to this, and would be pleased to answer them.

T. H. M.

### Replies.

WAEGER—REICHARD.—Maria Magdalena Waeger, daughter of Philip Waeger, of Philadelphia, merchant, and his wife Maria (maiden name Keller), was born September 26, 1772. She was married May 11, 1791, to Adam Reichard, Jr., and died January 9, 1806, at Lancaster. One son and five daughters survived her.

### Book Notices.

GENEALOGY OF THE FISHER FAMILY, 1682-1896. By Anna Wharton Smith. Philadelphia, 1896. 245 pp.

The volume before us contains nearly eighteen hundred names of the descendants of John Fisher, who emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682, and among the families represented are the following: Barrett, Buckingham, Burchenal, Cadwalader, Carpenter, Cowgill, Corlies, Coxe, Draper, Fox, Gilpin, Houston, Kane, Lewis, Levick, Lippincott, Longstreth, Lee, Lovering, Luff, Newhall, Parrish, Parvin, Polk, Prettyman, Price, Rodman, Rodney, Shoemaker, Small, Smith, Truitt, Warner, Warren, Wayne, Wharton, Wright, and Wister. In addition to the genealogical data, the compiler has added numerous biographical sketches, which, with the liberality and excellence of the illustrations, are prominent features of the book; and we take pleasure in commending this latest contribution to Pennsylvania genealogy. It is well printed on good paper, neatly bound, and contains a full index of names. Copies may be obtained at 5317 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia. Price, \$5.00; post-paid, \$5.23.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF CAPTAIN ENOCH ANDERSON, AN OFFICER OF THE DELAWARE REGIMENTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. With Notes by Henry Hobart Bellas, LL.B., Captain U. S. Army. Wilmington, Delaware, 1896. 56 pp. Illustrated.

This pamphlet, numbered XVI. of the papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, contains a series of letters of Captain Anderson addressed to his nephew, Hon. Alexander Anderson, giving his recollections and experiences as an officer in both Colonels Haslet and Hall's Delaware



regiments during the Revolution. They begin with a graphic account of the expedition against the Tories of Sussex County, followed by the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Brandywine, and Germantown, in which he participated, and are interspersed with biographical sketches of some of his companions-in-arms. Captain Anderson was a native of Bucks County, and died in Juniata County, Pennsylvania, but his military services were confined to the Delaware Line. Captain Bellas has added numerous annotations to the text which are of value to the reader, and the letters are a most acceptable contribution to the history of the State of Delaware in the Revolutionary period.

**THE ANNALS OF THE FAMILIES OF CASPAR, HENRY, BALTZER, AND GEORGE SPENGLER**, who settled in York County respectively in 1729, 1732, 1732, and 1751: with Biographical and Historical Sketches and Memorabilia of Contemporaneous Local Events. By Edward W. Spangler. York, Pennsylvania, 1896. 605 pp. Price, \$5.00.

We have received a copy of this valuable contribution to Pennsylvania genealogy, just issued from the press of the York Daily Publishing Company. In addition to the genealogy, the compiler has added historical data of much value, and the Revolutionary rolls of York County supply a long-felt want. The book is liberally illustrated with autographs, portraits, copies of rare prints, and charts. The paper and press-work are good, and the binding substantial and attractive. Copies may be obtained from the compiler at York, Pennsylvania.

**LEWIS WALKER, OF CHESTER VALLEY, AND HIS DESCENDANTS:** with some of the Families with whom they are connected by Marriage. 1686-1896. By Priscilla Walker Streets. Philadelphia, 1896. 8vo, 443 pp. Illustrated.

It is with pleasure that we are enabled to call the attention of our readers to another valuable contribution to Pennsylvania genealogies,—the Walkers, of Chester Valley. Lewis Walker, the immigrant, came to Pennsylvania from Wales in 1687, and first settled in Radnor, on the Welsh Tract. A few years later he removed with his family to the Chester Valley, in Tredyffrin Township, where he purchased a large tract of land, and erected the homestead, "Rehobeth," which is still in the possession of one of his descendants of the name. Here the sturdy yeoman died in December, 1728. The history of eight generations of the family has been prepared by the compiler, to which she has added copies of patents, deeds, marriage certificates, and other documents of interest. The general arrangement of the work is commendable; the book is well printed, the paper good, and it contains a very full index of names. Price, \$5.00. Copies may be obtained of the compiler, 109 East Nineteenth Street, New York.





MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1896.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 13, 1896, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Mr. Adam Everly read a paper on "Edwin Forrest, the American Tragedian," on the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was returned.

A special meeting of the Society was held on February 17, Vice-President Charlemagne Tower, Jr., in the chair.

Professor Albert L. Bolles read an essay on "Practical Politics in Provincial Times."

On motion of Dr. T. Hewson Bradford, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Dr. Bolles.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on March 9, Mr. Charles Roberts in the chair.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins read a paper on "Thomas Penn, a Son of the Founder of Pennsylvania," and called attention to the portrait of the Proprietor of Pennsylvania from 1746 to 1775, acquired by the Society through Robert Pearsall Smith, Esq., of London. The portrait is a fine copy of the original in the possession of Captain William Dugald Stewart.

The thanks of the Society were returned to Mr. Jenkins and to Mr. Smith.

Nominations for officers of the Society, to be voted for at the annual meeting, being in order, Dr. Edward Shippen, U.S.N., placed in nomination the following names:

*President.*

Charles J. Stillé.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*

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Ferdinand J. Dreer.

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*Members of Council (to serve four years).*

John B. Gest,

Samuel W. Pennypacker,

William Brooke Rawle.

There being no other nominations, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 11.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced that satisfactory arrangements had been consummated for copying the Journals of the Lords of Plantation and Trade, in the Public Record Office, London, and that a number of volumes had been received. Six hundred volumes of works of various kinds have been received from the library of our late Vice-President, George de B. Keim. A collection of works from the libraries of Isaac Norris and John Dickinson was presented by Miss Frances A. Logan. Views of Philadelphia,—many of them original,—presented by Mr. Clarence S. Bement. The lock and key of the "Slate-Roof House," on Second Street, presented by Mr. Francis M. Brooke; and a cannon-ball and musket-balls, from the ruins of Fort McIntosh, presented by Mr. George J. Barker.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the various donors.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on May 11, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Mr. John W. Jordan read a paper on "The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz during the Revolution."

Professor Gregory B. Keen read the annual report of the Council.

Librarian Frederick D. Stone announced the following donations: From Mr. Charles S. Ogden, a portrait of John Christopher Meng, and also one of his son, John Meng; from Mrs. Juliet C. Walker, two interesting autograph letters of Margaret Arnold, wife of Benedict Arnold, written to her father, Chief-Justice Edward Shippen. Mr. Thomas McKean has deposited with the Society the papers of his ancestor, Governor Thomas McKean, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, bound in five volumes.

On motion of William Brooke Rawle, Esq., the thanks of the Society were tendered to the various donors.





The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 9, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

Major William H. Lambert made an address on "An Evening with William Makepeace Thackeray," and exhibited numbers of early imprints of Thackeray's works, his original manuscripts, letters, and drawings.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered.

The following gifts to the Society were reported: An oil-painting of a lady, commenced by John Meng, an early artist of Philadelphia; portraits in oil of Joseph Bonaparte, ex-King of Spain, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams, by Charles Willson Peale, from Mr. Charles S. Ogden; a portrait of Captain William Man, of Philadelphia, from William H. Jordan; also the marriage certificate of Thomas Makin, an early teacher of Philadelphia, who died in 1733, from Powell Stackhouse, Jr.

The announcement was also made that the Society had received from the estate of Samuel L. Smedley the bequest of six thousand dollars under his will, and also the original copy of the essay by Robert Fulton on Canal Navigation, presented by Fulton to General Washington, containing the autograph of Washington and Fulton's letter of presentation.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were directed to be communicated to the respective donors.

A special meeting of the Society was held on December 14, Vice-President Charlemagne Tower, Jr., in the chair.

Joseph Willcox, Esq., was introduced, and read a paper entitled "The Willcox Paper-Mill (Ivy Mills), 1729-1864," in which he gave a history of bank-note-paper making of the Colonial, Revolutionary, and late Civil War epochs. Old sample sheets and several moulds were exhibited.

On motion of Mr. James T. Shinn, the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Willcox.



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March 8, 1897.	November 8, 1897.
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