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The  
Pennsylvania  
Magazine  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

James Trevelyan  
F.D. Morris



X 597582

The  
CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI  
Pennsylvania  
Magazine  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXI.

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

1897.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF

FREDERICK DAWSON STONE, LITT.D.

IN MEMORY

OF

FREDERICK DAWSON STONE, LITT.D.

DECEASED NOVEMBER 8, 1902

PUBLISHED

BY THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF

1903



# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

ON THE DEATH OF

FREDERICK DAWSON STONE, LITT.D.

LIBRARIAN OF THE SOCIETY

HELD NOVEMBER 8, 1897

PHILADELPHIA

PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

1897

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

HELD AT THE

FREDERICK DAYSON STONE, LTD.

ON THE 15TH OF MAY 1900

BY J. H. B. STONE, F.R.S.

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. H. B. STONE, LTD.

1900

## PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES.

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A STATED MEETING of the Society was held in the Hall on Monday evening, November 8, 1897, the President, Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., in the chair, and William Brooke Rawle, Esq., Secretary *pro tempore*. A large and sympathetic audience was in attendance.

The President, on opening the meeting, said,—

### FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Since our last stated meeting we have been called upon to mourn the loss of two of the most active and best loved of our officials. WILLIAM SPOHN BAKER had been a member of this Society for more than twenty-five years. During the last thirteen years he had been one of the most useful members of its Council, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society. He was at all times deeply interested in the historical work which we carry on here. The special department of history to which he was attracted was the life and career of Washington. On this subject he was a genuine enthusiast. As those of you who have read his articles in the Society's Magazine are aware, he was ambitious of presenting a record of the career of this great man day by day throughout the Revolution until the day of his death. To perform such a task worthily, in Mr. Baker's opinion, required a vast collection of books, medals, and engravings, and he made it. What aid this immense repository of knowledge must give to the future student of our Revolutionary annals you can readily imagine. Mr.



Baker has made this Society the grateful custodian of these treasures, and has thus erected here a monument to his memory which we trust may prove imperishable.

Of the other officer of the Society, to honor whose memory we are gathered here to-night, I shall venture to say but a few words. To tell what he was to this Society and to his friends is a task imposed by the Council, as soon after his death as it was possible to convene a meeting, upon one who knew him best and was most familiar with his arduous labors here. I beg you, in advance, to believe that all that can be said of his most useful and active life, of what the Society and this community and the student of American history owe to his zealous labors, cannot surpass the estimate which the Council of the Society places upon his labors.

I beg to present to you Hampton L. Carson, Esq., who by the request of the Council will address you on the life and services of DR. FREDERICK D. STONE.

Mr. Carson then said,—

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY :

We have met to pay our tribute of admiration and respect to the memory of a man who for more than twenty years had devoted himself so exclusively to the interests of this Society as to be indistinguishable in the public eye from all that concerned its usefulness, and whose merit was as great as his modesty was rare. He led the unobtrusive life of a scholar and a man of books; yet was he widely known in other States than ours, and his correspondence with the great was both frequent and familiar. The mention of his name unlocked the treasures of the British Museum to a



visiting stranger, and his letters of introduction were letters of credit current at sterling rates in the marts of learning. As an historian he was exact, sincere, and impartial, free from passion, unbiassed by interest, and ever faithful to the truth. His mind was a capacious reservoir upon which many drew without stint, but so redundant was the ever-flowing fountain of his knowledge that none could perceive the extent of their drafts. He aided the investigations of a Bancroft or a college undergraduate with equal affability. Both men and women turned to him with instinctive confidence, and old and young alike rejoiced in his companionship. He was so punctual in his attendance upon every function of this Society that his absence to-night is sad evidence of his death, but to the eye of faith his spirit is in our midst.

The request of the Council has imposed on me the mournful duty of preparing an address commemorative of his life and services as our librarian. It is with a heavy heart and a trembling hand that I attempt the task, for I knew him well, and loved him as deeply and as truly as one man can ever love another. Sir Philip Sidney once said, "A friend should be one in whose understanding and virtue we can equally confide, and whose opinion we can value at once for its justness and its sincerity." Dr. Stone filled the measure of these words and more. His purity, his unselfishness, his heartiness, his gentleness, and his manliness gave such an inward grace to the soul that it was an inspiration to be close to him. Nothing is more common than to talk of a friend; nothing more difficult than to find one; nothing more rare than to receive day by day the ripest fruits of trust, security, and mutual joys.

Frederick Dawson Stone was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 8th of April, 1841. The family of Stone, or



Stones, as it was always written in England, belonged to an old Cheshire stock, and occupied the manor of Hereford. His grandfather, Charles Stones, who married Margaret Steele, a daughter of George Steele, of Taed Hall, near Barthomley Church, in Cheshire, resided in Liverpool, but in the year 1795 emigrated with his family to America, and arrived in Philadelphia after a voyage of sixty days. He died of yellow fever on the 10th of August, 1798, and was buried in the present Logan Square, then the yellow fever burying-ground. He had four daughters and two sons, of whom John Stone, born on the 3d of October, 1786, was the father of our friend. John Stone was twice married: his first wife was Elizabeth Newton, by whom he had six children; his second wife was Mary McMahon, the widow of Lieutenant Thomas McMahon, and daughter of Robert Whittle and Ann Whetstone, of Germantown. Of this second marriage Frederick D. Stone was the youngest child.

John Stone was a well-known and prosperous merchant, the founder of the wholesale millinery house of John Stone & Sons, which existed until 1876. Among his intimate friends was Bridport, the engraver, from whose conversation and instruction young Stone derived much of that taste for portraits and engravings which was a ruling passion of his life. The fondness of the boy for books, and especially for those relating to the history of Philadelphia, was early manifested. At the age of ten years, having read his elder brother's copy of Watson's "Annals," he requested a copy for himself as a Christmas present, and, having received it, cast toys and games aside until he had committed almost every page to memory, and had walked in imagination the streets of old Philadelphia. His entire education was received in the Union Academy, at the corner of Eleventh and



Market Streets, and later at No. 5 South Fifteenth Street, conducted by Thomas D. James, as principal, and described in the circular, which has survived the waste of boyish days, as "a School of Thorough Instructions, Pure Associations, and Kindly Affections." After being well drilled in all the elements of education, he entered upon the extended courses of the upper classes, including all the branches usually taught in the most approved high schools, and all the classical authors usually read in preparation for the University, while at the same time the elementary and English branches were never laid aside. Lectures on Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Natural Science were regularly delivered, while much attention was given to composition and ready delivery, and opportunities were given for declamation before "enlightened audiences." French and German were also added, though in these our pupil attained no lasting proficiency.

Among his school-fellows was the late William John Potts, whose biographer he was destined to be. During his school-boy days he wrote verses, but none of his effusions have been preserved. In speaking in later days of the poetical talents of a friend, he admits, "We all did it; we could not help it. It was in the air, and we took it as we did the measles." At the age of sixteen, during the summer of 1857, he became the president of the Ephrata Dramatic Association, organized by himself and Howard Roberts, the sculptor, Samuel C. Konigsmacher, William Prichett Cresson, the artist, and others. They adopted a formal set of rules, one of which was that "each officer has his one and only duty to perform, and no interference allowed." It is noteworthy that fines were imposed on officers and actors for absence, and that young Stone was the only one who escaped fining. Unfortunately, no record was



kept of their performances. No doubt they were entertaining—to themselves and to their parents, but Mr. Stone, so far as is known, never displayed histrionic talents.

On the 8th of February, 1859, he lost his father, and leaving school on the 30th of March, he sailed from New York on the steamship "Asia," bound for Liverpool, where he arrived on the 10th of April, and remained abroad until the following January, the only experience which he enjoyed of foreign travel. The voyage was without incident, and the time passed slowly. He met no one of his own age except one C. H., "whom I voted a stick. I spent most of the time reading or looking at the gentlemen play shuffleboard and cards. On fine nights I used to go on deck, and on a bright, starlight night it was a beautiful sight. One most splendid night we passed a large sailing packet under full sail, and went so close that we could see the lights in the cabin and the people on her decks with the greatest ease. On stormy days I used to sit in the cabin reading, but on fine ones my favorite place was to lie in the sun just back of the pilot-house, or at the stern of the ship."

The fragment of a journal from which I have quoted unfortunately terminates with the outward voyage; but I have heard from Dr. Stone's own lips an interesting account of his journey. Two scenes dwelt in his memory,—the departure from Vienna of the Austrian army just prior to the battle of Magenta, and the triumphant return of Louis Napoleon to Paris after the peace of Villafranca, and the presence of the little Prince Imperial, then three years old, at the head of the French army. He visited the great silk, velvet, lace, and millinery establishments of Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, and Berlin with his elder brother Henry, then purchasing agent of the Philadelphia house; but although



he thus acquired a knowledge of stuffs and fabrics, yet to him it was at best a sorry occupation. He sighed for his books, his pictures, and his day-dreams, while talking of artificial flowers and ribbons. I have heard him express in strong terms his disapproval of any effort to compel a boy to follow a calling against his natural bent, even though the inclination was not in the direction of profit or emolument.

At no time was he a mere bookworm. He took a wholesome delight in athletic sports and the charm of woods and fields. He revelled in the life of Stock-Grange, a large estate of six hundred acres in Chester County, Pennsylvania, purchased in 1805 by his great-uncle, John D. Steele, from the heirs of General Richard Humpton, an interesting spot, planted with trees and shrubs brought from the old home in England. A jog-trot on a plough-horse with jingling chains, a moonlight ride in a hay wagon, a swim in the mill-dam, gigging for eels or fishing for bass in the Brandywine, the undulating motion of cradling wheat in the thirty-acre lot, whistling whistles, flying kites, or a romping game in the backyard of the fine old house in Pine Street,—these the sports of his boyhood and early manhood I have heard him dwell upon with as much delight at fifty as though he were a youth of fifteen. He never lost this love of nature. I have climbed the hills and explored the forests of South-western New Hampshire in his company, and his talk was as stimulating as the mountain air and as unsullied as the streams which sparkled beside us.

On his return from Europe, in the early part of 1860, he entered the business house established by his father, and remained in it until the retirement of his brothers, in 1876, although he was at no time a member of the firm. At the breaking out of the Civil War he joined a military com-



pany in Philadelphia, and served as a member of the Gray Reserves (now the famous First Regiment) in the emergency campaigns of 1862 and 1863, the second time as a member of old Company D, and was present at the shelling of Carlisle. I can recall his description of the manner in which the troops were posted, and how startling was the impression of the nearness of death and wounds produced by the sound of falling muskets and the sight of men staggering to the ground. His friend Colladay was killed just behind him, C. Stuart Patterson was wounded not far away; but he and his companions in arms, Edwin N. Benson and Effingham Perot, escaped unharmed.

At the age of twenty-five he began in earnest to collect historical books, papers, relics, and pictures, especially such as related to America, among which was a unique collection of all sorts of printed matter relating to the War of the Rebellion, illustrated with battle-pictures, portraits, caricatures, political screeds, broadsides, and cartoons, and specimens of calicoes, army blankets, tent-covers, hospital bandages *et id omne genus*. He amused himself also by drawing in sepia, not only buildings of the old city, but copies of old prints, which display much artistic skill, both in outline and shading. Later he collected illustrations for Irving's "Life of Washington," Sargent's "Life of André," Lossing's "Field-Books of the Revolution and of the War of 1812," the "Recollections of Washington," by George Washington Parke Custis, and inlaid them with his own hands. He was a particular admirer of the works of the celebrated Charles Robert Leslie, largely because of his residence in Philadelphia and his studies under Benjamin West, and collected portraits to be inserted in Leslie's "Memoirs of the Life of John Constable." Within the last year he began and had almost completed a collection of all known engravings of



portraits painted by Gilbert Stuart, with the intention of extra-illustrating George C. Mason's life and works of that eminent artist. Of his knowledge of prints and of his artistic instincts an eminent expert who knew him well writes as follows: "The collection which has been recently dispersed is the strongest evidence of his knowledge in that direction. With the limited means at his disposal it was surprising with what rare judgment the selections were made. For so small a collection, I have never seen so many uncommon and exceedingly scarce prints. . . . It was his pleasure to have portraits and other engravings for their own sake, never giving any consideration to their future commercial value. . . . I can recall his twinkling eye and exceedingly pleased expression in showing a specially rare thing." I have heard him say, when displaying his treasures, "These are not hard to take." The same writer continues: "In regard to his artistic side and his knowledge as to what was really good from a purely artistic stand-point, it would be difficult for me to dilate upon. The few engravings which were his, outside of the portraits, showed a healthy appreciation, and there was nothing in them which would be termed 'namby-pamby,' or of a cheap sentimental sort. The pictures were without question bought for their own merits, and in a few notable instances they were of the highest. The few conversations I had with him in connection with my great desire to have him sit for me for his portrait always afforded me not a little amusement, owing to his positive statement that 'oil portraits were a dead failure' under any and all circumstances,—never, to his mind, looking like the originals. His position in this was doubtless accentuated by his own innate modesty and unconsciousness of his great worth and usefulness. His refusals were more than once based on the statement,



‘Nobody wanted to have his portrait, and even the Society couldn’t find a place for it.’”

Another friend, himself a notable collector, writes, “He had an innate love for books, portraits, autographs, and illustrating books from his youth, and in the selection of prints and books he showed rare taste and judgment; he was an acknowledged connoisseur.” He was a lover, too, of scarce imprints and the triumphs of the bookbinder’s art, and had been elected an honorary member of the Philobiblon Club. He was thoroughly acquainted with all the practical details of printing and engraving, and could never be imposed upon. In detecting reprints, restrikes, worn-out plates or those which had been retouched, and in selecting brilliant original impressions, he had an eye of unerring accuracy. In the exercise of his judgment he was aided by his knowledge of paper, of the dates of imprints, and of the manifold biographical details relating to artists and their works.

To quote from one whose opinion is of value: “He knew at a glance the quality and tone of any impression of a print at sight, and he had the remarkable faculty of distinguishing the excellence of one impression over another of prints in different collections, without having the two together to compare; in short, he knew what was rare and scarce through instinct, and could predict the appreciation of certain prints by connoisseurs through the same sense, and had the ability of placing a proper valuation on a print at sight whether known or unknown to him.”

It was on the 16th of March, 1863, that he was elected a member of this Society, under the presidency of Joseph R. Ingersoll and the librarianship of Richard Eddy. The Society was then lodged in narrow quarters at No. 8 Athenæum Building, East Washington Square. From that hour



the serious labors of his life began. He was barely twenty-two years of age, but his veins were filled with sacred fire, and he consecrated himself to "the elucidation of the natural, civil, and literary history of this State," and the collection and preservation of the evidences. He soon served on important committees, notably the Publication Committee, with the late Judge Peirce and Rev. Daniel Washburn as associates, charged with the duty of preparing for the press such works as "The Minutes of the Committee of Defence of Philadelphia, 1814-15," "The Penn and Logan Correspondence," "A History of New Sweden by Israel Acrelius," Heckewelder's "Indian Nations," and those other works which preceded the establishment of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, and which have been continued in unbroken series by the "Life and Times of John Dickinson," by Dr. Stillé, and the "Writings of John Dickinson," edited by Paul Leicester Ford. In January, 1869, Mr. Stone became a member of the Council, and served until February, 1877.

For thirteen years he labored in the ranks, building the foundations and erecting the superstructure of that amazing edifice of knowledge which has perished with him. The extent, the variety, and the accuracy of his learning became the wonder of those who consulted him, and of none more so than specialists themselves. His mind grasped the details as well as the broader facts of history. He formed no theories in advance of investigation. He permitted neither admiration nor zeal for persons or causes to affect his judgments. His critical estimate of evidence was never poisoned by the slightest trace of prejudice or ill will. He held his conclusions in abeyance until he had sifted everything direct or collateral to the main inquiry. Hence what he knew he knew thoroughly and firmly



believed. He became acquainted with books outside and inside. His views of men and measures were sharp, unbiassed, refreshing, and original. His memory was both retentive and reproductive. He was slow in absorbing facts, but once absorbed they were his forever. If you handed him a book or a passage to read, you observed that he took more than double the time most men would have spent in the perusal; but he never had to refresh his recollection or review his first impressions. His very care was an economy of force. His mind became an encyclopedic historical dictionary, and his knowledge grew from year to year. He was absolutely free from dogmatism and self-conceit, and carried the ever-increasing burden of his learning with the ease of Hercules shouldering his club.

The approach of our centennial epoch gave him his opportunity. Although unrelated by blood to the early settlers or the participants in the struggle to found our nation, he knew our American history by heart. He had traced its confluent streams to their various springs in European soils, and could detect the tincture and the taste of each. He was acquainted with all the peculiarities of the Colonial temperament and the individualities of each parent stock. He could name each grievance and each act of outrage. He could point out the part played by every patriot and every Tory. He was familiar with every spot hallowed by the blood of heroes, or upper chambers accursed by the plots of traitors. He had traced the glorious struggle through every camp and battle-field on land and sea from Lexington to Yorktown, from Champlain to the Chesapeake. He could turn to the volumes of the Records of the Continental Congress, or to the gazettes, pamphlets, broadsides, and vindications as easily as a preacher to the Epistles of St. Paul. He poured forth his intellectual affluence in



various ways. He entered sympathetically into the labors of other men. He wrote for magazines, he answered queries, he guided the researches of historians. He inspired the splendid oratory of Henry Armitt Brown, and contributed much to the success of the Centennial Oration of William M. Evarts. The reawakened interest in our heroic age, which stirred the continent from sea to sea, heated his blood like a fever, and it must have been with the joy of a personal emancipation that he cast aside forever the trammels of business and assumed the duties of the vacant librarianship of this Society, to which he was formally elected by the Council in February of 1877, succeeding the Reverend James Shrigley. Thenceforth he might have exclaimed to the Muse of History, *devenio vester homo!*

Mr. Stone is now to be viewed in the double aspect of librarian and historian. In both capacities he is entitled to very high rank. A librarian is not merely a custodian of books, or a collector, or one to fetch and carry what is called for. He must combine the highest executive ability with a comprehensive knowledge of what is contained in the collections under his care. He must be aware of their strength, and particularly of their deficiencies, and never mistake bulk for value. He must add the bibliographical skill needed for a wise selection, for books do not grow upon the shelves, but must be got together as Opie mixed his paints,—“with brains, sir.” He must be as familiar with rarities and curios as with what is most directly serviceable. He must know the hiding-places of treasures, and be sufficiently informed to know a treasure when he sees it. He must be able to distinguish between the real and the false. He must be acquainted with imprints and editions. He must be a student of catalogues and dealers’ lists, and have the patience to burrow in dust heaps and mouldy corners. He must



know values so that he may escape imposition, and also so that no opportunity of securing that which is priceless may escape him. He must have an intuitive perception of the needs of the present, and a prophetic insight into the needs of the future. He must be able to measure the power of books for good or for evil. "Books," said Milton, "are not dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. . . . A good book is the precious life blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life; a bad book is as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth."

And what is said of books is true also of documents, manuscripts, autographs, letters, diaries, newspapers, and broadsides, the raw material of history. All these must be classified, arranged, displayed, and made accessible. The good librarian must be in sympathy also with a thousand varied lines of study, and have a temper capable of withstanding the severest strains. I am aware that I have described an ideal librarian, a combination of qualities scarcely to be found,—*a rara avis in terris*; but in doing so I have described Dr. Stone. In many respects he was the equal of any librarian in the land, in other respects he was their superior. It has been well and truly said that had he lived in Boston he would have been made a demigod. He was fit for his position; he loved it. He was conscientiously and enthusiastically devoted to its duties. He was uniformly courteous. He was ever ready to help those seeking aid in the line of their studies. He knew not only the names and positions of the books in a large library, but their contents as well. He was able to refer the investigator to places in books which otherwise would have been difficult



to find without an immense amount of reading. If not able to answer an inquiry at once, he was at least able to refer to such authorities as bore upon it, and thus narrowed the range of search until the point was found. The library was at his fingers' ends and on the tip of his tongue. He knew the best authorities; he could quickly cite chapter and verse for any incident of the Colonial or Revolutionary period. He could criticise intelligently, and warn against false lights and hidden shoals. The firmest reliance could be placed on his statements, and if challenged he could fortify himself by authentic records. He risked nothing to conjecture. He sought for truth; he secured it, and helped others to secure it. He knew the deficiencies of his library as a well-informed commander knows the weakness of a corps. He was ever alert to strengthen it by repeated acquisitions. His eye was like that of an eagle in quest of food. He bought, and bought freely, at times at high prices, but never too high. He never overstepped the bounds of prudence with the means at his command. The result of his labors is a collection of works which, in its relation to a definite object, has no superior. His conception of what the library should be was liberal and enlightened, worthy of an Academy of History and a representative public institution. He felt the Society to be the cherished guardian of the history of the commonwealth and the history of the nation. The priceless collections of the records of our State and of the United States, of the deeds of the fathers, and the writings of sages, had been made without the aid of government. They were the voluntary donations of public-spirited citizens, augmented by judicious purchases. They attracted by their inherent magnetism similar gifts, and our treasures grew from year to year. The donors felt that in hands like his they were not only safe but would be useful. The



Tower Collection of Colonial Laws, the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, the Peters Papers, the Wayne Papers, the McKean Papers, the Pemberton Papers, the Buchanan Papers, the Baker Collection of the Portraits of Washington, to say nothing of a thousand special gifts of books, of pictures, of relics, of documents, became the property of the Society largely because of the surpassing fitness of its librarian for his office. He viewed the treasures in his hands as a sacred trust, to be guarded against profanation, yet to be freely shown to all devout worshippers at the shrine. His policy was broad, and made the Society a centre of research, frequented by scholars from near and afar, until it has become, in the opinion of those well capable of judging, the foremost of its kind in America, not only in the wealth of its stores, but in the liberality of its management. By years of incessant toil, unselfish and unsparing, consisting of days of labor and nights devoid of ease, he has built up a great department of manuscript and printed material of exceeding richness, and laid a lasting foundation for the study of history in the United States. Such is the published opinion of an unprejudiced stranger. His last conception was worthy of him. It was original and sagacious. It had occurred to no one else, and it is an example to be followed by other librarians. He appreciated the fact that no thorough and accurate knowledge of the fundamental principles and practical working of the foundation and settlement of the Middle Colonies could be obtained without a study of the records of that important board known as the "Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," and conceived the idea of having copies of them made from the originals in the State Paper Office in London. He alone raised the money to pay the expense of so doing, and superintended the work.



Such was he as Librarian. Let us now view him as Historian.

It is impossible to do justice to the excellence of Dr. Stone's work in the field of history within the brief limits of this address. All that I can attempt is a mere outline. Great as his labors were, an examination of them gives birth to the poignant regret that he did not throw all his energies and vast learning into the composition of monumental books on the history of Pennsylvania and the American Revolution. All that he did demonstrates his fitness for such a task. The chapters that he wrote and the papers and notes which he prepared attest the breadth of his scholarship, the intimacy of his acquaintanceship with the original sources of information, the extent and variety of his researches, his critical acumen, his caution in statement, and the general soundness of his judgments. It was here that his habitual modesty was of value. He doubted his own views until he had examined everything that might be urged against them. He quickly apprehended the force of adverse opinions, and, holding his own in reserve, he was able to discuss with intelligence and impartiality all mooted points, and then with rare discrimination decide the case. He would have made an excellent judge. "He had tenacity of purpose," writes one who knew him well, "and was in no sense timid or uncertain about the results he had reached. Confident in the fulness of his knowledge and the completeness of his research, he marched ahead with sufficient modesty, but with no tremor in his step." He displayed at one time the knowledge of the soldier and the engineer, at another the familiarity of the statesman or the lawyer with statutes and ordinances, and again the *savoir-faire* of the citizen and man of the world. He wrote with equal ease of battles and campaigns, of intrigues and cabals, of debates in Congress and



conventions, of social crises, and of personal traits. He understood human nature, and had studied its conduct under the pressure of strange and strenuous events. He knew it in its greatness; he knew it in its littleness, and in its common manifestations. He liked to turn from the larger movements of men on the stage of lofty action to the lowly aims and homely joys of the common people. To know the lives of the masses was to him quite as important as to rehearse the glorious achievements of the great. Hence his knowledge of a period was never one-sided, but rounded and complete. It was comprehensive, and it embraced details.

The proof of this is at hand. Take his chapters in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," on "The Founding of Pennsylvania," or "The Struggle for the Delaware," and compare them with "Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago; or, The Reign of Continental Money," or "The Ordinance of 1787," or "The Revolution in Pennsylvania,—a Social Picture," and observe how varied is the treatment, exactly suited to the subject. At one time he dwells on the sweet-souled piety and lofty aims of the Founder; at another, on the dark depths of despair in the winter of 1776, made horrible by Hessian brutality and the slowly closing clutch of the British, relieved by the brilliant exploits at Trenton and Princeton, followed by Brandywine and Valley Forge. Again, he reproduces the chatter and prattle, the quips and the jests of belles and beaux in the capital; then how nicely he weighs and adjusts in quivering scales the conflicting claims to authorship of the immortal clause for the exclusion of slavery from the great Northwest, or depicts the desolation and the woe which filled our land after the achievement of our liberty!

To those who would see him at his best in describing



military movements, based on a thorough knowledge of geography and topography, and the march and counter-march of armies, I would commend "The Struggle for the Delaware." To those who would follow the ebb and flow of the crimson tide of battle, I would recommend the address delivered in the Birmingham Meeting-House before the Sons of the Revolution. To those who wish to study the movements of his mind in weighing evidence and balancing conclusions, I would point to an unpublished "Review of Arnold's Life of Arnold." To those who delight in the wordy war of statesmen and the triumph of a principle, I suggest a reading of "The Ordinance of 1787." To those who doubt the greatness of William Penn, I prescribe the antidote of "The Causes which led to the Settlement of the Quaker Colonies in America." To those who revel in pictures of the day, enlivened by anecdote and repartee, I commend "Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago." To those who crave the charms of biography, I name that exquisite portraiture of character, "A Memoir of William John Potts." To those who seek encouragement in the pursuit of recondite learning, I point to that inspiring argument, "A Plea for the Study of Genealogy." To those who are curious to see how well a layman can appreciate the merits of the Bible of Liberty, I refer the "Note on Magna Charta." To those who would trace the gropings of this people towards the Federal compact, I would suggest a study of the "Plans for the Union of the British Colonies of North America from 1643 to 1776." To those who wish to learn the part played by our State in the formation of the national government, I commend "Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution;" or for those who prefer to study the history of an institution of learning or an historic building, there are the supplementary chapters to George B. Wood's



"Early History of the University of Pennsylvania," and the continuation to Frank M. Etting's "Historical Account of Independence Hall;" while to those who would measure the incessant activity of a laborious scholar, I commend the list of Dr. Stone's published works which will appear as an appendix to this imperfect summary.

As a writer, he was clear, precise, and forcible, at times graphic, but never a word-painter or rhetorician. The same friend whom I quoted a few moments ago writes, "If he had possessed remarkable literary aptness, the power to turn phrases and to produce effects by the mere weight of chosen words, his work would have been far less valuable."

I can suggest to this Society the building of no more appropriate monument to the name and fame of our truly great librarian than the collection and publication in a separate volume of our Memoirs of the writings of Dr. Stone. They would take high rank in historic literature, and be of permanent value to American scholars.

The amount of what Dr. Stone wrote in comparison with what he did in other directions is slight. He was too generous, and gave too freely of his stores to others. I have found among his papers original letters from George Bancroft, George P. Fisher, Edward Eggleston, S. Austin Allibone, Brinton Coxe, J. M. Hoppin, John Nicholas Brown, Edward F. DeLancey, A. H. Hoyt, Henry M. Hoyt, W. B. Sprague, S. Weir Mitchell, Fairman Rogers, and Henry W. Longfellow, expressing their appreciation of the aid he had given them in researches of their own. Doubtless there were many others which have been mislaid or destroyed. The note of Dr. Allibone is characteristic: "Thank you for your kind letter. If I can reciprocate—if *you* ever want to know anything (what a supposition!), give me a chance."

I have found, too, in the prefaces of published books



acknowledgments from George Bancroft, Dr. Stillé, Professor McMaster, Charlemagne Tower, Jr., Paul Leicester Ford, Professor M. C. Tyler, Professor George P. Fisher, and the editor of the "History of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Framing of the Constitution of the United States" of invaluable aid, unselfishly rendered by this indefatigable friend of students. These are public expressions of gratitude, but if the unspoken sentiments of the men and women who for years past have day by day and hour by hour brought their perplexities for solution to the sympathetic and ever-cheerful librarian could be gathered into fitting tones, it would be as music to the ears of those who cherished him in their hearts.

The distinctions conferred upon Dr. Stone were as follows. On the 8th of June, 1893, he was appointed a member of the Valley Forge Park Commission by Governor Pattison, and served as secretary. He was reappointed by Governor Hastings on the 29th of January, 1895, but declined to serve owing to pressure of other work. He was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society on the 17th of May, 1895, and in June of the same year received the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the History Club and of the Philobiblon Club. He became an honorary member of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania on the 18th of May, 1896, and was a corresponding member of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, the Maryland Historical Society, the Wyoming Historical Society, and the Minnesota Historical Society.

Dr. Stone was also a most efficient agent in promoting the success of those great public celebrations which have made our city renowned for patriotic ardor as well as hospitality. During the great World's Fair of 1876, the Bicentennial



Celebration of the Landing of Penn in 1882, the Centennial Jubilee of the Constitution in 1887, and the Centenary of the Inauguration of Washington in 1889, he was a prominent actor, giving to newspaper reporters and visiting strangers by the thousand the information necessary to their instruction and enjoyment. Nor is it the least of his many gifts, nor one too trifling to be noticed, that he well knew how to provide for and conduct a public banquet, on the success of which much depends. He organized our receptions, which have become a social feature; he arranged our numerous public displays of books and documents; he inspired our courses of lectures and addresses. For a time he edited our own Magazine. He assumed very largely the executive management of the Society, and performed a multitude of duties which could and should have been done by others. This was partly from habit, the imperceptible growth from small to large things, partly from an unselfish desire to spare others, and partly from an inherent inability—the only weak point in his armor—to delegate to others the labor of details. It detracts nothing from the well-merited praise which is due to his corps of able assistants that I should say this much. They would have helped him on countless occasions had he permitted it. In fact, his relation to the ever-increasing staff of workers in these halls is one of the beautiful features of his administration. They respected him thoroughly, they loved him cordially. His charming personality was a daily delight to them, and they mourn his loss sincerely.

Dr. Stone was a most engaging talker. He was a capital *raconteur*, and his wit and humor, both of which he possessed in abundance, added greatly to the interest of his conversation and his writings. When tired he would refresh himself with humorous literature, and especially with stories



written in provincial dialect. He was devoted to children, and was ever a favorite with them. Such was he as a man. Of his home life I scarcely dare to speak.

On the 9th of November, 1865, he was married to Annie E. Witmer, daughter of A. K. Witmer, of Paradise, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His bride was a distant relative, his grandmother and her grandfather being brother and sister. It was a union crowned with those domestic joys which were the beauty and the solace of his life. Two sons were born to them. Both came to manhood; but one, Witmer Stone, the well-known naturalist, survives. The death of the younger, who bore his name, at a time when he had learned to sympathize with his father's tastes and to aid him in his work, was a blow from which he never recovered. The dart which the insatiate archer had aimed at the boy passed through his body and entered the father's breast, and though he struggled manfully to pluck it out, it is now plain that the shaft was barbed, and that he then received, in the enfeebled condition of his heart, his death-wound. The gentle partner of his married life remains, sustained in her bereavement by the sympathy of sorrowing friends and the conviction that their parting is but for a little while.

Dr. Stone had been in failing health for some time, but none expected his sudden demise. One of the fathers of the Church has said, "There is but this difference between the deaths of old and young men; that old men go to death, and death comes to young men." Dr. Stone could never have been viewed as old. His robust build and his sunny disposition forbade it; but repeated attacks of illness had shorn him of his strength, and his failure was gradual. His intellectual activity during the last year was remarkable. Two of the best papers he ever wrote were delivered within



the last eight months. When I last saw him he was as well as usual, and there was not the slightest trace of gloom in our parting. His last letter was written but two days before his death, and mentioned a walk he had had among the mountains which he loved so well. He reached his home after a day's journey without excessive fatigue, and in a short hour was no more. His end was as peaceful as his life. It was like the dying day—serene and still as darkness came. Without a struggle, like a tired child, he fell into that dreamless sleep which knows no waking.

Fellow-members, the living and the dead are but one family, and the intellectual and moral affluence of those who have gone before remains to enrich posterity. We who survive, and those who are to follow us, will be the better men and women through the labors of the gentle scholar whose soul has now "passed beyond the bar."

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## THE WORKS

OF

FREDERICK D. STONE, LITT.D.

1. Philadelphia Society One Hundred Years Ago; or, The Reign of Continental Money. By Frederick D. Stone. Read at the meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 5, 1879. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. III., No. 4, pp. 361-394.)

2. Penn's Treaty with the Indians: did it take place in 1682 or 1683? By Frederick D. Stone. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VI., No. 2, pp. 217-238.)

3. The Founding of Pennsylvania. By Frederick D. Stone. (In Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III. pp. 469-516. 4to. Boston, 1884.)

4. Address on the Death of Harrison Wright, Secretary of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Delivered March 9, 1885. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. IX., No. 4, pp. 492-494.)

5. The Struggle for the Delaware.—Philadelphia under Howe and under Arnold. By Frederick D. Stone. (In Justin Winsor's *Narrative*



and *Critical History of America*, Vol. VI. pp. 367-403. 4to. Boston, 1887.)

6. New York and Philadelphia in 1787: Extracts from the Journals of Manasseh Cutler. (Edited, with note at the end, signed F.D.S.) Read at the meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 12, 1888. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII., No. 1, pp. 97-115; and No. 4, p. 504.)

7. Pennsylvania and the Federal Constitution, 1787-'8. Edited by John Bach McMaster and Frederick D. Stone. 8vo, pp. viii + 803. Philadelphia, 1888.

8. The Ordinance of 1787. By Frederick D. Stone. 8vo, pp. 34. Philadelphia, 1889. (Reprinted from PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIII., No. 3, pp. 309-340.)

9. Material contributed to Hampton L. Carson's *History of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Constitution of the United States*. 4to. Philadelphia, 1889.

a. Sketches in the section in Vol. I., entitled *Biographies of the Members of the Federal Convention*; among them Thomas Mifflin, George Clymer, and George Read.

b. Plans for the Union of the British Colonies of North America, 1643-1776. Compiled by Frederick D. Stone. (Appendix to Vol. II. pp. 437-503.)

10. First Congress of the Scotch-Irish in America. By Frederick D. Stone. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV., No. 1, pp. 68-71. April, 1890.)

11. Continuation to second edition of Frank M. Etting's *Historical Account of the Old State-House of Pennsylvania, now known as Independence Hall*. 4to. Philadelphia, 1891. Pp. 191-205.

12. How the Landing of Tea was opposed in Philadelphia by Colonel William Bradford and others in 1773. Contributed by Frederick D. Stone. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV., No. 4, pp. 385-393. January, 1892.)

13. The Battle of Brandywine: an Address delivered in Birmingham Meeting-House before the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, June 18, 1895. By Frederick D. Stone. 8vo, pp. 17. Philadelphia, 1895.

14. The Fundamentall Constitutions of Pennsilvania. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XX., No. 3, pp. 283-301. October, 1896.)

15. Supplementary chapters in the third edition of George B. Wood's *Early History of the University of Pennsylvania*. By Frederick D. Stone, Litt.D. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1896. Pp. 201-266.

16. Memoir of William John Potts. By Frederick D. Stone. Small 4to, pp. 40. Philadelphia, 1897. (Read before the American Philosophical Society, December 4, 1896.)



17. Introduction to *The Excellent Privilege of Liberty and Property: being a reprint and fac-simile of the first American edition of Magna Charta, printed in 1687 under the direction of William Penn by William Bradford.* (Introduction by Frederick D. Stone, Litt.D., pp. ix-xv.) 4to. Philadelphia. Printed for the Philobiblon Club, 1897.

18. A Plea for the Study of Genealogy. An address delivered before the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, April 26, 1897. By Frederick D. Stone, Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 23. Philadelphia, 1897. (Reprinted from the Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.)

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## APPENDIX.

### UNPUBLISHED PAPERS.

1. The Causes which led to the Settlement of the Quaker Colonies in America. Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, March 12, 1883. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. VII., No. 4, p. 496.)

NOTE.—Though this paper was requested, by resolution, for future publication, no such publication can be found. The Proceedings of the Historical Society (*loc. cit.*) give the following abstract thereof:

“The purpose of the address was to show that Quaker colonization in America was not the result of sudden impulse, but of a political and moral growth; that the treatment the Friends had met with in England and America, especially in New England, made it necessary that they should have a country of their own, where Quaker views and principles could be fully exemplified. The movement was traced from the year 1660, when the purchase of a tract of land in America was first suggested by Fox, down to the settlement of Penn’s Colony; and the fact was pointed out that the country which Fox desired to purchase in 1660 was not a portion of Pennsylvania.”

2. William Penn and his Holy Experiment; or, The Settlement of Pennsylvania: being the second of the series of historical lectures [during the winter of 1892]. Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 29, 1892. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI., No. 4, p. 475.)

3. The Revolution in Pennsylvania: a Social Picture: being the fifth of the series of historical papers [for the winter of 1893]. Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 15, 1893. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVII., No. 4, p. 522.)

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Upon the conclusion of the address, Major William H. Lambert said,—



MR. PRESIDENT:

I will not by words of mine mar the effect of Mr. Carson's tribute to the memory of our deceased librarian. This eloquent and just presentation of Dr. Stone's character and qualities, together with your own touching allusion to him, constitute a eulogy so perfect that no other words are needed to testify the Society's high appreciation, and I only desire to move that it be

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society are hereby tendered to Mr. Hampton L. Carson for his admirable address upon the life and character of the late Frederick D. Stone, and that Mr. Carson be requested to furnish a copy of the address for publication by the Society.

The motion was thereupon unanimously adopted.

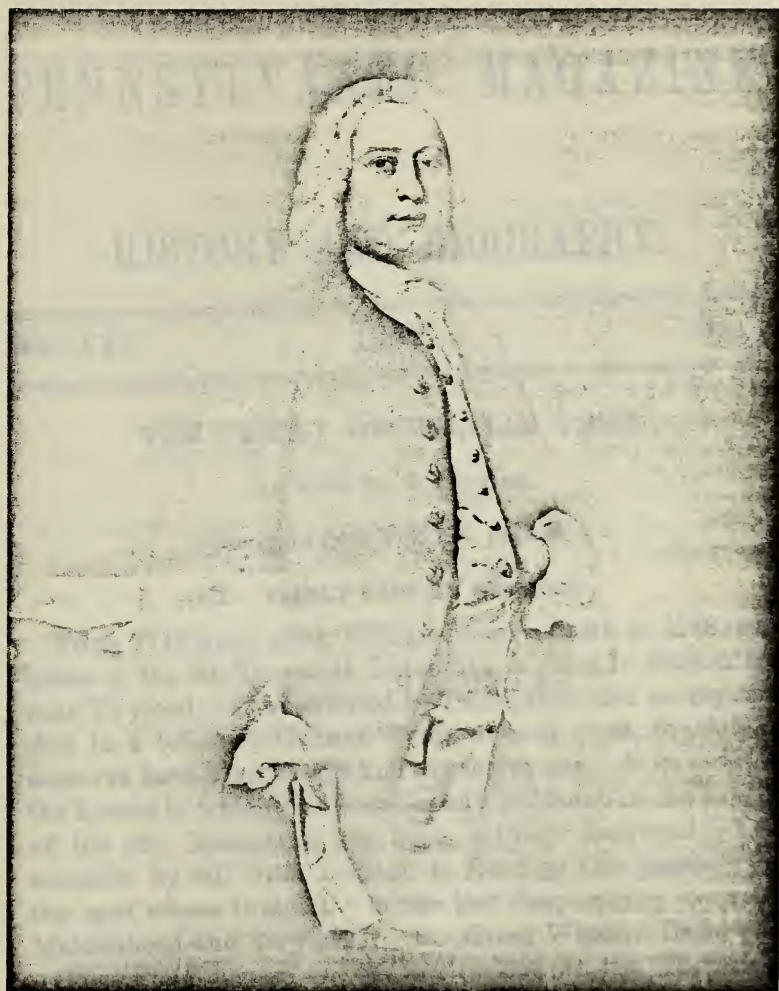
The meeting then adjourned.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

The American Medical Association is a non-profit corporation organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public. It is composed of members who are physicians, dentists, nurses, and other health care professionals. The Association's primary concern is the advancement of the medical profession and the improvement of the health of the people. It does this by publishing the Journal of the American Medical Association, which is one of the most important medical journals in the world. The Journal contains articles on the latest medical research, clinical practice, and public health. It also publishes news and information about the medical profession and the health care system. The Association also provides a variety of other services to its members, including continuing medical education, advocacy, and public relations. The Association's headquarters are located in Chicago, Illinois, and it has a large staff of professional and administrative personnel. The Association's budget is approximately \$10 million per year, which is primarily derived from the dues of its members. The Association is a member of the United Nations and the World Health Organization. It is also a member of the International Council of Medical Associations. The Association's website is [www.ama-assn.org](http://www.ama-assn.org).

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THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
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CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.



*Matthew*



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XXI.

1897.

No. 1.

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THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 455.)

VII. FAMILY LIFE AT RUSCOMBE.

From 1710 until after William Penn's death in 1718, the home of the family was at Ruscombe, a place in Berkshire, near Twyford. It was rented by Penn, and from an expression in a letter of Hannah Penn, already cited, the house seems to have been a large and expensive one. Like most of the houses in which the Founder had his home in the course of his life, Ruscombe has been entirely destroyed. The traveller by rail from London to Reading now passes over the spot where it stood, "in the last deep cutting between Maidenhead and Twyford, on the Great Western Railway."

The Penn papers in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania include a number of letters, mostly from Hannah Penn to her son Thomas, which have interest for us in studying the family life at this period. They disclose many details in the experience of such a family as the Penns, in the time of George I., at a country mansion in



England. The letters are, it is true, quite incomplete, some of them are occupied with matters comparatively trivial, and the view they give us is but fragmentary, yet their contents, simple and without concealment, are authentic and trustworthy as far as they go, and, taken in connection with the facts which we already know, they throw a fresh and fuller light on our subject.

The family at Ruscombe, in the period we speak of, included Penn until his death, his wife and her five children (until John was sent to business at Bristol and Thomas to London), and during much of the time the wife and children of William Penn, Jr. These, with the several servants usual in an English house like Ruscombe, made a large household, and there were no doubt frequent visitors. The head of the house, after her husband's paralytic stroke, was Hannah Penn. Fortunately for them all, she brought to her hard place a large ability. The heiress of a prosperous merchant, she had been reared in the somewhat austere community of Friends at Bristol to habits of business industry. Long before her day the writer of the Hebrew Proverbs had described such a woman :

"She is like the merchant-ships;  
She bringeth her food from afar.  
She riseth also while it is yet night,  
And giveth meat to her household,  
And their task to her maidens. . . .  
Her lamp goeth not out by night.  
She layeth her hands to the distaff,  
And her hands hold the spindle. . . .  
She looketh well to the ways of her household,  
And eateth not the bread of idleness."

Her situation was indeed very difficult. The deaths of both her parents had but a short time preceded the disability of her husband. His affairs, public and private, were sadly embarrassed. Pennsylvania was mortgaged, and the great movement of German settlers, by which the lands were rapidly taken up and the financial condition of the Penns improved, had but fairly begun. Besides the care of her



own children, and her concern for their future, she had also her anxieties for the wife and children of her step-son, who were practically abandoned to her care. William Penn, Jr., seems to have been himself seldom at the house. In 1714 Hannah wrote, "I have not seen him this half year, nor has he seen his father these eighteen months."

Her Bristol relatives gave her their firm support. John was sent, as already mentioned, to live there and become a merchant. Simon Clement, her aunt Mary's husband, was one of her valued advisers. Her own marriage settlement, reserved for her private use, had been drawn upon to assist in sustaining the family fortunes.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Penn went up to London late in 1715 or early in 1716, to enter a business career. He was then but a lad,—in the latter year fourteen years old,—yet his mother seems to have relied upon his services in a marked degree. It seems probable that he was his mother's own son, with her business energy and capacity, an inheritance from the Bristol merchants. Her letters to him are addressed, in 1716, "at Michael Russell's, Mercer, in White Hart court, Gracechurch street," and we may presume that we have here the name, occupation, place of business, and probably also the residence of his employer,—his "master" in the terms of that day. Members of the Russell family are several times cordially referred to in the letters.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This may have occurred considerably earlier. Penn, in a letter to Logan, 10th of Third month, 1705, says, "They [Hannah's children] bought dearly what they had [in Pennsylvania] their mother lending her estate in land to the value of at least £3000 or thereabouts, to answer my debts, that was raised by selling her hereditary land, or being mortgaged, which was all one."

<sup>2</sup> There is an allusion to Michael Russell in Joseph Smith's "Catalogue of Friends' Books," Vol. II. p. 519, referring to him as party to some legal proceeding ("Michael Russell, appellant; John Cochran, respondent"), and to a printed document, "The Appellant's Case."

In the period following the Great Fire in London, 1666, the London Friends leased land of the Fishmongers' Company at White Hart Court, Gracious Street (as it was then commonly called), a plot near the junction of Gracechurch Street and Lombard Street, which had been occupied by the White Hart Inn, destroyed by the fire. A meeting-house



A letter from John Penn, at Bristol, to his brother Thomas, in 1716, is as follows :

"BRISTOLL 6 Octo 1716.

"DEAR BROTHER

"I have Rec'd thine of 8 Sep'. by w<sup>ch</sup> find that thou art Settled of w<sup>ch</sup> I am heartily Glad not doubting but it will be for thy advantage & all that I begruge thee is the Conversation of So many of our Good fr<sup>ds</sup> & Relations & at Present my Mother a Line from whome I have not had Since she was the Last time at London, Pray to whome Give my Duty as also Respects to all our Good fr<sup>ds</sup> & Relations w<sup>ch</sup> my Dearest Love to Self.—

"Conclude from

"Thy affec Bro :

"PENN."

Hannah Penn's letters to Thomas, as preserved in the series in the Historical Society's collections, begin at an earlier date than the above. They have a pathetic undertone of continual anxiety and pressure. In one she says, "After fourteen days' expectation and many disappointments I have at last drawn on thee for ten pounds, payable at sight to Edmund Hide, which take care to answer punctually. I would have return'd twenty, but could not get it done; hope I shall to-morrow, for I never underwent the straits I have since these thy disappointments. I wrote to Henry Gouldney, and John to thyselfe, by last post, & to no purpose, for Harry Prat says he has nothing; so I have promis'd, but am not able to perform."

Other letters are to the same effect. December 20, 1717, she says, "No sooner one load goes off, but another goes on by the expences of a large family. I am in a great strait, having promised the butcher more than I can raise for him."

It would seem, indeed, that Thomas Penn in these years and several dwelling-houses were built. Dr. John Fothergill was a tenant of one of the houses in 1748. Isaac Sowle, the bookseller, and Lace Raylton, his successor, whose names are familiar on the early Friends' imprints, also lived there. Cf. "The London Friends' Meetings," W. Beck and T. F. Ball. By successive leases the Friends held the property until 1862, when they surrendered it to the Fishmongers' Company.



must have been almost daily concerned in some business for his mother, and that apart from the aid given her from Bristol she relied upon him largely, in London, to collect debts, to arrange advances or loans, to put off creditors, to meet drafts which she had been obliged to make, to purchase and forward supplies, etc.

Let us now read somewhat more at length from the mother's letters. Here is one at the beginning of 1716:

"3d of 1st Mo., 1716.

"DEAR CHILD,

"Thine with the King's speech<sup>1</sup> came but last post; it had two post marks, so think the neglect lay there,—perhaps, the want of a fairer direction, that seeming to have been wrote in haste; however, that it brought me acct's. of thy health & bro'r Aubrey's amendment, made it very acceptable to me, as was the king's speech to the family. My sister has wrote to thee, and sends it with the little things to-morrow, by Stephen; if thou can have time call at thy sister Aubrey's for it. Thy poor father has been often ill, but at present is indifferent, as is the rest of the family. Give my kind love to thy Master, to whom and in his business double thy diligence, to make amends for the lost time. I have almost forgot how thy accounts stand, which I expect at thy leisure to be informed of, but have herew<sup>th</sup> sent thee an order on Joseph Boulton for 30£; about 10 of it Judeth Fisher will call on thee for, about a week hence; 'tis for somewhat she is to buy for Mary Chandler, so pay her demand, and husband the rest well. Let me hear from thee now and then, but I will not expect much, because of thine to-day I find tis a very buisy time with you, I have also more writing to do, so inlarge not, but putting thee in remembrance of the mercys thou hast received, which bear in mind and endeavor to make notable returns in a watchful and circumspect life.

"I am in the best love,

"Thy truly aff<sup>te</sup> Mother,

"H. PENN."

In a letter in the Sixth month (August) of the same year she mentions sundry family affairs, but particularly speaks of his wardrobe, over which she long continued a mother's supervision. She says, "I hope this will find thee at thy place and that thy master is well returned, to whom give my dear love. . . . I doubt I shall not be able to send thy clothes

<sup>1</sup> George I. He was scarcely warm in his seat or sure of retaining it. The Stuart rising in Scotland had just been put down.



this week, for some of thy Linnen is not yet dry,—wherefore think thou must shift this 3d day, or for fear of the worst I may send thee a suit of Linnen herewith. . . . Pray get leave to go to Joseph Boults, to hasten me ye 20£, if he has rec'd it, by Stephen<sup>1</sup> if possible. Give my dear love to thy brother Aubrey, and my thanks for his fine piece of venson, which was acceptably partook of by us all yesterday. I also take thy cousin Lowther's care and love to thee very kindly, in bringing thee to thy place, and was sorry thy master happened to be from home, and [hope] that thou will in a little time find it to thee as a home. I want to know what thy sister Penn does, whether she is gone for the North, or not, or intends going soon. . . . With my dear love and best desires for thy good I close this."

The mother's anxiety that the lad should do well in the business of his master is frequently expressed. She is concerned also for his health. She prescribes medicine for him, in the medical fashion of that day. She has many little errands for him. Here is a letter in the autumn of 1716. Hannah Penn had been in London on a brief visit,—staying, it would appear, at the Aubreys':

"RUS[COMBE] y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>br</sup>

"DEAR CHILD

"Give my kind love to thy Master and tell him I desire him to Give thee Leave to Carry this Irish Letter to the post house safe, the night it Comes to hand; put Tom Greys also into the penny post, and deliver that to H. G.<sup>2</sup> with thy own hand at his house. Thou must also put O'ristopher on Inquireing after the box Y<sup>e</sup> went in the Coach with us from my Son Aubrey's. . . .

"We are, I bless God, all pretty well. I think it necessary thou should take a little moderate purge of Epsom waters, or let D. Phipps or C. Heathcote order thee one, & Do thou pay first. Take care of cold; I have left fustian to line either thy old Coat, or wastcoat, when needful. Ask Mary and betty at thy bro. Aubrey's after my Gold Seale,

<sup>1</sup> Stephen was evidently some one going frequently and regularly to London, probably a "carrier."

<sup>2</sup> Henry Gouldney. He has already been referred to in a previous foot-note. At his marriage, January 26, 1681, he was described as "of Cheapside, linen-draper," son of Adam Gouldney, of Chippenham, Wilts.



which I cannot find since I came home, & doubt I left it on their table or window, the night before, as I also did forgett the Lemons, and Shrimps,—if Mary got any for me,—but that's no matter now, only my Seale and the Lemons, order Christopher to send w<sup>th</sup> the box.

"[We have now six little] pigs, one of which I would send thee, if acceptable, & y<sup>e</sup> Mary thinks would dress well after such a Journey,—or I will send a goose next week. My uncle and cousin Clement are gone for Bristoll.

"My dear Love and best wishes attend thee; I am

"Thy aff Mo

"H. P."

The goose which the mistress of Ruscombe here suggests went up to London presently, for a week later than this letter there is a note from the little daughter of the household, Margaret Penn, who writes Thomas in a style which suggests that of their father in his early and cheerful days. She says,—

"RUSCOMBE, y<sup>e</sup> 23 of 8ber, 1716.

"DEAR BROTHER

"I Rec'ed thy Letter and Kind Present by Mary, which I thank thee very kindly for, & like them very well. My Father is as well as Usual, as is my mother now, and Sister Aubrey; they send thee their Dear Love, as I do most indearedly, and am

"Thy very aff<sup>te</sup> Sister

"MARG<sup>TT</sup> PENN."

[This is the letter; but here is the postscript:]

"My Mother gives her Kind Love to the Master, and has sent him a Ruscombe Goose, and I send thee a fue Pears and appels, and if I knew when it would be thy wedding day would send thee, too, a Chicken, or anything that would be more acceptable."

The writer of this will be recognized as Margaret, the younger sister of Thomas,—she who afterwards married Thomas Freame. In this correspondence she is called "Pegg," reviving the recollection of her aunt, the "Pegg" of London, in the day of Pepys's Diary. Her banter of Thomas about gifts for his wedding-day was far in advance of that event, for he—a prudent bachelor, with ambitions presently for betterment of fortune and advancement in rank—postponed it more than thirty years.

In a letter already given in part, dated at Ruscombe, "28th of 10ber 1716," there are these details:



"Thy poor father has been very indifere[n]t these 2 days, which has increas'd my Cares, but being in the same Manner as Usual I yet live in hope of the Lord's Mercy in his Preservation to us. the rest well and send their Love both [to] y<sup>e</sup> Master [and] H. & E. G."

[A postscript:]

"Delay not too long the sending some raisons, figgs, & almonds for thy poor father, also 6 lemonds & orringes. thou has I suppose baskets. If thou fail by Stephen thou may send by Ambrose 5th day till tenn from the bell savage."<sup>1</sup>

An undated letter, probably about this time, says,—

"DEAR CHILD

"having this opertunity by Tho Grey I let thee know thy father is midling, myselfe and the rest of us pretty well. Thy brother after being hindred severall days by the Weather is gone toward bristoll this morning w<sup>th</sup> R. Colter & in expectation of overtaking John Cowling. I desire thee let the bearer J. G. have halfe a Guiney to buy me some Tea, and would have thee send me 5 Guineys made up safely in it<sup>2</sup> by Stephen of the money yet remaining in thy hands, & if thou hast opertunity by or upon the first of next Month inquire of Jo: Gurnell how the Exchange is and if he can as Usual help me to 50<sup>lb</sup> in a bill at 30 days sight on Tho Wight and what Exchange. I hope thou had mine by last return, & will if thou had not, send me a p<sup>d</sup> of Coffee. Send me also some patterns of black and white Grosett if you cut any. [On back of letter:] Give my dear love to thy M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Russell & H. G."

Another incompletely dated letter, probably July, 1717, is filled with requests and commissions:

"CHILD

"send down if thou can an ell of silk to match Each of these, the Lightest was bought at Collisons not long since. a Persian [*word lost*] match'd to the other Culler may do if thou cannot gett it exact.

<sup>1</sup> The Bell Savage was a famous old inn on Ludgate Hill, established at least as early as 1453. "In its later years it was a great coaching inn, but the formation of the railways destroyed its trade; it fell into neglect and dilapidation, and was eventually [1873] demolished." The printing establishment of Cassell, Petter & Galpin was built on the site.

<sup>2</sup> This method of sending money seems to have been frequently used. See later ten pounds sent "in a peck of oysters." A note from Margaret to Thomas, November 3, 1717, after stating that "brother John is gott safe to Bristol," adds that "my mother received the tee, and that which was in it, safe."



"4th-day morning. . . . Thou may call on Jo Boulth for the money for these silks if thou need.

"16th of 5th Mo. This was wrot a week since and intended by Bishop Vickress<sup>1</sup> who disapoynted me by not calling. I am sorry in thy last thou gave me no Acc<sup>t</sup> of Dear E. G's illness, for whose loss I am in no small Concern,<sup>2</sup> Greatly pittying her poor husband & near & dear Relatives, of whose welfare lett me hear. & tell thy Sister Pen we are all near as She Left us. Guly has a little Complayn'd of her head akeing today but is better tonight, we are all else so so."

[On the back of the letter:]

"Thou may stop in Jos Boults hands, if not already sent to me 20<sup>lb</sup> for these things I send for, but not more than necessity requires, & desire him to send the rest & a pound of Coffee with it.

"J Penn is pretty well again.

"Put thy aunt's letter into the post house w<sup>th</sup> Care."

Joseph Boulth, so frequently mentioned as one of those who were relied upon for money in time of need, appears to have been an agent of William Penn, though his precise relation to him does not clearly appear. There is a note to Thomas Penn, in 1717, from a tenant probably, written at Lewes, in which the writer says that "being with him in a barber shopp by his house I ask'd him if his name was Boulth, for y<sup>t</sup> I thought I had Paid him money on acco<sup>t</sup> of thy Father, and whether [he] did Business still for him. He said he did when he had ord<sup>r</sup> & if I had any money to pay he would write about itt," etc.

A letter from Hannah to Thomas on the birthday of Margaret, the completion of her twelfth year, November 7, 1716, is as follows:

"Rus[combe] y<sup>e</sup> 7th of 9 mo. & Pegg's birthday.

"DEAR CHILD

"I have by Coach both thine as also one to thy sister, who is now turnd from her thirteenth Year, & has helpd Sukee to finish thy 6 shirts (and will help to recruite thy old ones) w<sup>th</sup> I suppose will be also wore out, by this time twel've month, if thou hast health, of w<sup>th</sup> I hope, and I therefore think I had best, if I can gett neat french Doulas, to make

<sup>1</sup> A neighbor. See letters from him later.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Elizabeth Gouldney, wife of Henry Gouldney. She died "of cholic," 13th July, 1717, and was buried at the Bemhill Fields ground on the 17th. She was fifty-nine years old.



thee 6 or 8, which would be very Comfortable to me in ware, & to thee, I fancy, this winter.

"I have for some weeks delayd sending a goose to thy Mistress, in hopes of Wild foule, or something else valuable to send with it, but being hitherto disapoynted, and the waters at presant forbiding our pursuite of any Game, I send this alone at last, to begg her acceptance; tho am Indeed ashamed to think I have stayd so long to so little purpose. Thy poor father is rather worse, at least more uneasy, for a day or two past, but hope if the weather mends, that so he may gett out more, that he may be better again; we are else pretty well, & all dearly salute thee.

"I am glad of Sam<sup>l</sup> Arnolds having accepted the bill, & desire mine to Andrew Hall may be payd to Content. I would also desire ten pound by Stephen in a peck of oysters, but I would not be too often troublesome and therefore will try to shift till thou receaves y<sup>e</sup> 50<sup>lb</sup> from Jon: Gurnell, and of which send me 20 in good Goldsmiths Notes & 20<sup>lb</sup> in Mony, also pay betty Collison ten in part of acc<sup>t</sup>—& send me by first some patterns of Grave Mixt Grassetts from her, till I get a Suite made I cant well adventure to London this cold weather. Nor have thou as yet told me whether the Doctor is yet gone from thy Sisters or not, but of that mention nothing to them unless he is absent.

"If thou wants Cloathing before I come up let me know what.

"if Jon. Gurnell is Unsatisfied for want of the words Vallue rec<sup>d</sup> thou may if w<sup>th</sup> his advice Interline it, but I am always in a Strait in those words, least my letters should Miscarry or be Intercepted between me and him."

[On back of letter, in another hand:]

"My Mistress would have thee tell J. Gurnall that Shee will write to Thomas Wight by next post without fail, but desiers her bills may not be sent till y<sup>e</sup> post following, and also would have thee when oportuinity offers to goo and see thy aunt Lowther and Lett M<sup>r</sup> know whare Shee Lives."

Aunt Lowther's house was probably in London; she may have been moving; her residence, it seems, was not well known at Ruscombe at this time. She had been a widow since 1692, and was now approaching the end of her days.

The following, in the spring of 1717, gives a view of the different concerns that occupied the mistress of Ruscombe:

"Rts. y<sup>e</sup> 4th of 1<sup>st</sup> mo 1717.

"DEAR CHILD

"I am weary, it being both Gardening and Washing time, and Expecting to morrow, on the Green, if not in the house, the familys thereof,



to the Buriall of Mary Blagrove. But having received thy 2 letters, I answer that part however relating to thy sister Pen; in which let her have a guiney, besides her bill, and take for thy selfe 20£, or more if absolutely needful, but I am surrounded w<sup>th</sup> Calls and Cares; I hope thou had and will mind the Contents of my last, & send me the money soon. Hasten this also to J. Vine; I expect my Landlord's Call Soon, he became of age to day. Thy two letters I had to night together, also the hoods, oranges, Coffee, etc.; tis too late to see the patterns, So say nothing, & expect to hear again from thee soon."

A letter, September 10, 1717, sends Thomas to Henry Gouldney and Joseph Boulton on business, and says, "my being full of company, and thy Aunt Wharley<sup>1</sup> going to-morrow hinders my writing to H. G. Thy dear father is full as well as thou left him; I have been ill, but am better." Mary Russell, who was one of the family with which Thomas lived, perhaps the wife of his master, was then at Ruscombe, and sent love to her relatives.

In a letter in November, 1717, Hannah writes to Thomas, sending a letter by a "New England Friend" who has been at Ruscombe, with whose visit, she says, we "have all been pleased and comforted." Thomas's wardrobe, at the beginning of winter, excites her concern once more, and is coupled with the ever-present finance question. "I would not have thee," she says, "want Stockens, but get them; or what thou cant not well Shift without; but for a new Coat, if thou can spare it this winter do, by new lining or a thicker wastcoat but especially till R. Baker is payd. I hope thou have pd poor Danell Skinner, I have Walter's bill, and others presses me hard, as also my coming to London, but the weather and roads much discourage. I am heartily Afflicted at the Loss of dear Silvanus Grove, in Whom we have all lost a Most Capable and Valuable friend.

<sup>1</sup> The extent to which the recognition of relationship was carried is exemplified here. Isaac Penington, by his marriage with the widow Mary Springett, had five children, four sons and one daughter, Mary, who married Daniel Wharley, of London. Mary Wharley was therefore a half-sister of William Penn's first wife, and her sistership to William Penn's second wife was altogether one of courtesy.



The Tea is come safe, & we like it pretty well. My Dear Love to thy M. & M., & very dearly to thee."

In a letter of about the same date, devoted mainly to instructions as to money, or drafts on Samuel Arnold and Jonathan Gurnell, she fears she takes up too much of his time, and intends to ask excuse of his master when she next comes to London. But there is this postscript:

"I had thine; am sorry for thy Loss and Negligence in losing the guinea; tis wit dear bought, and I hope will last with thee for thy increase of care in time to come.<sup>1</sup> Send the enclosed by first penny post. Johne and all other our relations well at Bristol by last post."

A letter in December, 1717, speaks of Thomas's wardrobe in some detail. Referring to the tardy receipt of some things which he was to send down from the city, she adds,—

"But [I] am now satisfied in that, as also in thy Choice of a Coat, only doubting that when thou have wore this a month or 2, Every day, 'twill be too bad for First days; or perhaps thou designs thy other for every day, and the new one for best, which I think Indeed the Most Likely. I wish thou could have shifted till nearer Spring for a hatt, for I doubt to buy a good one now twill be near spoyld before the Hight of summer. I wish thou had saved thy last from spoyling, by buying one more ordinary and cheaper, & which I fancy will be thy best way still, & so postpone a good one till summer; of which however Consider and act for the best Husbandry, & then please thy selfe; but be sure w<sup>th</sup> ever tis, that tis Packd up in a very Frd-like way, for the fantastick cocks in thine, and thy brother Johne's hats has burthend my spirit much, and Indeed more than most of your dress besides; therefore, as thou Vallues my Comfort, Regulate it more for the future. I have a Multitude of Toyls and Cares, but they would be greatly Mittigated, if I may but behold thee and thy brother, persuing hard after Vertue, & leaveing as behind your backs the Toyish allurements & snares of this uncertain world. Oh may it be so, saith my soule.

"Thy poor father is as of late, so, so; my selfe and the rest Indifferent. Pegge, who has been at Atalls, Just come home, & sends her dear Love to thee; give mine to thy sister Aubrey."

[Then she adds:]

"But I will not longer detain thee than to advise thee not to faile of reading the Scriptures, and prizing the happiness of silence in meetings, when thou can get to them."

<sup>1</sup> We may believe that Thomas laid this experience and admonition to heart. It does not seem that he often wasted or lost a guinea.



Ten days later she is concerned for Thomas's health:

"I have not wrote to thee since thy last, being Loath to Intercept thee in thy load of business, in which practice diligence, but forgett not thy own health, by overlifting or overworking, for the continuance of thy health will be for thy master's advantage, as well as my comfort. . . . I only add my good wishes, tho the surfeit [etc.] thou took last year will make me in care for thee till I hear this is over."

There are two notes at this time from Gulielma Maria Penn,—the daughter of William, Jr., the "little beauty," as her grandfather had called her in one of his letters to Logan fifteen years before, when she was in her infancy. They are to Thomas, and indicate that he had been doing errands for her also; they bear a slight air of mystery. It may be noted that she begins both, "Dear Uncle," and signs herself "thy very affectionate cousin." (Thomas was, of course, half-brother to her father.) She desires him, in one, "to send y<sup>e</sup> inclosed to M. Knight, and y<sup>e</sup> other to my mother." Then, in a postscript: "If thou hast any Letters for me send them to Cousin M. Stafford, at Margaret Wiggin's." The second note runs thus:

"December y<sup>e</sup> 22 1717

"DEAR UNCLE

"I desire y<sup>e</sup> will Excuse me for troubleing thee so often. I rec'd both my letters & am very much obliged to y<sup>e</sup> for thy kindness in Profering thy self to do anything for me. I desire thou wilt send y<sup>e</sup> inclosed to Cousin Patty Stafford. Pray dont say anything to any Body that thou heard from me; allso if anything comes for me Send it By y<sup>e</sup> Aylesbery Coach, as y<sup>e</sup> last Parcel was sent, and thou will very much oblidg

"Thy very aff<sup>te</sup> Cousin

"G. M. PENN."

Mary Penn, William, Jr.'s., wife, has been in London, and unwell; Hannah chides Thomas for making but a brief report of the case. She says,—

"Rus. y<sup>e</sup> 27 of 12<sup>mo</sup> 1717/8

"DEAR CHILD

"Thy last letter, on acc<sup>t</sup> of thy sister Pen's illness a little surprisd me, & on which I wrote to H Gouldney. I hoped for a letter from some of you since, but none Came as y<sup>e</sup> except one from thy sister Aubrey, which however has Easd me; but When ever thou writes of illness of thy frds be not so short as not to tell the Malady, especially when thou desires

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anything for their care, for w<sup>th</sup> out knowing y<sup>e</sup> Cause tis hard to study a Cure, but I hope 'tis nothing bad, if 'tis let me hear again by post. . . . I would have thee write me a line 7<sup>th</sup> night, to lett me know how thy sister does, & when any Ships Sayle; lett me also know whether thou have now any cash in hand, & how much, also How Irish Exchange runs. Cousin Tho. Aubrey is got hither on his way for London & pretty well, his Horse lame or would have left us to morrow, but intends it y<sup>e</sup> day after, to whom I refer for particulars, and about y<sup>e</sup> patterns to my next opportunity, and with dear Love from me and Pegge conclude; from thy

"Aff<sup>e</sup> Mother, H. P."

The letters which I have observed passing between the two brothers John and Thomas at this period, and later, are kindly and affectionate in tone. Thomas, perhaps, is somewhat formal and business-like, but is always regardful of the conventions of correspondence. I have noted one letter, in 1723, in which, being then at Bristol, Thomas wrote to John, in London, at "Crown Court, Aldersgate," and departed from the plain manner of the Friends, saying throughout "you," "ffbruary," "ffriday," "Monday," etc., but this is an exception; in other letters, later, he uniformly says "thine," "thy," "thee," "First-day," etc. His letters are well written, in a fine, even, and pleasing hand, and he expresses himself clearly and definitely.

Hannah Penn's cash-book, a small, square book, showing the house-keeping expenses at Ruscombe between May 15, 1715, and November 5, 1719, is among the Penn collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The opening entries, and most of those which follow, are in the handwriting of Hannah Penn, but part is by another hand, probably that of her son John. The account begins with this entry:

"We came to Ruscomb from Bath the 9th of 5th mo: 1715,<sup>1</sup> then Rec'd of John Wren by bill on Joseph Boulton £10."

The page upon which this is entered contains further entries of the proceeds of bills drawn upon T. Wight

<sup>1</sup> This was evidently the visit to Bath, taken in the hope that the waters might benefit him, mentioned by the "visitor" to Ruscombe, in last chapter, and also by Simon Clement.



through Jonathan Gurnell, payments of cash by Ambrose Galloway, and others, making in all twelve entries between May 15, 1715, and Twelfth month, 1716, and covering four hundred and thirty-one pounds and fifteen shillings. Other memoranda of bills drawn, etc., appear on other pages, but most of the book is occupied with cash payments. As these throw light on the daily life at Ruscombe, I extract as follows:

		£	s	d
" 1715				
5th mo. 9	payd hire of y <sup>e</sup> horses & to the Coach man			
	y <sup>t</sup> brought us up from Bath . . . .	5	0	0
	pd Carriage of our goods fro Bristol . . . .	12	6	
	pd a debt to Rachell Hall . . . .	4	0	0
	pd Jane Grove for Tayloring work . . . .	1	1	6
	pd the poors Tax $\frac{1}{2}$ year . . . .	9	4	
22	pd Farmer Crockford in p <sup>t</sup> for Hay . . . .	5	0	0
	pd Goodee Lovejoy for weeding &c. while			
	we were from home . . . .	14	10	
	pd Goodee Collins for her work . . . .	15	0	
	pd Neighbour Burton, horse hire . . . .	9	0	
	disbursements at Henly Markett . . . .	7	$\frac{1}{2}$	
	to my pockett 5 <sup>s</sup> to my husband 10 <sup>s</sup> . . . .	15	0	
	to Daughter Aubrey for severall things . .	3	8	0
	to Daughter Pen to pay Gilbert Tomson's			
	bill . . . . .	17	10	0
	for 3 Lobsters . . . . .	2	3	
	for a dozen of Cherrys . . . . .	1	6	
23	pd Thomas y <sup>e</sup> Butch'r in full of a former			
	bill . . . . .	3	15	9
	pd for 7 ducks & 6 fouls . . . . .	9	0	
	pd for a dozen of sope . . . . .	5	0	"

The entries above are nearly all those occupying the first page of cash payments. Other entries on subsequent pages include the following:

" 1715, 5th mo. 27, payd for a Couple of Rabets 1s, 6d. For 4 lbs of butter, 6s.

" 28th, pd for a dish of fish, with Lobster and Crawfish 7s 6d; John Good, for white liming y<sup>e</sup> house, 10s; for severall things of y<sup>e</sup> Pedler, 2s. 9d.; for gathering herbs and camomile flowers, 1s; for a sythe for y<sup>e</sup> walks, 2s 6d.

" 6th mo 1, for a fitch of bacon, 39 lbs, 19s 6d.



"19th, to Tho : Pen for his journey to Bristoll, 10s.

"22nd, pd bringing Johnes things and a hamper from Bristoll, 5s.

"27th, pd Margaret Chandler's son by bill on Joseph Boulton in full for wine due to her £3 13s 6d."

Other entries, omitting dates, are extracted as follows :

"For a roasting pigg 2s 6d; for a bushel of Potatoes 2s; for a goose to send to London 2s 3d; for pins and other small things at reding 4s; for earthen pans at twiford, 2s 4d; pd Tho Grove y<sup>e</sup> window tax 15s; for sweeping chimneys, etc., 2s; y<sup>e</sup> smith at Twifords bills £1 19s; pd Thos Grove, for landlord, y<sup>e</sup> land tax £3 11s; mending y<sup>e</sup> side-saddle, etc., 1s; for stuffe for an under coate for Pegge 3s 4d."

Entries of payments of taxes and rent suggest with tolerable certainty that the owner of Ruscombe was a Mr. Foster. 1718, First month (March) 26, there is this entry: "pd Landlord Foster by disbursements & taxes £9 10s, and in money £10 10s in full to Decem'r last."

The cash-book contains no entries from Fifth month (July) 21, 1718, to November of that year. Two pages were left blank, but the account has not been set down. The melancholy reflection is that this was the period in which the death of the Founder occurred.

Entries in the book about a year later, in the handwriting of one of the children (as there are occasional payments of petty cash to "my mother"), and evidently a man, suggest the work of John Penn, though it may have been Thomas's. They seem to show quite clearly that at this time, probably Michaelmas (September 29), 1719, the home at Ruscombe was broken up. The entries of cash paid out are nearly all stated to be "in full," and then appears this one:

"Balance this 26th Octo<sup>r</sup> 1719 and wch I Brought from Ruscombe to Hammersmith £4 16s 1 3/4d."

There are three pages of charges in the book, begun by Hannah Penn, headed "Son and Daughter Penn, Dr." These begin in September, 1712, just after the apoplectic seizure of the Founder; they refer, of course, to William, Jr., and his wife. They extend to Eighth month (October), 1717, and amount to about two hundred and thirty-five



pounds. We shall more particularly refer to them in the chapter on William Penn, Jr.

In May, 1720, Hannah Penn was in London, and wrote from there to Rebecca Blackfan, at Pennsbury, in Pennsylvania, a letter which has already been referred to, but which is worth giving in full :

"DEAR COUSN:

"LONDON, ye 9th of 3rd Month, 1720.

"By ye Death of my dear Husband & ye Loads of affliction that has encompass'd me thereon I have been disabled from conversing much wth my Friends, as well as from doing them or myself much service on that side y<sup>e</sup> water. But as it would be my greatest pleasure to find myself in a Capacity to pay my dear Husband's Debts, & see my poor Children made capable of maintaining themselves, wch I am now struggling for, & when attained, shall be also willing to assist thee & thy Son, if you are not yet got to a Settlement, but I would hope you are in some little way and Place, for I am realy concern'd to think of thy Son's loseing so much of his time. And that it may be no longer, I have sent thee Peter Evans's Bond, for thee to advise wth my Friends upon, & use as they shall direct,—James Logan & R. Hill, in particular.

"I find sev'l of my Letters to thee & others have miscaried, & therefore know not whether they had acct of y<sup>e</sup> Death of my dear Sister Lowther, who Died of a Lingerig Feaver & gradual decay about 5 Months after her dear Brother. My poor Niece Poole is also since Deceas'd, of an uncommon Ayling & pain in her Head, scarce understood by any, but as was suppos'd proceeded from a Bruise on an overturn in a Coach some Months before: She has left one only Daughter, who I hope may have Comfort in Her Riches, & not become a Prey to ye World, or some Worldling. 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 return'd from his Travels in France & Flanders. He went out a very promising hopeful young Man, & I greatly hope is not worsted but improved by his journey. His two Sisters are both Living, but his younger Brother Died of the Small Pox two years since. My Daughter Aubrey is I hear well, as is my Daughter Penn & her Son & Daughter, all here in Town, & Springet wth a Merchant in Ireland.

"My Children, Three of them are in Town here, well, as are I hope my Two youngest at School. My Son Penn, after his Father's Death, came over from France to send his Commissions, as I hear, to your side, & then return'd again to France, where I think he has spent his time mostly ever since, & I doubt too fast, for I hear he is now but weakly, & 'tis doubted in a Consumptive way; May he yet Live to see, & have a Heart given him to repent of his Follys, is what I heartily desire. My Son John gives his kind Love to thee & his Cousin William, to



whome give mine, & in thy next let me know in what Condition Pensberry is & by whom Inhabited now, for I hope I am not at any charges there, but that it at least maintains itself and Family; and I hope thou hast taken Care to preserve the Goods as much as may be from damage, an Inventory of wch I shall write to J. Logan for, as being liable to be Call'd to an Account for it on acct of Debts, & because I am under a necessity to prove ye Will in Chancery by the opposition my Son Penn &c. has given me therein.

"I find by reading thy last Letter, again, per W. Watson, that thou art still on Pen'sberry; who will be the Inheritor of that Place at last is yet uncertain, 'till ye Law has settled our Affairs, but ye Goods & Stock must be valued, to help to pay Debts, of wch my Husband has paid & engag'd for divers on his Son's Acct; some of wch I have been oblig'd to pay, & am call'd on for more, wch I avoid 'till our matters are determined. The young Blacks must be dispos'd of to prevent their increasing Charge, I have offer'd my Daughter Aubrey one, but she does not care for any, I would however have ye likeliest Boy reserv'd, and bred to reading & sobriety as intending him for my Self, or one of my Children; about wch I design to write to J. Logan, for if Sue proves a good Industrious Servant, & Sober, I would have her ye more tenderly us'd in ye disposal of her Children. I have wrote more than I intended & 'till my Head aches, so wth kind Love to thee, & my Cousin Wm & those of my Loving Neighbours who formerly knew me in your parts, I close & am

"Thy Loving Cousin, and Friend,

"H. PENN.

"TO REBECCA BLACKFAN."

Endorsed "To Rebbecka Blackfan at Pensberry or Elsewhere in Pennsylvania."

The statement that three of the children are in London and the two youngest at school confirms the presumption that the Ruscombe home was broken up in the autumn of 1719. The three in London were, of course, John, Thomas, and Margaret. Those at school were Richard and Dennis. Three years later, John, who had then come of age, appears to have been settled in the country, and there is a letter to him from Thomas in London. It suggests that Hannah's and Margaret's home was then with John, but that a lodging for them was being inquired for. The letter follows:

"LONDON, May 15, 1723.

"DE: BROTHER

"I had James's Letter which came just in the Nick of time to hinder my purchasing a Natural pacer 5 yrs old and 13 Hands High for about



5 Guineas. Shal be glad to hear the Horse he mentions may please thee. I have herewith sent thee a Gallon of good French Brandy which hope will do; also [*blank*] of Cloths, the Charge whereof have put down below.<sup>1</sup> My Mother was in the City last night, and is brave and well. Daniel Phillips I suppose has been with her, so that she can inform thee his opinion concerning Tunbridge & Windsor, but there's a Lodging to be let at Winchmorehill, about 1 Mile from Bushill, and Close by the Meetinghouse, which shee may have. W. Picton had it some time Since: 'tis a very pleasant Situation, and large garden, near the New river, and but about 5 miles from Wormly, where you may have fishing enough. If thou likes that side of the Country I think the place will do. I have no more to add but Love to thy Self & Peggy and am

"Thy aff: Bro.

"THO PENN.

"I expect to see thee first day."

In March, 1726, a letter to John Penn from one of his correspondents is addressed to him "at Thomas Penn's, in the King's Court, Lombard St., London." But a year or two later John had established himself in Berkshire, at the place called Feens, already mentioned. It was near Maidenhead and evidently not far from Ruscombe, and letters addressed to John by Thomas and Richard indicate that he lived there until he came to Pennsylvania in 1734. His brother's letters allude to it as "your house." We get a glimpse of one of his friends at this period, Thomas Bishop Vickris, who had been among Hannah Penn's neighbors at Ruscombe. There are notes from him to John in 1729; these allude to his (Vickris's) house as "a cottage" at "Winton." John, it appears, had given him a pointer dog, and in acknowledging the present, Vickris assured the donor that the animal should "have a Liberal Education suited to his Birth!" October 22, 1729, Vickris writes from London to John, "I am eating soope and drinking your health at y<sup>e</sup> George and Vulture w<sup>th</sup> your Bro Tom."

<sup>1</sup> The memorandum of the "cloths" is given on the lower corner of the letter. It includes twenty-six yards "Callam," eight yards "Sarsnet," and "four yds Wide," altogether five pounds four pence.

(To be continued.)



## WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 503.)

1795.

FRIDAY, JULY 3.

At Philadelphia: "The treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, which has lately been before the Senate, has, as you will perceive, made its public entry into the Gazettes of this City.—Of course the merits, and demerits of it will (especially in its unfinished state), be freely discussed."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

Mr. Jay closed his English mission by signing a treaty on November 19, 1794. The treaty, in which, for the sake of peace, more was yielded than gained, was long on its passage, for it was not received by the President till March 7, a few days after the adjournment of Congress. Washington summoned the Senate to convene on Monday the 8th of June, and on that day laid before it the treaty and accompanying documents; and on the 24th of the month, after a minute and laborious investigation, the Senate, by precisely a constitutional majority (twenty to ten), advised and consented to its conditional ratification. A sketch of the document appeared in the *Aurora* (June 29), and led Senator Stevens Thomson Mason, of Virginia, a strong opponent of the treaty, to send to that paper his copy, and on July 1 it was issued by Bache in a pamphlet. The ratification of the treaty was signed by the President on the 18th of August.

SATURDAY, JULY 4.

At Philadelphia: "July 6.—Saturday last being the Anniversary of Independence, the same was celebrated by every friend to the United States. The Day was ushered in with ringing of bells, which continued thro' the Day—The military paraded. Federal Salutes were fired. Public Bodies dined together—Congratulations were mutual, and the Father of his Country, received the Felicitations of every class of Citizens, civil, clerical and military."—*Gazette of the United States.*



## FRIDAY, JULY 10.

At Philadelphia: Issues a proclamation granting a full, free, and entire pardon to all persons concerned in the "Whiskey Insurrection," in Western Pennsylvania, who had given assurance of submission to the laws of the United States. The proclamation was not published till the 6th of August.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.

Leaves Philadelphia: "July 15.—President Washington about eight o'clock this morning set out for Mount Vernon in a two-horse phaeton for one person, his family in a coach and four horses, and two servants on horseback leading his saddle horse."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

"July 15.—Left Phila<sup>a</sup> with M<sup>r</sup> Washington & my family for M<sup>t</sup> Vernon—Dined at Chester & lodged at Wilmington. July 16.—Breakfasted at Christ<sup>a</sup> dined at Elkton—& lodged at Susquehanna—One of my horses overcame with heat. July 17.—Breakfasted before I set out dined at Hartford & lodged at Websters.—bro<sup>t</sup> on the sick horse led. July 18.—Breakfasted in Baltim<sup>e</sup>—dined & lodged at Spurriers where my sick horse died. July 19.—Breakfasted at Vanhornes—dined at Bladensburgh & lodged in Geo: Town. July 20.—After doing business with the Com<sup>r</sup> of the fed<sup>l</sup> City I proceeded on my journey & got home to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

## SATURDAY, JULY 18.

At Baltimore: Receives the resolutions, denouncing the *Jay Treaty*, passed by a meeting of the citizens of Boston, held on the 10th of the month. The resolutions were enclosed to him in a letter from the selectmen of that town dated the 13th.

As any negotiation or amicable arrangements with Great Britain were extremely unpopular, the consent of the Senate to the ratification of the treaty was met with virulent opposition, and meetings in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and other parts of the country were held and addresses and resolutions against the measure forwarded to the President. The first meeting of this character was the one held in Boston. Addresses to the chief magistrate and resolutions of town and country meetings were not the only means which were employed on this occasion to enlist the American people against the measures which had been advised by the Senate. An immense number of essays in opposition were written, which the friends of the instrument met by counter-efforts, and the gazettes



of the day are replete with appeals to the passions and to the reason of those who are the ultimate arbiters of every political question.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 24.

At Mount Vernon: "I have not, as I mentioned to you in my last, heard much respecting the treaty since I left Philadelphia. At Baltimore I remained no longer than to breakfast. In Georgetown my whole time was spent in business with the commissioners; and in Alexandria I did not stop. Yet the same leaven, that fermented the town of Boston, is at work, I am informed, in other places; but whether it will produce the same fruit remains to be decided."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 29.

At Mount Vernon: "The contents of your letters of the 21st and 24th instant, which I received by Monday's post, the importance of some of their enclosures, and the perturbed state of men's minds respecting the late treaty with Great Britain, together with the proceedings in some of the principal towns to embarrass the business, have determined me to repair to the seat of government."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

A meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, for the purpose of passing resolutions against the treaty, was held at the State-House on July 25. After the business of the meeting was closed, a copy of the treaty was suspended on a pole and carried about the streets by a company of people, who at length stopped in front of the British minister's house (Mr. Hammond) and there burnt the treaty, and also before the door of the British consul (Phineas Bond), amidst the huzzas and acclamations of the populace.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 6.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "*August 6.*—Left home on my return to Philadelphia—met the Poto<sup>k</sup> C<sup>o</sup> at Geo: Town & lodged there. *August 7.*—Breakfasted at Bladensburgh—din<sup>d</sup> at Vanhornes & lodged at Spur<sup>r</sup>. *August 8.*—Breakfasted at Baltimore—and dined and lodged at Websters. *August 9.*—Breakfasted at Hartford dined at Susquehanna and lodged at Charles town. *August 10.*—Breakfasted at Elkton—Dined at Newcastle and lodged at Wilmington.



August 11.—Breakfasted at Chester and dined in Phil<sup>a</sup>.—*Washington's Diary*.

"Expenses of my Journey to Philadelphia.—August 6.—At Wise's 3.9. Turnpike 1.8. Ferriage Geo: Town 7.6; August 7.—Bill at Suters 2.6.7. Servants Do 3.9. Bill at Bladensb'g 8.9. Servants at Do 3.10. Bill at Vanhornes 15.6. Servants Do. 1.10½. Getting horses out of the Mire 1.7.6; August 8.—Bill at Spurriers 1.14.0. Servants Do 11.7½. Ferriage Elkridge 2.8. Bill at Baltimore 14.1. Servants at Do 3.9; August 9.—Bill at Websters 1.10.6. Servants at Do 2.0. Bill at Hartford 8.9. Servants Do 3.0. Bill at Susquehanna 14.8. Servants at Do 1.10½; August 10.—Bill at Charlestown 1.1.8. Servants at D 1.10½. Bill at Elkton 14.6. Servants at Do 1.10½. Porter at Mitchells 3.c. Bill at the Bear 3.10½. Ditto at New-castle 11.10. Ferry over Christa 2.10; August 11.—Bill at Wilmington 1.2.10. Servants Do 11.7½. Ferry over Brandy-Wine 2.10. Bill at Chester 10.9. Servants Do 2.0. Ferry over Schuylkill 1.6. Sundries pd for besides the above 1.10.11."—*Washington's Memorandum-Book*.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 11.

At Philadelphia: "August 12.—The President of the United States arrived in town yesterday at noon."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

On the day after the arrival of the President at Philadelphia (August 12) the question respecting the immediate ratification of the treaty was brought before the Cabinet. "The secretary of state maintained singly the opinion, that during the existence of the provision order, and during the war between Britain and France, this step ought not to be taken. This opinion did not prevail. The resolution was adopted to ratify the treaty immediately, and to accompany the ratification with a strong memorial against the provision order, which should convey in explicit terms the sense of the American government on that subject. By this course, the views of the executive were happily accomplished. The order was revoked, and the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged."—MARSHALL'S *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. p. 633.

#### THURSDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Philadelphia: "Your resignation of the office of State is received. Candor induces me to give you in a few words the following narrative of facts. The letter from M. Fauchet, with the contents of which you were made acquainted yesterday, was, as you supposed, an intercepted one. It was sent by Lord Grenville to Mr. Hammond, by him put into the



hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, by him shown to the Secretary of War and the Attorney-General; and a translation thereof was made by the former for me."—*Washington to Edmund Randolph.*

Late in March, 1795, a French corvette was captured by a British man-of-war off Penmarch, and some of M. Fauchet's despatches to his government were taken. These despatches were sent to the British minister, Mr. Hammond, and by him given to Mr. Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, July 28. The intercepted despatch was No. 10, dated 10 Brumaire (October 31, 1794), and purported to give some "*précieuses confessions*" of Mr. Randolph on the Western insurrection. The inference from the general tenor of the despatch was, that the Secretary of State had shown himself accessible to a bribe from the French minister, and that he was at heart favorable to the Western insurrection, either from party motives or from others not known. The suspicion thus excited was strengthened by the fact that he had changed his mind respecting the ratification of the "Jay treaty," and had suggested difficulties and promoted delay.

M. Fauchet wrote a declaration, however, as soon as it was known to him that his letter had been intercepted, and when he was on the point of leaving the country to return to France, denying in the most positive terms that Mr. Randolph had ever indicated to him a willingness to receive money for personal objects, and affirming that in his letter he had no intention of saying anything to the disadvantage of Mr. Randolph's character.

On August 19, in the presence of Messrs. Wolcott and Pickering, Washington gave to Mr. Randolph the intercepted despatch, and the Secretary requested an opportunity to throw his ideas on paper. Instead of so doing, he sent in his resignation that evening.

#### SATURDAY, AUGUST 22.

At Philadelphia: "The seaport towns, or rather parts of them, are involved, and are endeavouring as much as in them lies to involve the community at large, in a violent opposition to the treaty with Great Britain, which is ratified as far as the measure depends upon me. The general opinion, however, as far as I am able to come at it is, that the current is turning."—*Washington to James Ross.*

#### TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*September 10.*—Tuesday last [September 8] the President of the United States set out from this city for Mount Vernon."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser.*



"September 8.—Left Phil<sup>a</sup> for M<sup>r</sup> Vernon dined at Chester—& lodged at Wilmington. September 9.—Breakfasted at Christiana dined at Elkton—& lodged at Charlestown. September 10.—Breakfasted at Susquehanna (M<sup>r</sup> Rogers's) dined at Harford—& lodged at Websters. September 11.—Breakfasted at Baltimore dined & lodged at Spurriers. September 12.—Breakfasted at Van Horns Dined at Bladensburgh—& lodged at George Town. September 13.—Breakfasted in George Town and reached M<sup>r</sup> Vernon to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Mount Vernon: "If any power on earth could, or the Great Power above would, erect the standard of infallibility in political opinions, there is no being that inhabits this terrestrial globe, that would resort to it with more eagerness than myself, so long as I remain a servant of the public. But as I have found no better guide hitherto, than upright intentions and close investigation, I shall adhere to those maxims, while I keep the watch; leaving it to those, who will come after me, to explore new ways, if they like or think them better."—*Washington to Henry Knox*.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25.

At Alexandria: "September 25.—Went to Alexandria—dined with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Lear.<sup>1</sup> September 26.—Returned home to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: "I shall not, whilst I have the honor to administer the government, bring a man into any office of consequence knowingly, whose political tenets are adverse to the measures, which the general government are pursuing; for this, in my opinion, would be a sort of political suicide. That it would embarrass its movements is most certain. But of two men equally well affected to the true interests of their country, of equal abilities, and equally disposed to lend their support, it is the part of prudence to

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<sup>1</sup> Tobias Lear married Fanny Washington, widow of George Augustine Washington, early in August, 1795. His first wife, who died at Philadelphia, July 28, 1793, was Mary Long, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, his native place.



give the preference to him, against whom the least clamor can be excited."—*Washington to Timothy Pickering.*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9.

At Mount Vernon: "I can most religiously aver I have no wish, that is incompatible with the dignity, happiness, and true interest of the people of this country. My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, as far as depended upon the executive department, to comply strictly with all our engagements, foreign and domestic; but to keep the United States free from political connexions with every other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none. In a word, I want an *American* character, that the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for *ourselves*, and not for others."—*Washington to Patrick Henry.*

MONDAY, OCTOBER 12.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "I shall set out for Philadelphia this day; but business with the commissioners of the Federal City will detain me in George Town to-morrow, and of course keep me a day longer from the seat of government, than I expected."—*Washington to Timothy Pickering.*

"October 12.—Set out for Phil<sup>a</sup>. October 13.—Stayed at Geo: Town. October 14.—Lodged at Spurriers. October 16.<sup>1</sup>—Lodged at Websters. October 17.—Lodged at Hartford. October 18.—Lodged at Elkton. October 19.—Lodged at Wilmington. October 20.—Arrived at Phil."—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20.

At Philadelphia: "October 21.—Yesterday afternoon THE PRESIDENT arrived in town from the Southward."—*Gazette of the United States.*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25.

At Philadelphia: "I want a Green Pocket book, w<sup>ch</sup> is to be found in the hair trunk, which is usually put on my

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<sup>1</sup> "Baltimore, October 17.—Yesterday morning the President of the United States passed through this town on his way to the seat of government. We with pleasure add, that this venerable patriot appeared in perfect health."—*Gazette of the United States*, October 20.



writing Table in the Study, with my Land papers.—The key of this trunk is under the lid of the writing Table.—it is tied to a bunch of other keys by a twine.—This Pocket book is of green parchment, and contains the courses, and distances of many surveys of the grounds &c in, and about my farms.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

This book, which contains seventy-eight closely written pages, in the handwriting of Washington, was sold at public sale in Philadelphia, December, 1890, for two hundred and fifty dollars. The sale was made by order of the administrator of the estate of the widow of Lorenzo Lewis, who was the son of Lawrence Lewis and Nelly Custis. The sale included many articles from the household at Mount Vernon which were inherited by Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: “*November 13.—MARRIED.* On Wednesday last [November 11], by the Rev. Dr. [Robert] BLACKWELL, Major WILLIAM JACKSON, to Miss ELIZA WILLING, daughter of Thomas Willing, Esq. President of the Bank of the United States.”—*Gazette of the United States.*

“The ceremony was performed by Bishop White, assisted by his associate, Dr. Blackwell. Among those present were General and Mrs. Washington, Robert Morris and his wife, Hamilton, Lincoln, Knox, Vicomte de Noailles, the brother-in-law of Lafayette, and many others who then added so much to the attraction of Philadelphia society.”—PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. II. p. 366.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

At Philadelphia: “The office of Attorney-General of the United States is not yet filled. The reason why it is not, General Lee at my request, will frankly relate to you. If you could make it convenient, and agreeable to yourself to accept it, I should derive pleasure therefrom, both from public and private considerations.”—*Washington to Charles Lee.*

Charles Lee, of Virginia, brother of General Henry Lee, was appointed Attorney-General on December 10, succeeding William Bradford, who died August 23, and on the same day Timothy Pickering was appointed Secretary of State in the place of Edmund Randolph. The office of Secretary of War



was filled January 27, 1796, by the appointment of James McHenry, of Maryland.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Philadelphia: "It was with sincere pleasure I received your letter from Boston; and, with the heart of affection, I welcome you to this country."—*Washington to George Washington Lafayette.*

George Washington Lafayette, only son of the Marquis de Lafayette, came to the United States late in the summer of 1795, accompanied by his preceptor M. Frestel. He landed at Boston, and immediately informed Washington of the fact, but reasons of state prevented the President from inviting him to his house, which was his first impulse. After leaving Boston, young Lafayette (he was barely sixteen years of age) lived with his tutor for a while in the vicinity of New York, in comparative seclusion. Congress, at length, took cognizance of his presence in the country, and on the 18th of March, 1796, the House of Representatives passed a resolution directing a committee to inquire into the matter, and to report such measures as would be proper "to evince the grateful sense entertained by this country for the services of his father." This committee, through its chairman Edward Livingston, advised him to come to the seat of government, which he did, remaining in Philadelphia until the following spring, avoiding society as much as possible, when Washington, on becoming a private citizen, received him into his family as if he had been his own child. He remained with the family until early in October, 1797, when news having been received of the release of his father from prison, caused him to leave for the seaboard to depart for France. He and M. Frestel sailed from New York October 26. In 1824 he accompanied his father on his visit to the United States.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Philadelphia: "By Thursday's post I was favored with your letter of the 27th ultimo, enclosing a Declaration of the General Assembly of Maryland. At any time the expression of such a sentiment would have been considered as highly honorable and flattering. At the present, when the voice of malignancy is so high-toned, and no attempts are left unessayed to destroy all confidence in the constituted authorities of this country, it is peculiarly grateful to my sensibility; and, coming spontaneously, and with the unanimity it has done from so respectable a representation of the people, it adds weight as well as pleasure to the act."—*Washington to John H. Stone, Governor of Maryland.*



The Declaration of the General Assembly of Maryland, referred to in this letter, was expressed in the following language, and was unanimously adopted by the House of Delegates and the Senate.

"Resolved unanimously, that the General Assembly of Maryland, impressed with the liveliest sense of the important and disinterested services rendered to his country by the President of the United States; convinced that the prosperity of every free government is promoted by the existence of rational confidence between the people and their trustees, and is injured by misplaced suspicion and ill-founded jealousy; considering that public virtue receives its best reward in the approving voice of a grateful people, and that, when this reward is denied to it, the noblest incentive to great and honorable actions, to generous zeal and magnanimous perseverance, is destroyed; observing, with deep concern, a series of efforts, by indirect insinuation, or open invective to detach from the first magistrate of the Union the well-earned confidence of his fellow citizens; think it their duty to declare, and they do hereby declare, their unabated reliance on the *integrity, judgment, and patriotism* of the President of the United States."

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: "*December 8.*—The House [Pennsylvania Legislature] adjourned at noon and proceeded to Congress Hall, where President Washington delivered [in the Hall of the House] his address to the Senate and House."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

William Cobbett (Peter Porcupine), who was present on this occasion, says in his pamphlet entitled "A Prospect from the Congress-Gallery," published at Philadelphia in 1796, "When the President arrived at the House this day, he found it in that state of composed gravity, of respectful silence, for which the Congress is so remarkable, and which, whatever wittlings may say, is the surest mark of sound understanding.—The gallery was crowded with anxious spectators, whose orderly behaviour was not the least pleasing part of the scene.

"The President is a timid speaker: he is a proof, among thousands, that superior genius, wisdom, and courage, are ever accompanied with excessive modesty. His situation was at this time almost entirely new. Never, till a few months preceding this session, had the tongue of the most factious slander dared to make a public attack on his character. This was the first time he had ever entered the walls of Congress without a full assurance of meeting a welcome from every heart. He now saw, even among those to whom he addressed himself, numbers who, to repay all his labours, all his anxious cares for their welfare, were ready to thwart his measures, and present him the cup of humiliation, filled to the brim. When he came to that part of his speech, where he mentions the treaty with His Britannic Majesty, he cast his eyes towards the gallery.—It was not the look of indignation and reproach, but of injured virtue, which is ever ready to forgive. I was



pleased to observe, that not a single murmur of disapprobation was heard from the spectators that surrounded me; and, if there were some amongst them, who had assisted at the turbulent town-meetings, I am persuaded, they were sincerely penitent. When he departed, every look seemed to say: God prolong his precious life."

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: Is waited on by the Senate, and the Vice-President, in its name, presents him with an answer to his address.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Philadelphia: "When you receive the money for my last years flour and Corn, I wish that every demand, of whatsoever nature or kind, may be discharged.—I never like to owe anything, lest I might be called upon for payment when I am not possessed of the means.—A Dun, would not be agreeable to me, at any time;—and not to pay money when it is due, and might really be wanting, would hurt my feelings."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At Philadelphia: Is waited on by the House of Representatives of the United States, with an answer to his address.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22.

At Philadelphia: "It is well known, that peace has been (to borrow a modern phrase) the order of the day with me since the disturbances in Europe first commenced. My policy has been, and will continue to be, while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to maintain friendly terms with, but be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all; being thoroughly convinced, that it is our policy and interest to do so. Nothing short of self-respect, and that justice which is essential to a national character, ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquility twenty years longer, it may bid defiance in a



just cause to any power whatever; such in that time will be its population, wealth, and resources."—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris*.

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Philadelphia: "December 26.—Last Thursday [December 24] I had the honor of dining with the President, in company with the Vice-President, the Senators and Delegates of Massachusetts, and some other members of Congress, about 20 in all."—*Theophilus Bradbury to Mrs. Thomas Hooper*.<sup>1</sup>

In continuing this letter to his daughter Harriet, wife of Major Thomas Hooper, the writer, who was a member of Congress from Essex County, Massachusetts, says, "In the middle of the table was placed a piece of table furniture about six feet long and two feet wide, rounded at the ends. It was either of wood gilded, or polished metal, raised only about an inch, with a silver rim round it like that round a tea board; in the centre was a pedestal of plaster of Paris with images upon it, and on each end figures, male and female of the same. It was very elegant and used for ornament only. The dishes were placed all around, and there was an elegant variety of roast beef, veal, turkeys, ducks, fowls, hams, &c.; puddings, jellies, oranges, apples, nuts, almonds, figs, raisins, and a variety of wines and punch. We took our leave at six, more than an hour after the candles were introduced. No lady but Mrs. Washington dined with us. We were waited on by four or five men servants dressed in livery."

#### 1796.

#### FRIDAY, JANUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: Receives from M. Adet, the minister from France, the colors of France, sent by the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention as a token of friendship to the United States.<sup>2</sup>

The flag, which was directed to be placed in the archives of the government, is described as follows in the papers of the day: "The flag is tricolor, made of the richest silk and highly ornamented with allegorical paintings. In the middle, a cock is represented, the emblem of France standing on a

<sup>1</sup> PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. VIII. p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> "Jany. 1, 1796.—Remarkably mild and pleasant—perfectly clear. Received the National Colours from M<sup>r</sup> Adet the Minister Plenipo. to day: Much company visited."—*Washington's Diary*.



thunderbolt. At two corners diagonally opposite are represented two bombshells bursting, at the other two corners, other military emblems. Round the whole is a rich border of oak leaves, alternately yellow and green, the first shaded with brown and heightened with gold; the latter shaded with black and relieved with silver; in this border are entwined warlike musical instruments. The edge is ornamented with a rich gold fringe. The staff is covered with black velvet crowned with a golden pike and enriched with the tricolor *cravatte* and a pair of tassels worked in gold and the three national colors."

SUNDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Philadelphia: "I am not disposed to take any thing less for my flour than it sells at here (allowing for freight and Insurance) for if it is well manufactured, it will pass Inspection in this Market, and of course command the price of other flour, without the credit which is required in Alexandria and would be for my interest to bring it hither, rather than sell at an under rate."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

SUNDAY, JANUARY 17.

At Philadelphia: "I am under no concern for the fall which has taken place in the price of flour—that it will be up again, and higher than ever in the spring there is but little doubt—indeed some well informed Merchants declare they should not be surprized to find it at twenty dollars p<sup>r</sup> Barrel at that season.

"There can be no question in my mind that herrings will be at 10/ p<sup>r</sup> Thousand and Shads at three dollars at least p<sup>r</sup> hundred for which reason, my advice to you is, not to take less from M<sup>r</sup> Smith, or any other who may offer to contract, beforehand."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1.

At Philadelphia: "I feel obliged by the expression of your concern for the attacks, which have been made upon my administration. If the enlightened and virtuous part of the community will make allowances for my involuntary errors, I will promise, that they shall have no cause to accuse me of wilful ones. Hoping for the former, I feel no



concern on account of the latter."—*Washington to Oliver Wolcott*, Governor of Connecticut.

#### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

At Philadelphia: "*February 13.*—Dr. [Joseph] Priestly is here. I drank tea with him at the President's on Thursday evening [February 11]. He says he always maintained against Dr. [Richard] Price, that old age was the pleasantest part of life, and he finds it so."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

Joseph Priestley, LL.D., scientist and dissenting minister, came to America in June, 1794, and settled at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, making his home with his sons who had preceded him. Dr. Priestley often preached at Philadelphia, and in the spring of 1796 delivered in that city a series of "Discourses relating to the Evidences of Revealed Religion," which were published the same year. His friend Richard Price, D.D. LL.D., to whom allusion is made, was the author of a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America," published at London and Boston in 1776, and of which sixty thousand copies were distributed. Dr. Price also published in 1785, "Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of making it a Benefit to the World." He died in London, England, March 19, 1791.

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

At Philadelphia: "*February 13.*—I went with Charles last night to the drawing room. As the evening was fair and mild, there was a great circle of ladies and a greater of gentlemen. General Wayne was there in glory.<sup>1</sup> This man's feelings must be worth a guinea a minute. The Pennsylvanians claim him as theirs, and show him a marked respect."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

"*Philadelphia*, February 8.—On Saturday last [February 6], about five o'clock in the afternoon, arrived in this city, after an absence of more than three years, on an expedition against the Western Indians, in which he proved so happily successful, MAJOR GENERAL WAYNE. Four miles from the city, he was met by the three Troops of Philadelphia Light Horse, and escorted by them to town. On his crossing the Schuylkill, a salute of fifteen cannon

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<sup>1</sup> Gained by his victory over the Indians on the banks of the Miami, August 20, 1794.



was fired from the Centre-square, by a party of Artillery. He was ushered into the city by ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy, and thousands of citizens crowded to see and welcome the return of their brave General, whom they attended to the City Tavern, where he alighted. In the evening, a display of Fire-Works was exhibited, in celebration of the Peace lately concluded with the Western Indians, and the Algerines; and also, on account of the Peace concluded by France with several European Powers."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Philadelphia: "*February 23.*—Yesterday being the anniversary of the birth-day of the President of the United States, when he entered into the 64th [65th] year of his age, it was ushered in here by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of joy. In the course of the day, the members of both houses of Congress, the Senate and representatives of this state,<sup>1</sup> the heads of departments, foreign ministers, the clergy of every denomination, the Cincinnati, civil and military officers of the United States, several other public bodies, and many respectable citizens and foreigners, waited upon the President according to annual custom to congratulate him on the occasion. Detachments of artillery and infantry paraded in honor of the day, and in the evening there was perhaps one of the most splendid balls at Rickett's amphitheatre ever given in America."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"*Philadelphia, February, 1796.*—On General Washington's birth-day, which was a few days ago, this city was unusually gay; every person of consequence in it, Quakers alone excepted, made it a point to visit the General on this day. As early as eleven o'clock in the morning he was prepared to receive them, and the audience lasted till three in the afternoon. The society of the Cincinnati, the clergy, the officers of the militia, and several others, who formed a distinct body of citizens, came by themselves separately. The foreign ministers attended in their richest dresses and most

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<sup>1</sup> "*February 22.*—At noon Speaker [Robert] Hare of the Senate, and Speaker [George] Latimer of the House, with their members, called on President Washington to congratulate him on his birthday. He stood in the centre of the back room, where he bowed to each member as he passed into the front room, where wine and cake were served. At night the ladies and gentlemen had a dance at Rickett's riding place, southwest corner Sixth and Chestnut Streets."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.



splendid equipages. Two large parlours were open for the reception of gentlemen, the windows of one of which towards the street were crowded with spectators on the outside. The sideboard was furnished with cake and wines, whereof the visitors partook. I never observed so much cheerfulness before in the countenance of General Washington; but it was impossible for him to remain insensible to the attention and compliments paid to him on this occasion.

"The ladies of the city, equally attentive paid their respects to Mrs. Washington, who received them in the drawing-room up stairs. After having visited the General, most of the gentlemen also waited upon her. A public ball and supper terminated the rejoicings of the day."—ISAAC WELD, JUNIOR, *Travels through the States of North America during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797.* London, 1799.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29.

At Philadelphia: "*February 29.*—We are informed THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES intends visiting the Theatre this Evening; and, the Entertainments are by his particular desire."<sup>1</sup>—*Gazette of the United States.*

"*March 1.*—Yesterday [February 29] the President sent his carriage for me to go with the family to the theatre. The *Rage* and the *Spoiled Child* were the two pieces. It rained and the house was not full. I thought I perceived a little mortification. Mr. George Washington and his fair lady were with us.<sup>2</sup> . . . After all, persuasion may overcome the inclination of the chief to retire. But, if it should, it will shorten his days, I am convinced. His heart is set upon it, and the turpitude of the Jacobins touches him more nearly than he owns in words. All the studied efforts of the federalists to counterbalance abuse by compliment don't answer the end."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 4.

At Philadelphia: "If the people of this country have not abundant cause to rejoice at the happiness they enjoy, I

<sup>1</sup> "NEW THEATRE [north side of Chestnut above Sixth Street]—*By Particular Desire.* On MONDAY EVENING, February 29, Will be presented, A celebrated COMEDY (written by the Author of the Dramatist) called THE RAGE! To which will be added, A FARCE in two acts, called THE SPOIL'D CHILD. The Public are respectfully informed, that the Doors of the Theatre will open at a quarter after FIVE o'clock, and the Curtain rise precisely at a quarter after SIX—until further notice."—*Gazette of the United States*, February 27.

<sup>2</sup> George Steptoe Washington, a nephew of the President, son of his brother Samuel. He had recently married Lucy Payne, daughter of John Payne, of Virginia, and a sister of Mrs. James Madison.



know of no country that has. We have settled all our disputes, and are at peace with all nations. We supply their wants with our superfluities, and are well paid for doing so.—The earth generally, for years past, has yielded its fruits bountifully. No City, Town, Village, or even farm but what exhibits evidences of increasing wealth and prosperity; while Taxes are hardly known but in name. Yet by the second sight,—extraordinary foresight, or some other sight attainable by a few only, evils afar off are discovered by these, alarming to themselves; and as far as they are able to render them so, disquieting to others.”—*Washington to Gouverneur Morris.*

THURSDAY, MARCH 24.

At Philadelphia: “*March 25.*—Yesterday I dined at the President’s, with ministers of state and their ladies, foreign and domestic. After dinner the gentlemen drew off after the ladies, and left me alone with the President in close conversation. He detained me there till nine o’clock, and was never more frank and open upon politics. I find his opinions and sentiments are more exactly like mine than I ever knew before, respecting England, France, and our American parties. He gave me intimations enough that his reign would be very short. He repeated it three times at least, that this and that was of no consequence to him personally, as he had but a very little while to stay in his present situation.”—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

FRIDAY, MARCH 25.

At Philadelphia: “The resolution moved in the House of Representatives, for the papers relative to the negotiation of the treaty with Great Britain, having passed in the affirmative, I request your opinion,

“1. Whether that branch of Congress has or has not a right, by the constitution, to call for those papers?

“2. Whether, if it does not possess the right, it would be expedient under the circumstances of this particular case to furnish them?

“3. And, in either case, in what terms would it be most



proper to comply with, or to refuse, the request of the House?"—*Washington to Timothy Pickering*, Secretary of State.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty with Great Britain, commonly called *Jay's Treaty*, having been ratified in London on the 28th day of October, 1795, and returned to the United States, a copy of it was laid before Congress, by the President, on the 1st of March. It now became the duty of the House of Representatives to make appropriations for carrying the treaty into effect. The party in the House opposed to the treaty were not satisfied with the course pursued by the President in promulgating it by a proclamation (February 29) before the sense of the House of Representatives had been in any manner obtained upon the subject. A resolution was brought forward by Mr. Livingston (March 2), which, after an amendment by the original mover, assumed the following shape :

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States be requested to lay before this House a copy of the instructions given to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with Great Britain communicated by his message of the 1st instant, together with the correspondence and documents relating to the said treaty, excepting such of said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed."

A debate arose, which did not terminate till the 24th of March, when the resolution passed in the affirmative by a vote of sixty-two to thirty-seven, and it was accordingly sent to the President by a committee of the House.<sup>2</sup> The President replied to the committee, "that he would take the request of the House into consideration."

The members of the Cabinet were unanimous in advising the President not to comply with the resolution. Each of them stated the grounds of his opinion in writing. During the progress of the debate, Chief-Justice Ellsworth drew up an argument, showing that the papers could not be constitutionally demanded by the House of Representatives. A message was therefore framed and sent to the House on the 30th of March, at the conclusion of which the President said, "A just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

A motion to refer the message to a committee of the whole House was carried by a large majority ; and on the 29th of April,<sup>3</sup> after a debate which

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<sup>1</sup> Sent as a circular to the other members of the Cabinet.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Livingston, of New York, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania.

<sup>3</sup> The speech of Fisher Ames, made on the 28th of April, advocating the appropriation required for the execution of the treaty, was such a remarkable effort that a member of the opposition objected to the taking of a vote at that time, on the ground that the House was too excited to come to a decision.



had lasted for two weeks, the question was taken in committee, and determined by the casting vote of the chairman (Frederick A. Muhlenberg) in favor of the expediency of making the necessary laws for carrying out the treaty. The resolution was finally carried (April 30), fifty-one voting in the affirmative and forty-eight in the negative.

THURSDAY, MARCH 31.

At Philadelphia: "I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for the trouble you have taken to dilate on the request of the House of Representatives for the papers relative to the British treaty. . . . I had, from the first moment, and from the fullest conviction in my own mind, resolved to *resist the principle*, which was evidently intended to be established by the call of the House of Representatives;<sup>1</sup> and only deliberated on the manner, in which this could be done with the least bad consequences."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton*.

MONDAY, APRIL 11.<sup>2</sup>

At Philadelphia: "I am under promise to Mrs. Bingham to sit for you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, and wishing to know if it be convenient to you that I should do so, and whether it shall be at your own house (as she talked of the State House) I send this note to ask information."—*Washington to Gilbert Stuart*.

The full-length portrait of Washington, as President, painted by Gilbert Stuart in compliance with the above-mentioned request of Mrs. William Bingham, and known as the "Lansdowne Portrait," was executed for the purpose of presentation to the Marquis of Lansdowne (Lord Shelburne), a great admirer of Washington, and who, during the Revolution, was an active opponent of the policy of Lord North. At this date Stuart had a studio in a house at the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets (now included in the Drexel Building), and in this room, in all probability, the sittings were had. The portrait, which will always retain the name of the original owner,

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<sup>1</sup> That the assent of the House was necessary to the validity of a treaty.

<sup>2</sup> "April 13.—I dined on Monday [April 11] at the President's with young La Fayette and his preceptor, tutor or friend, whatever they call him, whose name is Frestel. . . . There is a resemblance of father and mother in the young man. He is said to be studious and discreet."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams*.



is now in the possession of Lord Rosebery, late Prime Minister of England. It is well known through numerous engravings, the first of which, executed by James Heath, was published at London, February 1, 1800.

In a letter to Major William Jackson (who married a sister of Mrs. Bingham), dated London, March 5, 1797, the marquis writes, "I have received the picture, which is in every respect worthy of the original. I consider it a very magnificent compliment, and the respect I have for both Mr. and Mrs. Bingham will always enhance the value of it to me and my family. . . . General Washington's conduct is above all praise. He has left a noble example to sovereigns and nations present and to come. I beg you will mention both me and my sons<sup>1</sup> to him in the most respectful terms possible. If I was not too old, I would go to Virginia to do him homage."

The "Lansdowne Portrait" was brought to this country in 1876, and exhibited at Philadelphia in the Centennial International Exhibition of that year. At that time it belonged to John Delaware Lewis. A replica of this portrait, executed for Mr. Bingham, is owned by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

#### SUNDAY, MAY 8.

At Philadelphia: "We are an Independent Nation, and act for ourselves—Having fulfilled, and being willing to fulfil, (as far as we are able) our engagements with other nations,—and having decided on, and strictly observed a Neutral conduct towards the Belligerent Powers, from an unwillingness to involve ourselves in War. . . . We will not be dictated to by the Politics of any Nation under Heaven, farther than Treaties require of us.

"Whether the *present*, or any circumstances should do more than *soften* this language, may merit consideration.—But if we are to be told by a foreign Power (if our engagements with it are not infracted) what we *shall do*, and what we *shall not do*, we have Independence yet to seek & have contended hitherto for very little."—*Washington to Alexander Hamilton.*

#### FRIDAY, MAY 13.

At Philadelphia: "*May 13.*—At one o'clock to-day I called at General Washington's with the picture and letter I had for him. He lived in a small red brick house on the

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Wycombe, the eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, visited the United States in the latter part of 1791. He was entertained by the President when in Philadelphia.



left side of High Street, not much higher up than Fourth Street. There was nothing in the exterior of the house that denoted the rank of the possessor. Next door was a hair-dresser.”—*Diary of Thomas Twining*.<sup>1</sup>

In continuing the above entry in his diary, Mr. Twining says, “Having stated my object to a servant who came to the door, I was conducted up a neat but rather narrow staircase, carpeted in the middle, and was shown into a middling-sized well-furnished drawing-room on the left of the passage. Nearly opposite the door was the fire-place, with a wood-fire in it. The floor was carpeted. On the left of the fire-place was a sofa, which sloped across the room. There were no pictures on the walls, no ornaments on the chimney-piece. Two windows on the right of the entrance looked into the street. There was nobody in the room, but in a minute Mrs. Washington came in, when I repeated the object of my calling, and put into her hands the letter for General Washington, and his miniature. She said she would deliver them to the President, and, inviting me to sit down, retired for that purpose. She soon returned, and said the President would come presently. Mrs. Washington was a middle-sized lady, rather stout; her manner extremely kind and unaffected. She sat down on the sofa, and invited me to sit by her. I spoke of the pleasant days I had passed at Washington, and of the attentions I had received from her grand-daughter Mrs. [Thomas] Law.

“While engaged in this conversation, but with my thoughts turned to the expected arrival of the General, the door opened, and Mrs. Washington and myself rising, she said, ‘The President,’ and introduced me to him. Never did I feel more interest than at this moment, when I saw the tall, upright, venerable figure of this great man advancing towards me to take me by the hand. There was a seriousness in his manner which seemed to contribute to the impressive dignity of his person, without diminishing the confidence and ease which the benevolence of his countenance and the kindness of his address inspired. There are persons in whose appearance one looks in vain for the qualities they are known to possess, but the appearance of General Washington harmonized in a singular manner with the dignity and modesty of his public life. So completely did he *look* the great and good man he really was, that I felt rather respect than awe in his presence, and experienced neither the surprise nor disappointment with which a personal introduction to distinguished individuals is often accompanied.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Twining, an Englishman by birth, who occupied a prominent position under the British government in the East Indies, made a short visit to the United States in 1796. When at Washington City he called upon Tobias Lear, then residing near Georgetown, who gave him a letter of introduction, and also intrusted him with a miniature picture of the President, to be delivered to him. We have no means of ascertaining what portrait this was. Mr. Twining's diary was published at New York in 1894.



"The General having thanked me for the picture, requested me to sit down next the fire, Mrs. Washington being on the sofa on the other side, and himself taking a chair in the middle. . . . In the course of the conversation I mentioned the particular regard and respect with which Lord Cornwallis always spoke of him. He received this communication in the most courteous manner, inquired about his lordship, and expressed for him much esteem. . . . After sitting about three quarters of an hour, I rose to take leave, when the General invited me to drink tea with him that evening. I regret to say I declined this honor on account of some other engagement—a wrong and injudicious decision, for which I have since reproached myself. . . . The General's age was rather more than sixty-four. In person he was tall, well-proportioned, and upright. His hair was powdered and tied behind. Although his deportment was that of a general, the expression of his features had rather the calm dignity of a legislator than the severity of a soldier."—THOMAS TWINING.

## MONDAY, MAY 16.

At Philadelphia: "*May 18.*—On Monday last [May 16] ROBERT LISTON, Esq. was received by the President of the United States, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the United States of America."—*Gazette of the United States*.

## TUESDAY, MAY 17.

At Philadelphia: "*May 21.*—EDWARD THORNTON Esq. was presented to the President of the United States on Tuesday last [May 17] by the British Ambassador, as his Britannick Majesty's secretary of legation to the United States."—*Gazette of the United States*.

## SUNDAY, MAY 29.

At Philadelphia: "Congress talk of rising about the middle of this week; but there is no dependance on it.—In about ten or twelve days after the session closes, it is likely I shall commence my journey homewards:—as soon as I can fix the day, I will advise you of it. . . . During my stay at Mount Vernon I expect much company there, and of the most respectable sort, it would be pleasing to us therefore to find everything in nice order."—*Washington to William Pearce*.



## SATURDAY, JUNE 4.

At Philadelphia: "June 4.—On our return [to the city] we met, just below the stone bridge in the meadows, our President, Washington, and lady in a coach and four, two postillions, and only one servant on horseback. In old countries a man of his rank and dignity would not be seen without a retinue of twenty or more persons."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

## SUNDAY, JUNE 5.

At Philadelphia: "On Wednesday last [June 1] Congress closed their Session; but there is yet a good deal for me to do, before I can leave the Seat of the Government.—My present expectation however is, that I shall be able to do this tomorrow week: but as this is not certain, and as I shall travel slow, to avoid what usually happens to me at this season—that is—killing or knocking up a horse; and as we shall, moreover, stay a day or two at the Federal City, it is not likely we shall be at Mount Vernon before the 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> of this month.—

"In a few days after *we* get there, we shall be visited, I expect, by characters of distinction; I could wish therefore that the Gardens, Lawns, and every thing else, in, and about the Houses, may be got in clean and nice order."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

## MONDAY, JUNE 13.

Leaves Philadelphia: "June 13.—The President and family left town this morning for Mount Vernon."—*Gazette of the United States.*

## SUNDAY, JUNE 19.

At Georgetown: "George-Town, June 21.—The President of the United States arrived in the City of Washington on the 18th instant, and at this place on the 19th. He is accompanied by the Son of his illustrious friend, Fayette."—*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, June 27.*



MONDAY, JUNE 20.

At Mount Vernon: "*June 26.*—We arrived at this place on Monday last [June 20], where it is probable I shall remain till the middle of August, when public business will require my attendance in Philadelphia, until towards the end of September. I shall then return to this place again for M<sup>r</sup> Washington, with whom, in the latter part of October, I shall make my last journey, to close my public life the 4th of March; after which no consideration under heaven, that I can foresee, shall again withdraw me from the walks of private life.

"My house, I expect, will be crowded with company all the while we shall be at it, this summer, as the ministers of France, Great Britain, and Portugal, in succession, intend to be here—besides other strangers,"—*Washington to Robert Lewis.*

MONDAY, JULY 4.

At Mount Vernon: "The Spanish minister M. de Yrujo, spent two days with me, and is just gone."—*Washington to Timothy Pickering.*

Don Carlos Martinez, Marquis de Casa Yrujo, succeeded Don Joseph Jaudennes as Spanish minister to the United States, but was not formally presented to the President until August 25. He married (April 10, 1798) Sally McKean, a daughter of Thomas McKean, Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania 1777-99. Their son, the Duke of Sotomayer, born in Philadelphia, became Prime Minister of Spain.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 6.

At Mount Vernon: "Until within the last year or two, I had no conception that parties would or even could go the length I have been witness to; nor did I believe until lately, that it was within the bounds of probability, hardly within those of possibility, that, while I was using my utmost exertions to establish a national character of our own, independent, as far as our obligations and justice would permit, of every nation of the earth, and wished, by steering a steady course, to preserve this country from the horrors of a desolating war, I should be accused of being



the enemy of one nation, and subject to the influence of another; and, to prove it, that every act of my administration would be tortured, and the grossest and most insidious misrepresentations of them be made, by giving one side only of a subject, and that too in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket.”—*Washington to Thomas Jefferson.*

MONDAY, JULY 18.

At Mount Vernon: “I hope and expect, that the proposed visit from the Cherokee chiefs will be so managed, as not to take place before the month of November. I have already been incommoded at this place by a visit of several days from a party of a dozen Catawbias, and should wish, while I am in this retreat, to avoid a repetition of such guests.”—*Washington to James McHenry.*

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10.

At Mount Vernon: “In the course of next week, probably about the middle of it, I expect to commence my journey for Philadelphia; but, as I shall be obliged to halt a day at the Federal City, and from the heat of the season and other circumstances must travel slowly, it is not likely I shall arrive there before the middle of the following week.”—*Washington to Timothy Pickering.*

TUESDAY, AUGUST 16.

At Mount Vernon: “I propose to enter upon my journey to Philadelphia to morrow.”—*Washington to James McHenry, MS. Letter.*

THURSDAY, AUGUST 18.

At Washington City: “August 18.—In passing through Alexandria yesterday, on my way to Philadelphia, I saw Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald, who informed me of a letter he had received from you.”—*Washington to James Anderson.*

James Anderson, to whom the above letter was addressed, succeeded William Pearce as superintendent at Mount Vernon in December. He was



acting in that capacity at the time of the decease of Washington, and the last letter written by him, dated December 13, 1799, was to Mr. Anderson. This letter is now in the Ferdinand J. Dreer Autograph Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 21.

At Philadelphia: "August 22.—The President of the United States arrived in town last evening."—*Gazette of the United States*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25.

At Philadelphia: "My conduct in public and private life as it relates to the important struggle in which the latter nation [France] is engaged, has been uniform from the commencement of it, and may be summed up in a few words; that I have always wished well to the French revolution; that I have always given it as my decided opinion, that no nation had a right to intermeddle in the internal concerns of another; that every one had a right to form and adopt whatever government they liked best to live under themselves; and that, if this country could, consistently with its engagements, maintain a strict neutrality and thereby preserve peace, it was bound to do so by motives of policy, interest, and every other consideration, that ought to actuate a people situated as we are, already deeply in debt, and in a convalescent state from the struggle we have been engaged in ourselves."—*Washington to James Monroe*.

"August 26.—The President of the United States yesterday received the *Chevalier Martinez De Yrujo*, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from his Catholic Majesty [Charles IV., King of Spain], to the United States of America."—*Gazette of the United States*.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 30.

At Philadelphia: "August 31.—The President yesterday received R. G. VAN POLANEN, Esq. as Minister Resident of the Batavian Republic."—*Gazette of the United States*.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Philadelphia: "Write me by the first Post (fridays) after you get this letter, how every thing is, and going on;



for if I can accomplish the business which bro't me here, I hope by Wednesday, or thursday in next week, to leave this, on my return to Mount Vernon."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: "I recollect a year or two ago to have sent some rape Seed to Mount Vernon, but do not recollect what has been the result of it:—but particular care ought always to be paid to these kind of Seeds as they are, generally, given to me, because they are valuable—rare—or curious."—*Washington to William Pearce.*

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17.

At Philadelphia: Issues his Farewell Address to the people of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

"The end of the same year [1796] witnessed the resignation of the presidency of the United States of America by General Washington, and his voluntary retirement into private life. Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs, and the perseverance of his character, than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame without vanity; independent and dignified without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent, and which were opposed to nothing so much as the extravagant love of power in the French democracy. Accordingly, after having signalized his life by a successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain; and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emanci-

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<sup>1</sup> The Farewell Address first appeared in *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* for September 19, 1796.



pated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition ; a Sylla without his crimes : and after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed."—ARCHIBALD ALISON.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

Leaves Philadelphia : " *September 21.*—Monday last [September 19] the President of the United States left this city, on his journey to Mount Vernon."—*Pennsylvania Gazette*.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Lancaster, Pennsylvania : " *September 23.*—The President of the United States arrived here [Lancaster] on Tuesday afternoon last [September 20], and on Wednesday morning at 6 o'clock proceeded on his way to Mount Vernon."—*Lancaster Journal*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 17.

At Mount Vernon : " A few months will put an end to my political existence, and place me in the shades of Mount Vernon under my Vine and Fig Tree ; where at all times I should be glad to see you."—*Washington to Landon Carter*.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26.

At Washington City : " Mrs. Washington desires me to inform you that there was some Butter left in the Cellar, and some Beef in a Tub which (after supplying James) may be applied to any uses you think proper."—*Washington to William Pearce*.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31.

At Philadelphia : " *November 2.*—On Monday last [October 31] the President of the United States arrived in town from Mount Vernon."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia : " *November 3.*—Gave Geo. W. Fayette for the purpose of getting himself such small articles of clothing as he might want, and not chuse to ask for, 100 Dollars."—*Washington's Cash-Book*.



## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Philadelphia: "*December 4.*—Yesterday I dined with the President, in company with John Watts, the King of the Cherokees, with a large number of his chiefs and their wives; among the rest the widow and children of Hanging Maw, a famous friend of our's who was basely murdered by some white people. The President dined four sets of Indians on four several days the last week."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams.*

## WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Philadelphia: "*December 7.*—This day precisely at 12 o'clock the President of the United States met both Houses of Congress in the Hall of the Representatives, where he addressed them in a speech. The President was accompanied by his Secretary [George Washington Craik], the Secretaries of State, the Treasury and War Departments, and the Attorney-General, &c. The hall was filled at an early hour with the largest assemblage of citizens, ladies and gentlemen ever collected on a similar occasion. The English, Spanish, and Portuguese Ministers had Seats assigned them, and were present."—*Gazette of the United States.*

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: "A few months more, say the 3d of March next (1797), and the scenes of my political life will close, and leave me in the shades of retirement; when if a few years are allowed me to enjoy it (many I cannot expect, being upon the verge of sixty-five), and health is continued to me, I shall peruse with pleasure and edification, the fruits of the exertions of the Board [of Agriculture, England] for the improvement of Agriculture; and shall have leisure, I trust, to realise some of the useful discoveries which have been made in the science of husbandry."—*Washington to Sir John Sinclair.*

## MONDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Philadelphia: "*December 12.*—At 12 o'clock this day, the Senate in a body, waited on the President of the United



States, at his house, when the Vice President presented an answer to his speech to both Houses at the opening of the Session."—*Gazette of the United States*.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16.

At Philadelphia: "December 16.—At 2 o'clock this day, the members of the House of Representatives in a body, waited upon the President at his house, and the Speaker [Jonathan Dayton] presented an answer to his address to both Houses."—*Gazette of the United States*.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17.

At Philadelphia: "December 17.—At noon the [Pennsylvania] Assembly went to the Presbyterian Church on Market Street [between Second and Third Streets], where Dr. [Benjamin] Rush, a member of the Philosophical Society, pronounced an eulogium in memory of their late president, David Rittenhouse. The church was crowded, President Washington and lady, with members of Congress being present."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*.

"On Saturday [December 17], at twelve o'clock agreeably to appointment, Dr. Rush delivered his Eulogium in the Presbyterian Church in High street, on the late Mr. RITTENHOUSE. The Doctor commenced his Oration with an account of the birth of the great philosopher whose eulogy he was about to make, and proceeded to give an account of all the material transactions of his life, till he came to the awful period of his death, in all which he found occasion to pay the highest tribute of praise to the deceased. Indeed, we believe, we shall be joined in sentiment by all who heard it, in pronouncing the Oration a most masterly composition, and that it was pronounced with all the ability of an Orator and with all the feeling of a Friend. The Church was exceedingly full, but very attentive. The President of the United States, the Members of Congress, and of the Legislature of this State, the foreign Ministers, the Philosophical Society, Medical Students, &c. were a part of the auditory on this solemn and affecting occasion."—*Gazette of the United States*, December 20.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Philadelphia: "I had a letter from Mr. Anderson by the last Post, who informs me that it was not in his power to leave the concern he was engaged in at the time I wished him to be at Mount Vernon;—but that he certainly would



be there by the 27<sup>th</sup> or 28<sup>th</sup> of this month, if he was alive and well.—I wish it may be convenient for you to stay a few days after he comes to give him a thorough insight into the business, and then transfer the directions I have given concerning it to him.”—*Washington to William Pearce.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Philadelphia: “Yesterday I received your letter of the 16th instant, covering the resolutions of the Senate and House of Delegates of the State of Maryland, passed on the 13th and 14th. The very obliging and friendly terms, in which you have made this communication, merit my sincere thanks.”—*Washington to John H. Stone, Governor of Maryland.*

Resolutions had been unanimously adopted by the Legislature of Maryland, approving in the highest terms the public services of the President, and particularly the sentiments advanced by him in the *Farewell Address*. It was “resolved, that, to perpetuate this valuable present in the most striking view to posterity, it be printed and published with the laws of this session, as an evidence of our approbation of its political axioms, and a small testimony of the affection we bear to the precepts of him, to whom, under Divine Providence, we are principally indebted for our greatest political blessings.”

From the time the President published his *Farewell Address* till the term of the presidency expired he received public addresses from all the State Legislatures which were convened within that period, and also from many other public bodies, expressing a cordial approbation of his conduct during the eight years that he had filled the office of Chief Magistrate, and deep regret that the nation was to be deprived of his services.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23.

At Philadelphia: “*December 29.*—Yesterday at 12 o'clock, a deputation from the Grand Lodge of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons in Pennsylvania waited on the President of the United States with an address delivered to him by the Grand Master [William Moore Smith].”—*Gazette of the United States.*

(To be continued.)



DEFENCES OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 551.)

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WOODFORD.

"CAMP 4<sup>th</sup> December, 1777

"DEAR GEN<sup>l</sup>

"I did not receive your Excellency's Letter till my return from Head quarters last Evening, or I should have comply'd with your requisition sooner.

"I have before given my reasons for being against exposing this Army to a Winters Campaign in their present condition. I would add to them the present Temper of the soldiery, who I am convinced are very gener<sup>ly</sup> against it.

"The practicability of an attack upon Philadelphia I have look'd upon to be entirely out of the question since your Excellency's return from viewing the Enemy's Works.

"As to the Aid of the Militia, I cannot be brought to think they will be of any in such an attempt. I am inclined to think whilst this Boddy were assembling we should loose more Continental officers & soldiers by waiting for them in the Field, then double the value of them that would arrive. Experience shewes that few Militia can be brought to stand in the line of Battle, & it would be deceiving ourselves to expect them upon this creation to march up to the attack of the Enemy's Works.

"If such an attack is to be made, I would advise it to be put in execution Immediately with the Force we have in the Field, because I think we are stronger than we shall be any time this winter. it is possible our numbers may encrease, but our real strength will diminish.

"Without some new light could be thrown upon this matter, or other reasons urged then I heard at the late



Council, I am clearly against either making a winter's Campaign, or attacking the Enemy's works.

"I have the Honour to be your Excellencys

"Most Obed<sup>t</sup> humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

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

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WEEDON.

"D<sup>r</sup> SIR

"I have from the first moment it was suggested to your Excellency, 'that an attack on Philadelphia this winter with the aid of Militia was practicable and promised success,' kept in mind the desirable object; have compared and viewed it in every light, and on every ground I could place it, and after mature consideration on the matter cannot promise a single Advantage that would justify the measure, nor can I see the least prospect of anything honorable or advantageous by adopting it. On the other hand I foresee numberless Obstacles to retard, and perplex that with sober reasoning stares any man in the face who views it with an impartial eye, places it on a military scale, and reflects on what human nature is.—It has been found, I believe, by most of your Officers who you have advised with on the matter, that your Continental Force is far, very far, Inadequate to an attack on the enemies lines, in their present strength and situation.—Operations like those proposed, are of too extensive a nature to carry into sudden execution. Reasons sufficiently cogent, must diminish your force every day you keep the field at this season of the year, and to resolve on the measure, ensures a winters Campaign to this Army, which in their Circumstances also ensures certain destruction to great part of them, without the Aid of an enemy—your principle dependence must then be on the Militia, to carry this important matter into execution. Glory and our Countries good is no doubt what every upright soldier would wish to obtain, but we may be too keen in pursuit of it, and like the Dogs in the fable, suffer the substance to escape while we Grasp at the Shadow.—I would only mention to y<sup>r</sup> Excellency some Difficulties that occur



in drawing a sufficient force of Militia together for this purpose, and providing for them ; particularly at a season of the year when our Fields, and Rivers are Ice & Snow.—Covering we have not for them when they arrive, Hospital Stores we could not furnish for the numbers that would fall sick by being exposed to the severity of the winter, nor do I know that even provisions & forrage, could be procured with any degree of certainty, which shorely should be rendered beyond a doubt in such cases ; take the matter still on a more extensive scale. Every one that reflects on human nature and considers mankind at large must know how reluctantly they relinquish the ease and more calmer pleasures of domestick & social life to share the hardships & Fatigue of a Camp, even in more pleasant weather than what winter generally affords us. Men that are not taught and compelled to obey, will never render service, and Obedience & perseverance is not to be expected from a permiscuous body of men drawn together from all Quarters of the Globe, ware they to assemble, but you would find one half would desert in their way to Camp, others probably might arive, a day or two before their time of service expired. No object on Earth would keep them afterwards, nor could an [ ] influence them after their time was out. What would follow must be distressing to an exalted mind. You would find your regular Troops by this time much Diminished. They must bare the burthen of all necessary duties, in such cases, while this body of men are collecting,—expensive preparations are daily accumulating. The Eyes of the Continent are turned towards you. Much speculation on the practicability of the expedition terminating with success, which you at last find yourself obliged to relinquish, leaving the unthinking world (who want nothing more to blast reputation than a miscarriage, without inquiring into it's causes,) at liberty to sensure boath you & army.—Your Excellency is perfectly acquainted with my Sentiments respecting this Army—it is Sir the Bullwork of America and should be nursed and cherished as the salvator of her Liberties. The Troops that compose it are not more than mortal, and



cannot work Maricles. The bravest spirits may be exausted by uncommon, and constant fatigue. And Sir, there is not in my Opinion an Object on the Continent that justifies subjecting them, at this particular time, to a winters Campaign, unless there was a moral certainty of obtaining that Object, and with it, a perminant and honorable end to any further Hostilities. I give it therefore as my clear Opinion, that keeping this Army in the Field for the purpose of attacking Philadelphia, under the uncertainty of sufficient aid and support of Militia, is by no means Advisable, and am Sir, with high esteem

“Y<sup>r</sup> Excellencies most obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“G. WEEDON

“B. Gen<sup>l</sup>.

“CAMP WHITE MARSH

“Dec<sup>r</sup> 4, 1777”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

“CAMP, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>, 1777

“SIR

“Your Excellency was pleas’d to desire the Opinion of your General Officers on ‘The Adviseability of a Winters Campaign, & practicability of an Attack upon Philadelphia, with the Aid of a considerable Body of Militia to be Assembled at an appointed Time & place.’ I must Confess that to me this Question seems so much interwoven, with the Question your Excellency was pleas’d to put a few days ago, that I can hardly seperate them: The main point, I conceive, is still, whether a Winters Campaign is practicable; if not, the last Question falls of Course, unless the Time is the Spring. A Winter’s Campaign to me, seems not only unadviseable, on account of our Situation, but impracticable, at least if I am to Judge of other Brigades by my own; one single Reg<sup>t</sup> of mine have turned out Ninety Men unfit for duty, on Account of Shoes & other Necessarys. The Sick become Numerous, & the Men, notwithstanding the utmost Care of their Officers, will be Frostbitten, & subject to many other disorders, if they are to keep the Field, until the Militia can be collected, which if we are to Judge from



the past, cannot be done in less than two Months—in the meantime it cannot be expected that the Enemy will remain Idle, Their Works will be Continued, Their Vessells who are now before the Town, will not only furnish them with Cannon, but with Marines, Sailors &c., so that in all probability, before the Militia can be collected an Attack will be thought impracticable, upon the same Grounds & perhaps with more reason than at present.—At the Time when this Hint was first thrown out in Council, I was pleas'd with it, there seem'd a probability of success; but I had no Idea, that a Winter's Campaign was so closely Connected with the plan, which in my Opinion would prove more fatal to the Army under your Excellencys Command than an unfortunate Attack on the Town—but I am far from thinking the plan ought to be dropped entirely. If the Army was to go into Winter Quarters where the Men could be refresh'd & Cloth'd, & remain there untill the latter end of March; the Militia could be Collected in the meantime. Then a Vigorous Attack could be made with a probability of success.

“Thus I have given your Excellency my Sentiments on the Question propos'd, as Clear as the shortness of the time I had for Consideration would permit me, which was only a few Minutes this Morning. The utility of hearing a Question debated is great, at least to a Young Soldier—Should the Question be decided otherwise your Excellency may be assured that any part entrusted to me shall be executed with the greatest Chearfulness.

“Your Excellencys Most Obed<sup>t</sup> & very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“P : MUHLENBERG.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL SCOTT.

“WHITE MARSH, 4<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

“SIR

“I rec<sup>d</sup> your Excellencys letter of yesterday. I well remember the proposition made. I then thought there was a probability of Success in such an attempt, but after your Excellency return'd from Reconoitring the Enemy's Lines



and hearing your oppinion with regard to their strength, I lost every Idea of a Winters Campaign. I must confess I never Promised my self any Certainty of success In it. But the many Waity reasons then given for a Vigorous Execution Induced me to think something possibly might be done, but since your Return from the lines, as before mentioned, I have not had a single thought of such a thing Ither with or without the Militia.

“I am your Excellency’s Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“CH<sup>s</sup> SCOTT.”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL CADWALADER.

“HEAD QUARTERS, 3<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1777

“DEAR SIR

“Whether the Army under your Excellency’s command should continue in the field this winter; and whether it is expedient to call to your assistance a great body of militia to make an attack on the Citty, are very important Questions—the determination of which may decide the fate of America—they therefore require our most serious consideration.

“It is certainly usual with all nations, in every cold climate, to retire with their armies into winter quarters—The men want cloathing & want rest; and the army is generally much reduced by inaction, sickness & a variety of casualties. To repair these losses, to nurse & recruit the Soldiers, & to make the necessary arrangements for another campaign are certainly great objects: but, Sir, if the practice of other nations, & the rules laid down in the books by military authors, are, implicitly, to regulate the armies of these States, I cannot help thinking our ruin is inevitable:—precedents may justify us to military pedants, but not to the sensible Citizen.—

“The situation of the American States is very different from that of a nation whose independance is acknowledged & established. It requires great management to keep up the spirits of the well-affected, & to subdue those who have taken a part against us—Imprisonment, confiscation & death are the punishments for those who engage in the support of



a revolution—these are terrors not so much dreaded in common wars—To remove these fears, and to secure the inhabitants from danger, appears to me to be measures of the utmost importance. The people of this State had the greatest expectations that the Army under your Excellency's command would have prevented General Howe from penetrating thro' the country & taking possession of the capital of this State.—They were disappointed!—and it is very evident what conclusions they must have drawn—The superiority of the enemy was easily discovered, and it naturally affected their spirits. Our successes to the northward have enabled you to draw great reinforcements from thence—our whole force, now collected, gives them new hopes; and tho they may not expect a successful attack will be made on the city this winter, they expect to be protected. The withdrawing your army to a great distance will not only magnify the enemy's strength (in the Opinion of the Inhabitants) but will be construed into an acknowledgment of our own weakness.—The enemy may then detach a body of troops to take post at Bordenton or Mount Holly; another to Newtown on this side, and a third to Wilmington—with these (having possession of the Capital) they have perfect command of an immense country; from which they can draw provision, forage & men.—The State of Delaware must be totally subjected—the eastern shore of Maryland & Virginia left open to be ravaged at will; in short, the inhabitants within this great Circle, must come in for protection, must swear allegiance to the king, & deliver up their arms. Those men who are to compose a very considerable part of your army the next Campaign will be engaged against you; the inhabitants of other States, who are eventually concerned in these misfortunes, will feel very sensibly their dreadful effects—the power of Legislatures will be weakened & the States may find it impossible to enlist, draft, or, by any other means, to furnish their quotas for the ensuing Campaign.—All the manufactures that might be drawn from the Country you desert, will be lost to us.—The depreciation of our money will encrease; and, in a



short time, the Credit of the States will be totally ruined—Your army too, cantooned in a scattered manner, at so great a distance from the Enemy, will be dispersed thro' the States, by Leave-of-absence, Furlows, & Desertion—and instead of your troops coming into the Field better disciplined (as some Gentlemen expect) they will become licentious, ungovernable & total strangers to military Discipline.

“Last winter, after repeated ill-successes, you was obliged to retire from post to post, as the enemy advanced, and in addition to your misfortunes, your army was every day reduced, by whole Brigades, leaving you, in sight of the Enemy—When you crossed the Delaware, tho' reinforced with the Philad<sup>a</sup> Militia, you had but a handful of men, & these in a wretched ragged condition—What then would have been the consequence if you had retired to the back-country to nurse & recruit the miserable remnant of your army; and to enlist men for the next Campaign. The Consequences are so evident they need no explanation. By having the river as a Barrier you kept the field till an opportunity offered; and by a well timed, well executed blow, you gave hopes again to all the States—in consequence of this, the Prince-town affair happened, which drew the enemy to one point; and, at once, recovered N. Jersey & set America again on her Legs.

“The King of Prussia (in the last war) overpowered by numbers, had almost lost all his Dominions during the Summer; but by a noble exertion, with those very troops that had been harrassed & almost torn to pieces by repeated actions and constant Marches, he recovered his Losses by a winter Campaign.

“Your men, I know, Sir, are in great want of cloathing, but I conceive they will be sooner equipped by remaining in the field than in winter Quarters—because by being in the field, the necessity will appear more evident, will induce those employed to provide cloathing to exert themselves, and will justify measures that otherwise would disgust & exasperate those from whom they are taken.—Let the robust, & best cloathed, do the duty of Guards; let the Invalids be



sent to the most comfortable Quarters; & let premiums be given to those who shall make the best Hutts.

“If you are out of the reach of a surprize, the Duty will be easy; and you may effectually annoy the enemy as if you was nearer.

“I am far from thinking that a winter Campaign will not be attended with great distress to the poor Soldiers, & do not mean to insinuate that good winter Quarters may not be more comfortable; but I am obliged from the necessity of the case to declare, that I think, if your army was reduced by action & sickness, to one half its present number, the consequences would not be so fatal, as if we were to take winter Quarters.

“I have confined myself merely to the Question ‘whether a Winter Campaign is adviseable,’ but beg leave to make a few remarks on the two Positions that have been proposed.

“To cover our stores, to afford the most protection to the country, to procure the best shelter (& out of the reach of a surprize) where there is plenty of water, forage & provisions—these appear to me to be the considerations that should determine the choice of the position for winter quarters.—Lancaster & the line from thence to Easton, has been mentioned as a proper place for winter Quarters.—Others have mentioned Wilmington & its neighbourhood.—Let us compare them! Lancaster &c., tis said, from the best information, are so crouded with Families from the City & its Invirons, that a traveller can with difficulty get a night’s lodging. I cannot conceive that any person can seriously propose to turn out those inhabitants, while their Husbands, Fathers & Brothers are now, perhaps, in the Field—Hutts then must be substituted in the place of houses.—You have plenty of water, forage, & perhaps provisions, and you leave a vast country exposed as has been mentioned above—You are to live on that country from whence you must draw your chief supplies in the next Campaign, & every article brought a great distance in waggons.

“Wilmington has not its usual number of Inhabitants: & several other Towns in the neighbourhood are under the



like circumstances; there are 9 or 10 mills at Brandywine, all these will afford shelter for a great body of troops.—This situation is out of the reach of surprize, & near enough to annoy the Enemy, cover your stores, & a great part of the country, which in the other case is left exposed. Wood, water & forage in great plenty and provisions, as the Com: General informs, may be had in large quantities from Maryland & virginia by water, to the Head of Elk.—Hutts may be built, in such places as will best answer the purposes of defence, for that part of the Army that cannot find shelter in Houses.—

“I am so perfectly convinced, that nothing but success, can keep up the spirits of our Friends, confirm the doubtful Characters, convert our Enemies & establish our Credit, (on which the bringing another army into the Field very much depends), that every Effort ought to be made to procure it—I have not doubt but a successful attack could be made upon the City this winter by calling a considerable Body of Militia to your assistance if the enemy remain in their present position.—But I am apprehensive, that by declaring your Intention (which will be necessary to induce the militia to turn out) it would immediately alarm the Enemy—they would find it necessary to surround the City with works, on the west side, and by drawing their force within a narrow compass, might defeat your Scheme—as they could only be carried by storm, at this season of the year.

“It would probably take two months to collect the Militia from the distant States, which would bring us to the first of February, at which time the Ice is often gone, or at least, so weak as not to answer our purpose.—I am therefore inclined to think it will not be proper to give the militia so fatiguing a march at this severe season, or put the States to so great an Expence without a greater prospect of success.

“I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir, with great respect & esteem,

“Your Excellency's most ob<sup>t</sup> very h<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“JOHN CADWALADER.”



## OPINION OF JOSEPH REED, ESQ.

“DEAR SIR

“Tho’ the Consideration of a Winters Campaign, & Practicability of an Attack on Philad<sup>a</sup> have been so lately proposed, every Gentleman who extended his views beyond the present Hour, must have turned his Thoughts upon these Subjects so as to be able to form something more than a sudden Opinion. There cannot be any Person, Sir, either on a publick or private Account, upon whom the Motives for a Winters Campaign can operate more forcibly. I have every Reason to wish it—& yet in the State & Condition of our Army my Judgment is against it.—The History of every Winters Campaign made in Europe closely evinces how destructive they have ever proved : during the Course of the last War the allied Army under Prince Ferdinand was almost ruined tho’ victorious, & pursuing the Enemy. —Charles the 12<sup>th</sup> failed & fell from the very Summit of Victory, & Success by keeping the Field a part of the Winter. It is true, these Climates were more severe than ours, but the Troops were so well appointed, or at least so much better than ours, as to give Force to the Argument. Nay the Experiences of the Enemy last Winter confirms the Observation—a great Mortality, Discontent among Officers & Men, & considerable Desertions, were the Consequences, tho’ they were much better provided than we are. The Nakedness of the Army, & Temper of the Troops seem to be insurmountable Objections, possibly the latter might subside if the former was removed, but as it is, from every Observation I have been able to make, unless a competent Supply of Cloathing can be procured all Argument is vain. —The Dissafaction of the Country, Distress to the Whigs, recruiting & refreshing the British Army, a general Despondency & above all,—Depreciation of the Currency stare me in the Face as the Consequences of Retirement to distant Quarters : I shall share personally in this Distress—With a Family I have a Habitation to seek at this inclement Season, & every other Accommodation to provide, & yet I cannot



desire the Army so unprovided to remain for my Protection. The general Calamity I fear will not be removed by attempting it. The Credit of the Currency in my Opinion, will depend more upon an effective Army, than any other Circumstance. If Sickness, Discontent & Desertion should disperse or greatly reduce our Army; I think the general Cause would suffer more than from the Evils I have noticed before: these Evils will admit of some Remedy, but the other will not. With a recruited & refreshd Army, we may recover what we lose, but with a fatigued worn out, dispirited one what can we expect but that General Howe will next Spring take the Field with every Superiority—But in this Case it appears to me, the true & proper Line may be between such a distant Cantonment as has been proposed, & taking Post so near the Enemy as to make a Winters Campaign. The Arguments of disciplining the Troops, recruiting the Army &c. at a distance have little weight with me; such a Security would afford, & be used as the best Excuse for going Home, & the Officers Commissions have not such an inherent Value as to make them fearful of losing them by Disobedience, or Neglect of Duty. The surest Pledge of Fidelity, & Attention, would be putting them in such a Situation as to require it. I do believe a partial Dispersion of the Army would follow, on putting it in any other Situation. Military Rules & Maxims laid down in long establish'd Armies do not allways apply to ours, & this Case I think is an Exception.

“An Attack upon the Enemy in his Quarters when the River is froze, has been much thought of—if the Probability of Success was in our Favour, no Exertion ought to be left untried, & even the present Situation of our Army should be made if possible to bend to it. But if after [*cut*] Efforts, the Chances will be still against us, Prudence forbids our venturing upon a Measure, which if unsuccessful would be attended with very fatal Consequences. Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe from the best Calculation, has now 12000 Men on one side strongly posted with Redoubts & Abbatis, so formidable as to discourage our most enterprizing Genius's,



when a large Detachment seemed to favor an Attack—on the others two unfordable Rivers, I fear we cannot oppose a greater Number of Continental Troops to him; but this is to be supplied with Militia from Jersey, Pennsylvania Maryland & Virginia—as to the first they are very fully employed at Home, the second from a Variety of Circumstances we find will not turn out but in two or three Classes & even of these there are Numbers allways unarm'd.—The two latter in Point of Arms are in the same Condition. They are at a Distance & will march in at different Times, those who come early will be impatient, of Delay & hard Service, their Subsistence will be difficult, & after all the very Possibility of it will depend on the Weather—A South Wind with a little Rain will make the Ice impassable in a few Hours, But supposing them to come into Camp in great Numbers, & good Humour, well arm'd, & fed—the Frost to continue—from the Nature of the Thing it can be no Secret—the Enemy will probably throw up Works, or make up other Preparations. On the opposite Bank therefore you will meet with an equal Army ready to receive you: for every one acquainted with our Militia will allow, that the Nature of the Attack will require too much Firmness & Discipline, to expect them to be equal to it farther than as a Support. Upon the whole there are such a Variety of Circumstances each of which are important, indeed essential, all to coincide, that I think it would be almost miraculous if no one of them should fail us.

“We are so circumstanc'd, Sir, as to have only a Choice of Difficulties, true Wisdom will direct us to select that Plan which will be attended with the least.—As to the main Body of the Army laying on the East Side of Schuylkill, & taking Post between that & Delaware, it is not practicable in my Opinion—as the Country does not supply Forage or Means of Subsistence. No Magazines being established but at a great Distance, nothing, or next to nothing now to be procured from the surrounding Country, the Supplies would be too precarious in the Winter Season. I therefore cannot but join in Opinion with those Gentle-



men, who advise passing the Schuylkill with the greatest Part of the Army. The left Wing, & as much of it as could find Cover in Wilmington to take Post there, extending as they can find Accommodation or good Ground to Hut, as far or farther than Downing-town. I would also propose that upon an exact Estimate of our present Force it be divided into 3 or 4 Parts or Classes. The most robust, healthy & well cloath'd to form the first Class; & so on. The first Class to take the first Tour of Duty on this side Schuylkill, taking Post at such a Distance from Philadelphia as not to risque a Surprise, having with them only their light Baggage or even bare Necessaries. I would have a Body of Militia advanced between them & the Enemy, their Line & Parties to extend to Delaware or as near it, as their Strength would admit. This Body of Men will not find Cover sufficient I believe, without going too far or too near, they will therefore hut, or perhaps Boards may be procured.—I am very sensible that Objections & very plausible ones may be framed to this Plan & so there may be to every other. this answers the most valuable Purposes & such as appear to me to require our running some Risque to obtain.—I will just enumerate a few. In the first Place, a very valuable Country, the three lower Counties & Chester will be covered, & a Degree of Protection afforded to the Country on the East side of Schuylkill. 2<sup>d</sup>. The Army will find some Cover; a Country abounding in Forage, & many other Articles necessary for their Comfort, those Countries having suffered as yet very little by the War, & being very fertile. 3<sup>d</sup>. The Enemy will be deprived of this Supply which they will otherwise obtain. 4<sup>th</sup>. The Troops will be within striking Distance, if Circumstances should favour that Measure without being exposed to a Winters Campaign. 5<sup>th</sup>. A Tour of Duty will not admit the Officers neglecting the service by going Home, or entering into Scenes of Dissipation, & Amusement, which will in the same Degree infect the Soldiery. 6<sup>th</sup>. Some Annoyances may be given to the Enemys Intercourse by Ships. 7<sup>th</sup>. It will prevent any Insurrection in those



lower Counties, or the Eastern Shore of Maryland of which every Year has furnish'd us with an Instance. 8<sup>th</sup>. The Passage of the Enemy has occasioned Wilmington, & that Neighbourhood to be evacuated by the Friends to America, they with many others have retir'd to those very Places some Gentlemen propose to go & occupy—in the one Case you will have empty Houses, in the other you must exercise a Spirit of Hardship by turning Families out to experience every Species of Distress. 9<sup>th</sup>. You will reserve the Supplies of the back Country for the next Campaign which otherwise you will eat up in the Winter.

“I would farther beg leave to add that the support of the Army, the Success of the Cause & even the Supply of Cloathing & Necessaries for the Troops depends very much on the Opinion & Spirits of the People, they rise or fall according to the Appearances of Success & of our Force; abandoning a large Body of the Country to the Enemy, will to them be a sure Proof of our Inferiority & Inability to oppose the British Army, of course they will seek Protection, take the Oaths, & throw themselves under the Enemys Government.—A Circle of 30 Miles at least including Jersey will be under the Command of the Enemy.

“It is a great Objection & has much Weight that this Post may be liable to Affront from the Enemy & Disturbance in their Quarters, but I do not think our Affairs or Situation will admit of total Tranquillity.—2<sup>d</sup>. The Schuylkill will afford some Security after the Destruction of the Bridge which must be effected. 3. Some Works may be thrown up for Defence. 4<sup>th</sup>. The Army will be within supporting Distance of each other, so as to require a great Exertion & Movement of the Enemy, which they will not be fond of after being settled in their Quarters. These Circumstances in a Degree obviate this Objection.

“2<sup>d</sup> Object. That Bucks County & Jersey will be exposed to the Depredations or Practices of the Enemy.

“Answ. This Position will afford a partial Cover & in my Opinion a better than the distant Cantonment. I am confident the Country will esteem it so.



"3. We have Hospitals in this Country & are establishing Magazines at Places that may be exposed by these Movements.

"Answ. These Hospitals are scattered about, they hardly make an Object for an Enemy, but I should think they might be removed as fast as the Patients recover & no new ones sent, so that in a little Time the Difficulty will be removed.

"Upon the whole, Sir, I can think of no other Expedient to reconcile the many Difficulties which present themselves in every view of this important Question. The shortness of Time & a sore Finger has obliged me to throw together these Sentiments with very little Accuracy—they may serve as Hints perhaps for better Heads to improve.

"I am with the greatest Respect & Regard, D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

"Your obed & aff<sup>t</sup> Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>

"JOS: REED."

[December 4, 1777.]

#### OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL DU PORTAIL.

"3<sup>d</sup> December, 1777

"SIR

"I have examined anew with all the attention of which I am capable, the Project of attacking the English and it still appears to me too dangerous—the great Body of Militia with which we might be reinforced for this purpose does not give me any additional hope of succeeding—it is not the number of Troops which is of importance in this case, but it is the quality, or rather their nature and manner of fighting.—The Troops wanted are such as are capable of attacking with the greatest vivacity, the greatest firmness.—Troops that are not astonished at suffering a considerable Loss in the first onset, without causing any to the Enemy—for this must be the case in an Attack of Intrenchments—although when the Works are carried the Chance turns and the Loss is on the side of the intrenched.—Now, are the Militia or even Continentals capable of undergoing this Trial, in which the best Troops in the World cannot always



support themselves—I am very sorry in giving the motives of my opinion to be obliged to speak so unfavorably of our Army—but the Battle of German Town ought to be a Lesson to us—if our Army had proceeded with vigour on that occasion, would not the English have been completely defeated—The Disposition was excellent.—Your Excellency in that instance really conquer'd General Howe, but his Troops conquered yours.—if then notwithstanding the advantage of a complete surprize, notwithstanding the advantages of ground, we were repulsed, what would happen before a Line of Redoubts well disposed in all appearance, and the Intervals of which are closed with Abbatis.

“There is however a case in which I think we might attack the Enemy with success—I mean if the Schuylkill should be sufficiently frozen below their left to admit of our throwing our greatest Force on their Rear at the same time that we should make an attack in front. Gentlemen acquainted with the Country must decide this point—if indeed the Schuylkill is sufficiently frozen every year to afford a passage for Columns of Troops with Artillery—my opinion is fixed. I think the Army ought to be marched to the other side of Schuylkill, to be reinforced with all the militia that can be collected, while we wait for the favorable moment.

“I would go more minutely into the Subject, if your Excellency did not order me to send my Answer this morning. I did not receive your Excellency's Letter 'till half after twelve, and it is now half after one.

“I am with great Respect, Sir, your &c

“LE CHEV<sup>re</sup> DU PORTAIL.”<sup>1</sup>

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

“SIR

“If posting the army in a position similar to that I advised in my last letter, be to form a winter's campaign, the measure in my opinion is not only adviseable, but abso-

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens.



lutely necessary, as the more I think on the subject the more I am convinced that retiring into winter quarters and leaving the country uncovered will be followed with the ruin of our friends, give ease and plenty to our enemies, and do an irreparable injury to the cause we are engaged to defend; the aids to be drawn from this State in future will be trifling indeed, the inhabitants of new jersey will be intimidated, the delaware state lost, and an opportunity given to the tories on the eastern shore of maryland once more to appear in arms against us. When I proposed hutting the army it was not so much with a view of annoying the enemy in their present possessions as to prevent them from ravaging the country; and to give our officers a better opportunity of attending to the discipline of the troops than they could possibly have were they dispersed in extensive cantonments;—how far the former may be effected by drawing together a large body of militia, is a question not easily determined—The idea I confess is a noble one, and could it be reduced to practice might be attended with the most happy consequences, but the great variety of circumstances that must concur to insure those consequences is a strong argument against making the experiment.—I take it for granted that not less than eighteen or twenty thousand militia would be called, it is uncertain whether so large a body could be collected on the short notice they will receive, it is equally uncertain whether the different states could arm their quotas, and their assembling at the place of rendezvous at or near the time to be fixed, still more so, as it may depend upon circumstances not in their power to foresee or prevent: allowing they came in time and properly armed, the ice or weather may be against our striking a capitol stroke for some time, and the difficulty of keeping such a body of militia in the field at that season of the year (when they expected to be discharged in a day or two) is easier to foresee than get over. Upon the whole, I am of opinion that tho' it is necessary for this army to remain somewhere between twenty and thirty miles of philadelphia this winter, it is not adviseable to attempt



collecting a large body of militia together with a view of attacking that place.

“I am with the greatest respect Sir

“Your most obedient & humb. Serv<sup>t</sup>

“JAMES IRVINE.

“WHITEMARSH, Decem<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>, 1777”

OPINION OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL POTTER.

“SIR

“Your excellency by your letter of yesterday Requested my Sentements on two points—

“first the advisability of a winter Campaign, secondly the Practicability of an Attact upon Philadelphia—Ass to the first of these points my Sentements is that a winter campaign is Practable.—I confess the verey thought of a winter Campaign in our Sircumstances appeers dredfull. But it is liek many other Evels, that befaul us in this life, before we under go them we are Redey to conclud the are unseportable, but when the are over we dont find them so dredfull as we apprehended. I can from experance say so of a winter Campaign—I have not found it, to have so many Evels attending it as I have hard warmly Represented—But on suposition that those evels were Reale, how shall they be remeded the answer will be by goining into winter Quarters.

“I assart winter Quarters is not to be found In the state of pennsylvania my Reasons for this assartion is, the Capatale is in persession of the Enemy, and there is such large numbers fled from it, and the neighbourhood, adjasant, and the Towns and Viledges along the River Dalawer, that all the Towns and Viledges Back in the Country are full of Refugees all Redey.

“What will be dun with those people Turn them out of Dores to make Room for the Solders, god for Bid it—that would be cruilty unaxamplyfied by General How himself.

“then it Remains that we must Buld Huts, for our sol-



diers go where we will, in this state—and I take it for granted we will not leave the State Entirely to the mercy of the enemy.

“I would Recommend the taking possession of Wilmington and Newport and what other Houses we could find in a Convenient place in Chester County, and Raise Huts for the Remainder of our Troops, so as to prevent, the enemy's furloughing in that County by this Station being Occupied By us, we will get the furlough and provisions that our enemies would otherwise get, and the Back parts of the Country will be Reserved for the ensuing Campaign, and in Case they should be able to force their way into our Country in the spring, the furlough and provisions being Acosted [exhausted] will retard their march, and will be much in our favour that our stores are safe in our Rear—Another advantage will follow by Quartering in the aforesaid manner it will be in your power to keep a number of men in Bucks and Philadelphia Counties to prevent the enemy's coming out in small parties to force the Inhabitation to Take the Oath of Allegiance to the King. Nor will they have it in their power to get that succour from the disaffected part of the community, if they are closely shut up in the City. I am Convinced a winter Campaign will give Spirits and Vigor to all the Inhabitation of these United States and will do Honour to the Army and Good to our cause in general.—

“As to the Probability of an Attack on the City of Philadelphia with the aid of a Body of Militia, it is uncertain when or at what time it would be possible to cross the Rivers to attack them, for that is the way that appears most provable to me at present.

“If your Engineers are Confident that they can set the City on fire from the other side of the Delaware or Schuylkill in case they did not answer I would be for causing the Militia to aid the Army, if they could not set it on fire, I think we would be very liable to a disappointment.

“I am &c.

“JAS POTTER.

“CAMP, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup>, 1777”



## OPINION OF COLONEL LUTTERLOH.

## “REMARKS,

“As the present Camp wants Wood & other comforts for the Men, in this Severe Weather, and the Enemys Situation being too strong for an Attack, I would propose to post our Army into Refreshing Quarters, (as We do abroad in such cases). I have been looking out where you could form such a Line, Sufficiently stocked with houses for that purpose & find we would form such a Line between the Two Rivers Schuylkill & Delaware, where we could effectually cover our Country, Stores, & provide the Necessary Supplies easy, as also prevent the Enemy from doing our Army any material hurt. To do this we should place our Right Wing along the Schuylkill & the left on the Delaware. Our Van Troops in German Town & those heights &c. &c. in [ ] up towards Reading all the Army could lay. Head Quarter to be at Pots Grove which I find a good large Town for it. The great Magazin to be in Reading & in the Trap & Hickory Town the Moving Magazines & Bakerys must be established—to which those places are proper. All that Country is full of Forrage & these Supplies can be got easy as also over the Schuylkill. The Right Whing Militia could be over the Schuylkill as from Mottrom's ford upwards I find the Country very advantageous with hills where no Surprise could happen to them at the Van postes & in each Division some poles must be fixed on it a Caske with Pich & Combustibles which are fired & lighted directly upon the Alarm Gun from the Commander of the Van, by which all the Troops march to their Alarm-postes forwards, pointed out to them by their going into the Quarters. All Commanders do keep in the Nights their Troops in their houses together &c. &c. Over Schuylkill must be Two bridges more one by Wolley forge & one near Potsgrove to get quik Communications. When this is done directly we keep our Men in health & are refreshed to stand any attack & our Supplies can be good & Regular.

“H. E. LUTTERLOH.

“Decbr 1<sup>st</sup> 1777”



EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from Vol. XX. page 472.)

[LETTER 143.]

"Yesterday being the last time we (the officers of the regiment), expected to be together, as the arrangement was to take place this day, we had an elegant Regimental Dinner and entertainment, at which all the Field and other officers were present, with a few from the German Regiment, who had arrived with the men of their regiment that belong to the Penna. Line. We spent the day very pleasantly and the evening 'till about ten o'clock as cheerfully as we could wish, when we were disturbed by the huzzas of the soldiers upon the Right Division, answered by those on the Left. I went on the Parade and found numbers in small groups whispering and busily running up and down the Line. In a short time a gun was fired upon the Right and answered by one on the right of the Second Brigade, and a skyrocket thrown from the center of the first, which was accompanied by a general huzza throughout the Line, and the soldiers running out with their arms, accoutrements and knapsacks. I immediately found it was a mutiny, and that the guns and skyrocket were the signals. The officers in general exerted themselves to keep the men quiet, and keep them from turning out. We each applied himself to his own company, endeavored to keep them in their huts and lay by their arms, which they would do while we were present, but the moment we left one hut to go to another, they would be out again. Their excuse was they thought it was an alarm and the enemy coming on.

"Next they began to move in crowds to the Parade,



going up to the Right, which was the place appointed for their rendezvous. Lieut. White of our regiment in endeavoring to stop one of these crowds, was shot through the thigh, and Capt. Samuel Tolbert in opposing another party was shot through the body, of which he is very ill. They continued huzzaing and firing in riotous manner, so that it soon became dangerous for an officer to oppose them by force. We then left them to go their own way.

"Hearing a confused noise to the Right, between the line of Huts and Mrs. Wicks, curiosity led me that way, and it being dark in the orchard I mixed among the crowd and found they had broken open the magazine and were preparing to take off the cannon.

"January 2 1781."

[LETTER 144.]

"MOUNT KEMBLE.

"In taking possession of the cannon they forced the sentinel from his post, and placed one of their own men. One of the mutineers coming officiously up to force him away (thinking him to be one of our sentinels) received a ball through the head and died instantly.

"A dispute arose among the mutineers about firing the alarms with the cannon, and continued for a considerable time—one party alledging that it would arouse the timid soldiery, the other objected because it would alarm the inhabitants. For a while I expected the dispute would be decided by the bayonet, but the gunner in the meantime slip'd up to the piece and put a match to it, which ended the affair. Every discharge of the cannon was accompanied by a confused huzza and a general discharge of musketry.

"About this time Gen. Wayne and several field officers (mounted) arrived. Gen. Wayne and Col. Richard Butler spoke to them for a considerable time, but it had no effect—their answer was, they had been wronged and were determined to see themselves righted. He replied that he would right them as far as in his power. They rejoined, it was out of his power, their business was not with the officers,



but with Congress and the Governor and Council of the State; 'twas they had wronged and they must right. With that, several platoons fired over the General's head. The General called out, 'if you mean to kill me, shoot me at once, here's my breast,' opening his coat. They replied that it was not their intention to hurt or disturb an officer of the Line, (two or three individuals excepted); that they had nothing against their officers, and they would oppose any person that would attempt anything of the kind.

"A part of the Fourth Regiment was paraded and led on by Capt. Campbell, to recapture the cannon; they were ordered to charge and rush on—they charged but would not advance, then dispersed and left the officer alone. Soon after a soldier from the mob made a charge upon Lieut. Col. William Butler, who was obliged to retreat between the huts to save his life. He went around one hut and the soldier around another to head him, met Capt. Bettin who was coming down the alley, who seeing a man coming towards him on a charge, charged his Esponton to oppose him, when the fellow fired his piece and shot the Captain through the body and he died two hours later.

"January 2 1781."

[LETTER 145.]

"MOUNT KEMBLE.

"About twelve o'clock they sent parties to relieve or seize the old Camp guard, and posted sentinels all round the camp. At one o'clock they moved off towards the left of the Line with the cannon and when they reached the centre they fired a shot. As they came down the line, they turned the soldiers out of every hut, and those who would not go with them were obliged to hide 'till they were gone. They continued huzzaing and a disorderly firing 'till they went off, about two o'clock, with drums and fifes playing, under command of the sergeants, in regular platoons, with a front and rear guard.

"Gen. Wayne met them as they were marching off and endeavored to persuade them back, but to no purpose; he then inquired which way they were going, and they replied



either to Trenton or Philadelphia. He begged them not to attempt to go to the enemy. They declared it was not their intention, and that they would hang any man who would attempt it, and for that, if the enemy should come out in consequence of this revolt, they would turn back and fight them. 'If that is your sentiments,' said the General, 'I'll not leave you, and if you wont allow me to march in your front, I'll follow in your rear.'

"This day Col. [Walter] Stewart and Richard Butler joined Gen. Wayne in hopes they could turn them when they grew cooler, being much agitated with liquor, when they went off, it being New Years day they had drawn half a pint per man. The men have continued going off in small parties all day. About one o'clock one hundred head of cattle came in from the Eastward, which they drove off to their main body, which lay in a wood near Vealtown, leaving a few behind for the use of the officers.

"When we came to draw provisions and State stores this day, we found that near half of the men of our regiment had remained.

"The men went off very civilly last night to what might have been expected from such a mob. They did not attempt to plunder our officers' huts or insult them in the least, except those who were obstinate in opposing them. They did not attempt to take with them any part of the State stores, which appears to me a little extraordinary, for men when they get but little want more.

"The militia are called out, they are to assemble at Chatham, in order to oppose the enemy if they come out, or the mutineers if they attempt going to them.

"January 2, 1781."

[LETTER 146.]

"DR LIDDEL'S, MENDEM.

"On the afternoon of the 2d inst. I procured wagons and moved all the officers' baggage out of camp to Mr. Daniel Drake's on the S—— Road, in Mendem, about three miles from the huts, to which place most of the officers and their boys returned.



"The revolted party marched from Vealtown to Middlebrook, and the 3rd went on to Princetown. In the evening an Express arrived from Gen. Wayne, ordering all officers of the Division (a quartermaster and subaltern from each regiment excepted), to press horses and make all possible speed to Pennington. (Ensign Brooke was left behind and I as Quartermaster, of course.) The greater part of the Officers left the night of the 3rd, and the others followed on the fourth. Since this affair Mrs. Wicks and Dr. Liddel's very agreeable families have been kept in continual alarm.

"On the 5 inst. as I was obliged to be in camp once every day, I concluded it would be best to move in and stay there, and in consequence of that resolution moved my baggage, and when it had come as far as D<sup>r</sup> Liddel's he very kindly offered me the use of his house and to live with his family. I accepted the generous offer with pleasure. Drank tea and spent the afternoon with the agreeable young ladies.

"About ten o'clock I walked in to camp to see if all was quiet, and when I came on the parade, I found a number of men assembled, and when I reached our regiment, a signal gun was fired on the right of the Division, and in a short time a large party collected and endeavored to take off the two remaining pieces of artillery. Not finding it convenient they went off about twelve o'clock and left them with us. This party in going off behaved with less noise and more impertinence than the first. They fired on two or three officers as they were going out of camp. About one o'clock I returned from camp to the Doctor's, where I found the family up, with the addition of Mrs. Wicks and her agreeable daughter, almost frightened out of their lives, as some of the mutineers made their appearance around their house and insisted on their showing them where to find horses.

"Everything is still again today and the young ladies not much the worse for their fright.

"January 6, 1781."



[LETTER 147.]

“D<sup>R</sup> LIDDEL’S, MENDEM.

“We are informed that the mutineers lay at Princetown and intend to await the arrival of some persons from Congress and the Governor of the State. One Sergeant Williams commands the Line, a sergeant is appointed to the command of each regiment, and the first sergeants of each company still keep the command, except in some few instances where they have misbehaved and in consequence turned out. They have likewise a Board of Sergeants, consisting of twelve, a president and secretary, by whom all business is transacted, orders issued, provision returns, &c. They have kept the men in such order on the march and in Princetown as reflects on them the highest honor. But the stragglers who went off in small parties have committed great depredations on the road.

“The militia of this and neighboring counties are called out and ordered to rendezvous at Chatham, as well to defend the lines from any attempt of the enemy to penetrate the country at this time as to hinder any of the mutineers from taking that route, should they attempt it. We have certain intelligence that the enemy have reinforced Staten Island with a large body of men to be ready for any movement that may offer. I have spent my time very agreeably in this very pleasant family in the constant company of the ever amiable and very agreeable Miss Betsy Liddel, and very often with the additional happiness of Miss Wicks’ company, and sometimes with Col. Spencer’s lovely family, which has caused long and perhaps tedious evenings to pass away unnoticed. Capt. William Gray being here at this time, when the ladies did not interfere, with the Doctor and myself would ply the apple-toddy and amuse ourselves with nuts. Thus I have striven to beguile care, for you must know this revolt has given me many uneasy hours.

“Yesterday Major Fishbourn went on express from headquarters with dispatches for Gen. Wayne. His Excel-



lency has been expected down from New Windsor, but it was thought most expedient for him to remain.

"January 14, 1781."

[LETTER 148.]

"DR. LIDDEL'S, MENDEM.

"Last evening Capt. Stake and Steele arrived from Pennsylvania, (where the officers of the Line are quartered), with the following intelligence. The Governor of Pennsylvania, with a Committee composed of a member of Congress, one of the Council, one of the Assembly and a citizen, to settle or treat with our mutineers. Previous to their arrival, three spies who had come from Gen. Clinton (British) were arrested by the revolvers, and after being drum'd along the Line were delivered to Gen. Wayne to be tried. They brought a letter from Gen. Clinton to this effect—That if the revolted party would come to Amboy, he was waiting with a great force on Staten Island to receive them; that he would grant them all they could expect from this revolt, that is their arrearages of pay and clothing, make up their depreciation in hard money, with the addition of several guineas to each man. To their immortal honor, they rejected it, and delivered up the messengers as spies, who were tried the evening of the same day and hung the next morning about eight o'clock, and I am informed are to be left hanging till they fall from the gallows.

"You know a great number of the men enlisted *for three years or during the war*, which has for a long time given cause of uneasiness in the minds of the soldiers. They claim their discharge at the expiration of three years, while the State claims their services for the war. However, that matter is now given up and proposals made to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Penna. Line to the following purport: That every non commissioned officer and soldier whose enlistment specifies *three years or during the war*, shall be discharged, and that the gratuity of one hundred dollars given by Congress is not looked upon as a bounty. That those enlisted for the war were to remain in



service, but that the Governor would endeavor to have something done for them in consideration of the smallness of their bounty, and that they should be indulged with a furlough for a short time. That auditors shall be appointed to settle their accounts of depreciation and certificates given for them as soon as possible. That where the enlistment cannot be produced the soldier's oath shall be taken, with regard to the terms of his enlistment and he discharged thereon accordingly. And if a soldier can prove that he was forced to enlist or any undue advantage taken of him, he shall be discharged. That every one on producing his discharge or furlough to the Clothiers and Commissioners at Trentown, shall receive one shirt, one pair of overalls and a pair of shoes. This was agreed to by the mutineers, and they are to march tomorrow to Trentown, and the Committee to begin their business at once. The paymasters are sent for, who are to bring all enlistments and other regimental papers.

"Col. Humpton has arrived at Trentown and has sent up for his baggage—for the purpose of sending which, I have this day been to Squire Dailey's who has promised to send me a wagon tomorrow.

"January 14, 1781."

[LETTER 149.]

"DR. LIDDEL'S, MENDEM.

"On the 15th inst. Lieut. Col. William Butler received orders from Gen. Wayne to repair to Pennington with all the officers' baggage and the remaining men of the Line. Of the latter, there were not many, as they have been joining the rest in small parties ever since the revolt.

"Squire Dailey disappointed me in a wagon, and I wrote to Squire Stiles for one for the Colonel's baggage.

"On the morning of 16th breakfasted at Col. Spencer's and got an order on Squire Stiles for three wagons, but on my arrival at his house found a prior order of the Deputy Q. M. from Morristown had deprived me of what he could furnish. I then proceeded to Squire Dailey's at Chatham,



who promised me three, which he was to send the following morning. You must know that the mutineers stole my horse and I now have a borrowed one.

"I stopped at Lieut. Col. Hay's quarters and was agreeably surprised to find him there as he had arrived in the course of the day from Pennington. The Committee have begun to settle with the men and proceed rapidly.

"The 17th I procured a wagon for the Colonel's baggage and gave orders for its setting off the next morning. I awaited the arrival of the teams from Chatham with great impatience, but to my great mortification found myself again disappointed. The teams for twelve miles round this place have been so harrassed since our arrival in quarters, with assisting in drawing the timber for building, drawing forage, provisions and timber for the redoubts, with what the mutineers impressed and what we have employed to move our stores, that a person might almost as well attempt to make a wagon and horses as to procure them otherwise.

"January 17, 1781."

: [LETTER 150.]

"PENNINGTON N. J.

"Lieut. Feltman and Ensign Brooke being impatient left for Pennington. The 21st had the baggage loaded and sent off; settled and gave certificates for forage &c. for the use of the regiment. Returned to Dr Liddel's, where I dined with Miss Wicks and the doctor's family. Delayed setting off until four o'clock, when with regret I was forced to part with that very agreeable family. I expected to ride seventeen miles to the White House, but by the badness of the road night overtook me at Mendem, where Lieut. White (who was wounded) quarters, who prevailed with me to stay all night.

"Being under the necessity of being up with the baggage before they set out in the morning I arose at one o'clock and overtook it. We set off, and I breakfasted with Col. Berry at the White House. In the evening we reached the north branch of the Raritan, where we remained all night.



I found myself very sick and with some difficulty was able to sit on my horse. On the 22d arrived at Pennington where all the officers are quartered.

"January 23, 1781."

[LETTER 151.]

"PENNINGTON N. J.

"On my arrival I found the officers of the First, Second and Third Regiments had left the town and gone to Philadelphia, their regiments having been settled with. On examination I found myself arraigned in the Second Regiment, Capt. Patton and Ensign Van Court in the Sixth, and all the rest of our officers in the First.

"At Pennington I quartered at a Mr. Kerr's who keeps a very good tavern, where with a number of others we lived in one continuous round of riot for the space of five days.

"On the 24th and 25th our regiment was settled with; the 27th we moved to Trenttown, and put up at a genteel tavern at the ferry. . . . The morning of the 28th made a visit to Col. Humpton, who is very lame. I breakfasted with Col. Nelson Q.M. to the State of New Jersey, in company with Capt. Beeker. No vessels being up from Philadelphia, I made application for wagons to go down by land; they arrived, we loaded them and crossed the Delaware and arrived at Bristol. . . . The town is chiefly inhabited by the people called Quakers, from their unsociability like an infectious disorder has spread itself over almost all Pennsylvania.

"On the 29th we proceeded towards Philadelphia—crossed Neshaminy ferry and arrived at the city early in the evening, and took up our quarters at the King of Prussia Tavern on Market Street.

"January 30, 1781."

[LETTER 152.]

"PHILADELPHIA.

"This is my first appearance in the city since the battle of Brandywine. I visited my Aunt Reeves who I found in perfect health; met Miss Polly Morris and called on Miss Patty Caruthers, where I drank tea and spent a very soci-



able evening. On February 1st was introduced to Miss Rachel and Nancey Gardner, Miss Bell and Miss McCauley with several gentlemen, drank tea, danced and sung. It would be an everlasting piece of work to inform you of every days amusement, let it suffice to say, that I never drank tea, seldom dined or breakfasted at my quarters. . . .

"February 8, 1781."

[LETTER 153.]

"PHILADELPHIA.

"A few days since, on invitation of the citizens of this city all the officers dined at the City Tavern. The company was very large, not less than three hundred; the Ambassador of France, the President of Congress, Generals St. Clair, Wayne and Irvine were of the company. We sat down at four o'clock to dinner, which was brought on in elegance and greatest abundance. After dinner, we had the greatest variety of wines of the best brands, and began to drink toasts—'Our illustrious Allies,' 'The United States of America,' 'The General and the Army,' and a number of patriotic toasts. When General Washington was given, every eye sparkled with joy, and a bumper toast was the cry, which every one drank with pleasure and we gave three huzzas. The wine was plied close and by seven o'clock the company began to grow noisy, though numbers had left before that time. A song was sung by Dr. Duffield Jr., that had been composed for the occasion, which I thought elegant. He sings well and was applauded. I retired about eight o'clock in good order and spent the remainder of the evening with very agreeable ladies."

[The Letter-Book beginning with Letter 154 to 197 is missing; the succeeding book begins with a mutilated part of Letter 198, dated at Beading, Pennsylvania, in September of 1781.]

[PART OF LETTER 198.]

Beau Tippet . . . . .	Lieut. Jones.
Mrs. Gadabout . . . . .	Capt. Bush.
Mrs. Tippet . . . . .	Doct <sup>r</sup> Alison.
_____ . . . . .	Master Scull.
Drunken Cook . . . . .	Capt. Bowen.



"We were as busy as possible and as assiduous as if we expected to make a living by it, so eager are all men for Applause, that we cannot think of being excelled even in the character of a player. The task is so severe on me that I believe I shall give it up for the future, but the parts I have had, have been exceeding long, and mostly the person in trouble, which affects me almost as much as if it was real.

"READING PA.

"Sept. 1781."

[LETTER 199.]

"On Monday last we performed the *Revenge* again, with the *Lying Valet* for a farce; our house was much crowded, a number of people that had not tickets beg'd to be admitted. We had the satisfaction to hear that every character in the Tragedy was better supported than the last evening, Carlos excepted, which was not done so well. Leonora made a brilliant appearance this evening dress'd in a pink silk with an extraordinary head dress.

"The Farce pleased the Dutch inhabitants exceedingly; and kept them in one continual burst of laughter.

"We broke up about one o'clock, and waited on the ladies of our acquaintance home in dress.

"Sharp and Kitty Any was well supported, and all the rest [*torn badly*] Lawyer Biddle, Lawyer Graydon and several others was pleased to compliment the performers. So much for plays.

"READING PA.

"Sept. 1781."

[LETTER 200.]

"Last evening the officers of the garrison at this place had a Ball and entertainment, to which all the ladies and gentlemen of the town was invited. The Ball was opened about 7 o'clock with a Minuet—we then proceeded to Country Dances; and spent the evening. About 11 o'clock adjourn'd to a genteel supper, our wines were tolerable, the music good. After supper our dances were chiefly



Cotillions, and concluded the evening in a very agreeable manner about two o'clock in the morning, and waited on the ladies home. This day has been spent very agreeably according to custom, in waiting on the ladies; I drank Tea this afternoon with the agreeable Miss Nelly Scull, her mother and sister.

"READING, Sept' . . . 1781."

[LETTER 201.]

"On Wednesday evening last an express arrived from Genl. St. Clair to march all the troops from this place to the City of Philadelphia with all expedition. On Thursday morning orders was issued to be ready to march off the parade at Troop-beating on Friday morning. On Monday last we paraded and fired thirteen pieces of Artillery on the arrival of news of twenty-eight sail of the Line in Chesapeake bay, of the French Navy. Lord Cornwallis is now in Yorktown, in Virginia, and his Excellency Gen. Washington is on his way to Virginia with detachments of Infantry from the Northern Army and — thousand French troops from the same place, one Reg<sup>t</sup> of which was reviewed on Philadelphia Commons before his Excellency—Every body allows both friend and foes that they never saw troops make so brilliant an appearance, or exercise, or fire with greater regularity or exactness.

"The French troops marched by land to Annapolis, and our troops embarked on board small vessels at the Head of Elk.

"There is a report now prevailing, that a party of the enemy from New York under the command of the infamous Arnold is expected to make an excursion in the Jerseys, and some think will make a push for the City of Philadelphia, in order to make a diversion in favour of Cornwallis, who is blocked up in Virginia.

"The militia of this State are under marching orders and to rendezvous at Newtown in Bucks County.

"Our detachment marched off yesterday morning for



Philadelphia. I have remained behind, having a horse and shall set off this day. The town looks distressed since the departure of the troops, no drums beating in the morning or evening, nor crowd of men parading up and down the Streets, nor gay officers gallanting the gayer ladies to and fro—the ladies look disconsolate and confess their loss. I am just going to take my leave, and to horse, and away to Philadelphia.

"READING PA.,

"Sat. Sept . . . 1781."

(To be continued.)



## SOME RECENT BOOKS ON PENNSYLVANIA HISTORY.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

The year 1896 was fruitful in the production of books concerning our Provincial history. The wide-spread taste for historical research which has grown among us so rapidly of late, combined as it generally is with a critical spirit among painstaking students, has done much to aid those who have long felt the need of a complete and trustworthy history of the State. It may surprise some who are not familiar with the work done in these investigations to be told that no less than ten volumes—books relating wholly to the history of Pennsylvania in some form or other—have been printed during the past year. The list comprises books in almost every department of historical research. They are not merely family genealogies, the details of which so often throw important side-lights upon the history of the time, especially by bringing before us the Old-World characteristics of the different races which have peopled our domain, but elaborate treatises also, upon many disputed questions of great importance to the historian, such, for instance, as the causes of the early emigration of the Germans, and especially the development of the different religious creeds and practices which their followers sought to establish here; the attitude of the Quakers towards measures of defence against the French and the Indians,—a subject much befogged by our popular historians. The total neglect of such writers to explain what were the special forces growing up from the ideas and habits of a population made up of five distinct races which long stood in the way of making our population homogeneous and aggressive renders such inquiries very important.

Among these books there are some in which genealogy and history have been most usefully combined to aid the

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researches of those who study our early annals. MR. THOMAS ALLEN GLENN,<sup>1</sup> in his book concerning "the Welsh Barony in the Province of Pennsylvania," has given us a learned and elaborate treatise upon the history of the Welsh or Cymric Quakers in their native land, who emigrated to the Province in 1682, and settled that portion of Chester County known as the "Great Welsh Tract," or "Barony." These Welshmen were nearly all substantial freeholders, and many of them whose services are commemorated in this volume have left an ineffaceable mark in the history of the Commonwealth. While many of their children have at all times held conspicuous positions in the public service, it is curious to observe, in looking over the map of the country, how strikingly the hereditary affection of the Welshman for his native soil is illustrated, a large number of the land-owners of the present day bearing the same name, and being often, doubtless, the descendants of the original settlers.

Next we have the genealogy of the FISHER family, the descendants of John Fisher, who was a fellow-passenger of Penn's in the "Welcome," and who, it is said, very truly, was "the ancestor of a large family in America." One of his descendants, MISS ANNE WHARTON SMITH, has undertaken the task of collecting the names and commemorating the services of his descendants.<sup>2</sup> Every one in this part of the State, at least, knows something of the multitudinous Fisher family, and will be glad to learn more of its members and their affiliations. It is indeed a name conspicuous in our annals, at all times honorably associated with the conduct of public affairs, its members for many years having been especially influential in the meetings of Friends, at a time when such a position enabled one to exercise a far wider influence for good than is possible now. An authentic account of this family may be said (to use a common phrase)

<sup>1</sup> "Merion in the Welsh Tract, with Sketches of the Townships of Haverford and Radnor." By Thomas Allen Glenn.

<sup>2</sup> "Genealogy of the Fisher Family, 1682-1896." By Anne Wharton Smith.



to meet, owing to its widely spread connections, a public need.

The genealogy of LEWIS WALKER's<sup>1</sup> family performs the same service for the members of his family in Chester County as that of John Fisher for those of his descendants who live in Philadelphia. In both cases the collateral relatives whose names find a place in these books are so numerous, and those names are so well known, that they would seem to embrace almost all who, in Provincial times at least, were conspicuous in the two counties for social position or public service.

We turn next to the genealogical record of the SPENGLER family, of York County.<sup>2</sup> This is a bulky volume (far more so than is needed, as it seems to us), and is the result of the researches of MR. E. W. SPANGLER. Spengler or Spangler is a well-known family name in the country west of the Susquehanna. Its progenitor settled in what is now York County in 1729. The book has special value as illustrating the ideas and habits of the early Germans who settled in the interior of the State. It has an interest quite outside that of a family record, for we find in it a picture of a German typical family, showing how successfully the German peasant met the trials of life in the wilderness. As the predominant race type in Provincial times in York County was German, we learn how it accommodated itself to English law and English civilization, and what was, there as elsewhere, the curious result of such an amalgamation. It occupies, too, a somewhat unexplored territory in our historical investigations in this State, and is therefore doubly welcome.

But publications like these, valuable as they are for throwing what we have called a side-light on our local history, have a limited interest compared with other recently published books on Pennsylvania history which treat at

<sup>1</sup> "Lewis Walker, of Chester Valley, and his Descendants, 1686-1896." Collected, compiled, and published by Priscilla Walker Sheets.

<sup>2</sup> "The Annals of the Families of Caspar, Henry, and George Spengler, of York County." By Edward W. Spangler.



large of some particular era and of its historical characteristics. We find in our list books which give us not merely the family history of those who have been prominent in our public affairs, but also in many of them some account, more or less trustworthy, of the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, by which our forefathers were governed, and of the theories which they brought with them from Europe, and how far and in what way their Old-World ideas were modified by their surroundings here; the attitude of different religious bodies in the Province towards each other (a subject much neglected by our historians); and, perhaps most important of all, material for determining how far during the Provincial era we were governed by our own legislation, and how far the orders of the Lords of Trade and of the Privy Council in England shaped our policy. The information contained in some of these volumes would induce many to think that the early history of the Province should be completely revised and many portions of it rewritten.

Of books of this character the first, we believe, in point of time is MR. SYDNEY G. FISHER'S essay on "The Making of Pennsylvania."<sup>1</sup> In this book Mr. Fisher attempts to explain how the five distinct families which settled each a distinct portion of our territory grew up here together and contributed each its well-marked share to the civilization of the Province, and what was the general result of such a process. He describes carefully the prominent characteristics of the Swedes and Dutch, the first settlers; of the English and Welsh Quakers; of the German emigrants; of the Protestants of the north of Ireland, the larger portion of whom peopled the country west of the Susquehanna; and, lastly, the influence of the New England people who became inhabitants and land-owners in the northern part of the Province, in the belief that the country belonged to Connecticut. How people differing so widely in their characteristics managed at last to coalesce, and what sort of civilization was the out-

<sup>1</sup> "The Making of Pennsylvania: an Analysis of the Elements of the Population and the Formative Influences that created One of the Greatest of the American States." By Sydney George Fisher.



growth of such a coalition, are interesting problems not easily solved. The writer who undertakes such a task, aside from all other difficulties inherent in the subject, must possess a judicial temper seldom met with, if he hopes to satisfy the susceptibilities of those who can see no defects in the career of their forefathers. No one can apportion with absolute justice the share of the credit belonging to each nationality in the advancement of civilization in the Province; hence it is not to be wondered at that the conclusions which Mr. Fisher has reached in reference to certain acts, withholding praise or bestowing censure, have been made subjects of attack by unfriendly critics. Whatever may be their opinion, no one, it seems to us, can doubt that Mr. Fisher's book bears the mark of much study and research. As a popular account of the many contested questions which were settled in Provincial times, it exposes, doubtless, many errors into which previous writers have fallen, and it has thus a positive value of no ordinary kind. The vexed and intricate subject of the boundaries of the Province, the long-protracted quarrel between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, the account of the Virginia claim to a very large portion of the southwestern part of the Province, and especially the statement of the nature of the memorable controversy which grew out of the attempt by Connecticut to usurp the sovereignty of Pennsylvania of the northern tier of counties, are so discussed and explained as to appear clear and convincing to the ordinary reader.

In the work of MR. JULIUS F. SACHSE<sup>1</sup> we have presented quite a romantic and hitherto little-known phase of Pennsylvania life. Strangers are not accustomed to associate our Provincial life with monastic discipline, or with hermits who made our caves their dwelling-place, or with the adepts in Rosicrucianism or theosophy who sought here, under Penn's benign charter of religious liberty, the propagation of their esoteric doctrine. It is none the less true, however, that we had here, under the name of German Pietists, Kel-

<sup>1</sup> "The German Pietists of Pennsylvania, 1694-1708." By Julius Friedrich Sachse.



pius, the hermit of the Wissahickon; Köster and Falkner, the great hierophants of the community. Monks lived a cloistered life at Ephrata, and formed with their followers quite an array of mystics and theosophists, certainly very unlike any sectaries whose lives have left a mark in the history of other American Colonies. Many of these people were sincere dreamers of dreams, which they were forbidden to put in practice in Germany, and who looked upon Pennsylvania as to a new Atlantis where, under the mild and gentle rule of its founder, not merely hard-working German peasants would be welcomed, but where the wildest and most extravagant practices of those whom the Germans called by the distinctive name of Pietists would be regarded with boundless indulgence. These mystics professed to be devout Lutherans; they were men of pure lives, and while waiting in the wilderness for "the coming of the Lord," they sought by means of alchemy and astrology to note the hour of His coming. This book gives us a most novel and interesting account of the doings of these strange people, and of the nature and aim of their doctrine, so far as it had any practical aim. These men, it must be remembered, were sincere Christians, bound to live in peace and harmony with all men, and they sought a home in Pennsylvania in the hope and belief that they would be permitted to accomplish their object without molestation. Their vagaries never excited any persecution or opposition. Their doctrine seems to have been a species of Quakerism more or less tinctured with the wild beliefs and practices which had been adopted by the mystics. The book is a marvel of research and study, and we cannot doubt that Mr. Sachse's attempt to explain what can be understood of the beliefs and career of these hermits of the Wissahickon by the ordinary reader will always be regarded by those who desire to trace out the history of mysticism with great satisfaction.

The standard History of the University of Pennsylvania has long been that of DR. GEORGE B. WOOD, the last edition of which was published by the Historical Society in 1834.



During the last sixty years much material which was not accessible to Dr. Wood for the illustration of the early history of the University has been found among the Penn papers and those left by Dr. Smith, the first Provost of the College. By the liberality of a member of the Council of the Historical Society, this material, under the judicious supervision of Dr. F. D. Stone, its librarian, has been made use of to prepare a new edition of Dr. Wood's excellent work.<sup>1</sup> It has been thought best (we think wisely) not to alter the original text, but to supplement it with six additional chapters. It does not bring the history to a later date than that fixed by Dr. Wood.

This new edition points out several popular errors concerning the origin of the University. It has been generally supposed that the establishment of a charitable school in 1740 marks the date of its beginning. In this account of the early history of the institution, Dr. Stone shows most satisfactorily that no charitable school existed in 1740, and that such a school was not established until 1751, and then only when the Latin and English schools were first opened in the Academy, so that the latter was in no case due to the development of the former. It seems that there was the best of all possible reasons for its non-establishment, and that was that the trustees of the new building, who had talked for so many years about maintaining a charitable school, could not raise money enough to fulfil their promises, and therefore in their conveyance of 1749 to the trustees of the Academy they bound them to do what they had agreed to do themselves.

Dr. Franklin is usually spoken of as the founder of the University, and no doubt in an important sense he was. He interested the public in education, and he raised money to carry out the plans, and to him, therefore, the establishment of the Academy in 1751 may be attributed. But Franklin's

<sup>1</sup> "Early History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Origin to the Year 1827." By George B. Wood, M.D. With supplementary chapters by Frederick D. Stone, Litt. D., librarian of the Historical Society.



idea of such an establishment as well as of that of the College which succeeded it was a place where a good English education might be acquired. He desired that Latin and Greek should be taught to those only who were to follow the learned professions. But the Board of Trustees was too wise to follow this restricted plan of education. In one of the last papers he wrote (in 1789), after all the experience he must have gained on the subject during his long sojourn in France, he says, "I submitted my views on this subject [the plan of education] to some of my friends who concurred with me, but Mr. Allen, Mr. Francis, Mr. Peters, and some other persons of wealth and learning whose subscriptions and countenance we should need were of opinion that it ought to include the learned languages." The truth is that the Provost and the trustees could not agree with him. The College continued to flourish as long as Dr. Smith was permitted to govern it, and when he was struck down by his personal and political enemies it received a wound from which it suffered during many long years. Here he should always be remembered as the man who first introduced that *curriculum* of study which for more than a hundred years was made, with very little variation, the groundwork of a liberal education in all the colleges of the country.

Under the title of "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania,"<sup>1</sup> DR. WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD has given us the most philosophical account we possess of the genesis of the Provincial laws and government. This book explains how this system was administered by Penn and his successors, in the essay prepared by the author and required by the faculty of Columbia University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and it must be pronounced a most thorough specimen of historical work. The theme is a most inviting one to the true scholar, for nowhere else on this continent was the Proprietary system so fully developed as in Pennsylvania, and nowhere were its special advantages and

<sup>1</sup> "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania." By William Robert Shepherd, Ph.D., Prize Lecturer on History.



defects more clearly apparent, and, we may add, no portion of our history has been so much neglected. The Proprietary system was essentially a feudal grant with feudal incidents, modified by a self-governing Assembly and controlled by the imperial authority. The nature of Penn's title to the Province with "the territories annexed," the vexed question how far the manors and baronies which he created resembled the English tenures of the same name, with all their feudal incidents, the modes by which the Indian title was extinguished, the long-protracted controversy about the boundaries of the Province,—these fundamental questions are learnedly discussed, and are made as clear as such intricate subjects can be made to the intelligent student.

But these do not form the specially original portion of this essay. While the main object of the book is to point out the peculiarities of the Proprietary system, it has been necessary, in order fully to illustrate its practical working, to enter upon a somewhat minute examination of the history of the State during the Provincial era. In this way only can it be determined how far the rights, the prosperity, and the happiness of the inhabitants were affected by the machinery of the Proprietary government, or, in other words, can we understand how and why such a system proved by experience to be unsuited to the habits and policy of a colony of free-born Englishmen. Accordingly we have an account of the methods practised in dealing with the Indians, and the system adopted of acquiring their lands by the deputy governors under the successors of Penn. This system is contrasted with that of the Founder himself, who always claimed, most truly, that the Indians never complained of a want of honesty, equity, and justice on his part in his dealings with them. To discuss this subject which caused so much bitter controversy and resulted in the serious wars which marked a long period of our Provincial history, and indeed upon all others connected with the Proprietary system which gave rise to partisan attacks upon the Proprietaries, Dr. Shepherd prepared himself for a thorough knowledge of the points in dispute



by a careful study of the vast collection of PENN MSS. in the library of the Historical Society. These contain not only the official correspondence between the deputy governors and Penn's successors, but also the letters of the land agents and of private friends of the Proprietors here, as well as a large number of papers showing how closely Thomas Penn, for instance, watched the progress of the Colony, and how little he was disposed to look upon it in any other way than as a money-producing investment.

The administration of the government by the Proprietaries, as it was carried on by the deputy governors, proved, as is well known, a sad failure, and was so unsatisfactory that the people with one voice, in 1764, clamored for its suppression and the substitution of a royal government in its place. We are thus led to consider by what misgovernment the charter of William Penn—so full of a promise of peace and freedom—became an instrument of oppression. In the portion of this book which treats of the administration of the deputy governors under that charter is to be found the answer to this question. We can only point out here a few of the grievances of which the student will find in these pages a trustworthy account. He tells us of the utter unfitness for their position of many of the governors who were sent out here (for nearly all were venal and corrupt), of the antagonism always existing between the Proprietary and the Assembly, and of their quarrels about their respective rights, until a complete paralysis of the functions of government was the result. In regard to two of the most important questions affecting its administration—the right of taxation, and the method of raising and maintaining an armed force for the defence of the Province—there was such an irreconcilable difference as deeply affected the best interests of the Province. The successors and heirs of William Penn were not statesmen nor philanthropists, as the Founder had been; they were simply what is called, in the cant of the day, business-men, caring for the interests of the inhabitants of their vast territory only so far as their labor increased the Proprietary income.



Dr. Shepherd's account of the dealings of the Founder with Philip Ford (which nearly cost him the loss of his Province) is a good specimen of the accuracy with which he has studied all sides of Penn's character and career, showing that singular want of business management in the Founder which came so near wrecking his fortunes. The book, as a whole, is a rich storehouse of facts in Pennsylvania history, now classified and arranged for the benefit of students, who cannot too gladly welcome its publication. Those who desire to study carefully our Provincial history could find no more satisfactory text-book.

Of the next book on the list—an account of the sites of the frontier posts in Pennsylvania<sup>1</sup>—we need say here but little, as attention has been drawn to its value by an article in the July number (1896) of this Magazine. It was there stated that this book has great historical importance. By the location, through the efforts of a most industrious and competent commission appointed by the Governor, of the sites of more than two hundred fortified posts on the frontier, the popular opinion, so long held, that all efforts made to protect the inhabitants against the incursions of the French and the Indians were defeated by the conscientious scruples of the Quakers in the Assembly against warlike measures, is shown to be false and unfounded. We have before us the best evidence that these posts were established and garrisoned by two regiments in the pay of the Province, not only in Pontiac's war (1763), but in the earlier Indian war begun after Braddock's defeat. How all this is to be reconciled with the statement made in a petition to the Privy Council from some of the most respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia, and argued before the Lords of Trade on the 26th of February, 1756, 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," or with the decision of the Lords of

<sup>1</sup> "Report of the Commission to locate the Sites of the Frontier Forts in Pennsylvania," 1896.



Trade, after hearing the argument, "that the measures taken by the Assembly for the defence of the Province were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual," it is not easy to explain. Such an opinion was certainly not held by Governor Morris, deputy agent of the Penns, the sworn foe of the Quakers, striving at all times to divest them of their political influence, for he says in a message to the Assembly on the 3d of February, 1756, and before these absurd charges were laid before the Lords of Trade, "that everything possible 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."

Perhaps the most interesting of the books printed in 1896 about Pennsylvania, and certainly the most important and valuable one from an historical point of view, is that issued by the State authorities containing the result of the labors of the Commission appointed to prepare a complete edition of the early laws, many of which had never been printed. The present edition, or rather this volume of it,<sup>1</sup> contains those enacted between the years 1700 and 1712. The original text, or that which claims to be original, has suffered much from the accidents of time, and it seemed to many that before many years passed we should be without any authentic record of these statutes. This book has rescued these laws from threatened physical ruin. It contains copies of those passed by the Assembly between the years mentioned which were either confirmed or disallowed by the Privy Council in England. By means of copious references and notes in this volume, the result of prodigious labor, we can follow the history of each particular law, and ascertain its fate when it came before the Privy Council, or discover in what way it has been altered or modified by the

<sup>1</sup> "The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801." Compiled under the authority of the Act of May 19, 1889, by James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, Commissioners. Volume II.



change of time and of circumstances. By following this process we begin to see that the power of legislation in our Assembly was practically a very limited one under Penn's charter, and that many of his most cherished ideas of government, when embodied in laws, failed to satisfy the Privy Council, when they came before that body for revision. Many of these acts were simply of local importance, but they did not conform to the views of the Attorney-General concerning Colonial policy, and therefore they were disallowed. It appears that of one hundred and six acts passed between the years 1700 and 1706, no less than fifty-three were disallowed and repealed by the Privy Council, by virtue of the power reserved to that body by the charter: "The said William Penn is empowered with the advice of the freemen of that province or their delegates in general assembly to enact laws for the good of the said province under a proviso that such laws be not repugnant or contrary to, but so far as conveniently may be agreeable with the laws of England, as also that a transcript or duplicate of all such laws be within five years after the making thereof transmitted and delivered to your Majesty's Privy Council, and that if any of the said laws within the space of six months after they shall be delivered as aforesaid be declared by your Majesty to be void, the said laws shall thenceforth become null and void accordingly, otherwise to remain in full force."

The real legislator for Pennsylvania in those days, therefore, was not the Proprietary nor the Assembly, but the English Privy Council and the Lords of Trade, or rather the English Attorney-General, whose fiat determined not merely whether the proposed Provincial law was in conflict with imperial law, but also whether it was fitting and proper that a Colony should adopt the measure.

Before explaining how this extraordinary system was carried out in practice, we must give some account of the movement which has resulted in revealing to us how very little Penn's charter, as it was interpreted, secured to us the rights of a self-governing people.



In the year 1881 the necessity of reprinting the statutes passed in the early part of the eighteenth century had been much discussed in the Council of the Historical Society, and in that year the late William Henry Rawle, Esq., in a lecture before the Law Department of the University, gave many cogent reasons why the work should be undertaken. The laws passed between the years 1682 and 1700 had just then been published, and Mr. Rawle advocated the continuance of the work. In the year 1883 the Society presented to the Legislature a memorial asking that measures should be taken for printing a complete edition of the laws passed during the past century. The petitioners urged that by these means only could accurate copies of the legislative acts be secured. The result of this application was the passage of the act of 1883, and its supplements of 1887 and of 1893, by which a Commission was appointed to do the work. The volume before us is the second of the series, the first, which contains, we are told, much valuable historical information, being still in preparation. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of the minute and careful labor which has been bestowed upon this second volume. The Commission, assisted by the most eminent bibliographer in the State, Mr. Hildeburn, and by Messrs. Sellers and Elwell, of the Philadelphia bar, has doubtless felt that in a book of this kind the work would be worthless unless absolute accuracy of the text was assured.

In the view we take of this book,—that is, its value to the historian,—the most important part of it seems to be the extracts given from the papers in the English Public Record Office, which contain the substance of the discussions which took place when these measures were before the Privy Council and the Lords of Trade, together with the opinions of the Attorney-General upon them.

It is doubtful whether there can be found a more complete picture anywhere of the absolute subjection of our fathers, not, as has been often said, to the authority of Parliament, but to the orders of a body in a large sense irresponsible, the Privy Council, whose decisions were usually



prompted by the political ideas of one man, the English Attorney-General. The Commission has not been satisfied with giving us the mere text of these laws, and pointing out by copious references what changes subsequent legislation has made in them, but it has caused the English Record Office to be searched, and has there discovered spread out on its proceedings the reasons given for the disallowance of the laws passed by the Assembly, as set forth in the opinions of the Attorney-General. These opinions the Commission has printed in appendices to its report. These will teach us who was responsible for ignoring or disallowing some of the most fundamental ideas of government embodied in the laws passed by the Assembly, and will clear up many questions concerning our early history which have puzzled those who have sought to explain them.

Taking some of these acts disallowed by the Privy Council, we discover how and why they were not suffered to stand. Take, for instance, the law concerning liberty of conscience, passed in 1700, in these words:

“SECTION I. Be it enacted by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Territories thereunto belonging, by and with the advice and consent of the freemen thereof in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That no person, now or at any time hereafter, living in this province or territories, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and quietly under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice; nor shall he or she, at any time, be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or minister whatsoever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of



religion, such person shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace and be punished accordingly."

This act contains the characteristic ideas on religious liberty of Penn and his followers, and was disallowed by the Privy Council on receiving the following opinion of the Attorney-General:

"I am of opinion that this law is not fit to be confirmed, no regard being had in it to the Christian religion, and also for that in the indulgence allowed to the Quakers in England, by the statute of the first William and Mary, chapter 18 (which sort of people are also the principal inhabitants of Pennsylvania), they are obliged by declaration to profess faith in God and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God and in the Holy Spirit one God blessed for evermore, and to acknowledge the scriptures of the old and new testaments to be given by divine inspiration, and also for that none can tell what conscientious practices allowed by this act may extend to."

So with the act "of privileges of a freeman," granting to the Provincial subject, in the very words of *Magna Charta*, the security enjoyed by every Englishman from arbitrary rule of person or property.

"This act ordains 'That no freeman shall be hurt, damaged, destroyed, tried or condemned but by the lawful judgment of his twelve equals or by the laws of the province,' which we think interferes with the act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the plantation trade, passed in the seventh and eighth years of the late King's reign, whereby *admiralty courts are settled in the plantations.*"

In the same way one of the most local of our laws in regard to the tanning of leather was objected to in these words:

"It cannot be expected that encouragement should be given by law to the making any manufactures made in England in the plantations, it being against the advantage of England."

We might go on, had we time and space, in transcribing the frivolous objections to many of the acts of our As-



sembly on the part of the Attorney-General. They uniformly prevailed with the Lords of Trade and the Privy Council until, as we have said, fifty-three out of one hundred and six statutes were disallowed and repealed. Certainly this is quite a new view of our Colonial legislation.

It will naturally be asked, With what temper did our forefathers bear this extraordinary way of governing them? It would seem, from the statement made in the Appendix to this work, that William Penn must have been present at many of the hearings when these laws were discussed by the Lords of Trade. He had returned to England in 1702, and he was so much oppressed with all the cares which the administration of the Province had imposed upon him that he was led to make arrangements for the surrender of his government to the Crown. His fortunes were at that time more desperate than they had ever been. His debts, contracted for the support of the Province, had overwhelmed him, the misconduct of his governor (Evans), the wild extravagance of his beloved son and heir William, the general anarchical condition of affairs in Pennsylvania, and, perhaps more than all, the fraudulent acts of his former steward, had impaired his health and were the cause of that disease which was fast clouding his mind. In his opinion and that of his friends, his only course was to surrender his Proprietary rights to the Crown. He was most anxious, however, that the laws which he considered essential to the welfare of his Province should not be disallowed.

With this end in view, he remonstrated and protested against the course recommended by the Attorney-General, and finally begged that the laws might be sent back to Pennsylvania to be there amended in such a way as to be satisfactory to the Privy Council. But his protests were of no avail, and fifty-three of these laws were returned to the Provincial authorities as disallowed, and they, on receiving them, issued a proclamation declaring them null and void.

There was one of these laws, that "relating to the privileges of a freeman," which we have given above, in regard to which Penn would listen to no compromise nor suggest



any amendment. When called upon by the Council to modify or defend it, Penn made the memorable declaration, the boldest and most emphatic protest on record in favor of civil liberty he ever made, in these words: "I cannot help it, 'tis the great charter [*Magna Charta*] that all Englishmen are entitled to, and we went not so far to loose a tittle of it."

Such was the authority of the Privy Council, and so completely was the necessity of conforming to it felt by the Provincials, that the representatives of the same people who had passed in 1701 the "law of liberty of conscience" did not hesitate in 1705 to require by law religious tests for all intending office-holders as strict as that existing in any of the Colonies or in England herself.

In this way it happened that the legal guarantees provided by Penn's legislation for the firm establishment of the two great principles which underlaid his ideal system of government—the right of trial by jury as provided by *Magna Charta*, and religious toleration—were swept away and destroyed.

This humiliating story with all its details is for the first time given us in this book, and we cannot, we think, overrate its historical importance, and especially lament how little the personal influence and example of William Penn affected permanently the legislation of the Province.



## THE BETHLEHEM FERRY, 1743-1794.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

The early diaries of the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia contain frequent records of the arrival of vessels from Europe and the West Indies with letters for the church authorities and inhabitants of Bethlehem, and, as it occasionally happened that the post rider or the wagon from that town was not in the city, messengers were despatched with them to their destination. These journeys were performed either on foot or on horseback, and high water in the streams to be forded not infrequently caused detentions or compelled a return.

In July of 1742 a weekly post and express was established between the two places; four postilions were employed, and two agents at Bethlehem, one at Falckner's Swamp, and one in Philadelphia (John Stephen Benezet) managed its affairs. The service was scheduled to leave Bethlehem every Monday and Philadelphia every Wednesday. It was not until September of 1763 that the first public conveyance was run between Bethlehem and the capital of the Province. This enterprise was commenced by George Klein, who every Monday morning started "a stage-wagon" from the Sun Inn, the return trips being made every Thursday over the following route: out Front Street to Pool's bridge, to Norris's, to Fair Hill Meeting-House, to Rising Sun, to Stenton, to Germantown Meeting-House, to Mount Airy, to Scull's, to Ottinger's, to Francis's, to White Marsh Church, to Benjamin Davis's, to Baptist Meeting-House, to Housekeeper's, to Swamp Meeting, to Stoffel Wagner's, and thence over the ferry to Bethlehem, a distance of fifty-two miles, three-quarters, and fifty-seven perches.

The first grant and patent for a ferry within the present bounds of Northampton County was issued in 1739 to David Martin, of Trenton, New Jersey, with the privilege of con-



structing a ferry "in the Forks of Delawar, from the Pennsylvania shore to the upper end of an island called Tinnicum, to Marble Mountain in Morris county New Jersey, with the undivided right to ferry over horses, cows, sheep, mules, etc." Martin established his ferry near the confluence of the Lehigh with the Delaware, where Easton now stands, and in 1747 had his flat-boats built at the Bethlehem boat-yard. The ferries on the Lehigh nearest to Bethlehem were Calder's (now Allentown) and Currie's (now Freemansburg), and by acts of Assembly these were "assessed at three-fifths of the sums they do or may rent for, and that the lands leased with the said ferries or appurtenant thereto shall be rated as uncultivated lands."

From the time the Moravians began their improvements on the "West Branch of Delawar" an impetus was given to settlement, and soon farms dotted the country on every side. New roads were opened, connecting *via* the King's highway the capital of the Province on the south, and the Minisink road to Hudson's River on the north, and Bethlehem grew to be an important point in the eastern section of the Province. For the better convenience of communication with the capital, the prospective purchase of lands on the south side of the Lehigh, and at the solicitations of the settlers in the neighborhood, in January of 1743 a ferry was located near the present railroad bridge which spans the river. A boat to operate the ferry was finished in March, hauled to the river by eight horses, and successfully launched. Prior to the epoch of the ferry the river was forded, and in times of high water, travellers were conveyed across in canoes.

The water of the Lehigh was long noted for the variety and abundance of its fish, particularly rock and shad, and the early mode of securing these delicious articles of food was by bush-net fishing, until superseded by the gill-net and seine. On April 29, 1768, Governor John Penn, with his wife, brother, and suite, who were on a visit to Bethlehem, witnessed the operation of bush-net fishing (the governor from a boat in the rear of the net), the result of the



catch being six hundred and forty shad. A few days later Lord Charles Montague, Governor of South Carolina, with his wife, were also interested witnesses. The largest number of shad caught at the Bethlehem fishery is recorded between April 27 and May 12, 1778, at eight thousand and seventy-seven; the fishery was abandoned when the improvements made by the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company prevented the shad from resorting to the head-waters of the river to spawn.

The name of the first Bethlehem ferryman we have been able to find is Adam Schaus (ancestor of the Easton family of that name), who conducted a public house on the south side of the Lehigh, a short distance below the town, and who consented to operate the ferry for the year 1745. The rates of ferriage were "3d. for foot passengers each way, and 6d. for man and horse," but as no grant or patent had been obtained, payment was not demanded of travellers, but made by courtesy; hence the income for the year only amounted to £2.11.2. Early in January of 1746, Matthew Hoffman and John D. Behringer succeeded Schaus, "the former to take passengers over, the latter to bring them back." It was during their management that, in the night of February 16, 1747, by a sudden rise in the river, the ferry-boat was torn from its moorings and wrecked. A new boat, thirty-one and one-half feet long, nine feet wide, and twenty-four inches deep, was launched on June 8, and Peter Petersen was appointed ferryman next in succession. In 1749 a grant and patent for the ferry was obtained from the Proprietaries at the annual rental of five shillings sterling. This was found necessary in order to meet the increasing uncertainty of remuneration from people using the ferry, and also as security against a possibility of competition from some rival enterprise in the adjacent neutral waters of the Lehigh. Having now developed into a public ferry, wharves were constructed, the approaches improved, and the equipment increased. After serving for five years and six months, in January of 1753, Petersen was succeeded by Daniel Kunckler.



Kunckler's term of service, happening at a time when important events were transpiring in the Province, was far from being an uneventful one, and the chronicler of the town has recorded that three hundred and twenty whites and seven hundred and ten Indians visited it in 1755. An attempt was made to transport the products of the farms and mills at Bethlehem by water instead of the more expensive mode of wagon service. A light-draught sailing-vessel was built; but the project failed, owing to the obstructions at the Falls of the Delaware, which prevented the passage of the vessel northward.

In the spring of 1756, David Nitschmann, Proprietor of the Moravian estates, applied to the Proprietaries to re-confirm to him for seven years the patent and grant of the ferry at Bethlehem, which was granted. It recites,—

“WHEREAS it hath been represented to us, by reason of the late very considerable increase of settlements on both sides of the West Branch of the River Delaware and parts adjacent, and the great resort of people thither, and the many travelers whose business and affairs call them into those parts of the Province, and have occasion to pass over that branch of the said river, it is become necessary that some regular ferries at proper distances and places should be erected and established for the more ready and safe transporting all persons, cattle, carriages and goods over the said branch,—AND it appearing to us upon the representation of David Nitschmann of the County of Northampton in our said Province, that the plantation belonging to the said David Nitschmann and company, and now in the occupation of the said David Nitschmann, situate in Saucon township in the said County of Northampton upon the highroad leading from the city of Philadelphia to the Minisinks, and from thence to the northwest parts of the Province of New York, by means of the convenient situation thereof on the sides of the said branch, is a suitable place for erecting and keeping a ferry over the same to Bethlehem in the Forks of Delaware, AND the same David Nitschmann having requested our license for erecting and keeping a ferry there, and that we would grant and confirm the same to him, NOW KNOW YE, that in consideration of the charge and expenses which the said David Nitschmann must be put to in making wharves and landing-places and providing necessary flats and boats, and the constant attendance necessary thereunto, AND WE being always ready and willing to promote the public utility and improvement of our said Province, & to give due encouragement to all who shall undertake or contribute to the same, HAVE given, granted and confirmed, and by



these Presents for us & our heirs Do give, grant and confirm unto the said David Nitschmann, his executors, administrators and assigns, the sole liberty & privilege of erecting, keeping and occupying a ferry over the said West Branch of the River Delaware to & from the place aforesaid for the transporting & carrying over the same all persons, wagons, carts & other carriages, horses, cattle, goods, wares, merchandises & things whatsoever, hereby strictly forbidding all other persons on either side of the said branch from taking or carrying over the same within the distance of one mile above and one mile below the said ferry hereby settled & established, for hire, reward or pay, in any flat, boat or canoe, any persons, wagons, carts or other carriages, horses or cattle, AND we do further give & grant unto the said David Nitschmann, his executors, administrators and assigns during the term hereby demised, the liberty and privilege to demand & receive from all persons, & for all wagons, carts and other carriages, horses, and other cattle, goods, wares, merchandise, & things whatsoever passing or being carried over the said ferry all such reasonable toll, fees, or reward as shall be settled for the same (us our heirs & successors & our Lieutenant Governor & attendants & servants only excepted), *To have and to hold* the said ferry, liberties, privileges, profits & advantages hereby granted, with the appurtenances, unto the said David Nitschmann, his executors, administrators & assigns,—from the second day of March instant for & during and unto the full end & term of seven years thence next ensuing fully to be complete & ended, YIELDING AND PAYING therefor yearly to us our heirs & successors at the town of Easton in the said County of Northampton on every the first day of March in every year for & during the said term hereby granted five English silver shillings or value thereof in coin current according as the exchange shall be between our said Province and the city of London, to such person or persons as shall from time to time be appointed to receive the same, PROVIDED always that if the same David Nitschmann, his executors, administrators or assigns shall not at all times during the said term hereby granted, find, provide and maintain necessary & sufficient flats and boats for the use of the said ferry, and give due, constant & ready attendance thereunto, and then and from thenceforth this present grant shall cease, determine & be void, anything herein before mentioned & contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.”

William Denny, on November 17, 1756, was the first governor of the Province to enjoy the immunity provided for his rank and station by the thoughtful Proprietaries. A new flat-boat, forty-two feet in length, together with poles, sweeps, and a speaking-trumpet, was added to the equipment of the ferry, and the old boat repaired and held in readiness for emergencies. In January of 1758 a rope-



ferry superseded the old mode of poling, and was continued until the first bridge was built. A chronicler of that day, in noticing this improvement, observes with somewhat of enthusiasm, "that formerly in times of high-water, four men found it difficult to effect a passage in less than half an hour, the flat now crosses the river by rope usually in *ninety seconds*." John Garrison succeeded Kunckler in September, but in 1759 the latter was appointed ferryman for a second time. In 1761, Francis Steup followed next in succession, and the year following Augustus H. Francke, with Peter Petersen as assistant. The ferry, including flat-boats, ropes, wharves, chains, four canoes, and other equipments, was inventoried at £185.18.4, and the gross receipts amounted to £165.0.11, and the cost of maintenance £92.1.4½ for the year.

Valentine Fuehrer, who succeeded Francke, was ferryman from 1763 to 1784, and again from 1791 to 1794.

In the autumn of 1765 a ferry-house was erected at the southern terminus, which in later years was occupied by the toll-keepers of the bridge. The spring freshet of 1766, the greatest since 1739, did very little damage at the ferry, owing to the precautions taken, notwithstanding the water had risen to one hundred and twenty-five inches above low-water mark. In January, 1767, the following schedule of ferriage rates was printed and posted up in the villages and mills through the counties of Northampton and Bucks:

For a loaded wagon & 4 horses . . . . .	3s.0d.
" an empty do do . . . . .	2.0.
" a loaded do 2 do . . . . .	2.6.
" an empty do do . . . . .	2.6.
" a carriage with 4 wheels & 2 horses . . . . .	2.6.
" a chair & 1 horse . . . . .	1.6.
" a do 2 do . . . . .	1.10.
" a sled 4 do . . . . .	3.0.
" a do 2 do . . . . .	1.6.
" a do 1 do . . . . .	1.2.
" a single horse . . . . .	.6.
" a number of horses, each . . . . .	.4.
" a footman . . . . .	2 coppers.



For a single ox or cow . . . . .	6d.
" a number of oxen or cows, each . . . . .	4.
" a single sheep, hog or calf, each . . . . .	2 coppers.
" 10 head of the same . . . . .	1s.10d.

Accompanying this schedule was the following:

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"All such persons as bring wheat, rye, Indian corn & buckwheat, to the grist-mill at Bethlehem, for grinding, are free of ferriage, provided they observe the following regulations, to wit:

One horse with two bushels of wheat, rye or Indian Corn.

One horse with 3 bushels buckwheat.

One wagon & 4 horses with 20 bushels of wheat.

One do	2 do	" 15	do
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One cart	do	" 12	do
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One do	1 do	" 8	do
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One sled	2 do	" 12	do
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One do	1 do	" 6	do
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"Besides the above-mentioned quantities of grain, all kinds of provisions brought for sale in Bethlehem are allowed on the same wagon, cart, sled or horse. Furthermore, all persons that come to church at Bethlehem on Sundays or holy days are ferriage free, provided they do not come for the purpose of transacting business, or carry parcels,—in which case they are to pay the usual rates."

The period of Fuehrer's incumbency between 1775 and 1783 was a particularly busy and exciting one, and twice the ferry-boats were impressed by the army and taken to the Delaware; the first time on December 16, 1776, to assist in the transportation of General Lee's division, and the second time in July of 1777, to transport troops and munitions of war of Washington's army. The first of the Continental troops to cross the ferry at Bethlehem was the company of Captain Michael Doudle, attached to Colonel William Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion, *en route* to the camp at Cambridge, and the first British, detachments of prisoners captured in the Canada campaign. The year 1777 was, perhaps, the busiest in the annals of the ferry, when Bethlehem was crowded with delegates to Congress,



officers, and civilians, the heavy baggage and wounded of the army, and soldiers and prisoners of war. On June 25, 1779, Lady Washington, in company with Generals Sullivan, Poor, and Maxwell, and on July 25, 1782, General Washington, with two of his aides, were conveyed over the ferry to the town.

Fuehrer retired from the management of the ferry in April of 1784, and was succeeded by Massa Warner; but the veteran ferryman's services were again needed, and for the last time, in July of 1791, he took charge of its concerns, which he acceptably managed until September, 1794, when the bridge was completed and the ferry abandoned. On the opening of the bridge for traffic he was appointed toll-keeper, and filled the position until his death in 1808.



## BOONE GENEALOGY.

[Our Genealogy, etc., Wrote in 1788, March 21.]

Our Genealogy, or Pedigree; traced as far back as had come to the Knowledge of John Boone [the Son of George & Mary Boone]: Wrote by James Boone [Grandson of the Said George and Mary Boone].—

GEORGE BOONE, I. (that is the first that we have heard of) was born in England.

GEORGE BOONE, II. [Son of George Boone the first] was born in or near the City of Exeter in Devonshire; being a blacksmith; his Wife's Maiden Name was Sarah Uppey. He died aged 60; and she died aged 80 Years, and never had an aching Bone, or decay'd Tooth.

GEORGE BOONE, III. [Son of George & Sarah Boone] was born at Stoak (a Village near the City of Exeter) in A. D. 1666, being a Weaver; his Wife's Maiden Name was Mary Maugridge, who was born in Bradninch (eight Miles from the City of Exeter) in the Year 1669, being a Daughter of John Maugridge and Mary his Wife, whose maiden name was Milton. They (the said George & Mary Boone) had nine Children that lived to be Men and Women: namely, George, Sarah, Squire, Mary, John, Joseph, Benjamin, James, and Samuel, having each of them several Children, excepting John, who was never married. The said George and Mary Boone with their Family, came from the Town of Bradninch in Devonshire, Old-England (which is a Town at 8 Miles Distance from the City of Exeter, and 177 measured Miles Westward from London); they left Bradninch the 17 Aug. 1717, and went to Bristol where they took Shipping, and arrived at Philadelphia in 1717, (September 29, Old-Style, or October 10th New-Style); three of their Children, to wit, George, Sarah, and Squire, they sent in a few Years before. From Philadelphia they went to Abington, and staid a few Months there; thence to North-Wales, and liv'd about 2 Years there; thence to Oley in the same County of Philadelphia, where Sarah (being married) had moved to some Time before. This last Place of their Residence, (since the Divisions made in the Township of Oley and County of Philadelphia) is called the Township of Exeter in the County of Berks: It was called Exeter, because they came from a Place near the City of Exeter. And,

He the said George Boone the Third, died on the Sixth Day of the Week, near 8 o'Clock in the Morning, on the 27th of July, 1744, aged 78 Years; and Mary his Wife died on the 2d Day of the Week, on the 2d of February 1740-1, aged 72 Years; and were decently interred in



Friends Burying-Ground, in the said Township of Exeter. When he died, he left 8 Children, 52 Grand-Children, and 10 Great-Grand-Children, living; in all 70, being as many Persons as the House of Jacob which came into Egypt.

GEORGE BOONE, IV. [the eldest child of George & Mary Boone] was born in the Town of Bradninch aforesaid, on the 13th of July, 1690, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  H. past 5 in the Afternoon; and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, on the 20 November 1753, in the 64th Year of his Age. He taught School for several Years near Philadelphia; was a good Mathematician, and taught the several Branches of English Learning; and was a Magistrate for several Years. His Wife's maiden Name was Deborah Howell. —She died in 1759, January 26.

GEORGE BOONE V. [the eldest Son of George & Deborah Boone] was never married, and died in Exeter Township aforesaid, aged about 24 Years.

*Sarah Boone* [Daughter of George & Mary Boone] was born on the Fifth Day of the Week, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  H. past 11 in the Forenoon, on the 18th of February 1691-2.

*Squire Boone* [Son of George and Mary Boone] was born on the Fourth Day of the Week, between 11 & 12 in the Forenoon, on the 25 November, 1696.

*Mary Boone* [Daughter of George & Mary Boone] was born Sept. 23, A. D. 1699: She was the Wife of John Webb, and departed this Life on the 16th of January, 1774, in the 75th Year of her Age; her Husband died in the same Year, October 18th, in the 80th Year of his Age.

*Joseph Boone* [Son of George & Mary Boone] was born between 4 & 5 in the Afternoon, on the 5th of April, 1704; and he departed this Life on the 30 January, 1776, in the 72d Year of his Age. His Wife Catherine Boone died on the 31st of January, 1778, and was interred at Exeter the next Day exactly 2 Years after the Burial of her Husband.

*Benjamin Boone* [Son of George & Mary Boone] was born on the 16th of July, 1706; and he died on the 14th of October, 1762, in the 57th Year of his Age. Susanna Boone [his Widow] died on the 5 Nov. 1784, in the 76th Year of her Age.

*Samuel Boone* [the youngest Son of George & Mary Boone] departed this Life on the 6th of August, 1745, and was buried at Exeter the next Day; aged about 54 Years.

*James Boone* [the sixth Son of George & Mary Boone] was born in the Town of Bradninch, in Devonshire, in Old-England, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  Hour past 2 in the Morning, on the 7th of July (Old-Style), or the 18th of July (New-Style), Anno Domini 1709. And in 1735 May 15, (O. S.) he married Mary Foulke by whom he had fourteen Children, and nine of them lived to be Men & Women, namely, Anne, Mary, Martha, James, John, Judah, Joshua, Rachel, & Moses. The said James Boone, senior, and Mary, his Wife, lived together 20 Years 8 Months & 25 Days; and



she departed this Life on the 6th Day of the Week, at 20 Minutes past one o'Clock in the Afternoon, on the 20th Day of February 1756, aged 41 years & 11 Weeks, and was decently interred in Friends Burying-Ground at Exeter on the First Day of the next Week. And in 1757 October 20, he married Anne Griffith, being just 20 months after the Decease of his former Wife.—And here, for the Satisfaction of the Curious, I shall insert a few Chronological Remarks, viz.—

1. The said Mary Boone deceased in 1756 Feb. 20, at 20 Minutes past one in the Afternoon, which wanted but two Minutes and sixteen Seconds of 20 o'Clock according to the Italian Manner of Reckoning (for the Italians, Jews, and some others, always begin their Day at Sun-set); which was the 20th Day of the Jewish Month Adar, when the Moon was 20 Days old, and 4 Weeks before the Vernal Equinox.—

2. The said *James Boone*, senior, married Anne Griffith in 1757, October 20, at 20 Minutes past one in the Afternoon; that is, he was married to his second (or last) Wife exactly 20 Months after the Decease of his first, and 4 Weeks after the Autumnal Equinox.

*James Boone*, senior, departed this Life on the 1st Day of September, A. D. 1785, on the Fifth Day of the Week, at ten Minutes after nine o'Clock at Night, in the 77th Year of his Age; and was decently interred in Friends Burying-Ground at Exeter on the Seventh Day of the same Week. He (with his Parents, &c) left Great-Britain in the 9th Year of his Age, and lived almost 68 Years in Pennsylvania.—N.B. When he was born, it was between 9 & 10 at Night here in Pennsylvania (allowing for the Difference of Longitude); and he died between 9 & 10 at Night.

*John Boone*, senior, [the third Son of George & Mary Boone] was born in the Town of Bradninch, in Devonshire, in Old-England, on the Seventh day of the Week, about 10 or 11 o'Clock in the Forenoon, on the 3 January 1701–2, Old-Style; or A. D. 1702 January 14, New-Style. And he departed this Life on the 10th Day of October 1785, on the Second Day of the Week; sixteen Minutes after Midnight, in the 84th Year of his Age, (being the oldest of our Name & Family that we have heard of); and was decently interred in Friends Burying-Ground at Exeter the next Day. He (with his Parents, &c) left Great-Britain in the 16th Year of his Age, and lived exactly 68 years here (in North-America) from the day he landed at Philadelphia. He lived only 5 Weeks and 4 Days after the Decease of his Brother James.—N.B. All our Relations of the Name of Boone, who were living after 1785 October 10, are American-born, as far as we know.

Now I shall conclude this Paper, after I have set down the Time and Place of my own Nativity; viz.—

I *James Boone* [the eldest Son of James Boone, senior, & Mary his Wife] was born in the Township of Exeter aforesaid, on the Fifth Day of the Week, about five o'Clock in the Morning, on the 26th Day



of January 1743-4, Old-Style, or A. D. 1744 February 6, New-Style.—The Geographical Situation of the Place of my birth, is nearly as follows; viz.—

	Deg. Min.
Latitude . . . . .	40 : 22 North.
Longitude from London . . . . .	75 : 43½ West.

So that, the Meridian passing through said Place, is 5 Hours 2 Minutes & 54 Seconds West from the Meridian of London: or nearly so, if otherwise.

*James Boone*, senior [Son of George & Mary Boone] was born in the Town of Bradninch (eight Miles from the City of Exeter) in Devonshire, in Old-England, about ½ Hour past 2 in the Morning there, A. D. 1709 July 18 (N. S.). And he departed this Life A. D. 1785 September 1, at H. M. 9 : 10 at Night, in the 77th Year of his Age.

*Mary Foulke*, [Daughter of Hugh & Anne Foulke] was born at North-Wales in Philadelphia County, A. D. 1714 December 5, (N. S.) James Boone, senior, & Mary Foulke were married, A. D. 1735 May 26 (N. S.), Y. M. D. and lived together 20 : 8 : 25: She departed this Life, A. D. 1756 Feb. 20, at 1 : 20 in the Afternoon, in the 42d Year of her Age.

The Times of the Births of the Children of the said James Boone, senior, and Mary (his first Wife), set down according to the New-Style. The Place of their Births is Exeter Township, Berks County, in Pennsylvania.

	New Style.
<i>Anne Boone</i> was born about 5 in the Afternoon . . . . .	1737 Apr. 14.
<i>Mary Boone</i> was born about 1 in the Morning . . . . .	1739 Jan. 23.
<i>Martha Boone</i> was born about 5 in the Afternoon . . . . .	1742 July 1.
<i>James Boone</i> , junior, was born about 5 in the Morning . . . . .	1744 Feb. 6.
<i>John Boone</i> , junior, was born about 2 in the Morning . . . . .	1745 Nov. 21.
Deceased at 10 o'Clock at Night, in the 28th Year of his Age . . . . .	1773 Mar. 29.
<i>Judah Boone</i> was born about 3 in the Morning . . . . .	1746 Dec. 19.
<i>Dinah Boone</i> was born . . . . .	1748 Mar. 19.
Deceased . . . . .	
<i>Joshua Boone</i> was born about 4 in the Morning . . . . .	1749 Apr. 4.
<i>Rachel Boone</i> was born about 3 in the Afternoon . . . . .	1750 Apr. 2.
<i>Moses Boone</i> was born about 3 in the Morning . . . . .	1751 Aug. 3.
<i>Hannah Boone</i> was born . . . . .	1752 June 14.
Deceased . . . . .	1752 Aug. 15.
<i>Nathaniel Boone</i> was born, and died, in the Year 1753; being 5 Weeks old at his Decease.	

*James Boone*, senior, and *Anne Griffith* were married A. D. 1757 Oct. 20, being just 20 Months after the Decease of his former Wife. She the said *Anne Griffith* was born A. D. 1713 January 29th, New-Style.



*John Boone, junior*, [Son of James Boone, Senior, and Mary his Wife] when he died left three Children, the Times of whose Births were as hereunder mentioned; viz.—

1. *Hannah Boone*, was born on the 6th Day of the Week, about 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon . 1765 November 1.
2. *James Boone, III.* was born on the 7th Day of the Week, 15 Minutes after Noon . . . 1769 January 21.
3. *Susanna Boone*, was born on the 4th Day of the Week, 45 Minutes past 10 o'Clock at Night . 1771 May 1.

*John Boone, senior* [Son of George & Mary Boone, and Brother of the said James Boone, senior] was born in the Town of Bradninch, in Devonshire, in Old-England, on the Seventh Day of the Week, about 11 in the Morning; A. D. 1702 January 14th, New-Style. And he the said John Boone, senior, departed this Life (in the Township of Exeter) on the 2d Day of the Week, 16 Minutes after Midnight, on the 10 October 1785, in the 84th Year of his Age; He left Old-England in the 16th Year of his Age, and he (with his Parents, &c.) arrived at Philadelphia in 1717 October 10th, New-Style, and lived here [in North-America] exactly 68 Years; he died within 5 Weeks & 4 Days after the Decease of his Brother James.

*Judah Boone* [Son of James Boone, senior, and Mary his Wife] departed this Life on the 15th Day of May, A. D. 1787, on the third Day of the Week, at fifteen Minutes after Midnight, aged 40 Years 4 Months 3 Weeks & 5 Days, that is, he was in the 41st Year of his Age; and was interred in the Friends Burying Ground at Exeter on the fourth Day of the same Week.



JAMES BURNSIDE, OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY,  
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

James Burnside, the first representative from the County of Northampton in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, was born in the County of Meath, Ireland, June 4, 1708. His parents were members of the Established Church, in good circumstances, and gave him a liberal education. In 1734 he sailed for Georgia, where for some time he was employed as accountant for the trustees of the Colony, at Savannah. Purchasing a small plantation on an island near the town, in 1736 he was married to Margaret, daughter of Charles and Margaret Bevan, by whom he had a daughter, Rebecca, born March 31, 1740, who two days later was baptized by Rev. George Whitefield.

His plantation dwelling-house having been destroyed by fire, he removed to Savannah, where a similar misfortune befell him, and in consequence of these repeated losses, in 1740 he accepted the position of general manager of the Orphan House, "Bethesda," founded by Whitefield. Here he became acquainted with the Rev. John Hagen, Moravian missionary to the Indians, and John Brownfield, the secretary of Governor Oglethorpe, and attended the religious meetings held in the house of the latter. After the death of his wife, in 1743, with his daughter he sailed for Philadelphia, and visited Bethlehem. On being notified of his appointment to a civil office at Charleston, South Carolina, he set out thither in the autumn of 1744, after having placed his daughter in the Moravian boarding-school at Germantown. Two years later she was transferred to the school at Nazareth, where she died August 12, 1746.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To defray the expenses of education and maintenance of his daughter during his absence, Mr. Burnside disposed of the following personal



Early in the year 1745 Mr. Burnside left Charleston for New York, and in May proceeded to Bethlehem, where on August 19 he was married to Mary Wendover (maiden name Peterse), widow of Hercules Wendover, of New York. In 1749 he purchased a plantation of three hundred and fifty acres near Bethlehem, on which he erected a substantial mansion, where he resided until his decease.

On the erection of Northampton County, in 1752, Mr. Burnside was elected, after a sharp contest, by upwards of three hundred majority, its first representative in the Assembly. His opponent was ex-Surveyor-General William Parsons, the Proprietary candidate and founder of Easton. During the two sessions, 1752 and 1754, in which he served, he was a member of several important committees,—finance, Indian affairs, and amendments to the charter of the Province. He was finally defeated for a re-election by his old opponent, William Parsons, who, in writing to Secretary Richard Peters, states, "Mr. Burnside is going from place to place, beating his breast, declaring that he would serve the county to the utmost of his power, if he was chosen."

James Burnside died at his plantation August 8, 1755, and his remains were interred at Bethlehem. His widow, in 1758, disposed of the plantation to the Moravian Church, and then removed to New York, where she died in January of 1774. During the Revolution the Burnside mansion was occupied for a time by the captive major-general, the Baron Riedesel, and his accomplished wife, with their suite.

property: one silver net apron, four gold and silver handkerchiefs, five large silver spoons, three silver teaspoons, one silver strainer, one pair silver sugar-tongs, one silver knife, one looking-glass set in silver, one jet heart inlaid with gold, one silver girdle buckle set with stones, one seal set in gold, one music box set in silver, one carnelian bell with gold clapper, two gold locketts, one enamelled portrait of King Charles II., one gold ring, four diamond sparks, one diamond spark, one agate-handled knife, one striped lustre gown, one striped satin night-gown, two portraits of Charles and Margaret Bevan, one fine fan, one pair gold earrings, one suit of broad Brussels lace, two silk gowns, pewter dishes and plates, and numerous other articles.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

HARRITON.—A LETTER FROM MR. GEORGE VAUX.—

"EDITOR PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

"My attention has been called to certain statements made on pages 229, 389, and 390 of a work recently published, called "Merion in the Welsh Tract," which question the correctness of the date of 1704 generally accepted as the year that Rowland Ellis built the ancient mansion-house on what is now known as Harriton Plantation, in Lower Merion. The author does not tell the ground for the doubt expressed, beyond an intimation at the foot of page 389, which will be referred to hereafter.

"I have known this building ever since 1856, and at that time there was a date-stone in the southwest gable in which 1704 was cut. The one, the seven, and the cipher were very plainly disclosed. The perpendicular line of the figure four was also clear, but the horizontal and diagonal lines were very indistinct and could only be traced by careful examination. Hence many persons supposed the date was 1701, but never 1714. This statement is based upon careful personal examination made many years since, and I have no doubt of the facts. The stone was antiquated in appearance and bore evident marks of having been put there when the house was built. It disappeared some years since, but its loss was not discovered until too late to trace it. There can be no reasonable doubt that 1704 was the date on this stone, and if date-stones are an authority, this is certainly entitled to being conclusive as to the time the building was erected until some very good evidence is furnished to the contrary.

"Referring now to the statements on pages 389 and 390 (in which, by the way, I am erroneously called *Richard Vaux*), it is manifest that the author was very imperfectly acquainted with the facts, and that those he possessed were not properly digested. The allegation that the three-hundred-acre tract conveyed on February 24, 1708, to Rees Thomas and William Lewis does not seem to include the site of the present mansion is wholly erroneous. The three-hundred-acre tract was at the southeastern end of the plantation (the writer's summer residence stands on a part of it), and the northwestern boundary was far to the northwest of the mansion-house in question. There is no reasonable doubt that Ellis lived in it at that time. The facts connected with this conveyance are as follows: Robert Ellis, one of Rowland Ellis's sons, married Margaret John, daughter of William John, of Gwynedd, on the 3d of Ninth month, 1705. He died within a year or two, leaving his wife and an only child, a little girl, Jane Ellis. Rowland Ellis had made a settlement upon Robert in his lifetime 'of three hundred and eighty acres of land and one moiety of the house, orchard, and stock belonging to the plantation.' After the latter's death his widow claimed, among other things, dower, and a provision for the little girl, Jane Ellis, out of the three hundred and eighty acres. The grandfather was not indisposed to grant the provision, but terms could not be agreed upon, and the matter was referred to arbitrators, who decided that Row-



land Ellis should pay to his granddaughter, when she married or came of age, one hundred and eighty pounds. If she died in her minority unmarried, nothing was to be paid, except that the widow was to receive five pounds and her dower was to be released. To secure the above payments the three hundred acres were conveyed to Rees Thomas and William Lewis in trust, and they executed a defeasance of even date with the deed, covenanting to reconvey when the payments provided for had been made. This transaction had simply the effect of a mortgage, and embraced a method of procedure for securing debts which was not uncommon at the time.

"When Rowland Ellis sold to Harrison, in the autumn of 1719, a title was still outstanding in Thomas and Lewis, but a conveyance was made, dated October 23, covering the whole tract, containing six hundred and ninety-eight acres (seven hundred and eighteen, less twenty reserved), but it was not acknowledged until December 22 following, when Thomas and Lewis executed the conveyance to Harrison, and both deeds were recorded on the same day in the same deed-book, one following the other. This vested full title in Harrison. Rowland Ellis's title was derived from Richard Davies in 1682, but it was only a warrant or allotment title, and the survey was not made till 1684 and the patent was not issued till August 23, 1703, the year previous to the erection of the mansion.

"Rees Thomas, mentioned above, according to the minutes of Merion Meeting, emigrated from Caermarthenshire in 1691. He was a near neighbor and probably a personal friend of Rowland Ellis. He lived a little north of the north corner of the Roberts road and the Lancaster turnpike, in a house said to have been one of the first built of stone west of the river Schuylkill. The sashes, which were imported from England, were of lead, and the floor boards were fastened to the joists with wooden pegs instead of nails. Straw was used in the plaster for want of hair. There was a huge fireplace, on each side of which were benches capable of seating several persons. Individuals are still alive who lived in this house in their childhood. The writer well remembers this ancient dwelling, which only disappeared within twenty-five years.

"GEORGE VAUX."

**EPITAPH OF DR. GEORGE BALFOUR, SURGEON IN WAYNE'S WESTERN ARMY.**—The following inscription was recently copied from a stone in the graveyard of the old church in Hampton, Virginia. The church was founded in 1659. This epitaph may be of interest to the people of that State, which cherishes the name of Anthony Wayne as one of the brightest in her long list of brave men and wise.

"To the memory of Doctor George Balfour, who was born at Little England in this County, on the 26<sup>th</sup> Sep. 1771, and died in the Borough of Norfolk on the 28<sup>th</sup> Aug, 1830.

"In 1792 he entered the Medical Staff of the U. S. Army, and braved the perils of the West under the gallant Wayne; who, at a subsequent period, on Pres<sup>que</sup> Isle, breathed his last in his arms. In 1798, on the organization of the Navy, he was appointed its Senior Surgeon, and performed the responsible duties of that office until 1804, when he retired to private practice in Norfolk, where he pursued his profession with distinguished reputation to himself and eminent usefulness to that community, until the time of his decease.

"He was courteous in his address, of a high sense of personal honor, of a generous and noble heart, and a firm believer in the gospel; the



precepts of which guided his career through life and lighted his passage to the tomb. His remains here mingle with those of his father and mother, who were buried on this spot, and whose memory he ever cherished with truly filial affection. Two of his children sleep beside him, and a third erects this stone to mark the burial place of his Sires.

"His epitaph, written by himself.

"Long had my spirit wandered in this vale of tears,  
Fearful, yet anxious still to return home;  
Till, trusting wholly in God's grace it left its fears,  
Then boldly cried I come, I come!

"His blood as shed in Christ can wash the sinner white,  
His blood can heal each raging, rankling wound,  
'Tis his to raise the mouldering dead again to light,  
Crowned with glory triumphant from the ground."

J. BROOKE.

POWELL.—Copy of entries made by Samuel Powell, the first, of Philadelphia (died Sixth month 27, 1756), in his Bible, printed in the year 1683, and now in the possession of one of his descendants, Mrs. Charles Penrose Keith, of Philadelphia.

Samuel Powell's wife was Abigail, the daughter of Barnabas Willcox, of Philadelphia.

Sam<sup>l</sup> Powell & Abigail his wife were married the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> mon<sup>th</sup> 1700 in Philadelphia.

Ann Powell the Daughter of s<sup>d</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> & Abigail was Born the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the 2<sup>nd</sup> mon<sup>th</sup> 1702 about 2 o'clock after noon.

Sam<sup>l</sup> Powell the Sonn of ye s<sup>d</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> & Abigail was Born the 26<sup>th</sup> day of ye 12<sup>th</sup> mon<sup>th</sup> 1704, 1/2 past 11 of o'clock night.

Deborah Powell the Daughter of s<sup>d</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> & Abigail Powell was born the 24<sup>th</sup> day of the 8<sup>th</sup> month 1706 in the house of my Aunt Ann Parsons.

Ann Powell the Second of y<sup>t</sup> name was born the 24<sup>th</sup> day of ye 8<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1708 near 10 at night.

Ann Powell the first of yt name departed this Life ye 10<sup>th</sup> day of ye 10<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1707.

Ann Parsons departed this Life ye 24<sup>th</sup> ye 6 m<sup>o</sup> 1712 about nine in ye Morning.

Sarah Powell ye Daughter of Samuel & Abigail Powell was born ye 29 of ye 4<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1713 about 5 in ye morning.

My Deare Wife Abigail Powell Departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> day of ye 7<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1713.

Ann Powell ye Second of ye name Departed this Life y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> day of ye 8<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1714 Aged 6 years & 2 days.

Correct copy.

P. S. P. CONNER.

SOME OWNERS OF LETTERS OF MARQUE BELONGING TO PHILADELPHIA, 1780.—In a suit in the Admiralty Court, Philadelphia, April 3, 1780, brought by Silas Talbot, captain of the armed sloop "Argo," it appears that he captured the brigantine "Betsey," placed a prize crew on her and ordered her to the nearest port in the United States. The "Betsey" was overtaken at sea by three brigantines, letters of marque, called the "Achilles," the "Hibernia," and the "Patty," who recaptured her. From the papers in the case the following merchants of Philadelphia were the owners of the letters of marque: John Purviance, Benjamin Harbeson, Joseph Dean, Samuel Murdock, Samuel



Cadwalader Morris, John Donaldson, James Caldwell, Blair McClenachan, John Lardner, John Wilcocks, Cadwalader Morris, Nicholas Lowe, William Lawrence, Isaac Cox, and John Maxwell Nesbitt.

JAMES LOGAN TO THE MONTHLY MEETING AT PHILADELPHIA, 1702.—

"To the Fr<sup>d</sup> of the Monthly Meeting mett att Philad<sup>a</sup> this 25<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> mo: 1702

"WHEREAS upon a provocation given by Dan<sup>n</sup> Cooper of West-Jersey injuriously (as was judged) to our proprietaries Right & contrary to authority invading, in the 5<sup>th</sup> mo: last, one of the Reed Islands of Delaware over ag<sup>t</sup> this City I undertook to go over to the s<sup>d</sup> Island to divert him from proceeding in his design, accompanied with the Sheriff of Philadelphia, who hearing of an opposition designed took with him some other persons with fire arms for the greater awe of such as should attempt to oppose.

"And whereas occasion hath been or may be taken from the s<sup>d</sup> arms being carried in my company to reflect not only on me as concerned for the Proprietary but also on the Profession of Gods Truth owned by & amongst us I do therefore in a true Sense of y<sup>e</sup> inconveniencies that have naturally ensued from the s<sup>d</sup> action & its contrariety to y<sup>e</sup> said Profession, heartily regret my complying with or being in any wise concerned in that method which ministers such occasion and do in sincerity declare that could I have foreseen y<sup>e</sup> ill consequences of it I should by no means have engaged in it. Hoping & earnestly desiring that it may please God the author of all good counsel & direction so to enlighten my understanding by his Spirit that I may avoid not only all such occasions but all others that by being contrary to his divine will may minister offence for the future.

"JAMES LOGAN."

GRAND AND PETIT JURYMEN FOR THE COURT OF OYER AND TERMNER OF PHILADELPHIA, October, 1734.—

"Grand Jury: William Atwood, foreman; Thomas Hatton, Robert Ellis, John Bringham, Edward Bradley, Samuel Powel Jr., John Dillon, William Rawle, Aaron Hassert, William Plumsted, Thomas Glentworth, Joseph Shippen Jr., Richard Nixon, George House, William Wallace, Thomas Sharp, Henry Combs, William Humphreys, Hugh Roberts, William Clymer, Dennis Roachford, Benjamin Hoskins, Stephen Armitt, John Howell.

"Petit Jury: William Clear, John Bayley, Samuel Emlen, Jacob Usher, Abraham Bickley, George Wilson, Francis Richardson, Thomas Stapleford, John Trapnall, Richard Crookshank, Benjamin Paschall, Thomas Lay, Michael Poynts, Nathaniel Edgcomb, Daniel Bateman, Jacob Shoemaker, John Foredam, John Breintnall, Daniel Hood, John Williams, John Westfield, Caleb Ranstead, Charles Williams, Joseph Flower.

SEPT. ROBINSON, Sheriff."

DANCING ASSEMBLY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Thomas Stewardson, Esq., sends us a copy, from the original in his collection, of a certificate of subscription towards the erection of a building for the Dancing Assembly:

"Received, Philadelphia, Dec<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1792, of Henry Hill, one hundred Pounds, being for Five Shares subscribed to the proposals for building a Dancing Assembly Room &c. on which sum the said Henry Hill or



the assigns of the said Henry Hill shall be entitled to receive such annual dividend as may arise out of the net profits of the institution.

[Signed]

"HENRY HILL,  
"THOMAS H. MOORE,  
"J. M. NESBITT,  
"JASPER MOYLAN."

LETTER OF SURGEON STEPHEN CHAMBERS HENRY, Detroit, 1813, addressed to his mother, the wife of Judge John Joseph Henry.—

"DETROIT October 3<sup>d</sup> 1813

"DEAR MOTHER—

"On Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> of September we were relieved from our imprisonment by the arrival of General Harrison and his brave troops. The British evacuated the country before his arrival and burnt all the buildings at Fort Malden and Detroit belonging to the King and the public. The British General, whose name is Proctor, who no doubt you have heard of long before this time, from his many barbarous acts, ordered the Pottawatomies to burn the whole settlement in and about Detroit, which through fear they have not done. When Gen. Proctor made his retreat, very few of the Indians retreated with him, not more than one hundred and fifty, with Tecumsche at their head. He is supposed to be their best chief.

"Yesterday Gen. Harrison pursued him with about 5000 men—(about 1500 mounted on horses with muskets and rifles)—up the river Thames. It is generally thought that it is the intention of Gen. Proctor to join Gen. de Rottenberg near Fort George, but we have accounts today, that some part of Gen. Wilkinson's army have intercepted a number of wagons, laden with women and children, and property belonging to the army, which he, Proctor, had sent on before him. If this news is true, which we all suppose it is, we shall have Gen. Proctor and his army brought back as prisoners, for they do not consist of more than 600 men, including Indians. The largest body was immediately in the rear of Detroit.

"A number of chiefs arrived today in town with a flag of truce—some from the Allawas and some from the Pottawatomies—they appear to wish much for peace. Gen. McArthur has treated with them on these terms—they to bring their squaws and children into Detroit, to remain as hostages, and the warriors to pursue Gen. Proctor, their old friend, which they have agreed upon. Some of the Indians have begun to murder the whites in the neighborhood of the town; this day a family were killed within twelve miles of it, besides a black man belonging to an officer of the Army. It appears the officer must certainly have been taken prisoner by them. There is no captivity on earth equal to that of being prisoner with the Indians; the squaws maltreat them very much, even the children will frequently take up the scalping-knife and stab at them, which the Indians do not prevent.

"I would wish much to give you an account of all the proceedings of our dastard Gen. Hull, from the time of his arrival here until the shame of capitulation, but you have no doubt read it from more able hands than mine, in your newspapers. He must have been a traitor or a most execrable coward. I was an eye witness to all his movements. I would suppose from what I did see, that it was cowardice that caused him to surrender and not treachery. Just immediately before he ordered the white flag to be hoisted on the rampart of the Fort, a cannon shot killed three officers and wounded one. I was ordered to amputate the leg of the surviving officer, and while doing it the General came to the place.



Certainly the sight of three persons torn almost to pieces by the shot, was dreadful indeed, but no reason to surrender our Fort to a handful of men. Three days after the capitulation I was taken ill with a very severe remitting fever, which continued for nearly two months, and after it I had the rheumatism in one of my legs, which still remains swollen. On the eighth of July I was taken into custody by order of Gen. Proctor on suspicion. Mr. Dixon, the principal Indian agent on his return from a tour to gather the Indians, found that they would not join the British, according to their wishes, and then supposed it must be from the influence of some of the Americans at Detroit. There were four of us confined and examined. They liberated myself, and Mr. Desbross, a citizen, having no proof against us. They have since behaved very politely to me. . . .

"Your affectionate Son,  
"STEPHEN C. HENRY."

Addressed :  
"MRS. JANE HENRY,  
"LANCASTER, PA."

ANECDOTES OF MARY H— (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX. p. 407).—In copying the "Anecdotes of Mary H—," who kept the old tavern at the drawbridge, Philadelphia, "The Boatswain and Call," I wished to find the landlady's name. Watson says Philip Herbert kept the tavern, and the sketch says Mary H— was the widow of the former proprietor. She must, we think, have been Mary Herbert. W. K.

PALATINES AT MARTHA'S VINEYARD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1731.—Andrew McFarland Davis, Esq., sent us a query relating to a Palatine colony stranded on Block Island (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. pp. 243, 244), and we are again indebted to him for the following extracts taken from the "Journal of the House" of December, 1731, relating to a colony of distressed Palatines then at Martha's Vineyard. Early in the last century a number of large landed proprietors in the New England colonies flooded the Palatinate with hand-bills, and sent agents thither to encourage immigration. A number of small colonies were organized and settled along the seaboard; but the climate, the sterility of the soil, and, in many instances, fraudulent titles given to the colonists led to their dispersion and settlement in the middle and southern colonies.

"December 29, 1731.—A Petition sign'd Philip Bongarden, in the Name and behalf of sundry poor distressed *Palatines*, now at *Martha's Vineyard*, within this Province, setting forth, That they were lately brought into said *Martha's Vineyard* from *Rotterdam*, in the Ship *Loving Unity*, *Jacob Lobb* Commander, with whom they entred into a written Agreement at *Rotterdam* aforesaid (a Copy of which said Agreement was therewith exhibited, translated into *English*) That the said Captain had in a most barbarous manner dealt with the Petitioners in their Voyage; praying, that the Court would Order, that the said Capt. *Lobb* may be obliged to answer for the Injuries, Wrongs and Abuses by him done and offered as herein mentioned; as also, that he may be obliged to comply with his Contract, for the transporting the Petitioners and their Goods to *Philadelphia*, and that they may meet with such other Relief as shall be agreeable to Justice. (Brought down this Afternoon by Ebenezer Burrell Esq;) Pass'd in Council, viz. In Council, December 29, 1731. Read, and Voted, That His Excellency be desired to issue out a *Special Warrant* for citing the before mentioned *Jacob Lobb* to appear before the Governour and Council to answer to the Complaint; and that in the mean time the



Goods and Effects of the *Palatines*, brought on the Ship *Loving Unity* be secured at *Martha's Vineyard*, and the said Ship stopped in one of the Harbours there, till the Order of the Governour and Council thereupon; and that any two of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in *Dukes County*, be directed to take care that two or three of the principal Persons of the *Palatines*, be sent up to attend the Governour and Council, to support this Complaint; and that they likewise examine some of the Seamen on Oath, upon this Affair and send up their Examinations to the Secretary. —Sent down for concurrence.—Read.

"Ordered, That the Treasurer of this Province, be and hereby is directed to supply the Select-Men of *Edgartown* with the Sum *Two Hundred Pounds*, to be disposed of according to their best Discretion, for the Relief and Comfort of the *Palatines*, lately brought into *Martha's Vineyard*: The Treasurer to account therefor, in his next Account of Disbursements.

"Sent up for Concurrence.

"December 30. The Order of Council on the *Palatines* Petition entered Yesterday, Read again, and after a Debate, the House pass'd a Non-Concurrence thereon, and

"Ordered, That *William Sherley Esq*; be desired to be of Council to *Mr. Philip Bongarden*, and assist him in seeking Relief for the *Palatines* (in whose behalf he appears) in the legal and customary Way in such cases.

"Sent up for Concurrence.

"December 31. *Thomas Palmer Esq*; brought down from the Honourable Board, the Order of the 29th Instant for an Allowance to the *Palatines*, pass'd in Council, viz. In Council Dec 31, 1731. Read and Concurred; with the Amendment.

"Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Concurred."

**BUDD'S ROW.**—In Patent Book A, Vol. V., p. 294 *et seq.*, is recorded the Proprietary grant to Thomas Budd for his Front Street lot. On a memorandum attached to the paper it is set forth that Budd sold to *Susanna Paschall*, "afterwards called *Susanna Crop*," the fourth house of Budd's Row. No date is stated.

J. F. S.

**THE ANNESLEY FAMILY.**—At the last annual meeting of the Genealogical Society I was an interested listener to some remarks made by *Mr. Charles P. Keith*, a member of the Society, regarding a *James Annesley* who came to this country about the year 1730, remaining only a short time.

The Annesley family, according to *Burke's "Peerage,"* derives its surname from the town of Annesley, County Nottingham, England, which was possessed in 1079 by *Richard de Annesley*, from whom lineally descended *Sir John de Annesley*, Knight of Nottinghamshire, who was succeeded by his son *Thomas Annesley, Esq.*, of Annesley, M.P. from the County of Nottingham, from whom descended *Robert Annesley, Esq.*, of Newport, County of Bucks, who was a naval officer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Irish titles were derived from *Sir Francis Annesley*, who in 1606 left England to reside in Dublin, and filled for forty years several of the highest official positions in Ireland, being Vice-Treasurer and Secretary of State. He acquired estates in various parts of Ireland from the Crown, and was created a baron of Ireland upon the institution of that order by *King James I.* in 1619, in 1621 Viscount Valentia, and in 1628 was created Baron Mount Norris, of Mount Norris, County Ar-



magh, by Charles I., who also in 1627 sold him an estate at Newport Pagnall, Buckinghamshire, near his birthplace, which he occupied when not in Scotland. Arthur, son of Sir Francis Annesley, by the death of his father in 1660 became Viscount Valentia, and in 1661 he was made an English peer by title of Lord Annesley, of Newport Pagnall, in Bucks, and Earl of Anglesey.

Of the James Annesley referred to by Mr. Keith it is recorded that he was sent to America when a child in order to preclude him from succeeding to the estates of his father, fourth Baron Altham and fifth Earl of Anglesey; that he returned to England and commenced a suit at law against his uncle, Richard Annesley, who was in possession, and obtained a verdict in his favor through the Court of Exchequer in Dublin, 1743, but he did not assume the titles. He married a daughter of Sir Thomas J. Anson, and had children who did not long survive him. He died in 1760.

The Annesley family who came to this country about the close of the Revolutionary war and settled in Philadelphia were the children of Joseph and Elizabeth Annesley, of Mount Mellick, Queen's County, Ireland, members of the religious Society of Friends. Their sons Robert and Thomas and daughters Elizabeth and Mary brought certificates to the Philadelphia Meeting, 1789.

Robert Annesley married Mary Richie December 2, 1795. He was a shipping merchant in Philadelphia and purchased April 29, 1797, the property northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets, building a house thereon, with stable on Swanwick Street, and resided there for some years. He died without children.

Thomas Annesley married Esther —, and they had children whose descendants are the Newlins, Mortons, and other families of the present generation in Pennsylvania.

Elizabeth Annesley married December 10, 1795, at Philadelphia Meeting, William Govett, of Philadelphia, who was my grandfather.

There is another Annesley family in the State of New York, descendants of a William Annesley, of Cumberland County, England, whose son William, born in England in 1768, came to this country and settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania.

March 23, 1897.

ANNESLEY R. GOVETT.

**SMALLEY.**—January 6, 1897. William Kilpatrick, of Newark, New Jersey, says, "I am the son of Aaron Ogden Kilpatrick and Elizabeth (Smalley) Kilpatrick. My mother was a daughter of Abraham Smalley and Mary Van Nortwick, granddaughter of Abraham Smalley (of Harris's Lane, Piscataway, Middlesex County, New Jersey), born May 2, 1748, who married, October 8, 1772, Catherine Emans, born January 25, 1756, and great-granddaughter of Andrew Smalley, born about 1709."

Andrew Smalley was the son of Jonathan Smalley and Sarah —, grandson of John Smalley, Jr., and Lydia Martin, and great-grandson of John Smalley, Sen., and Ann —, who came from Eastham, Cape Cod, and settled in Piscataway Township soon after 1666.

Land for which John Smalley, Sen., and John Smalley, Jr., received patents is still owned by descendants bearing the name.

EMMA FINNEY WELCH.

"**KOULI KHAN TAVERN.**"—This old and well-known tavern stood on Chestnut Street, below Second, and was also known as the "Turk's Head." The spelling of its name in the "warning" to Mistress Alice



Stayner indicates unfamiliarity with the orthography of the language of Nâdir Shâh:

"PHILADELPHIA 31<sup>st</sup> July 1779.

"I Darby Savage Owner of the Beer House in Chesnut Street at the Sign of the Old Cole Can where Alice Stayner now lives in Wife of Roger Stayner, I Darby Savage do give Alice Stayner Warning or elce Notice to Remove out of the House in three months from the above Date for I myself want to come and live in the House So please to take this as a full and proper Warning.

"DARBY SAVAGE.

"This is a true copy of the Warning gave Alice Stayner

"Witness: JOHN DUGAN

<sup>his</sup>  
"JAMES X WELCH."  
mark.

"July 31<sup>st</sup> 1778.

"Alice Stayner took the Beer House in Chestnut Street of Darby Savage for one Quarter.

"Alice Stayner

D<sup>r</sup> To Darby Savage

To one Quarters Rent . . . . . £200.0.0

And dammages of breaking 12 pains of Glass in  
the time that she Lived in the House the price  
is 20 Dollars a pain . . . . . £90.0.0

Which she refuses paying any Rent or dammages  
at all

Which remains due to me . . . . . £290.0.0

"I gave her a Quarters Warning before Witness in Writing that Quarter expired and then I asked her if she intended to go out of the House. She told me she Would stay another Quarter and I took two Freeholders and told her that if she stayd she must pay £200. for that Quarter and she said she would stay and accordingly she stayd that Quarter and then movd her Goods out of the House and said shed neither pay any Rent or dammages at all and told me I might go seek for my Rent & dammages."

LETTERS OF JOHN BLAKEY, OF CONCORD, PENNSYLVANIA, TO  
— PASCHALL.—

"CONCORD, April 18<sup>th</sup> 1777.

"MY ESTEEMED FRIEND &C.—

"I am almost sick of this World, and the plane Coats that are in it, (and wish I had a good Title to a better) some of those stif Rumps pretend to be in the World, and not off—it, high in profession, whos practice gives them the lie, they are some of the keenest fellows we have amongst us, and to a discerning Eye, it is evident, that gain is their God, if they have any thing to sell, they are sure to ask a Continental price for it, and then make many Evasions not to take ye money, notwithstanding what I have said, I love and Revere an honest Man, let his profession in Religion be what it will. I have taken about a Thousand pounds of Continental and Resolve Money, first and last, three Hundred of which I have put out since I have been in Concord, I believe I have not taken twenty shillings, in any other Money than Continental and Resolve this twelve months or more, Yesterday Jacob Keyser of Germantown, paid me £200 in Continental Money, he gave the widow Warner £380 for the place he Mortgaged to me, and is now about selling it for



£800. I have a mind to a place myself, but the Money is so depreciated that one must give as much again as a place is worth, and 'tis but few that will take it at any rate, they are less afraid of Old Nick.

"I shall endeavour to make myself as easy under my present circumstances as I possibly can, I well Remember the time, when I was not worth 20/ in the World, if I should live to see that time again, I desire to bless God, that I have not been a Beggar all my life time, if the Money I have, should die on my hands, I must go to work again, and if I can't do much, I must do little. I greatly remember the many kindnesses I received from you and your loving Comfort, during a series of years in your servis, may God's choicest blessings be your Reward, my best respects to Mrs. Paschall, love to Polly, and the rest of the Family, I remain with the utmost Respect, Sir, your very humble Servant

"JOHN BLAKEY.

"N.B.—I should come to Town to discharge two Mortgages in the Office, but John works almost every day 4 of his Horses, the 5<sup>th</sup> is lame, and like to be so, the 6<sup>th</sup> and last is a Coalt of a year old, unfit for the saddle."

"CONCORD NOV. 29<sup>th</sup> 1778.

"MY DEAR SIR.

"We live in an Age, and Revolution of the World, where too many of its Inhabitation have neither Faith, Honour, nor Conscience, or the feeling of Humanity or common honesty. The other day when my Cousin John was at your House, he told me the Widow Jones was there inquiring after me, in order I suppose to settle with me in a Continental way, that is, to give me for a Hundred pound what is not worth Twenty, the money has been on Interest six years and almost seven months, and but one years Interest paid, the Principal of a Hundred pound in Continental money at five to one is . . . . . £500-00

the Interest for 5 years and 7 months is . . . . . 167-10  
667-10

I am not fond of it at any rate as it is of such a Depreciating Nature, if she has aimed to pay me in hard money. it comes to £133-10-. I don't intend to take any pay that is not Equivalent to it, please to tell her so, the first opportunity, and I shall take it as a great favour.—The Conditions in her Husband's Bond says I shall be paid without fraud, that is all I desire. Sometime ago when I had the honour and happiness to live in your Family, Mrs. Jones came to me and acquainted me she had Buryed her Husband, and lost a young Negro Wench, was left with six Children, and bursted into tears, hop'd I whould not be hard with her, and I should be ~~so~~ HONESTLY PAID. I told her she need not Cry, nor break her heart, I had never Sued any Body, that I was not going to begin then, if she could not pay me then, I whould indeavour to do without it. If I had less feeling for other People, and more for myself, it whould perhaps have been better for me this day. Had I gone to Philadelphia last Summer when the English was there, and sold her House for hard Money, and paid myself out of it, I doubt not but she whould have said, I was a hungry fellow that had us'd her badly, but if I know my own heart I whould rather loose all the money than do an ill thing to save it. My dear friend, I wish you the Recovery of your just debts, to your sattifaction, but least I should tire your Patience and my Pen, I shall conclude with subscribing myself your and Mrs. Paschalls Unalterable friend, and humble Servant

"JOHN BLAKEY.



"N.B.—Love to my little Polly, and all inquiring friends. When a Mortgage is paid of, it is Required of the Mortgagee to give a Receipt in the Margin of the Recorded Deed in the Office, and say Receive'd full satisfaction without Fraud, Defalcation, or abatement, how can I do this, when I am not paid its Valuation or Sum Total. Yours &c."

CLIFFORD NOTES.—"1<sup>st</sup> 12 mo. 1787. My Son Thomas Clifford, Jr. returned to his Native Country from the City of Bristol in Great Brittain where he had resided for about ten years Last past."

"On the 1<sup>st</sup> Day of the 5 mo and 5<sup>th</sup> day of the Week 1788 My Grandson, John Clifford, son Thos & Sarah Clifford arrived from the City of Bristol where he was born to this City."

"On the 4<sup>th</sup> Day of the Week about the 3<sup>rd</sup> hour in the afternoon of the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the 5 mo. 1788 My Grandson Thomas R. Clifford son of John and Anna Clifford was born in Front st, Philadelphia."

FAMILY RECORDS OF THOMAS FRANKLIN, JR.—Thomas Franklin, Jr., son of Thomas Franklin, of the city of New York, and Mary, daughter of Samuel Rhoads, of Philadelphia, were married 15<sup>th</sup> of Second month, 1764, at Philadelphia. (For certificate of marriage, see Book B, p. 90.)

"Elizabeth Franklin Daughter of Thomas and Mary Franklin jun<sup>r</sup> was born March the fourteenth in the Year of our Lord 1765 at half an hour past three in the afternoon.

"Elizabeth Franklin took the small Pox November the thirteenth 1765 and had it very favourably.

"Benjamin Franklin son of Thomas and Mary Franklin Jun<sup>r</sup> was born January the twenty fifth [*sic*] in the [*sic*] of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven at one o'clock in the morning.

"Benjamin Franklin inoculated for the small Pox April y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1767 and had it very favourably.

"Elizabeth Franklin Died July the twenty eighth [*sic*] in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven about 3 o'clock in the morning aged two Years and four months.

"Ann Franklin Daughter of Tho<sup>s</sup> and Mary Franklin jun<sup>r</sup> was born January the Sixth one thousand seven hundred an [*sic*] sixty nine about nine o'clock in the Evening.

"Ann Franklin inoculated for the Small Pox April the 23, 1769 and had it very favourably.

"Thomas Franklin son of Tho<sup>s</sup> & Mary Born the 12<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1770 at two o'clock after noon.

"Thomas Franklin son of Thomas & Mary Franklin Jun<sup>r</sup> died July the 20<sup>th</sup> 1771 at Philadelphia about five o'clock in the morning aged 9 months.

"Walter Franklin son of Thomas & Mary Franklin jun<sup>r</sup> Born the Seventh day of May 1773 about 8 o'clock in the morning was Inoculated for the Small Pox November 1773 and had it favourably.

"Samuel Franklin Son of Thomas and Mary born August the 6<sup>th</sup> one thousand seven hundred seventy four at one oclock after noon.

"Mary Franklin the wife of Thomas Franklin departed this Life on first Day morning ab<sup>t</sup> 15 Minuts [*sic*] after 6 Oclock the 2<sup>d</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>mo</sup> 1779 after ten weeks Linguering [*sic*] Illness which Shee bore with Christian patients [*sic*]. Apprehending her time short amongst us all in a Christian like Cherefullness & expressed a Desire if it was her makers will to live a little longer for the sake of her Dear Babes.



"Benjamin Franklin Died in Phil<sup>a</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>m</sup> 1781 after 60 hours Illness with the Chollick.

"Walter & Samuel Franklin had the measels in Philadelphia in the 5<sup>th</sup> m<sup>o</sup> 1785.

"Israel & Ann Pleasants first child and son Samuel Born 19 Feb<sup>r</sup> 1789 half after 5 o'clock A.M.

"Thomas Franklin departed this Life on the night of Fourth Day the Eleventh of January in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred and ninety seven at 20 minutes past 11 o'clock."

JACOB TAYLOR'S ALMANAC.—The following interesting letters relate to the compilation and publication of Jacob Taylor's Almanac, issued between the years 1702 and 1745. Jansen, Andrew and William Bradford, Keimer, Franklin, and Warner were the publishers.

"PHILADELPHIA 29<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>br</sup> 1739.

" . . . As you are the printer of Jacob Taylor's Almanack, you are a fit person for me to communicate a thought to that I lately had while I was perusing *several* of Jacob's Almanacks to find out a remark I had formerly seen in one of them. That which I first look'd over was for the year 1737, wherein are many scraps of Wit and learning. The Thought I have to impart is to publish an Enchiridion that shall contain a collection from his almanacks for some number of years past, of Poetry, pieces of History &c., &c.

"Your Friend

"J. BREINTNALL.

"Perhaps Jacob's consent & assistance should be asked."

[Letter addressed to Andrew Bradford.]

"UNCLE JACOB.

"Your Almanacks will not be out before ye fair. Warner has promised to send 6 dozen down directly after.

"I am your Loving cousin

"ISAAC TAYLOR.

"Novem<sup>r</sup> 12th 1743."

"PHILADA. Dec 29th 1743.

"FRIEND JACOB.

"Yours of the 7th past I received, but your Almanack was not then finished and your cousin has not been here since. You will herewith receive a copy of each of the Almanacks published here besides your own (except one which is in High Dutch and only copied from Birkett) no less than nine, too many by at least half a dozen; and among them two sorts of Birketts, one printed by me the other by W<sup>m</sup> Bradford; What difference is between them I know not, not having examined them. I printed only two thousand of yours and am very much afraid shall not be able to dispose of 'em all having at least seven hundred yet by me. I should have wrote to you before but was unwilling till I could send you one of each of the Almanacks as above.

"Your real friend

"ISAIAH WARNER."

[Letter addressed "For Jacob Taylor living at Sarum Forge."]

"MR. TAYLOR.

"Mr. Warner being now dead I take this opportunity to request the favor of a copy of your Almanack for 1745, and I will allow you as much



as anybody else. I would by an answer pr Mr. David Harry who will agree with you for it in my room.

"I am sir your fr<sup>d</sup> & Servant,  
" W<sup>m</sup> BRADFORD.

"PHILADA. Octo 12, 1744."

[Letter addressed "To Mr. Jacob Taylor in Chester County."]

"I hereby send you one of Ball's Almanacks. I wish I could get one of yours in time for I perceive when they come out late people get supplied with others &c.

"Your friend  
" W<sup>m</sup> BRADFORD."

[No date.]

### Queries.

FINNEY—SIMONTON—FREW—OCHILTREE—SPENCER.—Robert and Dorothea Finney, with their seven children, settled in New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1720. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 234.)

Lazarus Finney, their third child, married Catharine Simonton. He died 1740, and his widow married John Frew. Who was he? Did he leave issue?

Robert Finney, first child of Lazarus and Catharine (Simonton) Finney, born 1727, died 1822, married Diana Spencer.

Lazarus Finney, only child of Robert and Diana (Spencer) Finney, born 1751, died 1833, married, first, Elizabeth Fulton; second, his cousin Elizabeth Ochiltree, daughter of his father's sister Dorothea, who married — Ochiltree.

Lazarus Finney was first lieutenant of Captain John McKee's company, Second Battalion Chester County, Pennsylvania, Association, Colonel Evan Evans, May 5, 1777-78. In what can I find any account of the Chester County Association, giving list of officers and privates? They were at Trenton under command of General James Irvine.

In 1789 Lazarus and his parents removed from New London, Pennsylvania, to Northumberland County, Pennsylvania (now Union County).

Wanted, reference to printed records or any information of the Simonton, Frew, Spencer, and Ochiltree families of which the above mentioned were members.

Would like to correspond with any descendant of above families of same name.

Would also like name and address of any Finney or Phinney, or their descendants of other names.

Samuel Finney, of Fulchaw, Cheshire, England, made his second voyage to America in 1701, taking his family with him, accompanying his friend William Penn on his second voyage to this country. In 1703 the latter appointed him one of his Council, and his son John Finney high sheriff.

Samuel Finney had a grant of land about twenty miles from Philadelphia, where he erected a house, which he afterwards called after his own name. Here his second son, Charles, died. Samuel Finney appears to have died there about 1711. His son John Finney and his family returned to England.

Can any one tell me anything of this family or its descendants? I find no mention of any other members of the family save John and



Charles; no doubt there were others. I am convinced from records I have that there are descendants of this Samuel Finney in this country, but cannot trace back to Samuel. Address,

ROBERT SPENCER FINNEY.

2053 Seventh Avenue, New York.

**BALL—HULINGS.**—The "Gwynedd Meeting Book" states, "John Ball and Rebecca Hulings declared their intentions of marriage first time 27 of 2 mo. 1736; were given permission 25 of 3 mo. 1736." Can any one tell anything of this couple, their descendants or ancestors?

MRS. E. W. MITCHELL.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

**BOONE.**—Can any one give anything of the history of Benjamin Boone or his descendants? The inquirer wishes especially to learn the maiden name of Susannah, his wife, date of their marriage, church relation, and burial-place. Had he a first wife named Ann Farmer?

MRS. E. W. MITCHELL.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

**WHITE—IRWIN.**—Joseph White, Sen., with wife, Mary (Kennedy) White and family, came to America from Dublin, Ireland. He settled in Shrewsbury, and died in Trenton, New Jersey. His children were: Joseph, married Mary Irwin; George, married May 7, 1808, Jane Irwin, died August, 1854; Ann, married Thomas Eastburn; Hesse, married —; Jonathan, married Jane Jarvis, buried, 1834, at New Brunswick, New Jersey. Joseph White, Jr., lived in Philadelphia. Information is wanted of the descendants of the latter.

Mary and Jane Irwin were the daughters of — Irwin and Letitia (Galbraith) Irwin, of Londonderry, Ireland, who sailed for America June 24, 1807; a third sister, Sarah Ann, married — Agnew, and another — Scott; and a brother died April 17, 1828, and was buried in St. John's Church-yard, Northern Liberties. What was the Christian name of the husband of Letitia (Galbraith) Irwin?

E. W. O.

**TALLMAN.**—Mary Tallman married William Fishbourne. She was the daughter of Job Tallman and Sarah —. Would like to know dates of birth, marriage, and death of Job and Mary Tallman; also of Job's wife Sarah, and her maiden name. Would also like to know the parentage of Job Tallman.

T. W. M. DRAPER.

Denver, Colorado.

**ORGAN FOR ALBANY, NEW YORK, 1767.**—David Tanneberg, of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, an organ-builder of high repute throughout the Colonies, in the autumn of 1767 erected in a church in Albany one of his instruments. What was the name of the church, and is there any description of the organ extant?

A. R. B.

**COLONEL JOHN IRWIN.**—The obituary notice of my great-grandfather Colonel John Irwin states that prior to the Revolution he served as a commissary in the British army, and during the Revolution as Deputy Commissary-General of Issues for the Western Department of the Continental army. He married, at Fort Pitt, Elizabeth Cunningham, a daughter of a Mr. Cunningham, of the British army. There were two John Irwins who were Deputy Commissaries of Issues, and both served at Fort Pitt for some time. My ancestor was subsequently appointed



one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Westmoreland County, April 14, 1795, by Governor Thomas Mifflin. Record of service of Irwin and Cunningham requested.

NORVAL MARCHAND.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

GILLINGHAM.—Information is wanted of Yeamans Gillingham, who is recorded in Middletown Meeting as a witness to the marriage of William Smith and Mary Croasdale, Ninth month 20, 1690. The deed for his Frankford property dated 8 mo. 31, 1691, and children recorded in Abington Records, the first born 5 mo. 9, 1694. Wife said to be Mary Taylor. Can any one tell who she was, and where Yeamans Gillingham was from, and when arrived?

G. E. H.

MORRIS.—Who was James Morris, who died May 20, 1839 (from Shrewsbury Meeting Records), and who was his wife Abigail, who died March 17, 1850, both interred at Squan, New Jersey? They had ten children,—William M., Thomas, Catherine, Lewis, Joseph P., James, Tilton, Gitty Ann, Robert, and Charles Middleton.

H. E. G.

WILLSON—LAING.—A Martha Willson, born October 11, 1782, married William M. Morris. Who was her father? Her mother's name was Jennet Laing, daughter of Isaac Laing and Annabel ——. Information desired regarding the Willson ancestry and Laing ancestry.

H. E. G.

MARY LUKENS, who married Jesse Kirk about 1790. Was she the daughter of Rinear Lukens and Mary —? Who were the parents of Rinear Lukens and his wife Mary?

G. E. H.

KIRKMAN.—Any information concerning the following-named persons will be gladly received by the undersigned: Major Thomas Kirkman, late of British army, 1752–1810; Spencer Gill; William, Randall, and Fletcher Walker; Jane Harris; and Miss Jemima Carpenter, of whom several resided in Pennsylvania for some time between 1730 and 1795.

LIEUT. G. W. KIRKMAN, U. S. A.

Fort Russell, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

WEST—CLARKSON—MORRIS.—So little is known of the family of Benjamin West that every little counts. He is said to have been one of ten children, but, with the exception of his brothers John, Thomas, and William, their names are not even known.

In the Trumbull correspondence, recently sold in Philadelphia, there was a letter from Benjamin West to John Trumbull, dated London, October 14, 1790, in which West wrote, "I take advantage of my nephew John Clarkson returning to Philadelphia," etc. In a letter from Benjamin West to his brother William West, in Etting MSS., Pennsylvania Historical Society, dated London, February 13, 1793, he writes, "John L. Clarkson is in England, but I do not see him often." He then speaks of him in not very complimentary terms as a relative. In "Memorials of Matthew and Gerardus Clarkson" mere mention is made that "a Joseph West married an Elizabeth Hazard, who [?] died in Philadelphia July 14, 1758. John Clarkson, of the New York branch, married a Rachel West."

In "McFarland and Stern Families" mention is made of "Joseph



West, a son of Benjamin's brother William," whose daughter's family lives near Alexandria, Virginia. What is the name and residence?

Mrs. Harriet Morris Livingston, of Los Angeles, California, says her great-grandmother was Elizabeth Morris, sister of Benjamin West.

Cannot some of your readers supply additional data to these suggestive clues? It is a subject both of interest and importance, connected as it is with the Pennsylvanian President of the Royal Academy of Arts of Great Britain.

HISTORIOGRAPHER.

### **Replies.**

**LAZARUS FINNEY.**—First Lieutenant Lazarus Finney was commissioned May 5, 1777, and attached to the Fourth Company, Second Battalion (Colonel Evan Evans) of Chester County Militia. He was also commissioned in April of 1778 first lieutenant of the New London Company attached to the Second Battalion Chester County Militia, commanded by Colonel Evan Evans. Lieutenant Finney was not attached to the Pennsylvania Line. Consult "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, Vol. XIII, for rosters of Chester County Associators and Militia, and "Pennsylvania Archives," Third Series, Vol. VI, for reports of County Lieutenants of Chester County.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

**ROBERT BOGLE, "WAITER."**—It belongs to local history, at least, to say that this individual was one of the notables of Philadelphia, since there was neither funeral, wedding, nor party complete in its details without the efficient aid of "Major Bogle," and he was a familiar figure on our streets laden with portentous notes of life or death. Major Bogle was small of stature and neat in person and address. He fell heir to the sobriquet of "Major" by a sort of common consent, probably from his calling and character as "Major-Domo" on all occasions of important gatherings. He died on Saturday, March 4, 1837, in the sixty-third year of his age.

**BOWMAN (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XX. p. 573).**—The Revolutionary services of Joseph Bowman, of New Braintree, Massachusetts, will be found in "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," Vol. II. p. 353. Additional data may be found in Paige's "History of Hardwick."

THOMAS. A. DICKINSON.

### **Book Notices.**

**GENEALOGY AND HISTORY OF A PART OF THE NEWBURY ADAMS FAMILY, FORMERLY OF DEVONSHIRE, ENGLAND.** By Smith Adams, Calais, Maine, 1895. 61 pp.

Mr. Adams, in his neat little work, gives the results of his genealogical researches relating to the descendants of Robert Adams and his wife Eleanor, the first American ancestors of the Newbury Adams family, who came first to Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1635, and then settled in Newbury in 1640. Robert Adams was born in Devonshire, England, in 1601, and died here in 1682, and his wife Eleanor in 1677. They had five sons and four daughters, who, with the exception of one son, left descendants.



**THE PALATINE OR GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA.** By Rev. Sanford H. Cobb. Wilkes-Barre, 1897.

This is a paper read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and is a brief statement of the more important facts contained in a much larger manuscript, entitled "The Story of the Palatines: An Episode in Colonial History," which the author hopes to publish in book form with maps and numerous quotations from original documents and authorities.

**EARLY SETTLERS OF NANTUCKET: THEIR ASSOCIATES AND DESCENDANTS.** Compiled by Lydia S. Hinchman. Philadelphia, 1896. 158 pp. 8vo, cloth. Price, \$2.00.

This recent contribution to American genealogies gives sketches of the following worthies: Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Tristram Coffin and his children, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, Peter Folger, Thomas Prence, William Collier, Thomas Gardiner, Richard and John Gardner, Samuel Shattuck, Peter Hobart, Thomas Mayhew, Sen., and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., together with some genealogical details of the following families: Mitchell, Russell, Barker, Swain, family of Lucretia Mott, of Thomas Earle and John Milton Earle, Swift, Rotch, Bunker, Coggeshall, Hathaway, Buffum, and Stanton. There is also some account of Friends on Nantucket. For sale by J. B. Lippincott Co.

**AMERICANA GERMANICA.** We extend a hearty welcome to this new quarterly, the purpose of which is to furnish a distinct medium for the publication of results obtained from the comparative study of the literary, linguistic, and other cultural relations of Germany and America, to unite the efforts already made in this domain to stimulate new researches on both sides of the Atlantic and to build up, in the course of years, a series of studies setting forth the history of German culture in America. In the furtherance of these objects, the editor, Professor Marion D. Learned, of the University of Pennsylvania, is aided by the following corps of contributing editors: Professors Brandt, of Hamilton; Collitz, of Bryn-Mawr; Dodge, of Illinois; Faust, of Wesleyan; Francke, of Harvard; Gerber, of Earlham; Goebel, of Leland Stanford, Jr.; Hohlfeld, of Vanderbilt; Watenberg, of Chicago; Schoenfeld, of Columbian; Thomas, of Columbia; White, of Cornell; and Wood, of Johns Hopkins Universities.

In size the periodical is a quarto of 112 pages; well printed on good paper, with broad margins, and in general appearance attractive. The price of subscription is \$2 for four numbers, to be paid to the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

**ANNETTE JANS'S FARM.** By Ruth Putnam. 38 pp.

This daintily printed monograph is the third monthly number of the "Half-Moon Series" of papers on historic New York, issued by the City History Club, under the editorship of Maud Wilder Goodwin, Alice Carrington Royce, and Ruth Putnam. Among the subjects of the papers for this year will be: "The Stadt Huys of New York," by Alice Morse Earle; "The Fourteen Miles Round," by Alfred B. and Mary M. Mason; "Wall Street," by Oswald G. Villard; "The Bowery," by Edward R. and Mary A. Hewitt; "King's College," by John B. Pine; "Old Wells and Water-Courses," by George E. Waring, Jr.; "Governor's Island," by Blanche Wilder Bellamy; "Defences of New York," by Frederick D. Grant; "Old Greenwich," by Elizabeth Bisland; and "Tammany



Hall," by Talcott Williams. Price of monthly parts, five cents; yearly subscription, fifty cents. On sale at Putnam's Sons and Brentano's, New York.

**THE GENEALOGIST.** Volume XIII., Part 3. New Series, 1897.

The January number of this excellent English quarterly, edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood, Esq., has been received. Among the contributions that will interest our own genealogists are: "The Family of Roper, of Kent;" "The Samborne Ancestry;" "The Family of Somerville;" "Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire;" "Pedigrees from the Plea Rolls;" "Additional Wiltshire Pedigrees;" "Grants and Certificates of Arms;" "Inquisitiones Post Mortem, temp. Henry VIII. to Charles I.;" and "The Parish Registers of Street, County Somerset," liberally annotated. *The Genealogist* is issued in July, October, January, and April, at the annual subscription price of ten shillings, post free, through Messrs. W. Pollard & Co., 39 and 40 North Street, Exeter, England.

**THE PANIS. AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF CANADIAN INDIAN SLAVERY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.** By James Cleland Hamilton. Toronto, 1897.

We have been kindly favored by the author with a copy of his paper on Indian slavery read before the Canadian Institute in December of last year. It has been prepared after much research, and is a valuable contribution to the subject of which it treats.



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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Vol. XXI.

1897.

No. 2.

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THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 19.)

VIII. WILLIAM PENN, JUNIOR.

Of the children of William Penn by his marriage to Gulielma Maria Springett, only two, as we have already seen, married, and one of these, Letitia Aubrey, had no children. The other was William Penn, Jr., and from him is derived one of the two existing lines of the Penn family.

William Penn, Jr., was born at Worminghurst, his mother's estate, March 14, 1680/1, ten days after the grant of Pennsylvania to his father. Little is known of his childhood and youth. His father's letter to him, before sailing in the "Welcome," has been given. He was married early. The Bristol Friends' records show the marriage of William Penn, Jr., and Mary Jones, daughter of Charles, Jr., and Martha, at Bristol, on the 12th of Eleventh month (January), 1698/9. He was then not quite eighteen years old. His wife was four years older. She was born on the 11th of Eleventh month (January), 1676/7, and was, therefore, just a day more than twenty-two on her wedding-day.



"The memoriall or Copy of the Certificate of Willm Penn Junr. & Mary Jones's Marriage. The Certificate itselfe being made on double Stampt pchment according to the late Statute."

The marriage certificate is as follows :

**W**hereas it doth appeare by the memorialls of the men's meeting of the people called Quakers within the Citty of Bristoll that William Penn, son of Willm. Penn Esq and Mary Jones daughter of Charles Jones Junr. of the same Citty, merchant, did on the four & twentieth day of the eighth month last past manifest their intentions of marriage. **AND WHEREAS** such their intentions was on the eighteenth day of the ninth month last published in the publique meeting house of the said people in the presence of many people there congregated **AND FORASMUCH** as there appeares no just cause wherefore a marriage between the said William Penn Junr. & Mary Jones should not be consumated we therefore whose names are hereunto subscribed are witnesses that on the day of the date hereof the said Willm. Penn Junr. taking the said Mary Jones by the hand did declare that he did take the said Mary to be his wife, And that the said Mary holding the said Willm. Penn Junr. by the hand did declare that she did take the said Willm. to be her husband, And that also the said Willm. Penn Junr. & Mary holding each other by the hand did mutually promise each to other to live together husband and wife in love and faithfulness according to God's Holy ordinances as in Holy scriptures declared untill by death they shall be separated **AND ALSO** the said Willm. and Mary as a further testimony of such their taking each other and of such their promises each to other have hereunto with us sett their hands the Twelveth day of the eleaventh month in the year one thousand six hundred ninety eight.

WILL. PENN JUNR.

MARY PENN.

The names of the Witnesses that subscribed with them to the same Certificate are—

Charles Jones	Martha Jones
Anne Jones	Eliz : Jones
Margt. Lowther	Anthony Lowther
Letitia Penn	Sarah Roath
Hannah Penn	Eliz : Harford
Ch : Jones Jun	Jane Watkins



Walter Duffield	Edw : Hackett	William Penn
Thomas Penn	J. Doer	Nathl. Wade
J. Hampton	Lidia Hacket Junr.	Ffra : Whitchurch
Isaac Jennings	Margret Lowther Junr.	Wm. Cluterbuck Snr.
Tho. Callowhill	Eliz : Corshey	Richard Codrington
Charles Harford	Richard Rooth	Wm. Coplin
Richd. Snead	Marget. Rooth	Henh. Swymmer
Wm. Stafford	Jane Trahear	Richd. Tylour. Junr.
Robt. Bound	Danll. Pill	John Corshey
Paul Moore	Ffra : Roath	Edw : Jones
Benj : Coole	Peter Young	Katherne Bound

[Certified to be an Extract from the Register or Record numbered Society of Friends 116, and entitled a Register of Marriages formerly kept by the Society of Friends at the Monthly Meeting of Bristol.—From the General Register Office, Somerset House, London].

Charles Jones, Jr., father of Mary Penn, was the son of Charles and Ann Jones, of Redcliffe Street, Bristol, who were among the early Friends in that city. The name of Charles Jones appears in Besse's record of the "Sufferings" of Bristol Friends in 1663 and later. The son, Charles, Jr., was probably born prior to 1654; the Friends' records show seven other children born to his parents between that year and 1664. Charles, Jr., married, 1674, Martha Wathers, and she dying First month (March) 8, 1687/8, he married again, 1695, Sarah Corsley, widow. He died, it seems, from William Penn's letters cited below, about January, 1701/2. By his first wife he had several children, including Mary (Penn), who appears to have been the second child.<sup>1</sup>

When William Penn sailed for Pennsylvania, in 1699, he left his son behind. "William [Junior] . . . and . . . his young wife chose to remain in England," Maria Webb says. Their first child, Gulielma Maria, and their second, Springett, were born during the two years of William Penn's absence. In the latter's correspondence with Logan,

<sup>1</sup> John Jones, of Bristol, linen-draper, whose will is dated December 13, 1699, and was proved 1702, appears to have been a son of Charles Jones the elder, above, and a brother of Charles Jones, the father-in-law of William Penn, Jr. He leaves to his "cousin [niece] Mary, married to William Penn, £100."—*Cf. will, PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVII. p. 74.*

1700	1701	1702
1703	1704	1705
1706	1707	1708
1709	1710	1711
1712	1713	1714
1715	1716	1717
1718	1719	1720
1721	1722	1723
1724	1725	1726
1727	1728	1729
1730	1731	1732
1733	1734	1735
1736	1737	1738
1739	1740	1741
1742	1743	1744
1745	1746	1747
1748	1749	1750
1751	1752	1753
1754	1755	1756
1757	1758	1759
1760	1761	1762
1763	1764	1765
1766	1767	1768
1769	1770	1771
1772	1773	1774
1775	1776	1777
1778	1779	1780
1781	1782	1783
1784	1785	1786
1787	1788	1789
1790	1791	1792
1793	1794	1795
1796	1797	1798
1799	1800	1801

1700 to 1701. The first year of the century was a year of peace and prosperity. The second year was a year of war and poverty. The third year was a year of peace and prosperity. The fourth year was a year of war and poverty. The fifth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The sixth year was a year of war and poverty. The seventh year was a year of peace and prosperity. The eighth year was a year of war and poverty. The ninth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The tenth year was a year of war and poverty.

1710 to 1711. The first year of the century was a year of peace and prosperity. The second year was a year of war and poverty. The third year was a year of peace and prosperity. The fourth year was a year of war and poverty. The fifth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The sixth year was a year of war and poverty. The seventh year was a year of peace and prosperity. The eighth year was a year of war and poverty. The ninth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The tenth year was a year of war and poverty.

1720 to 1721. The first year of the century was a year of peace and prosperity. The second year was a year of war and poverty. The third year was a year of peace and prosperity. The fourth year was a year of war and poverty. The fifth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The sixth year was a year of war and poverty. The seventh year was a year of peace and prosperity. The eighth year was a year of war and poverty. The ninth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The tenth year was a year of war and poverty.

1730 to 1731. The first year of the century was a year of peace and prosperity. The second year was a year of war and poverty. The third year was a year of peace and prosperity. The fourth year was a year of war and poverty. The fifth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The sixth year was a year of war and poverty. The seventh year was a year of peace and prosperity. The eighth year was a year of war and poverty. The ninth year was a year of peace and prosperity. The tenth year was a year of war and poverty.

after his return to England, there are numerous allusions to William, Jr., and his family. Thus:<sup>1</sup>

[Kensington, 4th of Eleventh month (January), 1701/2:] "My son and family well; a sweet girl and a Saracen of a boy; his wife—a good and pretty woman—at Bristol on her father's account, who is dead and buried."

[Kensington, 3d of Twelfth month (February), 1701/2:] "Son and wife at Bristol upon C. Jones's death. I send a packet to thee that was from him. . . . The three daughters I think, or son and wife, administer. All amicable among the relatives."

In a letter to Logan, from Worminghurst, August 18, 1702, William Penn, Jr., thanks him for informing him of some "base and scandalous reports" which had come to Logan's ears concerning him, and adds,—

"I hope you will be assured I am far different. . . . I love my friends, keep company that is not inferior to myself, and never am anything to excess. My dress is all they can complain of, and that but decently genteel, without extravagancy; and as for the poking-iron I never had courage enough to wear one by my side. You will oblige me if you give this character of me till I make my personal appearance among you, which shall not be long, God willing. . . ."

[Postscript:]

"My children are, I thank God, both well, and remember to thee. The boy is a jolly fellow, able to make two of his uncle already."

William Penn's letters to Logan contain these passages:

[London, 6th of Fourth month, 1703:] "My son has another boy, mine and his name."

[Another letter, about the same time as above:] "My son (having life) resolves to be with you per first opportunity. His wife this day week was delivered of a fine boy, as I found when I came home in the evening, and which he has called William, so we are now major, minor, and minimus . . . my grandson Springett a mere Saracen, his sister a beauty."

William Penn, Jr., came to Pennsylvania in company with Lieutenant-Governor John Evans in February, 1703/4.

<sup>1</sup> The letters to and from James Logan, from which numerous citations follow, are to be found in the "Penn-Logan Correspondence," two volumes, issued by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It seems unnecessary to cite volume and page with each extract.



It had been a cherished plan of his father's to send him to the new country, to get him out of undesirable company at home, and to let him acquire the knowledge of a simpler and more moderate way of living. The young man's letter to Logan in August, 1702, already cited, shows that he was expecting to come soon, and the visit had evidently been resolved upon considerably earlier. February 4, 1701/2, Penn, Sen., had written to Logan, from Kensington, suggesting how he should manage the young man when he came:

"My son shall hasten; possess him, go with him to Pennsbury, advise him, contract, and recommend his acquaintance. No rambling to New York, nor mongrel correspondence. He has promised fair; I know he will regard thee. . . . Be discreet; he has wit, kept the top company, and must be handled with much love and wisdom; and urging the weakness or folly of some behaviors, and the necessity of another conduct from interest and reputation, will go far . . . he is conquered that way, pretends much to honor, and is but over-generous by half, and yet sharp enough to get to spend. He cannot well be put on. All this keep to thyself."

In a letter February 24, 1702/3, Penn spoke of his son's departure having been delayed by reports of sickness at Philadelphia, as well as his—the son's—wife's approaching confinement (expected in six weeks). And in another letter whose date is missing, but presumed to be about the same time, Penn writes to Logan,—

"Immediately take him away to Pennsbury, and there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities, as well as temper his resentments and inform his understandings, since all depends upon it, as well for his future happiness, as in measure your poor country's.<sup>1</sup> I propose Governor Hamilton, S. Carpenter, I. Norris, young Shippen, and your easiest and most sensible and civilized for his conversation; and I hope Col. Markham, and Cousin Ashton, and the Fairmans may come in for a share; but the first chiefly. Watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him for his good; fishing, little journeys (as to see the Indians), &c., will divert him; and pray Friends to bear all they can, and melt toward him, at least civilly if not religiously. He will confide in thee. If S. Carpenter, R. Hill, and Is. Norris could gain his confi-

<sup>1</sup> The underlying thought here, no doubt, was that the young man would succeed his father as Proprietor and Governor.



dence, and honest and tender G. Owen not the least likely, (for he feels and sees), I should rejoice. Pennsylvania has cost me dearer in my poor child than all other considerations.”<sup>1</sup>

Governor Evans and young Penn left England, probably in the early autumn of 1703, and had a long voyage. A letter, dated at London, December 4, 1703, from Penn to Logan, asks him to “tell my poor boy that all his were well the last post . . . per next packet boat to Barbadoes, a month hence, he will hear from his wife.” Three days later, “7th 10br,” probably also from London, Penn again wrote to Logan,—

“My son’s going did not cost me so little as £800, and the land he left destitute of stock at Worminghurst, with the taxes becoming due at his going off, with carpenter’s [bills] etc., makes 200 more, and thou mayst imagine how hard it is for me to get it, Ireland so miserably drained and reduced as it is, an account of which I had to-night, at my lodgings from Sir Francis Brewster’s own mouth. . . . Let my dear child have my endeared love. The Lord direct his ways for his honor, his father’s comfort, and his own peace.”

William, Jr., had been living, it is evident from this letter as well as other evidence, at Worminghurst. It is probable that he had removed there at his marriage. During his absence in Pennsylvania his father apparently went there, and may have made the place his home. He says, in a letter, 31st December, a short time after that last cited, “A Scotch plot [and other circumstances] allow me a few days at Worminghurst for my better health and refreshment.”

Evans and young Penn reached Philadelphia February 2, 1703/4. A letter from Isaac Norris to Samuel Chew, dated “12th of 12th month” (February), says, “The Governor and W. Penn, junior, caught us napping; they arrived late at night, unheard to all the town, and at a time when we were big with the expectation of a Queen’s governor.” A letter from Logan to Penn, Sen., dated at Philadelphia, Twelfth

<sup>1</sup> The allusion here is not very plain, unless it means that by his absorption in Pennsylvania’s affairs, and perhaps his absence from England, 1699-1701, Penn had neglected a due parental oversight of his son.



month (February) 15, contains evidence that the voyage had been unusually long. He says,—

“I leave the account of the tedious voyage. . . . By thy son . . . I received thine of the 27th 6th mo. [August] . . . Thy son's voyage I hope will prove to the satisfaction of all, and to his, and therefore thy happiness. It is his stock of excellent good nature that in a measure has led him out into his youthful sallies when too easily prevailed upon. . . . He is very well received . . . 'tis his good fortune here to be withdrawn from those temptations that have been too successful over his natural sweetness and yielding temper.”

Penn writes to Logan from London, on the 10th of First month (March), 1703/4,—

“Tell my son I met my wife and his at young S. Tilley's marriage, near Guilford, and then they were well; and by two letters since their return. Guly and Springett are well from their agues, and little Billy so too and the spark of them all; and my poor little ones also well, and great love among the children.”

Hannah Penn writes to Logan from Bristol, 5th of Eighth month (October), 1704,—

“I am very glad our son likes the country [Pennsylvania] so well and has his health so well there. 'Tis in vain to wish, or it should be, that he had seen that country sooner (or his father not so soon). . . . With this comes a letter from his wife, so that I need say the less of her, only that herself and the three pretty children are well for aught I hear.”

Penn writes to Logan from Bristol, on the 2d of November, 1704,—

“If my son prove very expensive I cannot bear it, but must place to his account what he spends above moderation, while I lie loaded with debt at interest here, else I shall pay dear for the advantage his going thither might entitle me to, since the subscribers are [or?] bondsmen cannot make ready pay, according to what he has received, and on his land there. So excite his return, or to send for his family to him; for if he brings not wherewith to pay his debts here, his creditors will fall foul upon him most certainly.”

The young man's stay in Philadelphia lasted only a few months; the reproaches, just or unjust, which attended it are familiar in our local history of the time. Upon his arrival, he and James Logan boarded a while at Isaac Nor-



ris's, and then, in June, took William Clark's "great house," newly built, on Chestnut Street at the southwest corner of Third, where they kept "bachelors' hall" and where later Governor Evans joined them. Young Penn would not adjust his expenditure to the allowance—apparently very moderate—which Logan was authorized to pay him. His outlay was, the latter reported to Penn, "much above the limits set me. The directions given me can by no means satisfy him, nor answer what is thought suitable the presumptive heir of the Province." Logan was a clean and temperate liver; he had, no doubt, little satisfaction in the direction which young Penn and the Governor were inclined to take,<sup>1</sup> but his performance of his duty in the premises was not remitted. Like many men of his race, he was a faithful and exact administrator.

Young Penn was made, immediately upon his arrival, a member of the Provincial Council. The minutes show<sup>2</sup> that at the meeting February 8, 1703/4, "William Penn, Junr., y<sup>e</sup> Propr's Son, was called to y<sup>e</sup> Board & took the affirmation of a member of Council." He was thereafter occasionally present at the meetings, and in the list of those attending his name was placed at the top, next following that of the Lieutenant-Governor. His last attendance appears to have been September 15, 1704. He was promptly taken also, as his father had suggested, to Pennsbury, and a meeting with the Indians was held. Logan says, in a letter dated 14th of First month (March), that the preceding week, Penn, Jr., himself, and Judge Mompesson "went to Pennsbury to meet one hundred Indians, of which nine were kings. Op-pewounumhook, the chief, with his neighbors who came thither to congratulate thy son's arrival, presented nine belts of wampum for a ratification of peace, &c., and had returns [of presents] accordingly. He [W. P., Jr.] stayed there

<sup>1</sup> Logan writes to Penn, July 14, 1704, "The Governor is at present very ill with the *cholica pictorium*, in no wise owing, I believe, to what is commonly accounted the cause of it, intemperance." The allusion shows the reputation which Evans had already established.

<sup>2</sup> "Colonial Records," Vol. II. p. 117.



with the judge, waiting Clement Plumstead's wedding with Sarah Righton, formerly Biddle."<sup>1</sup> But the social life of Philadelphia was undoubtedly dull, seen from the standpoint of a young man who had tasted and enjoyed dissipation in England. The hopeful experiment of reformation through exile was doomed to failure. In July, Isaac Norris wrote to Jonathan Dickinson, "Our young proprietor seems to like the country, and talks of fetching his family; but by endeavoring to sell off all of his lands, he must give me leave to think otherwise. He goes to no other worship [than the Friends'] and sometimes comes to meeting. He is good-natured, and loves company, but that of Friends is too dull." Norris was in a position to know of the young man's desire to sell his lands, for the purchase of the manor of Williamstadt—seven thousand four hundred and eighty acres, on the Schuylkill—had been pressed upon him by the young man. He and William Trent finally bought the manor, and remembrance of Isaac Norris is preserved in the name of the borough, Norristown, now a city in size and population, built upon it, and also in the name, Norriton, of the township adjoining.<sup>2</sup>

Two months later, Isaac Norris, writing again to Jonathan Dickinson, reported the occurrence which put a climax upon the young man's stay in the little Quaker town. A sharp conflict between Governor Evans and the Friends was already established, and Norris says "their attempts to discourage vice, looseness, and immorality,—which increase,—are baffled by proclamations [from the Governor] making void their presentations" (from the mayor's court). Then he adds,—

<sup>1</sup> This marriage took place March 1, 1703/4. The bride was the widow of William Righton and the daughter of William Biddle, of New Jersey, ancestor of the Philadelphia family of that name.

<sup>2</sup> A letter of Logan's, cited in Watson, Vol. I. p. 34, says, "Last night William Penn jun'r sold his manor on Schuylkill to William Trent and Isaac Norris, for £850. They were unwilling to touch it, for without a great prospect none will now meddle with land, but in his case he was resolved to sell and leave the country."



"William Penn, junior, quite gone off from Friends. He, being in company with some extravagants that beat the watch at Enoch Story's, was presented with them: which unmannerly and disrespectful act, as he takes it, gives him great disgust, and seems a waited occasion. He talks of going home in the *Jersey* man-of-war, next month. I wish things had been better, or he had never come."

"Enoch Story's" was a tavern, a drinking-place, with the sign of the Pewter-Platter, in Coombe's Alley,<sup>1</sup> the resort, it would appear, of the "men about town." The story of the occurrence to which Isaac Norris alludes is variously told,<sup>2</sup> but the main facts were that a party were drinking at Story's one evening, and that a dispute arose, and a fracas followed, in which young Penn and others were involved. The watchmen (who were citizens serving on this duty, a night at a time) came in, and in their effort to restore order were beaten themselves, and gave some severe blows in return.<sup>3</sup> The affair was "taken notice of" in the mayor's court (then comparatively young, established under the city charter of 1701), but action was suppressed before the grand jury, according to the statement of Logan in a letter to Penn, Sen., on the 28th of September, Governor Evans exerting himself

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Pewter-Platter Alley, opposite Christ Church, running from Second Street to Front.

<sup>2</sup> Watson's "Annals," foot-notes to the "Penn-Logan Correspondence," etc.

<sup>3</sup> Watson says, "Penn called for pistols to pistol them, but the lights being put out, one fell upon young Penn and gave him a severe beating." Deborah Logan (foot-note to "Penn-Logan Correspondence") cites a different tradition that Joseph Wilcox, an alderman—soon after mayor—seized the Governor, Evans, "who was one of the gentlemen's party, and the lights being out, gave him a severe drubbing, redoubling his blows upon him as a slanderer when he disclosed his quality." It is evident that two occurrences have been confused. One was late in August or very early in September, in which young Penn and "the watch" were concerned, and another on the evening of November 1, involving "the watch and some gentlemen," and also "the Mayor, [Griffith Jones] Recorder, and one Alderman." By an examination of the dates and details given in Logan's letter and the minutes in the "Colonial Records" (especially September 15 and November 2), the two affairs will be distinguished. The minutes call that of November "a great fray."



to prevent any further publicity or prosecution.<sup>1</sup> But, as Isaac Norris said in the letter to Jonathan Dickinson, young Penn was mortally affronted. He had regarded himself evidently as the future ruler of the Colony, the prince imperial, the heir-apparent, and as entitled to indulge his humor in a performance like that at Story's, if he wished. The idea that he was to be treated as other persons was too humiliating to be endured. He accordingly broke with the Quakers at once, ceased to attend their meetings, and attached himself to the company of Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York and New Jersey, who about this time was visiting the Delaware. Logan says in the letter already cited,—

“He is just now returned from Pennsbury, where he entertained the Lord and Lady Cornbury, and what we could not believe before, though for a few days past he has discoursed of it, assures us that he is resolved to go home from York in *Jersey* man-of-war, and within a week at furthest designs to set off from this place.”

The young man did so return. He sailed in the “*Jersey*” (some time in November, probably), and was never again seen at Philadelphia. It had been an unfortunate visit. He had injured not only himself, but his father, and added strength to the partly democratic and just, partly factional and unfair, opposition to the Proprietary interest. Logan wrote regretfully and pathetically in a letter to Penn, from New Castle, on the 8th of December,—

“’Tis a pity his wife came not with him; there is scarce any thing has a worse effect upon his mind than the belief thou hast a greater regard to thy second children than thy first, and an emulation between his own and thy younger seems too much to him in it, which, were it obviated by the best methods, might be of service, for he is and must be thy son, and thou either happy or unhappy in him. The tie is indissoluble.”

The voyage in the “*Jersey*” was rough, as was natural for a crossing of the Atlantic in a sailing-ship of 1704, in mid-

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Council, September 15, young Penn was mentioned as having been proceeded against in the mayor's court. (“Colonial Records,” Vol. II. p. 160. Cf. foot-note in “Penn-Logan Correspondence,” Vol. I. p. 321.)



winter. In a long, sad, almost sobbing letter from Penn to Logan, dated at London, on the 16th of January, these passages occur :

" . . . as for Guy no news yet ; but my son, who has come safe, though near foundering in the *Jersey*, says he believes she [Guy's brig] is lost, for after the storm they saw her no more. . . . nor didst thou send me word what my son sold his manor for ; but after all he drew a bill for £10 at his arrival, to ride 200 miles home, and which he performed in two days and a night. I met him by appointment between this and Worminghurst ; stayed but three hours together."

[Earlier passage in the letter:] "The Lord uphold me under these sharp and heavy burdens. . . . I should have been glad of an account of his [W. P., Jr.'s] expenses, and more of a rent-roll, that I may know what I have to stand upon, and help myself with. He is my greatest affliction for my soul's and my posterity's or family's sake."

Upon his return to England, young Penn endeavored to begin a new career. His father, in a letter from London (dated at Hyde Park), on the 30th of April, 1705, speaks of his own troubles, and adds, "with my poor son's going into the army or navy, as well as getting into Parliament," etc. A little later, May 10, he says,—

"My son has lost his election, as also the Lord-Keeper's son-in-law, but both hope to recover it by proving bribery upon the two that have it, Lord Windsor and Squire Arsgell. I wish it might turn his face to privacy, and good husbandry, if not nearer to us."

Apparently the nearing of relation did not occur. The young man found his wings too weak for the flights he proposed, and was soon in straits for money, which his father in his own financial stress could not supply. Penn, Jr., wrote to Logan after his return, asking for help :

"You must believe I cannot live here about a court without expenses which my attendance occasions, and I must own to you I was never so pinched in my life, wherefore must beg you to endeavor all you can to send over my effects with all speed you possibly can. . . . I hear the prosecution against me still continues, and that they have outlawed me upon it :<sup>1</sup> I have complained to my father, who tells me he has and will now write about it, and that I shall have right done me in it, which I do

<sup>1</sup> This was probably not the case.



expect at your hands, I mean at the Quakers', who are the people that have given me this affront. . . . as my honor has been injured, I am resolved to have justice done me, or run all hazards, without consideration to relation, friend, or interest in the country.

"I desire you, if possible, to sell the remainder of my land there, before you send over, and make what returns you can. . . .

"P.S.—Pray put Isaac Norris and William Trent in mind of their promise to send me over a pipe of old Madeira, which I shall take kindly. My father has promised me to write you about my charges there. If there be any extravagant ones, I am to bear them; but as to that of books, pocket money, and clothes, with the charges of going and returning, he will allow."

The young man apparently resumed his residence at Worminghurst upon returning to England. In a letter to Logan from London, 8th of Fifth month (July), 1707, at the time his own affairs were approaching their worst, Penn, Sen., wrote,—

" . . . Depend upon it, if God favors me and my son with life, one, if not both will come as soon as possible. Worminghurst he has at last resigned for sale; so that having conquered himself and his wife too, who has cost me more money than she brought by her unreasonable, and for that reason imprudent obstinacy for dwelling there, to which she could have no pretence, either by family or portion, but by being my son's impetuous inclination; and I wish she had brought more wisdom, since she brought so little money, to help the family. Worminghurst, with some land to be sold in Ireland, about £45 per annum, will lighten his load as well as mine; for his marriage, and my daughter's [Letitia's] too, have not helped me,—his to be sure, more especially. We are entering, or it seems likely we should, into nearer friendship than before, he knowing the world and duty to a father better; for he has been of no use, but much grief and expense to me many ways and years too, losing him before I found him, being not of that service and benefit to me that some sons are, and 'tis well known I was to my father before I married. But oh, if yet he will recommend himself, and show himself a good child and a true Friend, I shall be pleased, and leave the world with less concern for him and the rest also."

Isaac Norris, then in England, aiding in the settlement of Penn's affairs and judiciously explaining to people there the nature of the controversies in Pennsylvania, in a letter to "his relations," on November 4 (1707), said, "Worminghurst, that has been these many years a charge, and little



profit, is sold well, and many debts are paid off by bills on Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> Some Friends have been industrious in this, that if that of Ford's should go against him, his and his friends' reputations may stand the clearer, having nothing but that unreasonable debt against him."

And four days later, writing to Logan, Norris adds,—

"Worminghurst is sold well, and thou wilt see bills to a considerable value. I have been persuaded to negotiate one, I think the largest, viz.; William Buckfield's for £608. I have sent it to brother [Samuel] Preston for acceptance. I understand he [Buckfield] has been an old servant and friend of the Governor, and the debt has been ready money lent, and to do it [lend to Penn] has dipt into a little estate of his own . . . several of the Governor's friends, tho' they would have all done honorably, yet seem to be more particularly in care for him than others [creditors]. I request thee, therefore, to put good bonds into hand."

After his father's apoplectic seizure, in 1712, William Penn, Jr., seems to have left his family very much—but probably not altogether—to the care of Hannah Penn. The cash-book kept at Ruscombe, as has been mentioned, contains three pages of items of money advanced on their account by Hannah Penn between September, 1712, and October, 1717, the whole amount being about three hundred pounds. In Twelfth month, 1712, ten pounds was "paid Thos. Overton for their house-rent." In 1713 there are payments "for fitting the children," "expencc at the Children's going to school," eight pounds "paid Alice Hays for Daughter's and Guli's board," cash "paid Gill. Thomson for Springett and Bille's board," cash paid for "Daughter's and Guly's board to December," etc., and cash to William Penn, Jr., to pay "his note due to Cousin Rooth," twenty-five pounds. Payments for board for "Daughter" and for the

<sup>1</sup> Hepworth Dixon, in his *Life of Penn*, says (p. 321), "He sold the Worminghurst estate to a 'Squire Butler for £6050, just £1550 more than he gave for it, after having cut down £2000 worth of timber. This money satisfied some of his creditors, but not all; and one of them, a man named Churchill, was so importunate as to try to stop Butler's payment of the purchase-money."



children continue each year down to 1717. The last entry of the account is cash paid "S. Arnold for Guly's last half year's board & necessaries at Richard Wildman's."

The will which William Penn the Founder made in 1701, at New Castle, Delaware, as he was about sailing on his return to England, and which was left behind in the care of James Logan, bestowed the Proprietorship and Governorship on William Penn, Jr.,<sup>1</sup> after some bequests to Letitia Aubrey, John Penn, and the expected child, Thomas. The provisions of this will were, of course, in the father's mind during the period of the son's visit to Pennsylvania, and later, and until the will of 1712 was definitely made,—the sale of the Province to the Crown not being completed,—the young man stood in succession as Proprietary and Governor. When the father died, no doubt William, Jr., was disappointed and chagrined, if not altogether surprised, to find that he was left simply the estates which had been inherited by or settled on him from his mother and his grandfather, the Admiral. This was the provision made for him in the will of 1712. This will has been several times printed,<sup>2</sup> but is worth giving here as part of the authentic record on which the present narrative chiefly rests.

It is as follows :

"I WILLIAM PENN Esqr so called Cheife proprietor & Governour of the Province of Pensilvania and the Territoryes thereunto belonging, being of sound mind and understanding, for which I bless God, doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament.

"my Eldest Son being well provided for by a Settlement of his Mothers and my ffathers Estâte I give and devise the Rest of my Estate in manner following

"The Government of my Province of Pennsilvania and Territories thereunto belonging and all powers relateing thereunto I give and devise to the most Hono'ble the Earle of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and to William Earle Powlett, so called, and their Heires, upon Trust to dis-

<sup>1</sup> See the will in full in "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 219; PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIV. p. 174, etc.



pose thereof to the Queen or any other person to the best advantage they can to be applied in such a manner as I shall herein after direct.

"I give and devise to my dear Wife Hannah Penn and her flather Thomas Callowhill and to my good friends Margaret Lowther my dear Sister, and to Gilbert Heathcote Physitian, Samuel Waldenfield, John field, Henry Gouldney, all liveing in England, and to my friends Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, and James Logan, liveing in or near Pensilvania and their heires All my lands Tenements and Hereditamts whatsoever rents and other profitts scituate lyeing and being in Pensilvania and the Territores thereunto belonging, or else where in America, upon Trust that they shall sell and dispose of so much thereof as shall be sufficient to pay all my just debts, and from and after paymt thereof shall convey unto each of the three Children of myson Willm Penn, Gulielma-Maria, Springett, and William respectuely and to their respective heires 10,000 acres of land in some proper and beneficiall places to be sett out by my Trustees aforesaid. All the rest of my lands and Hereditamts whatsoever, scituate lyeing and being in America, I will that my said Trustees shall convey to and amongst Children which I have by my present Wife, in such proporcon and for such estates as my said Wife shall think fit, but before such Conveyance shall be made to my Children I will that my said Trustees shall convey to my daughter Aubrey whom I omitted to name before 10,000 acres of my said Lands in such places as my said Trustees shall think fitt.

"All my p'sonall estate in Pennsilvania and elsewhere and arreares of rent due there I give to my said dear Wife, whom I make my sole Executrix for the equall benefit of her and her Children.

"In Testimony whereof I have sett my hand and seal to this my Will, which I declare to be my last Will, revoking all others formerly made by me.

"Signed Sealed and Published by the Testator William Penn in the presence of us who sett our names as Witnesses thereof in the p'sence of the said Testator after the Interlineaçon of the Words above Vizt whom I make my sole Executrix.

[Signed] "WILLIAM PENN.

[Witnesses]

"Sarah West

"Robert West

"Susanna Reading

"Thomas Pyle

"Robert Lomax

"This Will I made when ill of a feavour at London with a Clear understanding of what I did then, but because of some unworthy Expressions belying Gods goodness to me as if I knew not what I did, doe now that I am recovered through Gods goodness hereby declare that it is my



last Will and Testament at Ruscomb, in Berkshire, this 27th of the 3d Month, called May, 1712.

"WM PENN

"Witnesses p'sent

"Eliz Penn

Mary Chandler

"Tho: Pyle

Josiah Dee

"Tho: Penn

Mary Dee

"Eliz: Anderson

"Postscript in my own hand

"As a further Testimony of my love to my dear Wife I of my own mind give unto her out of the rents of America vizt Pensilvania £300 a year for her naturall life and for her care and charge over my Children in their Education of which she knows my mind as also that I desire they may settle at least in good part in America where I leave them so good an Interest to be for their Inheritance from Generaçon to Generaçon which the Lord p'serve and prosper. Amen."

The will, when a copy was sent to Pennsylvania, did not altogether please James Logan. He wrote to Hannah Penn,<sup>1</sup> on the 4th of November, 1718:

"The sloop *Dolphin* arrived from London, bringing us divers letters, and among y<sup>e</sup> rest one from Jn<sup>o</sup> Page to me with a copy of our late Proprietor's will w<sup>ch</sup> gives me some uneasiness as being Drawn in hast I believe by himself only, when such a settlement required a hand better acquainted with affairs of that Nature.

"The Estate in these parts is vested in so many without impowering any P'ticular or a suitable number to grant and Convey, that I fear we shall be puzzled. I hope you will take advice there what methods must be pursued in y<sup>e</sup> Case. In the meantime all the Province & Lower County's are in the Trustees, till y<sup>e</sup> Mortgage is Cleared, toward w<sup>ch</sup> if our remittance by this ship come safe I hope another Large tally will be struck by them."

To this the extended letter of Simon Clement, of Bristol, the uncle of Hannah Penn, dated at London, March 6, 1718/19, addressed to Logan, replies.<sup>2</sup> Among other things, Clement says,—

"The Proprietor's will may indeed be said to have been made in haste, as you guess: but it was dictated by his friend Mr. West, though the blunders committed therein could not have been expected from a man

<sup>1</sup> MS. letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania collections.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I. p. 233.



of his accuracy. The truth is that he himself had labored under a paralytic affection, from which he never recovered the use of his limbs one side, nor I believe at that time the strength of his capacity, though it was afterwards perfectly restored, and continued to the time of his death, about six months since."<sup>1</sup>

Clement says further in this letter that he has no fear that Penn's choice of trustees will prejudice the standing of his affairs with those now in power,—Harley, Earl of Oxford, not being in 1718 the popular man he was in 1712.<sup>2</sup> "You know," he says, "at that time they were the fittest that could be thought on; and though they are since grown a little out of fashion, the using their names on this occasion can give no offence to those now in play. Great men lay no stress on such little things. I prepared a draught of a commission for those lords to confirm your Governor, [Keith] by the authority devolved upon them, which I left several weeks since with Lord Oxford, to peruse and communicate with Lord Powlet, but I can't yet get him to dispatch it. And you know we cannot be as pressing on men of their degree as we might on men of our own rank, but I shall continue my solicitation in it as I find opportunity."

William Penn, Jr., at first signified his disposition to acquiesce in the will's provisions, and to join his step-mother in carrying them out. Later he changed his mind. The will was admitted to probate in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, "in common form," on the 4th of November,

<sup>1</sup> The meaning here is not very plain. Clement could hardly have imagined that Logan did not know fully about the physical condition of Penn between 1712 and 1718, and he surely did not mean to say that his mental "capacity" was ever "perfectly restored" after the stroke of August, 1712.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Harley, minister under Queen Anne, was "at the height of his power" in 1711, when he was appointed Lord High Treasurer, and created Earl of Oxford and Earl of Mortimer. He was dismissed from office in 1714, impeached 1715, and sent to the Tower, and in 1717, after being brought to trial (at his own demand), discharged. This summary indicates the ground of Logan's concern, to which Clement was replying. It may be added that some writers on Penn's will have been confused by Harley's title, supposing that "Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer" must mean two persons, and that there were thus *three* trustees.



1718, after some delay by William Penn, Jr.<sup>1</sup> He had several meetings with Hannah Penn, in London, and Clement says in the letter already cited, they "mutually declared themselves desirous to cultivate the former friendship in the family, and to submit all their differences to be decided by a decree in the Court of Chancery, to be obtained with as little expense and contest as possible, and I believe they will take that way at last, though the young gentleman seems fickle and inconstant, and has been ready to fly out once or twice since, and is gone again to France without putting in his answer to the bill for proving the will, which must therefore be at a stand until his return, which he pretends shall be in this or the next month. His agents talk as if he believes the will has not sufficiently conveyed the power of government from him, and that he will send over a governor. But I should think he has more discretion than to offer it in earnest, or that he would not find anybody fool enough to go on such an errand; at least I am confident that your governor will never yield up his authentick authority to any person who should come up with a sham one."

Clement was evidently unaware, as he wrote this, that William Penn, Jr., had already made a definite claim upon the Governorship and Proprietorship of Pennsylvania, and had sent out, several weeks before, a new commission in his own name to Lieutenant-Governor Keith, accompanied by a letter of "instructions." The letter was dated January 14, 1718/19, and directed Keith "immediately to call together the Council, and with them, in the most public manner, make known my accession to the government of the said Province and Counties [upon Delaware] and assure the country of my great affection for them," etc. At the meet-

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Simon Clement to Logan, London, December 30, 1718. "I am very glad . . . that the country can receive no prejudice for want of renewing the present Governor's [Keith's] commission, which has been delayed principally by reason of Mr. Penn's first obstructing the proving his father's will in the Prerogative Court, which, however, he has since consented to, and 'tis done." (*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 231.)



ing of the Provincial Council, April 28, 1719, Keith laid the documents before the Council, and proposed that the Assembly be immediately (May 6) called together, "in order to join with me and this Board in recognizing Mr. Penn's right and title to the Government,"—to which the Council assented, "every member present" agreeing that the Assembly should be summoned.

The Assembly, however, on the 9th of May, declined to approve the claim of Penn, Jr., to succeed his father. They pointed out the provisions of the will on the subject of the Proprietary rights. They called Keith's attention to a law passed by them, and confirmed by Queen Anne, providing that the Governor in office at the death of the Proprietary should continue until further order from the Crown, or from the heirs of the Proprietor. And they further particularized the facts that the will devised the Proprietorship to the two earls, and that the new commission had not the royal approval. Under these circumstances they advised the Lieutenant-Governor *not* to publish the new commission or the accompanying instructions.<sup>1</sup>

The Council met two days later, on the 11th, and after discussion, decided by "a majority above two to one" that the Assembly's advice was good. Later, advices were received from London that the Board of Trade and Plantations recognized the validity of Keith's first commission, and regarded that from Penn, Jr., as invalid. It resulted, therefore, that the claim of the Proprietorship and Governorship by the son came to nothing, and apparently was not pressed beyond the one point of sending out the commission and letter to Keith.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Council's minutes say that "by means of other letters or accounts since received by Capt. Annis, the Assembly have fallen into sentiments different from what had been expected."

<sup>2</sup> In the Council, upon the question of concurring in the judgment of the Assembly, there were present Richard Hill, Jasper Yeates, William Trent, Isaac Norris, Jonathan Dickinson, Samuel Preston, Anthony Palmer, Robert Assheton, John French, and James Logan. A "majority above two to one," ten members voting, would reasonably be seven to three. Of the latter three, as it appeared by proceedings at a subsequent meeting



William Penn, Jr., died about two years after his father. The time and place of his death are variously given. John Jay Smith, in his address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,<sup>1</sup> says he "died in France;" Janney says he "died in France of a consumption;" Maria Webb says he "died in the north of France, in 1720, of consumption." Upon the authority of a genealogical sketch in Lipscombe's "History of Buckinghamshire," cited for me by Rev. W. H. Summers,<sup>2</sup> it may be said that he died at Liège, Belgium, June 23, 1720. His wife, Mary Penn, died early in December, 1733. Rebekah Butterfield's journal, kept at Jordans,<sup>3</sup> contains the following entry:

"5th of 10th month, [December] 1733, Robert Jordan and John Gopsill was at y<sup>e</sup> burial of Mary Pen, widow, mother of y<sup>e</sup> aforesaid William Pen [3d]; they came and went with y<sup>e</sup> relations."

Three children of William Penn, Jr., and Mary Penn are known. These were Gulielma Maria, Springett, and William, 3d. The dates of their births are given in the Friends' records (at London) for Surrey and Sussex. Information concerning them may be concisely stated as follows:

of the Council, Assheton was one. (He was the son of William Assheton, of Lancashire, whose wife was a relative in some degree of William Penn the Founder. Robert Assheton is commonly spoken of in Penn's letters as "Cousin Assheton.") At the Council meeting, November 7, 1719, Lieutenant-Governor Keith charged Assheton, in writing, with divulging the proceedings of the Board, and with writing "the latter end of August or beginning of September last," to William Penn, Jr., assuring him of his friendship, and attacking him (Keith) for not publishing the new commission, etc. Keith professed to give the substance of the letter from Assheton to Penn, *inter alia* that he (Assheton) "was Mr. Penn's stiff friend, and had stick'd for him, tho' to no effect hitherto, because he had only one member of the Council to join him; that though the bearer [of the letter] was a stranger to Mr. Penn, yet being heartily recommended to his favor by these letters he might freely take an opportunity over a bottle to assure Mr. Penn that these things were unquestionably true." It resulted that Assheton, upon Keith's demand, left the Council, though later, 1722, he again became a member.

<sup>1</sup> "Penn-Logan Correspondence," Vol. I. p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> MS. letter, March 25, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Mr. Summers's "Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts," p. 242.



## CHILDREN OF WILLIAM PENN, JR., AND MARY.

1. *Gulielma Maria Penn*, born Ninth month (November) 10, 1699, at Worminghurst; the "beauty" and "sweet girl" of her grandfather's letters. She married, "early in life," Aubrey Thomas. He was the son of Rees and Martha Thomas, who came from Wales to Pennsylvania and settled in Merion in 1691. Martha, his mother, was an Awbrey, the sister of William Awbrey (or Aubrey), who married Letitia Penn.<sup>1</sup> Awbrey Thomas was born Eleventh month (January) 30, 1694. He "visited England," and there married Gulielma Maria Penn (as above). "He did not long survive his marriage, and died without issue, probably in England." His widow married, second, Charles Fell, who was the son of Charles, son of George, son of Judge Thomas Fell, of Swarthmore Hall.<sup>2</sup> By her marriage with Charles Fell, Gulielma Maria (Penn) Thomas had a son, Robert Edward Fell, "who in the year 1756 was promoted to a captaincy of marines. Afterwards he became a lieutenant-colonel in the army, under which title he lodged a pedigree in the Herald's Office, and procured a confirmation of arms in the year 1770; he was then described as Robert Edward Fell of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex. His will . . . was proved the 28th of February, 1787, by Thomas Brookholding, his sole executor and the husband of his niece Philadelphia. There is no evidence of his having been a married man; but in his will he leaves his sword and pistols to his nephew, William Hawkins Newcombe."<sup>3</sup>

Coleman, in his pedigree chart, gives two other children of Charles Fell and his wife,—“M. M. Fell,” married to “John Barrow,” and “Guilima,” married to “—— New-

<sup>1</sup> She was his second wife. Cf. article by George Vaux, *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. XIII. p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Watson, "Annals," Vol. I. p. 121, quotes from the *London Gazette*, year 1724, a paragraph that "Mrs. Gulielma Maria Fell, granddaughter of the famous Quaker, Sir William Penn, was publicly baptized in the parish church of St. Paul, Convent Garden, in October last."

<sup>3</sup> Maria Webb, "The Fells of Swarthmore Hall," p. 356.



come." These names appear more correctly to be Mary Margaretta and (her husband) John Barron, and Gulielma Maria Frances and (her husband) John Newcomb.<sup>1</sup> It seems to be commonly assumed that this line of William Penn the Founder, through his granddaughter, Gulielma Maria Penn, and Charles Fell, is now extinct.

2. *Springett Penn*, born Twelfth month (February) 10, 1700/1, at Worminghurst. He was the "Saracen" of his grandfather's letters. He did not marry. It is probable that he spent much of his time in Ireland. There are a few letters from or relating to him in the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. One from John Penn to him, dated London, August 3, 1727, on a business topic, is freezingly severe in tone. Springett, however, was evidently not one to permit lectures from his half-uncle—a man of very nearly his own age—to disturb his equanimity. There is a letter from him to John some time later; it is dated "Stoke, March 13, 1728-9," and begins "Dear Jack;" it ends thus:

"Perhaps Alderman Tom knows more of y<sup>e</sup> matter than either of us, for it seems he was pleased to receive y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman's Request very favorably, turned his Quidd w<sup>th</sup> great Gravity, & gave an assenting nodd. Now if you have fed y<sup>e</sup> poor Gentleman with hopes and at y<sup>e</sup> same time cautioned me, y<sup>e</sup> Devil take you & his Worship y<sup>e</sup> Ald'n; if otherwise, be free in communicating yo<sup>r</sup> thoughts to my Bro Will, & he'll save you y<sup>e</sup> trouble of writing them to

"Yo'r aff Nephew & hum. Servt:

"SPRINGETT PENN."

Springett Penn joined with Hannah Penn (his step-grandmother), in 1725, in appointing Patrick Gordon Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. The chancery suit over the Founder's will was not then settled. At the meeting of the Council, at Philadelphia, June 22, 1726, the commission of Major Gordon "from Springett Penn, Esquire, with the assent of Mrs. Hannah Penn, and his Majesty's royal approbation thereof," was produced and read, and "was forth-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Westcott's "Historic Mansions," pp. 32, 33, already cited, will of Letitia Aubrey.



with published at the court-house." Springett Penn died in Dublin, Ireland, 8th February, 1731.<sup>1</sup>

3. *William Penn, 3d.* He was born, as appears by the Friends' records, at Worminghurst, First month (March) 21, 1703, and made then the "minimus" of the three Williams. He was twice married, and through his first wife descends the Penn-Gaskell branch of the Founder's family. This line will be more fully spoken of in a later chapter.

<sup>1</sup> This date is given by Mr. Keith, in his article on the Penn Family in Appleton's "American Biography." In the Breviate in the Boundary Case (p. 444) it is stated as occurring December 30, 1730.

(To be continued.)



THE JOURNALS AND PAPERS OF THE CONTI-  
NENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

PART I.

In the year 1826, after having made an examination of the documentary material bearing on the Colonial and Revolutionary history of the old Thirteen States such as has not since, and probably will never again be made, Jared Sparks wrote: "The more we look into the history of the Colonies, the more clearly we shall see that the Revolution was not the work of a few years only, but began with the first settlement of the country: the seeds of liberty when first planted here were the seeds of the Revolution; they sprang forth by degrees; they came to maturity gradually; and when the great crisis took place, the whole nation were prepared to govern themselves, because they always had in reality governed themselves."<sup>1</sup> It need occasion small wonder, then, that a revolution the result of such deep-seated causes and having such far-reaching effects should have had its story related by a multitude of authors, each in his own particular way; nor that the men to whom it gave prominence, and the events that mark its progress, are as household words in the mouths of all Americans.

For there is no portion of our history that has had so much attention paid to it, and respecting which so many documents have been published, as the period of the Revolution. The end, fortunately, is not yet, for at no time has the true value of authentic records been more highly appreciated than at present, nor have such extensive exertions ever been put forth to obtain and to preserve them. Our country is therefore peculiarly fortunate in possessing those of an official nature covering the Revolution in an almost

<sup>1</sup> Sparks's "Life and Writings," Vol. I. p. 494.



unbroken series. For the most part they are the documents officially known as the records and papers of the Continental Congress, which are placed in the care of the Department of State at Washington, where are also the priceless papers of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Madison and Monroe. And yet the treatment accorded these records has been far from in keeping with the value placed upon them. To say that they have never been published means much. It means that, until they are, no real and adequate history of the Revolution can be written, for their present arrangement is so confusing as to have made it possible for documents to escape the vigilant eye even of a Bancroft. It means, too, that they are still in manuscript as they were written by the men we love to call patriots; it means that the tooth of time has had so little respect for them as to have often gnawed them to their lasting defacement; and it means that they have been and are liable to irreparable injury from frequent removal and occasional handling, or even to total destruction by some unforeseen catastrophe.

A detailed description of the contents of these records would engross many pages. Exclusive of transcripts or copies, they fill some two hundred folio volumes, averaging about three hundred pages each, and all of them containing matters of exceeding great importance. Here are the Journals from the beginning to the very end (1774-89), almost entirely in the hand of Charles Thomson, the indefatigable secretary. Here are letter-books of the Presidents of Congress, recording their official communications; as well as hundreds of reports of committees made during the years 1775-89, upon the army and the War Department, upon foreign relations, upon increasing the powers of Congress, upon financial questions, upon Indian affairs, and upon a countless variety of other subjects. Here are some two thousand and more motions, of the nature of resolutions offered in Congress, to many of which no trace exists elsewhere; and papers dealing with land controversies between the States, and petitions and memorials addressed to



Congress, asking for their overburdened attention often to the petty wants and still oftener to the serious complaints and important desires and rights of individuals. To be found here also are documents detailing the contest waged over a location for the capital of the nation. The Articles of Confederation, and suggestions for their improvement, from which we can learn the steps taken towards their adoption and amendment, all of which led directly up to the perfected Constitution under which we live, form another part of the collection. Letters from ministers sent to negotiate with foreign powers, and those of envoys sent by foreign powers to this country, with an almost complete record of our foreign relations; and the letters written by Washington and his generals to Congress, detailing the movements of the army and making suggestions for the management of national affairs, to mention no others, give an indication of the character of the correspondence here gathered. And so on through the list; for one can, as has been proved by experience, spend months in examining these records without mastering more than a small portion of their contents.

It is to the Journals, however, mentioned but briefly above, that we particularly desire to devote our attention. For however valuable are the other documents in themselves, however great would be the loss to American history were they destroyed, the loss would be intensified an hundred-fold were the Journals, too, lost to us, for they are the only record we have of the proceedings of that great body of men who, amid contention and disagreement and sore trials, so conducted the affairs of the country that the battle was waged and won, and a perfected union in the end resulted. More than this, the Journal is a sort of index to the whole mass of documents. From it, and often from it alone, we can learn what letters were received and what correspondence was carried on; the committees that were appointed, and what and when they reported, and the effect these letters and reports had in shaping the course of legislation. But this is not all. Many of the really im-



portant state papers of the period exist upon the pages of the Journal and nowhere else. Many, it is true, were repeatedly printed by order of Congress, but these reprints are scarcer even than the printed Journal; nor was this always done, and much that was comparatively unimportant at the time, and is now only found within these pages, is of the greatest value to us.

But it may be asked, has this invaluable Journal never been printed? The answer is yes and no, with stern emphasis upon the latter reply.

To understand what is in print and what is not, we must examine the manuscripts carefully. In the first place, there exists what is generally known as the Original or Rough Journal, which appears to be the Journal made up by Secretary Thomson from notes taken during the daily proceedings; for writing long-hand, as he did, it is almost beyond a possibility that he wrote this at his desk in Congress during the sessions.<sup>1</sup> This Rough Journal fills thirty-nine folio volumes of varying thickness, and covers the proceedings from September 5, 1774, to March 2, 1789, although a volume containing the record from March 19 to May 2, 1778, is and has been missing for a great number of years. They are all bound in the original covers, are for the most part in the fine round hand of Charles Thomson, and are in an excellent state of preservation. It may be proper to add that the record, never at any time full, is often exasperatingly brief, and omits mention of many events that it was deemed unnecessary to note at the time, but which to us are of the greatest importance.

Next in order is the series known as the Transcript of the Journal, which is a copy, with differences, of the above. This fills ten volumes similar in size to the Rough Journal, beginning with the proceedings of September 5, 1775, and ending abruptly with an unfinished sentence in those of January 20, 1779. All of this, with the exception of the

<sup>1</sup> This opinion is fortified by the fact that there are a few scraps of paper among the archives which can be no other than such rough notes. See also Thomson's controversy with Laurens, noted later.



record of the period from the end of December, 1776, to the end of January, 1777, is in Thomson's hand. While it is possible that a volume belonging to this set and covering the Congress of 1774 and the first Congress of 1775 may have existed, it is unlikely, in that the numbering on the back of the volumes starts with No. 1; so it is probable that Thomson began his copying for this series with the proceedings of September 5, 1775. There are, it is true, among the archives, several copies in different hands of the proceedings from May to August, 1775, but they appear never to have formed a part of the Transcript series.

On the fly-leaf of the first volume of this series of Transcripts Thomson has written and signed the following:

"N.B.—The passages and resolutions, which in this and the following books are crossed, were all passed by Congress, but a Com<sup>ee</sup> having been appointed to revise the journals for publication, such parts as the house determine, on the report of the comm<sup>ee</sup> should not be published, were ordered to be crossed or marked so as not to be transcribed for publication. As the crossing defaced the minutes another mark was introduced which was by dots in the margin."

From this statement has arisen the prevailing opinion that the Transcripts were the volumes sent to the printers, and from which the printed Journal as we have it was set up in type. This is true, perhaps, so far as it goes; but there are no Transcripts for 1774 and part of 1775, nor were there ever any portions of the Journal of 1774 withheld from publication, except such as are mentioned below. The marking of which Thomson speaks is found upon the Transcript down to and including the proceedings of December 29, 1779. Although Thomson has not mentioned it, I have found that the Rough Journal for that part of 1775 not covered by the Transcripts is also marked in a similar manner.

While the Transcripts are not exact copies of the Rough Journal, the differences are only slight, being mainly verbal; such, for example, as the substitution of "Commander-in-Chief" for the word "General." And other changes of a



like nature bear evidence that Thomson polished his record a trifle before submitting it to the printer.<sup>1</sup>

Next we have the single folio volume containing what is known as the Secret Domestic Journal, from May 10, 1775, to July 2, 1787. This contains such proceedings relating to domestic affairs, as distinct from those connected with foreign relations, that it was thought advisable to withhold from publication. From this volume of proceedings was printed the first part of the first volume of the Secret Journals of Congress, published in 1821.

Nine other volumes of these manuscripts contain the remainder of the proceedings of a secret nature. They concern foreign affairs, for the most part, and it would appear from the manner in which they are made up that Thomson at first made entries in sundry volumes by way of experiment; then, having hit upon a satisfactory system, he conformed to it to the end.

This conclusion is reached from a perusal of the volumes known as Nos. 4 and 6 of the series. No. 4, in one volume, contains copies of matters entered in both the foreign and domestic Secret Journals, having to do with letters of instruction, commissions, letters of credence, plans of treaties, ratification of contracts, and the like, beginning with October 18, 1780, and ending with March 29, 1786; and No. 6, in three volumes, is known as the "Imperfect" Secret Journal, and commences with an extract from the proceedings of September 17, 1776, and terminates with one from those of September 18, 1788. But these volumes (Nos. 4 and 6) contain nothing that is not to be found in either the Secret Domestic Journal (No. 3) mentioned above, or in the complete Journal of Foreign Affairs (No. 5). The latter is in three large volumes, beginning with the proceedings of November 29, 1775, and ending with those of September 16, 1788. They contain many valuable entries upon foreign matters that are not recorded elsewhere, and from them were printed the last three volumes of the Secret Journal of Congress of the edition of 1821.

<sup>1</sup> See letter of Thomson's, July 27, 1784.



Another volume—"Secret Journal A," No. 8—contains various entries from 1776 to 1783, but nothing that is not elsewhere recorded. Its contents are mere minutes of proceedings that were afterwards entered in the public Journal.

Lastly there is the small quarto volume labelled "The More Secret Journal."<sup>1</sup> Its contents, beginning with June 6, 1781, and ending with August 8, 1782, bear, for the most part, upon the history of the negotiations looking towards a settlement of the dispute with England. Some of the discussions and resolutions relative to the peace negotiations, of a minor importance, are here noted, and as they are not found elsewhere, have never been printed.

Thomson's method of composing the Secret Journals cannot be ascertained without considerable difficulty. We frequently, but not always, find resolutions dealing with domestic and foreign affairs entered in the Rough (manuscript) Journal, with the usual dotted lines in the margin to indicate that this was matter of a secret nature. Again, we occasionally find, in addition to the original lines, a brief note indicating that the resolutions within the lines were to be entered upon the Secret Journal of Domestic Affairs.<sup>2</sup> Affairs so marked we invariably found recorded in one or other of the separate Secret Journals. Again, we not infrequently find brief statements in the Rough Journal, with more lengthy accounts upon the pages of the Journal of Foreign Affairs, or there may be no reference to foreign affairs at all upon the pages of the Rough Journal, while under the same date a detailed entry will be found in the Journal of Foreign Affairs. Still again, where we find entries covering the same subject in both the Rough Journal and the Journal of Foreign Affairs, they sometimes differ in details.<sup>3</sup> We can therefore safely state that the Rough Journal contains matter upon foreign affairs not recorded in the Foreign Journal, that the reverse is also the

<sup>1</sup> This volume of the papers of the Continental Congress is No. 7 of the collection, and is a transcript of a small unbound manuscript entirely in the hand of Thomson.

<sup>2</sup> April 16 and 22, 1784.

<sup>3</sup> May 17, 1786.



case, and besides, that the printed Journal of Foreign Affairs which was set up from these three volumes of manuscripts is not an exact copy from the stand-point of modern methods.

This leads to the conclusion, and the Rough Journal bears us out, that in the early days—that is, until the treaty with France was signed in 1778, up to which time foreign affairs received little of the attention of the Congress—Thomson recorded everything upon the pages of the Rough Journal, marking those matters which were considered secret, in order that they might not be printed. Then, from 1778 on, when foreign affairs came to engross so much attention, he changed this order, made brief entries in the Rough Journal, or none at all, and recorded the transactions bearing on foreign affairs at length in the Foreign Journal whenever their nature was such as to preclude the desirability of having them published. Not so with the Secret Journal of Domestic Affairs, however. Secret matters of this nature were of less frequent occurrence, for in print they fill but little more than half of an octavo volume of under five hundred pages. These proceedings were nearly always entered on the Rough Journal and the Transcripts, were marked with dotted lines, and were withheld from publication. But a desire arose to have such kept together in a separate volume for reference. Then (probably in 1784, although the resolution to this effect has not been found) Thomson was ordered to make up such a volume or volumes. He tells of this work in a letter written from Philadelphia, June 20, 1784, to Samuel Hardy, the chairman of the Committee of the States, then in session at Annapolis during the adjournment of Congress. He writes, "I shall next proceed to revise and arrange the Secret Journal agreeably to the order of Congress and hope to have this work completed, or at least a considerable progress made, before the next meeting of Congress."

Besides doing this, he tried to bring the Foreign Affairs Journal up to date, and in a letter written a little later he



asks that the original manuscript be sent him, in order that he might complete his task.<sup>1</sup>

## PART II.

Having thus briefly reviewed the material contained in these manuscripts, let us now turn to what was done by the men who participated in the events of the day, to place some authentic accounts of their transactions before the public.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the Continental Congress the interest of the people in their proceedings was at fever heat, all the more fanned by the secrecy enjoined upon the members. The public was, therefore, unwilling to wait until the first Congress had completed their labors before receiving an account of what had been done. Yielding to the popular will, and appreciating that the appetite for revolution would grow from what it fed on, the Congress ordered the various great state documents printed and distributed as they were agreed to. First of these was the Declaration of Rights, but among the earliest were the Articles of Association. The engrossed copy of the latter was signed on the 20th of October, 1774, and on the same day was ordered committed to the press that a hundred and twenty copies might be struck off.<sup>3</sup>

The Congress was by that time approaching the end,

<sup>1</sup> Both of the letters here referred to are to be found only in manuscript, and are in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The latter is dated July 27, 1784, and is written to Bankson, the clerk in the secretary's office who was performing the duties of secretary to the committee while Thomson was absent on leave; in this letter he asks that the original manuscript journals be sent to him, in order that he might be enabled "to complete the secret foreign affairs Journal as directed."

<sup>2</sup> In the preparation of the bibliographical notes to this part of my paper I have drawn freely upon Mr. Hildeburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press," and Mr. Paul L. Ford's "Material for a Bibliography of the Continental Congress." From both of these valuable works I have received great assistance, and more detailed references will be found in the succeeding notes. The titles have, however, been separately verified in each instance.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Journal of 1774, October 20.



and on the next day (October 21) the address to the people of Great Britain and the memorial to the inhabitants of the British Colonies were agreed to and ordered to be committed to the printer immediately, with the injunction that no more than one hundred and twenty copies be printed without further order of Congress. At the same time a committee consisting of Galloway, McKean, J. Adams, and Hooper, on revising the minutes of the Congress, with a view to their publication, was appointed,<sup>1</sup> and from a comparison of the manuscript Journal with the printed copies, distinct traces of their revision are discernible.

Neither they nor the Congress desired to lose any time in getting down to work; so in order that the Journal might be got ready for the printer, as soon as the above committee had finished its task of revision, on October 22, it was ordered to be sent to the press and to be printed under the direction of Biddle, Dickinson, and Secretary Thomson. Scarcely had they been appointed, when the first of a long series of prints of what were known as extracts from the votes and proceedings of the Congress saw the light. The first of these appeared on October 24,<sup>2</sup> and contained a part of the Articles of Association, and nothing more. Three days later, however, a volume appeared from the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Journal of 1774, October 21.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts | From the | Votes and Proceedings | of the American Continental | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia on the | 5<sup>th</sup> of September, 1774, | Containing | The Association, an Address to the People | of Great Britain, and a Memorial | to the Inhabitants of the British | American Colonies. | Published by order of the Congress. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by William and Thomas Bradford. | October 24<sup>th</sup> M,DCC,LXXIV. |

On the back of the title-page is printed: "As the Congress is not yet dissolved and their whole Proceedings | cannot be published for some time; it was | thought advisable forthwith to communicate | as much thereof to the Public, as concerned | the Restrictions on Commerce, and the reasons for such Restrictions. |

This admission attests, as it were, the falsity of the title-page. The pamphlet does not even contain what it purports to in this additional note. It is 8vo, pp. 8, and ends abruptly in the midst of a sentence in Art. 14: "An Act for . . . securing . . . ammunition, and stores, by which," | .



press of the same printers, the Bradfords, containing the Bill of Rights, the list of grievances, occasional resolves, the association, the address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British North America. The public interest in these documents may to some extent be measured by the fact that before the end of the year reprints of this collection came out to the number of twenty-odd<sup>1</sup> in the cities of Boston, Hartford, New York, New London, Newport, Norwich, Providence, Williamsburg, and London, England. Within a few days after the adjournment, or rather dissolution, of Congress<sup>2</sup> (for it is worthy of note that there is no record on the pages of the Journal of any formal vote on this question), the complete Journal was brought out, printed by the Bradfords, of Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> Like the extracts, this, too, was issued in several

<sup>1</sup> (Half title): Extracts | from the | Votes and Proceedings | of the | American Continental | Congress. | (Title): Extracts | From the | Votes and Proceedings | Of the American Continental | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia on the | 5<sup>th</sup> of September, 1774. | Containing | The Bill of Rights, A List of Griev- | ances, Occasional Resolves, the | Association, an Address to the People | of Great Britain, and a Memorial | to the Inhabitants of the British | American Colonies. | Published by order of the Congress. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, | October 27<sup>th</sup>, M,DCC,LXXIV. | 8vo, pp. (4) 12, 11, 36. See Ford's Nos. 16-38 for the numerous reprints.

<sup>2</sup> October 26, 1774.

<sup>3</sup> (Half title): Journal | of the Proceedings of the | Congress. | (Title): Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia, | September 5, 1774. | [cut] | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, | at the London Coffee-House. | M,DCC,LXXIV. | The page is embellished with an interesting cut representing twelve arms supporting a column, surmounted by a liberty cap, and resting upon a parchment roll entitled "Magna Charta." 8vo, pp. (1), (1), 132, 133-144. The tail-piece of p. 132 represents a dove bearing an olive-branch in its beak; pp. 133-144 contain the letter of General Gage and the petition to the King.

An edition was immediately printed by Hugh Gainé, of New York: Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Congress, | Held at Philadelphia, | September 5, 1774. | *New York*: | Printed by Hugh Gainé, Bookseller and | Stationer, in Hanover Square, | M,DCC,LXXIV. | 8vo, pp. (1), 104. This lacks the letter of General Gage and the petition to the



editions, and was frequently reprinted in New York and London.

The Congress, as is well known, reconvened in May, 1775, and in the following July, Samuel Adams, R. H. Lee, and John Rutledge were appointed a committee to revise the Journal and prepare it for the press. The interest in the proceedings in Congress had not waned, and it was probably under the committee's direction that another series of extracts from the Journal saw the light before the completed Journal prepared by them, and submitted to the criticism of Congress, was made ready for the printer.<sup>1</sup> That the committee performed their task is evidenced by the report made to the Congress at the next meeting in September, 1775. On the 26th of that month they "reported a copy, which was in part read."<sup>2</sup> The remainder being read on the next day, the secretary was directed to have the whole, as then corrected, published, and to superintend and correct the press.<sup>3</sup> The Bradfords, of Philadelphia, were again the publishers,<sup>4</sup> and reprints of it appeared both in this country and in England early in the following year.

Although the Transcripts of the Journal which we mentioned above do not begin until September 5, 1775, there are several copies of the Journal for the session of May 10 to August 1, 1775, among the archives, which do not form a part of the series. They are all alike, and were

King. A few copies lacking these additions were also printed by the Bradfords. See Ford's No. 39. For the reprints, see his Nos. 40-42.

<sup>1</sup> For the titles of the extracts, see Ford's Nos. 70-73.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Congress, September 26, 1775. See "Diary of Richard Smith" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. I., No. 2, p. 292.

<sup>3</sup> See also "Diary of Richard Smith," *ubi supra*.

<sup>4</sup> (Half title): Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Congress. | (Title): Journal | of the | Proceedings | of the | Congress, | Held at | Philadelphia, | May 10, 1775. | [cut] | *Philadelphia*: | Printed and Sold, by William and Thomas | Bradford, at the London Coffee-House. | M.DCC.LXXV. | 8vo, pp. (2), (2), iv., 239. The cut represents three military figures supporting a monument entitled "Libert. Patr." In the *Pennsylvania Journal* for December 6, 1775, the Bradfords announce this as ready by December 8. See Ford's No. 74. For the reprints, see his Nos. 75-77.



probably made for the use of the printer. The origin of the Transcripts as well as of a Secret Journal probably lies here; for at the end of the proceedings of August 1, 1775, is the statement, signed by Hancock and Thomson, that the above is a copy of the Journal of Congress from their meeting on the 10th of May, "except that some Resolutions, relative to Military Operations, carrying on are omitted."<sup>1</sup>

In November, 1775, it was thought advisable to make public the transactions since the September preceding, and the committee previously appointed, with Wythe in the place of Rutledge, were instructed to revise the Journal for publication; they were further authorized "to examine whether it will yet be proper to publish any of those parts omitted in the Journal of last session."<sup>2</sup> They made an arrangement with the Bradfords to continue the publication, and in 1776 they published what was termed on the title-page a "Continued" Journal of Congress containing the proceedings from September 5 to December 30, 1775.<sup>3</sup>

With this ends the Bradfords' activity in the publication of the Journals. Their work had latterly not proved satisfactory, and when a committee to superintend the printing of the Journals was elected in March, 1776, they were em-

<sup>1</sup> These omissions are duly found in the Secret Journal (Vol. I.) printed in 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Congress, November 30, 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, in his Diary (*loc. cit.*, p. 292), writes on September 26, 1776, "The Journal was read in Order for Publication and some parts of it ordered not to be printed as improper for Public Inspection particularly all that was there about fortifying the Passes on Hudson's River and the Directions to the New Yorkers to arm themselves &c." On the next day he has the entry, "The Journal continued to be read and various Parts ordered not to be published. . . ." At various times from that date he makes note of the reading of the Journal at the beginning of each day's proceedings, and of the marking of various passages that were not to be published.

(Half title): Journal | of the | Congress. | (Title): Journal | of the Congress | of the | United States | of America: | Continued | *Philadelphia*: | Printed and Sold, by William and Thomas | Bradford, at the Coffee-House. | M,DCC,LXXVI. | 8vo, pp. (2), (2), 218. See Hildburn, Vol. II. p. 255. Ford's No. 73.



powered to employ another printer if the one then doing the work could not execute it "with sufficient expedition."<sup>1</sup>

Robert Aitken now makes his first appearance upon the scene as a printer of Congressional proceedings. Beginning the work where the Bradfords left off, and without express order of Congress other than such sanction as he may have received from their printing committee, he published the Journals in monthly subdivisions from January to May, 1776, inclusive.<sup>2</sup> Aitken having learned of the dissatisfaction of Congress with the Bradfords' delays, issued this edition in October, 1776.<sup>3</sup> Thinking the time opportune for getting a part of the printing business of Congress, he obtained access to the Journal, and produced this as a sample of what he could do.<sup>4</sup> But few copies were ever sold, for, as

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, March 21, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> The | Journals | of the | Proceedings | of | Congress. | Held at Philadelphia, | From January to May, 1776. | *Philadelphia* : | Printed by R. Aitken, Bookseller, opposite the | London Coffee-house, Front-Street. | M.DCC.LXXVI. | (Bastard title): Journals | of | Congress. | 8vo, pp. (2). pp. 93. The February Journal has the following title: The | Journals | of | Congress. | For February, 1776. | R. A. | *Philadelphia* : | Printed and Sold by R. Aitken, Front Street. | M,DCC,LXXVI. | pp. (2), 70. The Journal for March, pp. 73-146, and the Journal for April, pp. 147-237, has each a heading. Hildeburn, Vol. II. p. 255. Ford's No. 124. Aitken records of this, in his "Waste Book:" "I was ordered to print no more in this large type, and to begin a new edition beginning with the session of Congress, which rendered the sale of the above abortive, meantime, I sold 80 copies. I also sold 14 reams of this edition to Benjamin Flower, for the use of the army for cartridges at 30s. per ream."

<sup>3</sup> See *Pennsylvania Packet*, October 3, 15, and 26, 1776.

<sup>4</sup> While no evidence of an authorization of this edition of the Journal by Congress has been found, the fact that he obtained access to the Journal is of itself a kind of authorization. Besides, in his "Waste Book" or Journal, the manuscript of which is in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, he records, under date of January 2, 1779: "To printing Journal of Congress from Feb. 1, 1776 to April 29— inclusive on a pica type containing 15 sheets 8vo. at £4 10'' p sheet—

£67—10

To 30 Rms Demy for do. at 40

60

£127—10

This would indicate that some one in authority ordered the printing, or he would never have sent in his bill.



we shall presently see, their sale was rendered "abortive," as Aitken puts it, by the new and complete edition soon authorized. Meantime (July, 1776) occurred the appointment of a new committee on publication, consisting of Jefferson, Lynch, and Hopkinson, and the Congress appreciating the usefulness of an index, ordered one to be prepared.<sup>1</sup> But the greater duties of the day that devolved upon Congress quite overshadowed the lesser one of perpetuating the record of their transactions, and the above committee paid little or no attention to their work. A month later,<sup>2</sup> sundry of the members being absent, Messrs. Heywood, Hooper, Williams, and Walton were added to the committee, any two of whom, it was ordered, were to be sufficient to make up a quorum.

Aitken had now found favor in the eyes of Congress, and on September 26, 1776,<sup>3</sup> the committee appointed to superintend the publication of the Journals were instructed to employ him to reprint the Journals from the beginning, with all possible expedition, and to continue to print the same. The Congress agreed to purchase of him five hundred copies, when printed, and Aitken was further directed to purchase from the Bradfords, on reasonable terms and at the expense of Congress, such parts of the Journal as they had printed but had not yet published.

In pursuance of this order, and under the supervision of the printing committee, Aitken, in the spring of 1777, issued what he termed a "New Edition" of the Journal of Congress, in two volumes; the first containing the proceedings for 1774 and 1775 and the second those of 1776. This became the authoritative edition for those years, and has always been followed whenever reprinted.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, July 17 and 24, 1776.

<sup>2</sup> August 27, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> Aitken had the first volume of this edition ready earlier than May, 1777, for he records in his "Waste Book," under date of May 13, 1777: "Congress Dr. To 100 Journals of Congr: vol: 1st in blue boards at 15/ea:—£75," and again, under May 20, "Congress Dr. For 600 Journals of Congress Vo. 1st in blue boards at 15/—£450."

Journals | of | Congress. | Containing the | Proceedings | From Sept. 5, 1774, to Jan. 1, 1776. | Published by Order of Congress. | Volume I.



While Aitken was proceeding on this work, another change was made in the printing committee by the addition, in February, 1777, of Witherspoon and Lovell,<sup>1</sup> and they, acting under direction of Congress, agreed to take two hundred more than the original number provided for in the resolution of September, 1776;<sup>2</sup> this was probably done because of a determination to supply each State delegation, in addition to the individual copies for each member, with twenty copies for the use of their respective States.<sup>3</sup>

It now fell to Aitken's lot to have a disagreement with Congress, as had the Bradfords before him, and he printed no Journal after the two volumes mentioned above; for in May, 1778,<sup>4</sup> the committee appointed to superintend the publication of the Journals (whose numbers had been increased by the addition of J. B. Smith on January 16, 1778) were

| *Philadelphia*: | Printed and Sold by R. Aitken, Bookseller, Front-Street. | M.DCC.LXXVII | 8vo. Title and authorization, pp. (2), 310; index, pp. (12). Hildeburn, Vol. II. p. 235. Ford's No. 79.

Journals | of | Congress | Containing the | Proceedings | In the Year, 1776. | Published by order of Congress. | Volume II. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed and Sold by R. Aitken, Bookseller, Front Street. | M.DCC.-LXXVII. | 8vo. Title and authorization, pp. (2), 513; index, pp. (22). Hildeburn, Vol. II. p. 285.

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, February 7, 1777.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, June 2, 1777.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, June 2, 1777. The number of copies issued cannot be exactly determined. The first resolution of Congress authorized five hundred. By June 2, 1777, Congress agreed to take seven hundred. Aitken, in his "Waste Book" (pp. 356-57), records, "I printed 800 vol. 2d of Journals of Congress I allow 5 fewer of above no. said books were carried to Lancaster and committed to care of Mr. Dunlap. I find of 750 copies only 532 delivered wanting in all 218—I allow at 22/6 as they have been lost or embezzled—654 Dollrs. 218 vol. 1st on hand acco't of the 2nd vols. missing. I desire to be heard on this affair." This is recorded on December 14, 1778, and January 2, 1779. But it hardly tallies with the vote of Congress of June 27, 1777, ordering Aitken to be paid 148.76 dollars "for 768 Journals of Congress, a copper plate printing press, &c.," which he notes in his journal as received on June 28. On May 26, 1781, upon motion of Witherspoon, seconded by Sewell, the secretary was ordered to "treat with" Robert Aitken for two hundred copies of the first and second volumes of the Journals of Congress.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, May 2, 1778.



“empowered and instructed to employ Mr. John Dunlap to continue printing the said journals instead of Robert Aitken.” He began his work at once, and with the second volume of the Journal, for which there seems to have been a demand due to the loss of a number of the copies printed by Aitken,<sup>1</sup> and Francis Hopkinson, who had been selected to prepare the index to Aitken’s two volumes, now completed his task; and for the making of as poor and unsatisfactory an index as ever saw the light of day he received, on September 17, 1778, the munificent sum of two hundred dollars.<sup>2</sup> As it was printed separately, twenty copies were ordered to be given to the delegates from each State, to go with the copies of the Journal authorized to be distributed as mentioned above. On that same day<sup>3</sup> Samuel Holten was added to the committee on publication of the Journal.

Dunlap also printed the Journal for 1777, but as this was not got through the press until 1779, although the title-page bears no date, and was mentioned as “now publishing” as late as March 27 of that year, he too fell under the ban of Congress, no doubt because of his tardiness, and the dissatisfaction then engendered led to a radical change in the method of printing the record of Congressional proceedings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journals | of | Congress. | Containing | the | Proceedings | From January 1, 1776, to January 1, 1777. | Published by Order of Congress. | Volume II. | *Yorktown*: | [Pennsylvania] | Printed by John Dunlap, | M.DCC.LXXVIII. | 8vo, pp. (2), 520; index, pp. xxvii. See Ford’s No. 125.

<sup>2</sup> See Journal of Congress, June 15, September 17, and November 10, 1778. On December 1, 1779, he was ordered to be paid 266-2/3 dollars as balance in full for his account against the Journal committee.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, November, 10, 1778.

<sup>4</sup> Journals | of | Congress | Containing | the | Proceedings | From January 1st, 1777, to January 1st, 1778. | Published by Order of Congress. | Volume III. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by John Dunlap. | [n. d.] 8vo, pp. 603; index to Vol. III., pp. xxii.; index to Vol. I., pp. (12). See Hildeburn, Vol. II. p. 311. Ford’s No. 164.

Also: Journals | of | Congress. | Containing | the Proceedings | from January 1, 1777, to January 1, 1778, | Published by Order of Congress.



Although Congress, on February 12, 1779, passed a resolution directing the committee on printing the Journals to employ Aitken to print that of the year 1779, and authorizing them "to engage to take of him, as well as of Mr. John Dunlap<sup>1</sup> so many of each future volume printed by them respectively, as shall equal the number of the first and second already received," the committee appears to have taken no action in keeping with the powers given them. However, the matter of printing the Journals of Congress came up quite frequently in one way or another during the early months of 1779.

As noted above, the Journal for 1777 had not by that time appeared; that for 1778 had not even been put in the hands of the printer. Much inconvenience was occasioned by this delay, which was in striking contrast with the earlier method of publishing almost at once. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the dissatisfaction took definite shape at

| Volume III. | *New York*: | Printed by John Patterson. | [n. d.] 8vo, pp. 603; index, pp. xxii.

Hildeburn and Ford both hold that this Journal of 1777 was printed in 1778. My reasons for differing from them are based (1) on the resolution of February 12, 1779, noted below in the text, wherein, had there been a third volume of the Journal in existence, it would surely have been mentioned; (2) the resolution of March 27, 1779, directing that the yeas and nays be printed in the Journal then printing, which, as the Journal of 1778 was not ordered printed till later, must have referred to the Journal of 1777; (3) the fact that Dunlap was not paid for printing this third volume until July, 1779 (see below); (4) Dunlap had some difficulty in having his account with Congress settled. For on March 9, 1779 (at the same time that Aitken, whose appeal had been heard, was voted 3483.45/90 dollars "for printing journals of Congress and sundry other contingencies"), a report was made "respecting J. Dunlap . . . with his account," but it was laid on the table without consideration. At the end of the month (March 30) it was referred to the Board of Treasury, and on the 27th of April he was voted eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two dollars for printing done for Congress. This probably did not include the work done on the Journals, for on July 17 he was ordered to be paid five thousand seven hundred and fifty-six dollars for "printing the 3d volume of the journals of Congress, paper, etc." See MS. Journal of Congress.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Journal of Congress.



the end of March 1779, when, "on motion of Mr. Drayton, seconded by Mr. M. Smith, Congress came to the following resolution: Whereas it is essential to the interest and security of every free state, that the conduct of the public servants should be known to their constituents; Resolved, That from the first of January last, the journals of this house, except such parts as have been or shall be ordered to be kept secret, be printed immediately; and that, for the future, the journal except as above, be printed weekly and sent to the executive powers of the several states, to be by them laid before their respective legislatures; and that a printer be engaged to print for Congress; and also a printer or printers be employed to bring up the journals from the time of their present publication to the said first of January."<sup>1</sup> This was followed on the same day by the addition of Hill, Floyd, and Muhlenberg to the committee appointed to superintend the publication of the Journal.

With the effectiveness of the new broom, they had by the 9th of April swept away Dunlap; and in his place had had David C. Claypoole appointed to print for Congress.<sup>2</sup> He immediately began the publication of the most interesting, the most serviceable, and the costliest of all the Journals, and to the present-day investigators the rarest and most valuable; for but two or three complete sets are known to have come down to us. One of these is in the possession of Mr. Paul Leicester Ford, and the other, with the autograph of John Dickinson upon each part of it, is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, March 31, 1779. But this was not the first occasion that a proposition to print the Journal with greater frequency came before Congress. So far back as June, 1777, the Board of War complained that they labored under great difficulty in not having the daily resolves of Congress before them, and they therefore recommended that a printer be appointed to print the proceedings of Congress daily. The members of the Board of War present when this request was ordered made were John Adams, Sherman, Samuel Adams, R. H. Lee, Carroll, and Clymer. (See MS. Journal of Congress, June 17, 1777.) Letter from Board of War, June 13, 1777. It will be remembered also that Aitken's first attempts for 1776 were in monthly parts.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., April 9, 1779.



The first publication under authorization of Congress that issued from Claypoole's press was a folio bearing the following title: "Journals of Congress, From Friday January 1st to Monday February 1st 1779. Philadelphia, Printed by David C. Claypoole, Printer to the Congress of the United States of America MDCCLXXX," with contents quite in keeping with its title. Next appeared a Journal reduced in size to the more wieldy octavo, containing the proceedings for February; then one with those of March; and then the last from March 31 to April 10, before the beginning of the weekly issues,<sup>1</sup> which continued from Monday the 12th day of April until the last day of December, 1779.<sup>2</sup> As we shall have occasion below to notice the dif-

<sup>1</sup> Journals | of | Congress, | From | Friday January 1st, | To | Monday February 1st, 1779. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, Printer to | The Congress of the United States of America. | MDCCCLXXIX. | folio, pp. 12. Text printed in two columns. Hildeburn, Vol. II. p. 338. Ford's No. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Journals | Of | Congress | From | Monday, February 1st, | To | Monday, March 1st, 1779. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, | Printer to the Honorable the Congress of | the United States of America. | 8vo, pp. 50. Ford's No. 234.

Journals | Of | Congress | From | Monday, March 1st, | To | Tuesday, March 30th, 1779, | Inclusive. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, | Printer to the Honorable the Congress of | the United States of America. | 8vo, pp. 56. Ford's No. 235. [*Ibid.*] From Wednesday, March thirty-first, | To | Saturday, April tenth, 1779, | Inclusive. | \* \* \*. | 8vo, pp. 24. Ford's No. 236.

All the titles to the succeeding sheets are similar to the March issue, except that the word *Honorable* is abbreviated to *Hon.* in the issue March 31-April 10 and in all the weekly sheets to that of the week of May 21-29, when *Honorable* reappears and is continued to the end, with the necessary changes of date as noted below. They are also all 8vos. See Ford's Nos. 237-273, with corrections.

\* \* | Monday, April 12th, | To | Saturday, April 17th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 19.

\* \* | Monday, April 19th, | To | Saturday, April 24th, 1779 | Inclusive. | pp. 24.

\* \* | Saturday, April 24th, | To | Monday, May 3d, 1779 | pp. 16. (This title contains an error, for the proceedings begin with Monday, April 26, and end with May 1.)

\* \* | Saturday, May 1st, | To | Monday, May 10th, 1779. | pp. 15.



ferences existing between these monthly sheets and the entire Journal of 1779 as we ordinarily know it, it is but necessary

(This contains the proceedings from Monday, May 3, to Saturday, May 8, inclusive.)

\*\* | Monday, May 10th, | To | Saturday, May 15th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 14.

\*\* | Monday, May 17th, | To | Saturday, May 22d, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 24.

\*\* | Monday, May 24th, | To | Saturday, May 29th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 20.

\*\* | Monday, May 31st, | To | Saturday, June 5th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 15.

\*\* | Monday, June 7th, | To | Saturday, June 12th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 19.

\*\* | Monday, June 14th, | To | Saturday, June 19th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 10.

\*\* | Monday, June 21st, | To | Saturday, June 26th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 13.

\*\* | Monday, June 28th, | To | Saturday, July 3d, 1779, | Inclusive. |  
pp. 15.

\*\* | Monday, July 5th, | To | Saturday, July 12th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 9. (This title contains two errors. The Declaration of Independence was celebrated by Congress on July 5, so there was no session; and the Saturday of this week was the 10th and not the 12th.)

\*\* | Monday, July 12th, | To | Saturday, July 17th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 10.

\*\* | Monday, July 19th, | To | Saturday, July 24th, 1779, | Inclusive.  
| pp. 14.

\*\* | Monday, July 26th, | To | Saturday, July 31st, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 16. ("With this issue the imprint was changed to 'Philadelphia: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, | Printer to the Honorable the Congress,' | and continued to the end of the series." Ford's No. 252.)

\*\* | Monday, August 2d, | To | Saturday, August 7th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 11.

\*\* | Monday, August 9th, | To | Saturday, August 14th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 10.

\*\* | Monday, August 16th, | To | Saturday, August 21st, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 13.

\*\* | Monday, August 23d, | To | Saturday, August 28th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 14.

\*\* | Monday, August 30th, | To | Saturday, September 4th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 12.



to remark here that they contain much matter of great importance that is found in no other publication. It was over

\*\* | Monday, September 6th, | To | Saturday, September 11th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 10.

\*\* | Monday, September 13th, | To | Saturday, September 18th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 22.

\*\* | Monday, September 20th, | To | Saturday, September 25th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 9.

\*\* | Sunday, September 26th, | To | Saturday, October 2d, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 11.

\*\* | Monday, October 4th, | To | Saturday, October 9th [sic], 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 11.

\*\* | Monday, October 11th, | To | Saturday, October 16th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 8.

\*\* | Monday, October 18th, | To | Saturday, October 23d, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 12.

\*\* | Monday, October 25th, | To | Saturday, October 30th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 13.

\*\* | Monday, November 1st, | To | Saturday, November 6th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 7.

\*\* | Monday, November 8th | To | Saturday, November 12th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 11. (This contains a mistake in the date of Saturday, which was the 13th and not the 12th.)

\*\* | Monday, November 15th, | To | Saturday, November 20th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 19.

\*\* | Monday, November 22d, | To | Saturday, November 27th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 15.

\*\* | Monday, November 29th, | To | Saturday, December 4th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 12.

\*\* | Monday, December 6th, | To | Saturday, December 11th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 10.

\*\* | Monday, December 13th, | To | Saturday December 18th, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 12.

\*\* | Monday, December 20th, | To | Friday, December 31st, 1779, | Inclusive. | pp. 16.

Also: Journals | of | Congress. | Containing | The | Proceedings | From January 1, 1779, To January 1, 1780. | Published by Order of Congress, | Volume V. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, | M,DCC,LXXXIII. | 8vo, pp. 464, (15), lxxiv. Ford says of this (No. 274), "In the first issue of this volume pages 25 and 28, and 29 and 32, backed each other and were duplicated. There were no pages 26, 27, 30, and 31. These errors were corrected in most copies." The Appendix, pp. 15, contains a tabulated schedule of "Expenditures for the Year 1779."



the distribution of some sheets of these Journals that Thomson the secretary and Henry Laurens nearly came to blows on the floor of the House. Laurens so far forgot himself as to threaten to kick Thomson from the President's platform upon which they both happened to be standing. This episode led Laurens to prefer charges against Thomson for misconduct in office, and he wrote a long letter to the investigating committee appointed by Congress. Thomson defended himself in a similar manner and at great length, and nothing—not even a censure—came of the dispute.<sup>1</sup> In the course of his letter Thomson wrote the following which is of interest to us: "I had frequently heard Mr. Lovell who has had a principal direction and management in printing the weekly journals and ordering the distribution, for as to myself I never before took any concern in the matter as I did not consider it any part of my business, I say I had frequently heard him mention that there was only one for each member printed upon a fine paper and brought into Congress—that if any wanted to send copies to their state they might be supplied with others printed on a common paper." It may here be remarked that Dickinson's set, which we mentioned above, is one of those printed on "fine paper;" not only this, the octavo sheets have never been cut or bound, but are kept in a case with the original steel-blue covers still about them. The folio, more difficult to preserve, has been arranged in sumptuous attire, although likewise uncut and with its first outer cover still intact. Nor would it be less than vandalism to destroy the enclosing sheets, for each in the strong and well-known handwriting of the "Farmer" proclaims that it was John Dickinson's copy.

Acting under the authorization of the resolutions of March 31, 1779, Claypoole was also engaged to print the, till now, neglected Journal for 1778, Volume IV. of the set. It bears no date on the title-page, but its similarity, typographically,

<sup>1</sup> *Potter's American Monthly*, Vols. VI. and VII. pp. 269 *et seq.* The letter is dated September 6, 1779.



to the other Journals published in 1779 and its dissimilarity from the volume published by him in 1783 (see below) give some ground for holding that he printed it in 1779.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Journals | of | Congress, | Containing | The | Proceedings | From  
January 1st, 1778, to January 1st, 1779, | Published by Order of Con-  
gress. | Volume IV. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole, |  
Printer to the Honorable Congress. | 8vo, pp. (2), 748; index, pp. lxxxix;  
appendix, (4).

(To be continued.)



WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 50.)

1797.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Philadelphia: Visits the Globe Mills, situate at what is now the intersection of Germantown Avenue and Girard Avenue.<sup>1</sup>

"1797.—One of the earliest manufactories in the United States, of any extent, for spinning and weaving flax, hemp, and tow, by water power, was that of James Davenport, put in operation with patent machinery within the last twelve months, at the Globe Mills, at the north end of Second Street, Philadelphia. It was visited at the beginning of the year [1797] by Washington and several members of Congress, who were highly pleased with the ingenuity and novelty of the machinery. The President in particular expressed a high opinion of the merits of the patentee, Mr. Davenport;<sup>2</sup> and an earnest wish that a work so honorable to the infant manufactories of the Union, might be extended to different parts of the country. The labor was chiefly performed by boys."—*Bishop's History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, Vol. I. p. 71.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Philadelphia: "The first thing I shall do, after I am settled at Mount Vernon, will be to adjust all my accounts of a private nature; the doing of which, as they ought, has been prevented by public avocations."—*Washington to David Stuart*.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12.

At Philadelphia: "*January 13.*—Yesterday the Senate of this Commonwealth [Pennsylvania] waited on the President

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<sup>1</sup> An interesting paper by Samuel H. Needles, entitled "The Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills, Philadelphia," will be found in Vol. VIII. pp. 279-377 of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

<sup>2</sup> James Davenport received (February 14, 1794) the first patent for any kind of textile machine issued in the United States.



of the United States and presented him with an Address.”  
—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

At Philadelphia: “*February 9.*—I saw the President and Mrs. Washington on Tuesday [February 7], and am to dine there to-day. They are both extremely well.”—*James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell*.

“In private, as well as in public, his [Washington's] punctuality was observable. He had a well regulated clock in his entry, by which the movements of his whole family, as well as his own were regulated. At his dinner parties he allowed five minutes for the variation of time pieces, and after they were expired he would wait for no one. Some lagging members of Congress came in when not only dinner was begun, but, considerably advanced. His only apology was, ‘Sir or Gentlemen, we are too punctual for you;’ or in pleasantry, ‘Gentlemen, I have a cook, who never asks whether the company has come, but whether the hour has come.’ Washington sat as a guest at his dinner table, about half way from its head to its foot. The place of the chaplain was directly opposite to the President. The company stood while the blessing was asked, and on a certain occasion, the President's mind was probably occupied with some interesting concern, and on going to the table he began to ask a blessing himself. He uttered but a word or two, when bowing to me, he requested me to proceed, which I accordingly did. I mention this because it shows that President Washington always asked a blessing himself, when a chaplain was not present.”—*Reminiscences of Ashbel Green*.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

At Philadelphia: “*February 20.*—On Friday last [February 17] the House of Representatives of this Commonwealth [Pennsylvania] waited on the President of the United States with an Address.”—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

At Philadelphia: “*February 18.*—At four o'clock I went with the following members of the [Pennsylvania] House [of Representatives] and dined with that great and good man, George Washington, President of the United States, who will retire from office on March 4th next, at which time John Adams, the present Vice-President, will take his place: Speaker [George] Latimer, [Joseph] Ball, [Francis]



Gurney, [Robert] Waln, and [Lawrence] Seckel, of Philadelphia; [Richard] Keys, [Thomas] Boude, [Abraham] Carpenter, and [Jeremiah] Brown, of Lancaster; [John] Hulme, [Theophilus] Foulke, [Ralph] Stover, and [Isaac] Van Horn, of Bucks; [Robert] Frazer, [Thomas] Bull, and [James] Hannum, of Chester; [William] McPherson, [Alexander] Turner, [William] Miller, and [John] Stewart, of York; and [Samuel] Marshall, of Huntingdon. Our Speaker sat between the President and his lady, and I on the left of the President."—*Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer.*

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22.<sup>1</sup>

At Philadelphia: "*February 23.*—Yesterday being the anniversary of the birthday of the President of the United States, in which he entered the 65th [66th] year of his age, it was observed here as a day of Festival and Rejoicing. It was ushered in by ringing of bells and firing of cannon. Most of the members of Congress and the Governor and the Legislature of this State in a body congratulated him on the occasion. The Officers of the Militia met at Eleven o'clock at the State-House, and marched from thence to the house of the President to whom they presented an address, and received his answer thereto. They then returned to the State House, and accompanied the Society of the Cincinnati in their visit to the President, who also presented to him an address and received his answer. At twelve o'clock a federal salute was fired. The procession was attended by the uniform military corps, who performed a variety of evolutions on the occasion.

"This day has always been observed in this city by marks of joy and festivity; but this being the last birth day which will return to GEORGE WASHINGTON, as Chief Magistrate of the Union, it was not only honoured by outward marks of joy, but by sensations of a peculiar kind, which are better

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<sup>1</sup> "*February 24.*—On Wednesday evening [February 22] arrived in town, on a visit to the President of the United States the famous Mohawk Chief Colonel JOSEPH BRANT, and the Seneca Chief Cornplanter."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser.*



felt than expressed—they were those of Gratitude and Esteem for Eminent Services.

"In the Evening there was a Ball on the occasion at Rickett's Amphitheatre,<sup>1</sup> which for Splendor, Taste and Elegance, was, perhaps, never excelled by any similar Entertainment in the United States."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"February 24.—The President's birthday (the 22d) was celebrated here with every possible mark of attachment, affection and respect, rendered affecting beyond all expression, by its being in some degree a parting scene. Mrs. Washington was moved even to tears, with the mingled emotions of gratitude for such strong proofs of public regard, and the new prospect of the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic life: she expressed herself something to this effect. I never saw the President look better, or in finer spirits, but his emotions were too powerful to be concealed. He could sometimes scarcely speak. Three rooms of his house were almost entirely full from 12 to 3, and such a crowd at the door it was difficult to get in. At the Amphitheatre at night it is supposed there was at least 1200 persons. The show was a very brilliant one, but such scrambling to go to supper that there was some danger of being squeezed to death. The Vice President handed in Mrs. Washington, and the President immediately followed. The applause with which they were received is indescribable. The same was shown on their return from supper. The music added greatly to the interest of the scene. The President staid till between 12 and 1."—*James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell*.

"It was the usage, while Washington was President of the United States, for the clergy of the city to go in a body to congratulate him on his birthday; and on these occasions he always appeared unusually cheerful. The last time we made such a call, which was about ten days before his retirement from office, he said with singular vivacity, 'Gentlemen I feel the weight of years; I take a pair of sixes on my shoulders this day.' This great man was not in his proper element when he attempted a pleasant conceit. I never witnessed his making the attempt but on this occasion; and if his allusion, as I suppose must have been the case, was to the fifty-sixes used in weighing heavy articles, it was surely far-fetched and not very obvious. He entered his Sixty-sixth year at this time."—*Reminiscences of Ashbel Green*.

#### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24.

At Philadelphia: "March 1.—An Address of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, was on Friday last [February 24] presented to the President of the United

<sup>1</sup> Southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.



States by the Senators representing that State in Congress, accompanied by most of the Members of the House of Representatives, from that State."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27.

At Philadelphia: "*February 28.*—Yesterday at twelve o'clock the Common Council of this city waited on the President of the United States with an address. And at half past twelve the Select Council waited on the President, and presented their address."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"*February 27.*—We are informed that the President of the United States will be at the representation of the new comedy, *The Way to get Married*, this evening, at the New Theatre."<sup>1</sup>—*Idem*.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28.

At Philadelphia: "*February 28.*—The President and his family honor the Ladies Concert with their presence this evening."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

George Gibbs, in his "Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams," published in 1846, makes the following beautiful reference to the last levee of Washington as President, which was doubtless held on this day, February 28: "Just before his final retirement, Washington held his last formal levee. An occasion more respectable in simplicity, more imposing in dignity, more affecting in the sensations which it awakened, the ceremonials of rulers never exhibited. There were the great chiefs of the republic of all parties and opinions; veterans of the war of independence, weather stained and scarred; white haired statesmen, who, in retirement, were enjoying the fruits of former toil; there were his executive counsellors and private friends; ministers of foreign governments, whose veneration approached that of his countrymen; citizens, who came to offer the tribute of a respect, sincere and disinterested. Little was there of the pageantry of courts, little of the glitter which attends the receptions of royalty; yet in the grave assemblage that stood in that unadorned chamber, there was a majesty which these knew not. The dignitaries of a nation had come together to bid farewell to one, who at their own free call, by their

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<sup>1</sup> "NEW THEATRE. THIS EVENING, February 27. By particular desire, will be presented, the last new Comedy. *The way to get Married*; after the comedy the comic ballet *Dermot & Kathleen, or Animal Magnetism*."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.



own willing trust—not as an honor to be coveted, but as a duty to be discharged—had in turn led their armies and executed their laws; one who now, his last task worthily fulfilled, was to take his place again among them, readier to relinquish than he had been to undertake power; a soldier, without stain upon his arms; a ruler, without personal ambition; a wise and upright statesman; a citizen of self-sacrificing patriotism; a man pure, unblemished and true in every relation he had filled; one to whom all ages should point as the testimony that virtue and greatness had been and could be united.”

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 2.

At Philadelphia: “*March 3.*—Yesterday the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the United Episcopal Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter’s waited on the President of the United States with an Address.”—*Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser*.

On the following day, March 3, a number of the clergy of the city and vicinity of Philadelphia also presented the President with an address. The Reverend Ashbel Green, referring to this in his *Reminiscences*, says, “On the 4th [?] of March, when he carried into effect his purpose of retirement, which he had previously announced, the city clergy waited on him with an address; which, with his answer, was published in the newspapers of the day. Mr. Jefferson in a letter published after his death, speaks of the design of this address, and of the character of its answer, as indicating that Washington was suspected of infidelity, and broadly intimates that such a suspicion was just. As to the design of the address, I may be allowed to say, that Mr. Jefferson’s remarks are incorrect, since by the appointment of my clerical brethren, it was penned by myself, and I have not a doubt that the whole imputation was groundless.”

#### FRIDAY, MARCH 3.<sup>1</sup>

At Philadelphia: “*March 2.*—To-morrow [March 3] at dinner I shall, as a servant of the public, take my leave of the President elect, of the foreign characters, the heads of departments, &c., and the day following, with pleasure, I shall witness the inauguration of my successor to the chair of government.”—*Washington to General Knox*.

Of this dinner, Bishop White, one of the guests, writes, “On the day before his leaving the Presidential chair a large company dined with him.

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<sup>1</sup> “*March 3.*—This evening is Mrs. Washington’s last drawing-room, and a very crowded one it will be, though extremely exciting to a person of any sensibility.”—*James Iredell to Mrs. Iredell*.



Among them were the foreign ministers and their ladies, Mr. and Mrs. Adams,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jefferson, with other conspicuous persons of both sexes. During the dinner much hilarity prevailed; but on the removal of the cloth it was put an end to by the President, certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company, with a smile on his countenance, as nearly as can be recollected in the following terms: 'Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, and wishing you all possible happiness!' There was an end of all pleasantry. He who gives this relation accidentally directed his eye to the lady of the British minister (Mrs. Liston) and tears were running down her cheeks."<sup>2</sup>

#### SATURDAY, MARCH 4.

At Philadelphia: "*March 6.*—On Saturday [March 4], at twelve o'clock, agreeably to the notification which he gave to both Houses of Congress soon after his election, JOHN ADAMS, as President of the United States, attended in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, to take his Oath of Office, according to the directions of the Constitution. On his entrance, as well as on the entrance of the late President, and of Thomas Jefferson, the Vice President, loud and reiterated applause involuntarily burst from the audience. The President having taken his seat on the elevated Chair of the Speaker of the House of Representatives,<sup>3</sup> the Vice-President, the late President, and the Secretary of the Senate<sup>4</sup> on his right, the Speaker and Clerk<sup>5</sup> of the House of Representatives on his left, and the Chief Justice of the United States<sup>6</sup> and the Associate Judges<sup>7</sup> at a table in the centre, all the foreign Ministers and Ambassadors, the Heads of Departments, General [James] Wilkinson, the Com-

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<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect. Mrs. Adams at this time was at home at Quincy, Massachusetts, and not in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoir of the Life of Bishop White," by Bird Wilson, D.D. Philadelphia, 1839, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Allyne Otis, of Massachusetts.

<sup>5</sup> John Beckley, of Virginia.

<sup>6</sup> Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut.

<sup>7</sup> William Cushing, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; and James Iredell, of North Carolina. The Judges not present were William Patterson, of New Jersey, and Samuel Chase, of Maryland.



mander-in-Chief, and a very crowded auditory of the principal inhabitants of this city being present, the President proceeded to deliver his Speech. . . .

"After concluding his speech, the President descended from his seat to receive his oath of office from the Chief Justice, who pronounced the following constitutional oath with great solemnity, which was repeated by the President in an equally audible and solemn manner. 'I do solemnly swear, that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States.'

"Having taken his oath, the President again resumed his seat, and, after sitting a moment, rose, bowed to the audience, and retired. After him, followed the Vice President (though not without a contest betwixt the late President and him with respect to Precedence, the former insisting upon the Vice President taking it, and he with great reluctance receiving it). Afterwards followed the members of the Senate, Foreign Ministers, Heads of Departments, Representatives, &c."<sup>1</sup>—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"On Saturday [March 4] the Merchants of Philadelphia gave a Public Dinner, at Rickett's Circus,<sup>2</sup> to GEORGE WASHINGTON, in testimony

<sup>1</sup> "March 5.—Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday. A solemn scene it was indeed, and it was made affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, 'Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest!' When the ceremony was over, he came and made me a visit, and cordially congratulated me, and wished my administration might be happy, successful, and honourable. . . . In the chamber of the House of Representatives was a multitude as great as the space could contain, and I believe scarcely a dry eye but Washington's."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams*.

<sup>2</sup> Rickett's Circus was first opened (April 12, 1793) at the southwest corner of Twelfth and Market Streets. In the fall of 1795 it was removed to a large circular building erected for the purpose at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. This was known as Rickett's Amphitheatre.



of their approbation of his conduct as President of the United States.—The Company, among whom were all the Foreign Ministers, many of the Members of both houses of Congress, the Governor of the state, and all the principal merchants of the city, met at Oeller's hotel<sup>1</sup> and marched in procession from thence to the place of entertainment. On their entering the Circus, *Washington's march* resounded through the place, and a curtain drew up which presented to view a transparent full length painting of the late President, whom Fame is crowning with a Wreath of Laurel, taking leave after delivering to her his valedictory address, of the Genius of America, who is represented by a Female Figure holding the Cap of Liberty in her hand, with an Altar before her, inscribed PUBLIC GRATITUDE. In the painting are introduced several emblematic devices of the honours he had acquired by his public services, and a distant view of Mount Vernon, the seat of retirement.<sup>2</sup> Not less than two hundred and forty persons were present, and a most sumptuous entertainment was provided by Mr. Richardet,<sup>3</sup> which consisted of four hundred dishes of the most choice viands which money could purchase or art prepare, dressed and served up in a manner which did him the highest credit. Mr. Willing and Mr. Fitzimmons presided, and the whole was conducted with the greatest order."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### THURSDAY, MARCH 9.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*March 10.*—Yesterday morning at 7 o'clock General Washington and family left this City for Mount Vernon."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

"*March 9.*—The President and Mrs. Washington go off this morning for Mount Vernon. Yesterday afternoon he came to make me his farewell visit, and requested me, in his own name and Mrs. W's, to present 'their respects' to Mrs. Adams."—*John Adams to Mrs. Adams*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 12.

At Baltimore: "*March 13.*—Last evening arrived in this city, on his way to Mount Vernon, the illustrious object of veneration and gratitude, GEORGE WASHINGTON. His Excellency was accompanied by his lady and Miss Custis, and by the son of the Unfortunate Lafayette and his preceptor.

<sup>1</sup> South side of Chestnut, west of Sixth Street, adjoining Rickett's Amphitheatre.

<sup>2</sup> This painting was the work of Charles Willson Peale. An engraving of it, executed by Alexander Lawson, was published in the *Philadelphia Monthly Magazine* for January, 1799.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Richardet, "master of the City Tavern and Merchant's Coffee House, 86 south second st."—*Philadelphia Directory*, 1797.



At a distance from the city, he was met by a crowd of citizens, on horse and foot, who thronged the road to greet him, and by a detachment from Captain Hollingsworth's troop, who escorted him in through as great a concourse of people as Baltimore ever witnessed. On alighting at the Fountain Inn, the General was saluted with reiterated and thundering huzzas from the spectators. His Excellency, with the companions of his journey, leaves town we understand this morning."—*Baltimore paper*.

## WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15.

At Mount Vernon: "*March 19.*—We arrived here on Wednesday [March 15], without any accident, after a tedious and fatiguing journey of seven days. . . . Grandpapa is very well & much pleased with being once more *Farmer Washington*."—*Nelly Custis to Mrs. Wolcott*.

## SATURDAY, APRIL 1.

At Alexandria: Dines by invitation (at Abert's Tavern) with the Ancient York Masons of Alexandria Lodge, No. 22. Returns to Mount Vernon under an escort of mounted troops of the town.

## MONDAY, APRIL 3.

At Mount Vernon: "I find myself in the situation nearly of a new beginner; for, although I have not houses to build (except one, which I must erect for the accommodation and security of my military, civil, and private papers, which are voluminous and may be interesting), yet I have scarcely any thing else about me, that does not require considerable repairs. In a word, I am already surrounded by joiners, masons, and painters; and such is my anxiety to get out of their hands, that I have scarcely a room to put a friend into, or to sit in myself, without the music of hammers, or the odoriferous scent of paint."—*Washington to James McHenry*.

## MONDAY, MAY 15.

At Mount Vernon: "To make and sell a little flour annually, to repair houses (going fast to ruin), to build one for the security of my papers of a public nature, and to



amuse myself in agricultural and rural pursuits, will constitute employment for the few years I have to remain on this terrestrial globe. If, also, I could now and then meet the friends I esteem, it would fill the measure and add zest to my enjoyments; but, if ever this happens, it must be under my own vine and fig-tree, as I do not think it probable that I shall go beyond twenty miles from them.”—*Washington to Oliver Wolcott.*

## MONDAY, MAY 29.

At Mount Vernon: “I begin my diurnal course with the sun; if my hirelings are not in their places at that time I send them messages of sorrow for their indisposition; having put these wheels in motion, I examine the state of things further; the more they are probed, the deeper I find the wounds, which my buildings have sustained by an absence and neglect of eight years; by the time I have accomplished these matters, breakfast (a little after seven o’clock) is ready; this being over, I mount my horse and ride round my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss seeing strange faces, come as they say out of respect for me. Pray, would not the word curiosity answer as well? And how different this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board! The usual time of sitting at table, a walk, and tea, bring me within the dawn of candlelight; previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve, that, as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing-table and acknowledge the letters I have received; but when the lights are brought, I feel tired and disinclined to engage in this work conceiving that the next night will do as well. The next night comes, and with it the same causes for postponement, and so on. . . . Having given you the history of a day, it will serve for a year.”—*Washington to James McHenry.*

## SATURDAY, JUNE 24.

At Mount Vernon: “I am very glad to hear, that my old friend and acquaintance General Rochambeau is alive, and



in the enjoyment of tolerably good health. It is some years since I had the honor to receive a letter from him; but, if it should fall in your way at any time to recall me to his remembrance by the presentation of my best regards to him, which I pray you to accept also yourself it would oblige me."—*Washington to General Mathieu Dumas.*

The following extracts from the *privately printed* diary of Amariah Frost, of Milford, Massachusetts, who visited Mount Vernon in June, 1797, are transcribed from an article by Moncure D. Conway, entitled "Footprints in Washingtonland," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for April, 1889:

"We arrived at the President's seat about 10 o'clock. The General was out on horseback viewing his labourers at harvest; we were desired to tarry until he should return. . . . We had rum punch brought us by a servant. We viewed the gardens and walks, which are very elegant, abounding with many curiosities. Fig-trees, raisins, limes, oranges, etc., large English mulberries, artichokes, etc. The President returned; he received us very politely. . . . His lady also came in and conversed with us very familiarly respecting Boston, Cambridge, the officers of the army, etc. The son of the Marquis De La Fayette also came into the room where we sat, which was a large entry, and conversed some. . . . The President came and desired us to walk in to dinner. We then walked into a room where were Mrs. Law, Mrs. Peters, and a young lady, all grand-daughters of Mrs. Washington. The President directed us where to sit (no grace was said). Mrs. Washington sat at the head, the President next to her at her right. . . . The dinner was very good—a small roasted pigg, boiled leg of lamb, beef, peas, lettuce, cucumbers, artichokes, etc., puddings, tarts, etc. We were desired to call for what drink we chose. He took a glass of wine with Mrs. Law first, which example was followed by Dr. Croker and Mrs. Washington, myself and Mrs. Peters, Mr. Fayette and the young lady, whose name is Custis. When the cloth was taken away the President gave 'All our Friends.' He spoke of the improvements made in the United States. . . . Much more was said, but nothing respecting our present politicks."

#### THURSDAY, JULY 6.

At Mount Vernon: "On the 6th of July I set off, having a letter to the president from his nephew, my particular friend, Bushrod Washington, Esquire. Having alighted at Mount Vernon, I sent in my letter of introduction, and walked into the portico, west of the river. In about ten minutes the president came to me. He wore a plain blue coat; his hair dressed and powdered. There was a reserve, but no hauteur in his manner. He shook me by the hand,



said he was glad to see a friend of his nephew's, drew a chair, and desired me to sit down."—BENJAMIN H. LATROBE (*Dunlap's Arts of Design*, Vol. II. p. 475).

"The conversation lasted above an hour, and as he had at first told me, that he was endeavouring to finish some letters to go by post, upon a variety of business, 'which, notwithstanding his distance from government, still pressed upon him in his retirement,' I got up to take my leave, but he desired me, in a manner very much like Dr. Johnson's, to 'keep my chair;' and then continued to talk to me about the great works going on in England, and my own objects in this country. I found him well acquainted with my mother's family in Pennsylvania. After much conversation upon the coal mines, on James' River, I told him of the silver mine at Rochester. He laughed most heartily at the very mention of the thing. I explained to him the nature of the expectations formed of its productiveness, and satisfied him of the probability that one might exist there. He made several minute inquiries concerning it, and then said, 'it would give him real uneasiness, should any silver or gold mine be discovered that would tempt considerable capitals into the prosecution of that object, and that he heartily wished for his country, that it might contain no mines but such as the plough could reach, excepting only coal and iron.'

"After conversing with me for more than two hours, he got up and said that, 'we should meet again at dinner.' I then strolled about the lawn, and took a few sketches of the house, &c. Upon my return I found Mrs. Washington and her grand-daughter, Miss Custis, in the hall. I introduced myself to Mrs. Washington, as the friend of her nephew, and she immediately entered into conversation, upon the prospect from the lawn, and presently gave me an account of her family, in a good-humoured free manner, that was extremely pleasing and flattering. She retains strong remains of considerable beauty, and seems to enjoy good health and as good humour. She has no affectation of superiority, but acts completely in the character of the mistress of the house of a respectable and opulent country gentleman. His grand-daughter, Miss Eleanor Custis, has more perfection of form, of expression, of colour, of softness, and of firmness of mind, than I have ever seen before. Young La Fayette, with his tutor, came down some time before dinner. He is a young man of seventeen years of age, of a mild, pleasant countenance, making a favourable impression at first sight. Dinner was served up about half-past three. . . .

"Washington has something uncommonly majestic and commanding in his walk, his address, his figure, and his countenance. His face is however characterized more by intense and powerful thought, than by quick and powerful conception. There is a mildness about its expression, and an air of reserve in his manner which lowers its tone still more. He is sixty-four, but appears some years younger, and has sufficient vigour to last many years yet. He was frequently entirely silent for many minutes, during which time an awkward silence seemed to prevail in the circle. His answers



were often short, and sometimes approaching to moroseness. He did not at any time speak with remarkable fluency; perhaps the extreme correctness of his language, which almost seemed studied, prevented that effect. He appeared to enjoy a humorous observation, and made several himself. He laughed heartily several times, and in a very good humoured manner."—  
BENJAMIN H. LATROBE.

## FRIDAY, JULY 7.

At Mount Vernon: "Your 'View of the Causes and Consequences of the present War with France,' which you were pleased to send to me through the medium of Mr. Bond of Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> has been duly received, and I pray you to accept my best acknowledgments for this mark of your polite attention, particularly for the exalted compliment which accompanied it."—*Washington to Thomas Erskine.*

The *exalted compliment* referred to by Washington consisted of the following sentiment written by Mr. Erskine, afterward the celebrated Lord Erskine, on a blank page of his pamphlet: "I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence which is to be found in the book I send to you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men; but you are the only human being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world."

## SATURDAY, JULY 15.

At Mount Vernon: "Our crop of Wheat this year, from the best information I have been able to obtain, will be found very short, owing to three causes; an uncommon drought last autumn, a severe winter with but little snow to protect it, and which is still more to be regretted, to what with us is denominated the Hessian fly, which has spread devastation, more or less, in all quarters; nor has the later wheat escaped the rust."—*Washington to Sir John Sinclair.*

## SUNDAY, JULY 23.

At Mount Vernon: "Your mamma went from here (with your sister Nelly) to Hope Park, on Wednesday, and is as

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<sup>1</sup> Phineas Bond, Consul-General from Great Britain for the Middle and Southern States.



well as usual. Your sister Law and child, were well on that day; and Mr., Mrs., and Eleanor Peter are all well at this place now, and many others in the house, among whom are Mr. Volney and Mr. William Morris."—*Washington to George Washington Parke Custis*.

"General Washington, who hated free-thinkers, was of course not very disposed to caress Volney, and indeed, as President, had declined to notice the French emigrants. Volney, however, paid him a visit at Mount Vernon, where he was received *bon gré, mal gré*, and entertained with the usual kindness shown to strangers. When about to depart he asked the general for a circular letter that might procure him aid and attention on the long tour he was about commencing. Washington wrote a few lines, which Volney considered, it was said, either equivocal praise or much too feeble for his exalted merit, hence the degrading manner in which he speaks of that superlatively great man. As well as I remember, the note was in substance thus: 'Monsieur Volney, who has become so celebrated by his works, need only be named in order to be known in whatever part of the United States he may travel.'"—*Recollections of Samuel Breck (1771-1862)*. Philadelphia, 1877.

#### TUESDAY, AUGUST 29.

At Mount Vernon: "Your grandmamma (who is prevented writing to you by General Spotswood and family's being here) has been a good deal indisposed by swelling on one side of her face, but it is now much better. The rest of the family within doors are all well."—*Washington to George Washington Parke Custis*.

#### SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8.

At Mount Vernon: "October 8.—Gave G. W. La Fayette a check on the Bank of Alexandria for the purpose of defraying his expenses to France, \$300."<sup>2</sup>—*Washington's Cash-Book*.

"October 8.—This letter I hope and expect will be presented to you by your son, who is highly deserving of such parents as you and your amiable lady. . . . His conduct, since he first set his feet on American ground, has been exemplary in every point of view, such as has gained him the esteem,

<sup>1</sup> "C. Volney needs no recommendation from Geo. Washington" were the words used.

<sup>2</sup> George Washington Lafayette and his tutor M. Frestel sailed from New York for France on the 26th of October.



affection, and confidence of all who have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His filial affection and duty, and his ardent desire to embrace his parents and sisters in the first moments of their release, would not allow him to wait the authentic account of this much desired event; but, at the same time that I suggested the propriety of this, I could not withhold my assent to the gratification of his wishes to fly to the arms of those whom he holds most dear, persuaded as he is from the information he has received, that he shall find you all in Paris.

"M. Frestel has been a true Mentor to George. No parent could have been more attentive to a favorite son; and he richly merits all that can be said of his virtues, of his good sense, and of his prudence. Both your son and he carry with them the vows and regrets of this family, and all who know them. And you may be assured, that yourself never stood higher in the affections of the people of this country, than at the present moment."—*Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette.*

#### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Mount Vernon: "I suffered every attack, that was made upon my executive conduct, to pass unnoticed while I remained in public office, well knowing, that, if the general tenor of it would not stand the test of investigation, a newspaper vindication would be of little avail; but, as immense pains have been taken to disseminate these counterfeit letters, I conceived it a justice due to my own character and to posterity to disavow them in explicit terms; and this I did in a letter directed to the Secretary of State, to be filed in his office, the day on which I closed my administration. This letter has since been published in the gazettes by the head of that department."—*Washington to William Gordon.*

In allusion to the republication in 1796 of a series of letters originally published at London in June, 1777, under the title of "Letters from General Washington to several of his Friends in the year 1776, in which are set forth a fairer and fuller view of American Politics, than ever yet transpired or the Public could be made acquainted with through any other channel," none of which, however, were written by Washington.

These *spurious letters*, purporting to have been written in the months of June and July, 1776, were seven in number, five addressed to Lund Washington, manager of the Mount Vernon estate, one to Mrs. Washington, and one to John Parke Custis, her son; "the first draughts, or foul copies," of which were said to have been found in a small portmanteau taken from a servant of the general, at Fort Lee, in November, 1776.

These letters were reprinted at New York in 1778, at Philadelphia in 1795, and at London and New York, with other letters, in 1796, with the



title: "Epistles, domestic, confidential, and official from General Washington, etc." The appearance of the latter publication called out a letter from Washington (March 3, 1797) to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, in which he declared them to be base forgeries, and that he had never seen or heard of them until they appeared in print.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Mount Vernon: "An eight years absence from home (except occasional short visits to it), has thrown my building, and other matters of private concern, into so much disorder, that at no period of my life have I ever been more engaged, than in the last six or eight months, to repair & bring them into tune again. This has prevented me from looking into the Agricultural Surveys of the Counties of England & Scotland with the attention I propose to do the ensuing Winter. I shall certainly be very desirous of having a compleat sett of them, and if any are missing will apply accordingly, as it is my intention to have them classed, and bound neatly."—*Washington to Sir John Sinclair.*

Sir John Sinclair, a Scottish nobleman distinguished for his statistical publications and philanthropy, was a frequent correspondent of Washington on agricultural matters, in which he took great interest of a practical nature. He was the founder of the Board of Agriculture in Scotland (1793) and its first president. Sinclair published at London in 1800, in fac-simile, the letters addressed to him by Washington on "agriculture and other interesting topics," to which was appended a brief sketch of the character of the writer. From this we make the following extract:

"Is there, on the whole, any individual, either in ancient or modern history, who has prouder claims to distinction and pre-eminence, than the great character whose letters this volume contains? His military talents were early celebrated; first in the service of Great Britain, and afterwards in that of America. His powers as a statesman, and as the founder of a constitution, which with British prejudices, I may consider as inferior to our own, but which promises to secure the happiness of the great nation it was formed to govern, cannot possibly be questioned. His public virtue, as the uncorrupted magistrate of a free people, who reluctantly received supreme authority, when it was judged necessary for the public good for him to assume it, and who anxiously wished to resign it into their hands when it could be done with public safety, can hardly be equalled in history. His literary endowments were unquestionably of a superior order; his letters in this collection, his addresses to the American Congress, and his farewell oration, when he quitted, for the last time, the Presidency of the United States, are models of each species of composition. His closing a



well-spent life, after a short illness, without having his strength or faculties impaired by any previous disorder or any untoward circumstance having occurred, that would materially affect his feelings, or could possibly tarnish his fame, is an uncommon instance of good fortune. The scene in which he acted also, and the object which he achieved, are the most memorable which history furnishes. For it was such a man alone, who by combining the force, and commanding the confidence, of thirteen separate states, could have dissolved those ties which subjected America to Europe, and to whom the political separation of two worlds is to be attributed. But, above all, what distinguished this celebrated warrior and statesman is, that to all those military and public talents, and to those literary endowments, which are so rarely united in the same person, he added the practice of every virtue that could adorn the private individual. It were in vain for me to attempt adequately to express the ideas I entertain of a character in every respect so peculiarly splendid. The pen of the immortal Shakspeare is alone competent to the task, and on the tombstone of the illustrious WASHINGTON let it be engraved,—

“ ‘His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world,—*This was a man,*  
————— *take him for all in all,*  
*We shall not look upon his like again.’ ”*

#### MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

At Mount Vernon: “The running off of my cook has been a most inconvenient thing to this family, and what rendered it more disagreeable, is that I had resolved never to become the Master of another slave by purchase, but this resolution I fear I must break. I have endeavored to hire, black or white, but am not yet supplied.”—*Washington to George Lewis.*

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Mount Vernon: “To have steered my bark amid the intricacies of variegated public employment to a haven of rest with an approving conscience, and, while receiving the approbation of my own country for the part I have acted, to meet similar proofs of it from many of the moderate and virtuous of other countries, consummates my greatest wish and all my ambition, and in my eye is more precious than any thing that power or riches could have bestowed.”—*Washington to John Luzac, Professor in the University at Leyden.*



From the beginning of the American Revolution, Professor Luzac had acted a zealous part in favor of the friends of liberty; and, as editor of the *Leyden Gazette* for many years, had ably promulgated the principles of freedom, and defended the cause and conduct of those who were struggling to establish them. To no pen in Europe were the United States so much indebted for a just representation of their affairs and defence of their rights as to that of Professor Luzac.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon: "A very severe winter has commenced, since the first of November we have hardly experienced a moderate day; heavy rains following severe frosts have done more damage to the winter grain now growing than I recollect ever to have seen—at this moment and for several days past all the Creeks and small Waters are hard bound with ice—and if the navigation of the River is not entirely stoped is yet very much impeded by it."—*Washington to John Marshall, at Paris.*<sup>1</sup>

1798.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3.

At Alexandria: "January 3.—Mr<sup>s</sup> Washington, myself &c<sup>a</sup> went to Alexandria & dined with Mr Fitzhugh."—*Washington's Diary.*

MONDAY, JANUARY 8.

At Mount Vernon: "January 8.—A Mr Marshall Music Master came here—Tuned Nelly Custis's Harpsicord & returned after dinner."—*Washington's Diary.*

"Nelly Custis's Harpsicord," which was presented to her by Washington, is now at Mount Vernon. Lossing, in his *Mount Vernon and its Associations*, says, "The best teachers were employed to instruct Nelly in the use of the harpsichord, and her grandmother made her practise upon it four or five hours every day. 'The poor girl,' says her brother, the late Mr. Custis, 'would play and cry, and cry and play, for long hours, under the immediate eye of her grandmother, a rigid disciplinarian in all things.'"

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<sup>1</sup> As one of the envoys from the United States, in conjunction with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry.



## MONDAY, JANUARY 15.

At Alexandria: "*January 15.*—I went to Alexandria to a meeting of the Stockholders of that Bank to an Election of Directors."—*Washington's Diary*.

## WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7.

At George Town: "*February 7.*—Went to a meet<sup>s</sup> of the Potomak C<sup>o</sup> in George Town—Dined at Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgeralds & lodged at M<sup>r</sup> T. Peters. *February 8.*—Visited the Public build<sup>s</sup> in the Morn<sup>s</sup> met the Comp<sup>r</sup> at the Union Tavern & dined there—lodged as before Weather very cold. *February 9.*—Returned home to Dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

## MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

At Alexandria: "*February 12.*—Went with the family to a Ball in Alex<sup>a</sup> given by the Citizens of it & its vicinity in commemoration of the anniversary of my birth day."—*Washington's Diary*.

The Gregorian, or "New Style" of computing the length of the year, although promulgated in 1582, was not adopted by Great Britain until 1751, nineteen years after the birth of Washington. It was then enacted that eleven nominal days should be omitted; Wednesday the *second* of September, 1752, being made the last day of "Old Style," and the next day (Thursday) counted the fourteenth instead of the third. After that date Washington's birthday would be February twenty-second instead of February eleventh. In some localities the "Old Style" remained in use for a long time, especially in the case of birthdays. The anniversary ball at Alexandria, it will be noticed, was held on the twelfth, in consequence of the eleventh of February, 1798, falling on Sunday.

## WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 14.*—M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>s</sup> Spotswood & Wife & M<sup>r</sup> Field<sup>s</sup> Lewis<sup>1</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Lear came to dinner the latter returned afterwards. *February 15.*—M<sup>r</sup> Field<sup>s</sup> Lewis

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<sup>1</sup> Washington's sister Betty, who married in 1760 Colonel Fielding Lewis, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, had six children: Fielding (above mentioned), Betty, who married Charles Carter, George Fielding, Robert, Howell, and Lawrence. There were other children, who died young. Colonel Lewis died December, 1781, and Betty Washington, who was his second wife, died March 31, 1797.



went away after dinner. *February 16.*—Mr & Mrs Spotswood left us after breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, MARCH 4.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 4.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart came to dinner. *March 5.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Stuart left this, to accompany Washington Custis to S<sup>t</sup> Johns College at Annapolis.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, MARCH 18.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 18.*—Mr Steer Sen<sup>r</sup> & Jun<sup>r</sup> Miss Steer & Mrs Vanhaven dined here & returned to Alex<sup>a</sup> afterwards. . . . *March 19.*—Dined with Mrs Washington &ca. at Mr Thomson Mason's.”—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, MARCH 20.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 20.*—Mr Law<sup>a</sup> Washington of Chotanck & Mr Law<sup>a</sup> Washington of Belmont came to Dinner—Albin Rawlins came to live with me as Clerk.”—*Washington's Diary*.

Lawrence Washington, of Chotank, was a descendant of Lawrence the Immigrant, the brother of John Washington, the great-grandfather of General Washington. In his will the General bequeathed him a gold-headed cane and also a spy-glass carried in the Revolution, designating him as the acquaintance and friend of his juvenile years. Lawrence Washington, of Belmont, Fairfax County, was probably another descendant of Lawrence the Immigrant.

TUESDAY, MARCH 27.

At Mount Vernon: “*March 27.*—Mr Charles Carroll Jun [son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton] & Mr Will<sup>m</sup> Lee came to dinner. *March 28.*—Mr Carroll & Mr Lee went away after breakfast & the family here went to dine with Mr Nichols.”—*Washington's Diary*.

The visit of young Mr. Carroll having given rise at Annapolis to a rumor that it was made with the intention of paying his addresses to Nelly Custis, her brother wrote to the General in allusion to it, saying, “I think it a most desirable match, and wish that it may take place with all my heart.” In reply, under date of April 15, Washington wrote, “Young Mr Carroll came here about a fortnight ago to dinner, and left us next morning after



breakfast. If his object was such as you say has been reported, it was not declared here; and therefore, the less is said upon the subject, particularly by your sister's friends, the more prudent it will be until the subject develops itself more."

But youthful alliances are not always made at the nod of Dame Rumor, nor are they always controlled by the wishes of relatives. Nelly Custis married, February 22, 1799, at Mount Vernon, Lawrence Lewis, a nephew of Washington; and Charles Carroll, Junior, found, in the following year, a bride at Philadelphia in Harriet, a daughter of Benjamin Chew.

#### SATURDAY, MARCH 31.

At Mount Vernon: "*March 31.*—A Mr Tevot a French Gentleman recom<sup>d</sup> by Count de Rochambeau dined here— & a Mr [Jonathan] Freeman Member in Congress from N: Hamp. came in the afternoon & returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, APRIL 13.

At Mount Vernon: "*April 13.*—Gen<sup>l</sup> [Henry] Lee came to dinner & Col<sup>o</sup> Heath & son in the aftern<sup>n</sup>. *April 14.*—Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee & Col<sup>o</sup> Heath went away after breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, APRIL 16.

At Alexandria: "*April 16.*—I went to Alex<sup>a</sup> to an Election of Delegates for the C<sup>y</sup> of Fairfax—voted for Mess<sup>rs</sup> West & Jn<sup>o</sup> Herbert—returned to Dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 9.

At Alexandria: "*May 9.*—I went to the Proclam<sup>a</sup> sermon in Alexandria."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, MAY 16.

At Mount Vernon: "A century hence, if this country keeps united (and it is surely its policy and interest to do it), will produce a city, though not as large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe, on the banks of the Potomac, where one is now establishing for the permanent seat of the government of the United States, between Alexandria and Georgetown, on the Maryland side of the river; a situation not excelled, for commanding pros-



pect, good water, salubrious air, and safe harbour, by any in the world; and where elegant buildings are erecting and in forwardness for the reception of Congress in the year 1800."—*Washington to Mrs. S. Fairfax*.<sup>1</sup>

SATURDAY, MAY 19.

At Hope Park:<sup>2</sup> "May 19.—About 8 O'clock in the forenoon M<sup>r</sup> Washington & myself sat out on a visit to Hope Park & the Federal City.—Got to the former to Dinner and remained there until Morning when we proceeded to the City."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, MAY 20.

At Washington City: "May 20.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Peter's & remained there until Wednesday, and then went to M<sup>r</sup> Law's & remained there until Friday [May 25] when we sat out on our return home & called at Mount Eagle to take our leave of the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Fairfax who was on the point of Embarking for England."—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, MAY 27.

At Mount Vernon: "An absence for more than eight days from home, on a visit to our friends in the Federal City, is offered as an apology for my not giving your polite and obliging favor of the 9th instant an earlier acknowledgment. I pray you now, my good Sir, to accept my best thanks for the pamphlet, and the song which accompanied it."—*Washington to Joseph Hopkinson*.

The song referred to in the above quoted letter was the national air, "Hail Columbia," the words of which were written by Joseph Hopkinson,

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Fairfax (Sally Cary) was the widow of George William Fairfax, of "Belvoir," the neighbor and early friend of Washington. The Fairfaxes left Virginia in 1773, and settled at Bath, England, where Mr. Fairfax died, April 3, 1787. Mrs. Fairfax, for whom Washington in his early days had a sincere admiration, died at Bath in 1811.

<sup>2</sup> Five miles northwest of Fairfax Court-House. Hope Park was the residence of Dr. David Stuart, who married the widow of John Parke Custis. For some time after their marriage (1783) the Stuarts lived at Abingdon, near Alexandria.



and adapted to the music of the "President's March," composed in 1789 by a German named Feyles, who at the time was the leader of the orchestra at the John Street Theatre in New York. "Hail Columbia" was first sung at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, by Gilbert Fox on the evening of Wednesday, the 25th of April, 1798.<sup>1</sup> Judge Hopkinson, alluding to the song in his letter to Washington of May 9, said, "As to the song it was a hasty composition, and can pretend to very little extrinsic merit—yet I believe its public reception has at least equalled any thing of the kind. The Theatres here [Philadelphia] and at New York have resounded with it night after night, and men and boys in the streets sing it as they go."

#### TUESDAY, MAY 29.

At Alexandria: "May 29.—Went up to Alex<sup>a</sup> on business & returned home to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### THURSDAY, MAY 31.

At Mount Vernon: "May 31.—M<sup>r</sup> Delivs of Bremen & a M<sup>r</sup> Pekmoller of Hamburgh dined here & returned afterwards."—*Washington's Diary*.

A letter from one of these gentlemen, written in 1858, at the age of eighty-four, is quoted on page 460 of Custis's *Recollections of Washington*, in which, after referring to some pictures of the Washington family which hung in his hall, he says, "They vividly call to my mind the day—the proudest of my life—that I passed upon the beautiful banks of the Potomac, in the family of the best and greatest personage that the world has ever produced. It was in May 1798, now nearly sixty-one years ago. I was seated at his right hand at dinner, and I recollect as distinctly his majestic bearing as if it were yesterday. Though of mortality, his overpowering presence inspired an impression that he belonged to immortality. His stateliness, his serene face, the perfect simplicity of his manners, his modest demeanor, and the words of wisdom which he uttered, led me irresistibly to the belief that he was an emanation from the Omnipotent, for the marvellous work that he had just then consummated. It was my good fortune to contemplate him in his retirement—after he had left nothing undone that he could perform for the republic of his creation, and after he had quitted office for ever! What a privilege I enjoyed in being his welcome guest! Of the

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<sup>1</sup> "New Theatre. MR. FOX'S NIGHT. This Evening, April 25, BY DESIRE. THE ITALIAN MONK. . . . End of the Play, 'More Sack.' An Epilogue, in the character of Sir John Falstaff, to be spoken by Mr. Warren. After which, an intire new song, (written by a Citizen of Philadelphia) to the tune of the 'President's March,' will be sung by Mr. Fox; accompanied by the full band, and a grand chorus."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, Wednesday, April, 25, 1798.



240,000,000 of people in Europe, I imagine I am the only person, since the death of Lafayette, who was so favored as to break bread and take wine with Washington at his own table."

SATURDAY, JUNE 2.

At Mount Vernon: "June 2.—Mr Law & a Polish Gentleman [Mr. Niemcewicz] the Companion of General Kosciaski came here to dinner, as did Miss Lee of Green Spring<sup>1</sup> with Nelly Custis who returned to day [from Hope Park]." — *Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 4.

At Alexandria: "July 4.—Went up to the Celebration of the Anniversary of Independance and dined in the Spring Gardens near Alex<sup>a</sup> with a large Comp<sup>a</sup> of the Civil & Military of Fairfax County." — *Washington's Diary*.

"*Alexandria*, July 7.—The 23d Anniversary of American Independence was celebrated by the inhabitants of this town, on Wednesday last, with the greatest harmony and conviviality.—Every thing conspired to render the business of the day a varied scene of patriotism and social joy; and the dignified presence of the beloved WASHINGTON, our illustrious neighbor, gave such a high colouring to the tout ensemble, that nothing was wanting to complete the picture. The auspicious morning was ushered in by a discharge of sixteen guns. At 10 o'clock the uniform companies paraded; and, it must be acknowledged, their appearance was such as entitles them to the greatest credit, while it reflects honor on their officers and the town—it was perfectly military: . . . The different corps were reviewed in King street by General Washington, and Col. Little, who expressed the highest satisfaction at their appearance and manœuvring; after which they proceeded to the Episcopal Church, where a suitable discourse was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Davis. Of this discourse I may say, with the expressive Collins, it was

, "Warm, energetic, chaste, sublime."

"A dinner was prepared at Spring Gardens by Mr. John Stavely; which, considering the number of citizens and military that partook of it (between 4 and 500) was conducted with the greatest propriety and decorum.—Ludwell Lee, esq. presided at the head of the table—the foot was honored by Col. Charles Little. . . . GEN. WASHINGTON was escorted into town by a detachment from the troop of Dragoons. He was dressed in full uniform, and appeared in good health and spirits. The troops went through a

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<sup>1</sup> Cornelia Lee, daughter of William Lee, a brother of Richard Henry Lee.



number of military evolutions during the day, with all of which the General was particularly pleased, and bestowed many encomiums on their martial appearance."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 19.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 5.

At Mount Vernon: "The President's letter to me [of June 22], though not so expressed in terms, is nevertheless strongly indicative of a wish, that I should take charge of the military force of this country; and, if I take his meaning right, to aid also in the selection of the general officers. The appointment of these is important, but of those of the general staff all-important; insomuch that, if I am looked to as the commander-in-chief, I must be allowed to choose such as will be agreeable to me. To say more at present would be unnecessary; first, because an army may not be wanted; and, secondly, because I might not be indulged in this choice if it was."—*Washington to James McHenry*.

On the 28th of May a law was passed by Congress, authorizing the President, "in the event of a declaration of war against the United States, or of actual invasion of their territory by a foreign power, or of imminent danger of such invasion discovered in his opinion to exist, before the next session of Congress, to cause to be enlisted, and to call into actual service, a number of troops not exceeding ten thousand non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, to be enlisted for a term not exceeding three years." Authority was also given to the President to organize the army, with a suitable number of major-generals and other officers, into corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; and, in short, to make every arrangement for preparing the forces for actual service. This was called a *Provisional Army*. The measure was adopted in consequence of the threatening aspect of affairs between France and the United States. The causes and particulars are briefly stated in Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Vol. V. pp. 735-746.

#### FRIDAY, JULY 6.

At Mount Vernon: "July 6.—Doctors Thornton<sup>1</sup> & Dalsen—Mr Ludwell Lee, Lady & Miss Armistead, & Mr David

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Thornton, a West Indian by birth. He was educated as a physician and lived for many years in Philadelphia. Dr. Thornton, who was a skilled architect, drew the plans and superintended the erection, in its early stages, of the first Capitol building at Washington City. He was the first head of the Patent Office.



Randolph & a Son of Col<sup>o</sup> R. Kidder Mead<sup>1</sup> came here to Dinner, the two last proceeded to Alex<sup>a</sup> afterwards. *July 7.*—M<sup>r</sup> R. Bland Lee & M<sup>r</sup> Hodgden came here to dinner & M<sup>r</sup> Ludwell Lee & Lady went away after Din.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, JULY 12.

At Mount Vernon: “*July 12.*—The following Comp<sup>d</sup> dined here Col<sup>os</sup> Fitzgerald & Simms M<sup>r</sup> Herbert & Son—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik & Son—M<sup>r</sup> L : Lee Col Ramsay—Cap Young & L<sup>t</sup> Jones M<sup>r</sup> Potts W<sup>m</sup> Wilson, M<sup>r</sup> Porter Doct<sup>r</sup> Cook M<sup>r</sup> Riddle M<sup>r</sup> Lear M<sup>r</sup> Tracy—& six Ladies & 4 Gent<sup>l</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Rogers.”—*Washington's Diary.*

#### FRIDAY, JULY 13.

At Mount Vernon: “I had the honor, on the evening of the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, to receive from the hands of the Secretary of War<sup>2</sup> your favor of the 7<sup>th</sup>. announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed me lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies raised or to be raised for the service of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

“I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication; at the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen on a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.”—*Washington to John Adams*, President of the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Kidder Meade, an aide to General Washington in the Revolution, and the father of William Meade, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Virginia 1841-62.

<sup>2</sup> “*July 11.*—M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>o</sup>Henry—Sec<sup>y</sup> of War came in the evening. *July 14.*—The Sec<sup>y</sup> of War left this after dinner.”—*Washington's Diary.*

<sup>3</sup> On the 2d of July the President nominated to the Senate “George Washington, of Mount Vernon, to be Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all the armies raised or to be raised, in the United States.” The nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate the next day.



In continuing this letter, Washington said, "It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards our country, their insidious hostilities to its government, their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it, the evident tendency of their arts and those of their agents to countenance and invigorate opposition, their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations, their war upon our defenceless commerce, their treatment of our minister of peace, and their demands amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me corresponding sentiments with those, which my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you. Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from Congress such laws and means, as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

"Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence, which has heretofore and so often signally favored the people of these United States.

"Thinking in this manner and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States;<sup>1</sup> with the

<sup>1</sup> "John Adams President of the United States of America. To all who shall see these Presents Greetings: Know Ye, That reposing special Trust and Confidence in the Patriotism, Valour, Fidelity and Abilities of George Washington I have nominated and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, do appoint him Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies raised or to be raised for the Service of the United States: He is therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Lieutenant General & Commander in Chief by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging: And I do Strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under his Command, to be obedient to his orders as Lieutenant General & Commander in Chief: And he is to observe and Follow such Orders and Directions from time to time, as he shall receive from me, or the Future President of the United States of America, This Commission to continue in Force during the Pleasure of the President of the United States for the Time being. Given under my Hand, at Philadelphia this Fourth day of July in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven Hundred and ninety eight and in the twenty third Year of the Independence of the United States.

"JOHN ADAMS.

"JAMES MCHENRY Secy. of War."



reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of circumstances."

FRIDAY, JULY 20.

At Alexandria: "July 20.—Went up to Alex<sup>a</sup> with M<sup>r</sup> W & Miss Cus[tis], dined at Doct<sup>r</sup> Craiks ret<sup>d</sup> in ye<sup>e</sup> aft<sup>n</sup>." — *Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 25.

At Mount Vernon: "I little imagined, when I took my last leave of the walks of public life, that any event could bring me again on a public theatre. But the unjust conduct of France towards these United States has been and continues to be such, that it must be opposed by a firm and manly resistance, or we shall not only hazard the subjugation of our government, but the independence of our nation also; both being evidently struck at by a lawless, domineering power, which respects no rights, and is restrained by no treaties, when it is found inconvenient to observe them." — *Washington to Dr. James Anderson*.

FRIDAY, JULY 27.

At Mount Vernon: "The *Greyheads* of Alexandria, pretty numerous it seems, and composed of all the respectable old People of the place; having formed themselves into a company [of infantry] for the defence of the Town & its Vicinity, are in want of Colors; and it being intimated that the Presentation of them by Mrs. Washington would be flattering to them; I take the liberty of requesting the favor of you to have made and sent to me as soon as it is convenient, such as will be appropriate to the occasion. Handsome, but not more expensive than becomes Republicans (not Bachite Republicans) is req<sup>d</sup>. If you think a Motto would be proper, the choice of one 'chaste & unassuming'—is left to your own judgment." — *Washington to James McHenry*.

"ALEXANDRIA, November 1.—Tuesday last [October 30], being the anniversary of the birth day of our beloved and patriotic President John



Adams, was observed in this town with military honours. The uniform companies of militia, and the company of Silver Grays, went through a variety of manœuvres and evolutions, under the command of Captain George Deneale. After firing several rounds in evidence of their attachment to this good man, as well as to shew that they approbated his conduct towards the insidious French Directory, they retired in the evening with the utmost decorum and harmony.

"A stand of colours, presented by the respected consort of our venerable Cincinnatus to the company of Silver Grays, was displayed for the first time on that day; and, though a variety of incidents prevented their being entirely completed, they had a very elegant appearance. The colours are composed of white silk; the device is, however, on an azure blue ground. The Golden Eagle of America has a portrait of General Washington<sup>1</sup> suspended from its beak, in one talon a bunch of arrows, in the other a branch of olive, and is surmounted by sixteen Stars, indicative of the number of States! The motto—'FIRM IN DEFENCE OF OUR COUNTRY!'"—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 6.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 6.

At Alexandria: "August 6.—Went to Alex<sup>a</sup> to a meeting of the Pot<sup>o</sup> C<sup>o</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> Bur: Bassett came home with me."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### FRIDAY, AUGUST 10.

At Mount Vernon: "Little did I think when my Valadictory address was presented to the people of the United States that any event would occur in my day that could draw me from the peaceful walks and tranquil shades of Mount Vernon: where I had fondly hoped to spend the remnant of a life, worn down with public cares, in ruminating upon the variegated scenes through which I have passed and in the contemplation of others which are yet in embryo. I will hope however that when the Despots of France find how much they have mistaken the American character, and how much they have been deceived by their partizans among us, that their senses will return to them and

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<sup>1</sup> "In the account of the presentment of a flag by Mrs. Washington, to the Silver Grays, published a few days since under the Alexandria head, in our paper, there was an error. Among other emblems, the flag contained a strong likeness of President Adams, and not of General Washington, as there stated."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 14.



an appeal to arms for the purpose of repeling an Invasion at least will be rendered unnecessary."—*Washington to William Vans Murray.*

MONDAY, AUGUST 20.

At Mount Vernon: "August 20.—No acc<sup>t</sup> kept of the weather &c<sup>a</sup> from hence to the end of the Month—on acc<sup>t</sup> of my Sickness which commenced with a fever on the 19<sup>th</sup> & lasted until the 24<sup>th</sup> which left me debilitated."—*Washington's Diary.*

"September 3.—My last to you was dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of August; two days previous to which I had been seized with a fever, which I endeavoured to shake off by pursuing my usual rides and occupations; but it continued to increase upon me; when on the 21<sup>st</sup> at night Dr. Craik was called in, who it seems chose to have assistance, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> procured such a remission as to admit bark. Since which I have been in a convalescent state, but too much debilitated to be permitted to attend much to business."—*Washington to James McHenry.*

(To be continued.)



## THE MISSIVE OF JUSTUS FALCKNER, OF GERMAN-TOWN, CONCERNING THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE YEAR 1701.

TRANSLATED BY JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE.

Justus Falckner, writer of the following missive, and a member of the community of German Pietists who settled on the Wissahickon in 1694, under the leadership of Johannes Kelpius, was a native of Saxony; born November 22, 1672, at Langenreinsdorf. He studied under Thomasius and the elder Francke at Halle. While yet in his diaconate, he accompanied his brother Daniel, upon the latter's return to America in the year 1700. After living in seclusion on the romantic banks of the Wissahickon, to perfect himself in the esoteric teachings of the brotherhood, he re-entered the world, as it were, and on November 24, 1703, was ordained to the priesthood by Pastors Rudman, Biörck, and Sandel, at the Swedish Lutheran Church (Gloria Dei) at Wicacoa. He immediately left for his new field of missionary labors in New York, East Jersey, and Long Island, where he ministered to the Low-Dutch and High-German Lutherans until his death in 1723. Justus Falckner was the first Lutheran clergyman who was ordained in America. His "missive" or report to Rev. Heinrich Muhlen, an influential church dignitary in Holstein, is not alone valuable as it sets forth the religious condition of the Germans within the Province at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but it also contains a plea for an organ for the Swedish Church in Philadelphia. That this appeal was not in vain is shown from records still extant, and which make mention as early as 1703 of "Jonas the organist." The copy of this heretofore unknown contribution to the history of our Province was found in the library of the University at Rostock, Germany, where it is bound up with a number of other tracts.



Abdruck  
Eines Schreibens  
An  
Tit. Herrn  
D. Henr. Mublen/  
Aus Germanton / in der Ameri-  
canischen Province Pensylvania, sonst No-  
va Suecia, den ersten Augusti, im Jahr  
unsers Hehls eintausend siebenhundert  
und eins,  
Den Zustand der Kirchen  
in America betreffend.

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M DCC II.

TITLE-PAGE OF FALCKNER'S MISSIVE TO GERMANY, 1701.



As it was impossible to obtain the original, a photographic fac-simile of the pamphlet was made, by permission of the authorities, and is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The title-page and colophon are here reproduced.

“IMPRINT | of a MISSIVE | TO Tit: Lord D.Henr.  
Muhlen, | From Germanton in the AMERI | CAN Prov-  
ince of Pensylvania, otherwise | New Sweden, the First of  
August, in the Year | of our salvation One thousand, seven  
hundred | and one | CONCERNING the condition of the  
CHURCHES | in AMERICA. | MDCCII.”

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“S H A L O M.

“RIGHT REVEREND, MOST LEARNED, ESPECIALLY HONORED,  
“LORD GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT.

“In sending to Your Magnificence the present missive from such a distant part of the world, I am moved thereunto partly by the recollection of the high favor and civility which you extended toward me while I was in Schleswig with you, prior to my departure from Holstein to America, as you also were kindly disposed, by virtue of your episcopal and priestly office, to extend your great ecclesiastical benediction, and thereby to further my proposed journey to a blessed purpose; upon the other part, I am obliged thereto by the express commands which you enjoined upon me at sundry times, that I should correspond with you as much as possible concerning the condition of the church in America; (*de statu Ecclesiæ in America*). This honored command emanating from the love of God, I will comply with for the good of his church, and give satisfaction so far as I may: therefore I will make a beginning herewith. Indeed I must declare that since the time when I was there [in Schleswig] I have now, God be thanked, arrived safely here. This was during the past year at the beginning of August, after we had sailed from England on May 25. Since my arrival



here, I have for many material reasons, lived entirely alone in a small block-house, which I had built for me, as an eremite in the desert (*in Deserto*). Having had but slight intercourse with the people, much less travelled hither and thither, and having [merely] gathered information from one and the other, so I do not know the particulars of the *status* here in every respect.

“But now, after having schooled myself a little in the solitude, I begin as if from a mirror (*tanquam ex speculo*) to take cognizance of one fact and the other. I have gone more among the people, and subsequently have resolved to give up the solitude I have thus far maintained, and, according to my humble powers, to strive at least with good intention publicly to assist in doing and effecting good in this spiritual and corporeal wilderness. So far as I am able to draw conclusions concerning the condition of the churches in these parts, and indeed particularly in this Province, it is still pretty bad. The Aborigines or Indians, from lack of sufficient good instruction, remain in their blindness and barbarity, and moreover are angered at the bad living of the Christians, especially at the system of trading which is driven with them, and they only learn vices which they did not have formerly, such as drunkenness, stealing &c. The local Christian minority, however, is divided into almost innumerable sects, which pre-eminently may be called sects and hordes, as Quakers, Anabaptists, Naturalists, Rationalists, Independents, Sabbatarians and many others, especially secret insinuating sects, whom one does not know what to make of, but who, nevertheless, are all united in these beautiful principles, if it please the Gods (*si Dis placet*): Do away with all good order, and live for yourself as it pleases you! The Quakers are the most numerous, because the Governor favors this sect, and one might be inclined to call this country a dissecting-room of the Quakers; for no matter how our theologians labored to dissect this carcase and discover its interiors, they could not do it so well as the Quakers here in this country are now doing themselves. It would easily make a whole tractate were I only to set forth



how they, by transgressing their own principles, shew in plain daylight the kind of spirit that moves them, when they virtually scoff at the foundation of such principles, and become Ishmaels of all well regulated church-institutions. *Hic Rhodus, hic saltant.* When I learn that my letters come safely into the hands of Your Magnificence, I will at another time report *specialora*. The Protestant Church, however, is here divided into three confessions and nations. According to the confession, the local Protestants, as they are comprehended under this name in the European Roman Empire, are either of the Evangelical Lutheran, or of the Presbyterian and Calvinistic Church. And as the Protestant Church is here also divided into three nations, so there are here an English Protestant Church and a Swedish Protestant Lutheran Church; and also persons of the German nation of the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed churches. About these more at another time.

“Now I will only speak somewhat of the Evangelical Church of the Swedish nation, and touch upon the German Evangelical Lutherans.

“The Swedes have two church congregations: one at Philadelphia, the capital of this country, and another several miles therefrom on a river called Christina. They have also two devout, learned and conscientious preachers, among whom I know *in specie* the Reverend Magister Rudman. He, with his colleagues, endeavours to instil the true fear and knowledge of God into his hearers, who previously, from a lack of good instruction and church discipline, had become rather unruly. The outward worship of God is held in the Swedish language, and partly according to the Swedish liturgy, so far as church ceremonies are concerned.

“The Germans, however, I have spoken of not without cause as merely several Evangelical Lutheran Germans, and not the German Evangelical Lutheran Church: those who are destitute of altar and priest forsooth roam about in this desert (*scilicet qui arâ Sacerdoteque destituti, vagantur hoc in deserto* :) a deplorable condition indeed. Moreover there



is here a large number of Germans who, however, have partly crawled in among the different sects who use the English tongue, which is first learned by all who come here. A number are Quakers and Anabaptists; a portion are Free-thinkers and assimilate with no one. They also allow their children to grow up in the same manner. In short there are Germans here, and perhaps the majority, who despise God's Word and all outward good order; who blaspheme the sacraments, and frightfully and publicly give scandal, (for the spirit of errors and sects has here erected for itself an asylum: *Spiritus enim errorum et Sectarum Asylum sibi hic constituit*); and herein is the great blame and cause of the lack of establishment of an outward and visible church assembly. Then while in the *Theologia naturali omnibus hominibus connata* there is as it were, the first *Thesis: religionum quendam cultum observato*, so it happens that when these people come here and find no better outward divine service, they rather select one than none at all although they are already *Libertini*; for even Libertinism is not without its outward forms, whereby it is constituted a special religion without being one.

“Now I recommend to Your Magnificence, as an intelligent (*cordaten*) German Evangelical theologian, for your mature consideration and reflection for God and his church's sake, on account of the wretched condition of the German Evangelical communities, whether with assistance perhaps from some exalted hand, some establishment of an Evangelical church assembly could be made in America, since the Germans are now increasing rapidly. For as most of the Germans are *adducendi et reducendi*, so must the means be expected to come from others; or I will say the decoy (*Lock-Pfeiffe*) wherewith which the birds are to be allured cannot and must not be expected to come from the birds, but must be made by or for such as want to entice them here.

“Both myself and my brother, who is sojourning here, keep ourselves to the Swedish church, although we understand little or nothing of their language. We have also been the means of influencing divers Germans by our ex-



ample, so that they now and then come to the assemblies, even though they do not know the language. Still they are gradually being redeemed from barbarism, and becoming accustomed to an orderly outward service.

“Above all one of the Swedish Pastors, Magister Rudman, has offered, regardless of the difficulty to assume the German dialect (*dialectum*). For nothing less than the love of God's honor he has offered to go to this trouble and now and then to deliver a German address in the Swedish church, until the Germans can have a church of their own, together with the necessary establishment. Accordingly the Germans who still love the evangelical truth, and a proper outward church order, much prefer to attend (*interesse*) the Swedish churches here until they can also have their divine worship in their own language as a people. The means are hereby offered in a measure to spread the Gospel truth in these wilds, whereby many of their brethren and fellow-countrymen may be brought from wrong to right, from darkness to light, and from the whirlpool of sectaries to the peace and quiet of the true church. Wherefore such Swedish Evangelical churches, for my humble part, have best and heartfelt wishes, and I seek also and pray Your Magnificence to kindly recommend, as occasion offers, such churches with their ministers, to His Illustrious Serene Highness and Her Highness his spouse, who is a royal Swedish princess, and also to contrive that your interest may be earnestly brought to the notice of his Serene Majesty of Sweden.

“I will here take occasion to mention that many others besides myself, who know the ways of this land, maintain that music would contribute much towards a good Christian service. It would not only attract and civilize the wild Indian, but it would do much good in spreading the Gospel truths among the sects and others by attracting them. Instrumental music is especially serviceable here. Thus a well-sounding organ would perhaps prove of great profit, to say nothing of the fact that the Indians would come running from far and near to listen to such unknown melody,



and upon that account might become willing to accept our language and teaching, and remain with people who had such agreeable things; for they are said to come ever so far to listen to one who plays even upon a reed-pipe (*rohr-pfeiffe*): such an extraordinary love have they for any melodious and ringing sound. Now as the melancholy, Saturnine stingy Quaker spirit has abolished (*relegiret*) all such music, it would indeed be a novelty here, and tend to attract many of the young people away from the Quakers and sects to attend services where such music was found, even against the wishes of their parents. This would afford a good opportunity to show them the truth and their error.

“If such an organ-instrument (*Orgel-werck*) were placed in the Swedish church, (for the Germans as yet have no church, and the Swedish church is of a high build and resonant structure) it would prove of great service to this church. As the majority of the Swedes are young people, and mostly live scattered in the forest, far from the churches, and as we by nature are all inclined to good, and above all to what may serve our souls, such as the Word of God which is dead and gone, so are especially the youth; and it is so with the Swedish youth now under consideration. When they have performed heavy labor for the whole week, as is customary here, they would sooner rest on a Sunday, and seek some pleasure, rather than perhaps go several miles to listen to a sermon. But if there were such music there, they would consider church-going as a recreation for their senses.

“Thus does Luther of blessed memory in one place highly recommend the use of the organ and sacred music for this very reason, that it is serviceable, and induces young and simple and, says he foolish folk, to listen unto and receive God’s Word. It would also prove an agreeable thing for God, angels and men; if in this solitude and wilderness, which as it were struggles under so many *Secula*, the Lord of Hosts, with whom there is fulness of joy and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore, would be praised and honored with cymbal and organ, as he hath



commanded. And it may be assumed that even a small organ-instrument and music in this place would be acceptable to God, and prove far more useful than many hundreds in Europe, where there is already a superfluity of such things; and the more common they are, the more they are misused.

“If now Your Magnificence were kindly to intercede with his Serene Highness and Her Highness his Consort, and also with such other exalted personages with whom you are held in high esteem, and present to them the benefit to be hoped for; I doubt not, but that something could be effected. There are in Europe masters enough who build such instruments, and a fine one can be secured for 300 or 400 thalers. Then if an experienced organist and musician could be found, and a curious one who would undertake so far a journey, he would be very welcome here. In case this could not be, if we only had an organ, some one or other might be found here who had knowledge thereof.

“Finally if Your Magnificence would be highly disposed to answer, I believe the best address for the letter would be in care of the Swedish Resident in London, through whom also the present letter is addressed. Or perhaps you are aware of some better opportunity.

“In conclusion I now commend YOUR MAGNIFICENCE to the protection and grace of God to all prosperity, and remain

“to YOUR MAGNIFICENCE

“GERMANTON in the American  
Province of Pensylvania, otherwise New  
Sweden, the 1st. of August in the year  
of our Salvation one thousand seven  
hundred and one.

“For Prayer and service

“most devoted,

“JUSTUS FALCKNER.”



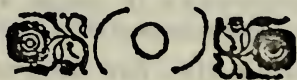
dren oder vierhundert Thaler haben; könnte man auch einen erfahrenen Organisten und Musicum finden der curieux, und so eine weite Reise thun wolte/der würde hier sehr angenehm seyn/wäre es aber nicht/ und man hätte nur eine Orgel/ so möchte sich etwa noch ein oder der andere hier finden/ der Wissenschaft davon hätte. Schliesslichen wenn Eu. Magnificenz vielgeneigt antworten wolten/ so glaube wird die beste addressle der Brieffe an den Schwedischen Resident in London seyn/ wohin auch dieser gegenwärtige Brieff adressiret worden /oder vielleicht wissen Sie selber schon bessere Gelegenheit. - - Nun ich schliesse und empfehle Eu. Magnificenz den Schutz und der Gnade Gottes zu allen Wohlergehen / und verharre

## Guer Magnificence

Germanion in der Americanischen  
Province Pennsylvania, sonst no-  
va Suecia, den 1. Augusti im Jahr  
unsers Heyls Eintausend sieben-  
hundert und eins.

5u Gebet und Diensten  
verbundenster

Justus Falckner.





THE SO-CALLED "FRANKLIN PRAYER-BOOK."

BY RICHARD MEADE BACHE.

The *New York Times* published, under date of December 3, 1896, some interesting statements connected with the sale in Boston of a copy of the so-called "Franklin Prayer-Book." These the present paper supplements with authentic data that add to the completeness of the record by confirming the *Times's* view of the share that Dr. Franklin had in the preparation of the volume, and of its rarity, and additionally showing the interest which certain prominent persons long subsequently to the publication took in the work. The *Times* said in part, under the heading, "Rare Franklin Volume,"—

"Dodd, Mead & Co., of this city, purchased in Boston yesterday a rare old volume known as Franklin's Prayer-Book. The purchase was made at the auction sale of the library of the late Prof. Henry Reed, of the University of Pennsylvania. [The sale was of books of the late Judge Henry Reed, a son of Professor Henry Reed's.] The bidding for this old book was spirited, and the price paid by Dodd, Mead & Co. was \$1,250. Joseph Sabin was the underbidder. The volume is bound in old red morocco, stamped with gilt, and has gilt edges."

Here follows a copy of the title-page and a quotation from a letter of Franklin's, which matter will appear more appropriately in another place in this account, the article in the *Times* concluding with the following passage :

"In a letter written by Jared Sparks to Prof. Reed, dated Cambridge, Mass., May 30th, 1837, he says: 'Among Franklin's papers I have lately found a fragment of the Preface of the said Abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer, in his handwriting, and have been puzzling myself in vain to find any clue to the book. A learned clergyman could give me no light on the subject. It is a very curious affair, as coming from Franklin. I doubt if there is another copy in America.'"

A copy of the original and only edition of this work, which lies before me, is in a state of perfect preservation. It is printed on substantial paper, as was the fashion of the last century, in large type, and, of course, with the quaint



old, long "s" of the period. The binding is of Turkey-red morocco, with a stamped gilt vignette around the margins of both front and back covers, with corresponding gilt ornamentation on the back, and with gilt-edged leaves. It is evidently a copy of the edition lately represented in Boston by the exemplar there sold. The particular copy of the edition which lies before me has attached to it a special interest in the fact that at the top of the inside of the front cover appears in faint ink manuscript the words, "Once the property of the Immortal Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., etc." [Unsigned.] It came into possession of Dr. Thomas Hewson Bache, who is still its owner, by gift from Dr. John Redmond Coxe, a prominent physician of Philadelphia, who had bought it at the sale of Dr. Stuart's library in the same city, and on June 5, 1855, insisted upon Dr. Bache's accepting it, despite his representing to Dr. Coxe that it was on every account too valuable a present for him to receive. The title-page reads:

# ABRIDGEMENT

OF

THE BOOK OF

Common Prayer,

And Administration of the

SACRAMENTS,

AND OTHER

Rites and Ceremonies

OF THE

CHURCH,

According to the use of

The Church of England:

TOGETHER WITH THE

PSALTER, or PSALMS

OF

DAVID,

Printed as they are to be sung or said in Churches.

LONDON:

Printed in the year MDCCLXXIII.



Growing out of his coming into possession of this copy of the so-called "Franklin Prayer-Book," or out of common knowledge that he was somewhat versed in antiquarian lore relating to Franklin, probably from both causes, Dr. Bache was, not long after he received the book, applied to for information regarding the work by the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, in the following letter :

"913 CLINTON ST., Thursday.

[Without date, but the reply indicates it.]

"MY DEAR SIR :

"I have been so fortunate as to secure a copy of the Franklin Pr. Bk., which I received in my last invoice of English books. In nearly all respects, except the binding, it is as good as the one I saw at your house. On the title-page is written the following note: 'This abridgement, together with the preface, was drawn up by Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., Baron Le Despencer, [Despencer] and given by him to Lord Mount Stuart, in 1775. The book was printed in a private press of his own at West Wycombe, Bucks.'

"I showed the book to Mr. McAllister, who has, as you know, a large collection of Prayer Books, but he had never seen or heard of it. My object in writing to you is, first, to thank you for your note, and secondly, to ask that you will do me the favor to give me the true history of the book so far as it may be in your power, as the facts connected with it must be particularly interesting."

Under date of July 7, 1859, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Bache answered this letter of Bishop Stevens's, as follows :

"I have much pleasure in giving you all the particulars I know concerning the 'Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer,' but, whether they form its true history, it is impossible for me to tell.

"The first copy I ever saw is in the possession of Mrs. Henry Reed, and formerly in that of her grandfather, Bishop White. [Mrs. Henry Reed was the wife of Professor Reed, mentioned in the preceding quotation from the *New York Times*, and Bishop White was the well-known Bishop William White of colonial and later times.] It is in all respects, even in binding, like my own. On the fly-leaf of it you will find the following :

"'This book was presented to me in ye year 1785, while ye Liturgy was under revision, by Mrs. Sarah Bache, by direction of her father, Dr. Benj. Franklin; who, with Lord Le Despencer, [Despencer] she said, were the framers of it.

"'W. W.' [WILLIAM WHITE].



"This copy was seen by Mr. Sparks when writing 'The Works of Franklin' (ed. 1840). In Sparks, Vol. I., p. 352, you will find this notice of the Abridgment: 'During his [Franklin's] absence from London in the summer of 1773, he passed a few weeks at the country residence of Lord Le Despencer, and employed himself whilst there in abridging some parts of the Book of Common Prayer. A handsome edition of this abridgment was printed by Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church Yard; but it seems never to have been adopted in any Church, nor to have gained much notice.'

"Sparks then gives a quotation from the last part of the Preface of the Abridgment, which does not exactly correspond with that in the printed copy; for the words, 'remove animosity' are used by Sparks, instead of 'increase unanimity.' I have heard that Mr. Sparks first found the MS. of the Preface in Franklin's handwriting, which led to his discovering Mrs. Reed's copy. The slight change in phraseology above mentioned may have been made in the proof by Franklin.

"In Vol. X., pp. 206-7, of Sparks, you will find a letter of Franklin to Granville Sharp, dated Passy, 5th July, 1785, which contains the following: 'The Liturgy you mention was an abridgment of that made by a noble Lord of my acquaintance, who requested me to assist him by taking the rest of the book; viz., the Catechism and the reading and singing Psalms. These I abridged by retaining of the Catechism only the two questions, What is your duty to God? What is your duty to your neighbour? with answers. The Psalms were much contracted by leaving out the repetitions (of which I found more than I could have imagined) and the imprecations, which appeared not to suit well with the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries and doing good to enemies. The book was printed for Wilkie, in St. Paul's Churchyard, but never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste-paper. In the prayers so much was retrenched that approbation could hardly be expected; but I think with you, a moderate abridgment might not only be useful, but generally acceptable.'

"The editor then introduces, in a note, a portion of Mr. Sharp's letter which called forth Franklin's account of the book, as also the Preface of the Abridgment, in full.

"There can be no doubt that Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., Lord Le Despencer, had a hand in compiling the work, and probably paid the expense of the undertaking, for it is not likely Franklin did.

"I doubt whether the book was printed by a private press at West Wycombe, Bucks; for Franklin's letter [to Granville Sharp] contradicts this statement, and if Sir Francis had a private press, we should have had other works, in all probability, emanating from it, and of such I have never heard.

"In Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, Vol. III., p. 1494, under the



head of Prayer, you will find the following notice of the book: 'An abridgment of The Book of Common Prayer, West Wycombe, 1773, 8vo. The performance of Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., privately printed at the expense of Lord Le Despencer.' In the above no mention is made of a private press; hence another reason for not believing Sir Francis had one.

"Lowndes gives the impression [that] Sir Francis Dashwood and Lord Le Despencer were different individuals. This is a mistake, however, for Sir Francis Dashwood was Lord Le Despencer from 1763 to 1781 (Burke's Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, sixteenth ed., p. 597), and the Abridgment was printed in 1773.

"I have heard that a copy was sold in London some years ago; and the following manuscript note in Mrs. Henry Reed's copy I conclude refers to the sale: 'J. Miller's Catalogue II, March 16th, 1850, No. 68.'

"It may be interesting to mention: The statue of William Penn, which now stands on the Pine Street front of the Pennsylvania Hospital, was originally the property of Sir Francis Dashwood, and stood in West Wycombe Park. His successor did not admire Penn, and sold the statue for its value as lead, and it was found in a London junk-shop by a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania, who bought it and presented it to the Hospital."

The statue of William Penn referred to in the concluding lines of the preceding letter still stands in Philadelphia on its pedestal before the Pennsylvania Hospital, on the broad lawn in front of the institution, facing Pine Street. And, by way of imparting an additional touch of local color to some of the facts mentioned here, it is added that Edward Duffield was a very intimate friend of Dr. Franklin's (a clock of his own make, a gift of his to Franklin, is now in my possession), and he was one of Franklin's executors; and that a son of Dr. John Redmond Coxe, Dr. Edward Jenner Coxe, was, as an infant, the first person vaccinated in the United States, and with lymph which his father had received directly from Dr. Jenner.

The editor of the Preface to the edition of the so-called "Franklin Prayer-Book" "professes himself," to use his own words, "to be a Protestant of the Church of England," and begins his duties as such with a few deprecatory remarks as to laymen presuming to make suggestions of alteration in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England.



He presents to the consideration of "the serious and discerning" amendments which the authors regard as involving improvements in the accepted Liturgy of the Church. He takes the ground that both morning and evening services of the Church are so long that in them "the mind wanders, and the fervency of devotion is slackened." He cites the example of the Lord's Prayer and its accompanying admonition against the "heathen" practice of "much speaking" as confirmatory of the excellence of brevity in religious worship. He says that the old would, on account of their infirmities, be benefited by a shortening of divine service, and that the young would more cheerfully than now attend it. Moreover, he adds, business people could more easily than now attend it on other days than Sunday. He does not consider the use of more than one creed as any advantage to edification, whilst the existing repetitions involve much prolixity. The Psalms are held to consist in a measure of repetitions which may well call for curtailment. Some of them, moreover, it is represented, contain bitter imprecations against enemies, and are thus inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the direct teachings of the Gospel. The curtailment of the Communion Service, as it appears in the volume, is believed by its authors to omit nothing that is "material and necessary." With the view of accommodating the introduction of the Baptismal Rite to the interests of a congregation engaged in worship, it is proposed to omit in it on such occasions "the less material parts" of the formulary. The Catechism being a compendium representing weighty matter upon which theologians have written tomes in elucidation, it obviously is not, the Preface states, as well adapted to the infant mind as is desirable. It is therefore recommended that only those parts within the comprehension of the very young be retained, and that the remainder be postponed until they shall have reached a period of more ripened understanding. The ceremony of Confirmation might, it is thought, be judiciously shortened. "The Communion," the Preface goes on to say, "and all cursing of mankind is (we think) best omitted in this



Abridgement." The form of the marriage ceremony, often abbreviated at the discretion of the officiating clergyman, is here, it says, retained only as to what are deemed its "material parts." The long prayers on the occasions of the visitation of the sick do not seem to the authors appropriate in the presence of persons "very weak, and in distress." The service at the burial of the dead does not, in their view, evidence sufficient regard for the health and welfare of the living, in that it is, under certain circumstances, highly dangerous to them, owing to the length of time to which they are often exposed with uncovered heads to cold at the side of the grave. Finally, the ceremony of the Churching of Women might, they think, be judiciously abridged.

Here the recommendations of the Preface, embodied in the book, casually touching upon the desirability of substituting some other source of church revenue for tithes, end with a protest against any supposition that irreverence is intended by the suggestions made towards the modification of a Liturgy which the authors admire, declaring that the object sought is merely to improve it in the interests of religion, in the belief, as they say, that "this shortened method, or one of the same kind better executed, would further religion, increase unanimity, and occasion a more frequent attendance on the worship of God."

In the opinion of persons more competent than the present writer to sit in judgment on the case, the work seems to have had some influence "in ye year 1785, while ye Liturgy was under revision" with the purpose of producing the first Book of Common Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, in leading to the omission of certain passages in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England; since restored, apparently from the prompting among portions of mankind to cling to ancient things as such, regardless of their unsuitability to advanced thought on the subject, and in this case with the very features which Franklin most deprecated, as attempting to blend teachings of the Old Dispensation with those of the New



Dispensation, with which they are incompatible and by which they have been superseded.

Whatever may be the state of the case now, the idea as to the existence of many redundancies in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England must at one time have been very prevalent, as the two following citations show. Miss Jane Austen, the daughter of a clergyman, makes one of her middle-class characters in "*Mansfield Park*," published in 1814, say that "our Liturgy has beauties which not even a careless, slovenly style of reading can destroy; but it has also redundancies and repetitions which require good reading not to be felt." Again, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, in a late letter of his from Hawarden to a friend, under date of September 9, 1896, afterwards published in *The Academy* and then in *The London Times*, says, among other things relating to his collection of books,—

"As quantity has been my strongest point, I may without offence refer to it in comparison with quality. An able and learned person of our day bought for his own use twenty thousand volumes. They were examined and valued for sale (which never came off) in London, and it was predicted that he would net from them £8000, or a little over two shillings a volume. Nearly at the same time a library of somewhat over half the quantity, but rich in rarities, brought (not at auction) about £6 a volume.

"Though, as I have said, a beggarly collector, I have had a few specialities. One I will mention. I accumulated more than thirty distinct *rifaccimenti* of the Book of Common Prayer. Many of these had prefaces which commonly ran to this effect:—'The Prayer Book is excellent. But it has some blemishes. Let them be removed, and it will find universal acceptance. Accordingly I have performed this operation; and I now give the Reformed Prayer Book to the world.' But I have never obtained, and have never seen, a second edition of any one of these productions. I greatly doubt whether they have usually paid their printer's bills."

The last statement is not astonishing to any one who knows that there are still in existence Bishops of the Anglican Church who vehemently oppose striking from the statute book the law, repugnant to common sense, interdicting marriage with a deceased wife's sister.



It will be remembered that Dr. Bache said, in his letter to Bishop Stevens, by way of explaining how the words "remove animosity," in the Franklin manuscript which Sparks saw, came to be changed to "increase unanimity" in the printed prayer-book, that the alteration may have been made in the proof by Franklin. The present commentator, however, has not the slightest doubt that the alteration was made by Franklin personally. It is an unmistakable touch of the hand of Franklin in a direction of part of his art of success in life, known to his various biographers; of course, perceptible, it must be believed, even to his most casual readers, but never heretofore sufficiently emphasized, although it appears continuously in active operation throughout his whole varied career, and is expressly indicated in his autobiography as the wisest of policies in intercourse with men. This was, in brief, smoothing the way of reason to the mind by sweeping unessentials from the path by means of conciliatory word and deed. There is not a fragment extant of his authentic speech, writing, and action in which the exhibition of this mental attribute is not present. Although the Preface which is here noticed is, with slight exception, written in the first person plural, it is so Franklilian that no person familiar with the turn of thought and phrase of Franklin, than which no other style was ever more informed from outmost to inmost core with personality, can doubt the authorship of it in its entirety. Comparison of it with any of his writings touching ethical matter will prove that in it the family likeness to them is unmistakable. Part of it being found in his handwriting by Mr. Sparks is, in the existing case of collaboration, only proof presumptive that he was its author, but the man revealed in the style is proof positive of the fact.

The Preface can be seen, even through the medium of the paraphrased abstract here given, to be imbued with this quality omnipresent with Franklin. Nor did the characteristic exemplified by it and his other utterances originate in a cold-blooded policy, adopted for the sake of gaining his ends in the interest of increase of authority and power.



Regard for these, it would seem, never gained access to his mind. They came unsought, as the natural adjuncts of his personality working amidst conditions fitted to its supreme development. Perhaps the particular trait which is here mentioned would be best illustrated as to its significance in his life by a legitimate comparison which involves a marked contrast. Lord Chesterfield, who was born twelve years before Franklin and died seventeen years before him, essentially his contemporary, also followed in life the same policy as Franklin's in his intercourse with the world, socially with great success, and politically with marked ability in the diplomatic sphere, most notably as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Yet his whole career as observed, and as known by his own confession in the posthumous publication of his letters to his son, proves that his speech and action were invariably, in every particular, prompted by the most subtle and refined egoism. The whole public and private career of Franklin, on the contrary, although superficially exhibiting the same aspect as Chesterfield's intercourse with the world, was inspired by the loftiest altruism. Both acted in consonance with the maxim, *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, Chesterfield expressly recommending that course in his letters to his son. But what a difference between the two men there was, in the presence in one of worthy fundamental motive in conduct, and the absence of it in the other! This is not the place to recite the services of Franklin to his country, but it may be said at least, even here, that his life in its service was one of continuous labor and self-denial. Even after he returned from France, old, decrepit, longing for a brief respite from work before he died, he found himself enmeshed again in the toils of duty, and yielded to the popular demand for his final devotion to the public interests. Well may Jefferson have said, as he is reported to have replied, when the Count de Vergennes, France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, greeted him as the ambassador come to replace Franklin at the Court of Louis XVI., "I succeed; no one can replace him."



EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from page 85.)

[LETTER 202.]

“On Saturday last after taking leave of my acquaintances at Reading, I mounted and rode to Potts Grove where I baited my horse, refreshed and pushed on towards the Yellow Springs, crossed the Schuylkill at ——— tavern on French Creek, a little after dark. On Sunday morning I rode to Colonel Evans’ where I breakfasted, settled some business with the Squire, received a Letter from Lieut. McLean, then rode on to the Springs where I met old friends —McCarnehan (his family) at Lt. McLean’s. I dined with them and spent the day, when we retired to Mr. Jones’s my old quarters (now McLean’s), who were very glad to see me, and entertained me with the best the house could afford.

“On Monday Lt. McLean and I set off for the City of Philadelphia. Came round by the Springs, lost our way by going the back road and found ourselves near the Bull Tavern at the Valley Forge. We dined near Moor Hall, came thro’ our old Encampment, or rather first huts of the whole army. Some of the officers’ huts are inhabited, but the greater part are decayed, some are split up into rails, and a number of fine fields are to be seen on the level ground that was cleared, but in places where they have let the shoots grow, it is already like a half grown young wood.

“We crossed to the Lancaster Road near the Spread Eagle, and then made the best of our way to the city of Philadelphia, where we arrived a little after dark, and put up



at the sign of ye Battle of Monmouth. Our troops arrived on Sunday and are encamped near the Four mile stone.

"I left the company and repaired to Miss Carither's, where I met Miss Morris and several of my acquaintances—I spent the evening there, and returned to my Quarters about 10 o'clock.

"Yesterday I visited my Aunt's family and found them all in perfect health, and very happy to see me. I took a round through all the circle of my acquaintances in the town—Drank tea and spent the evening at Mrs. Gardner's, in a fine little circle of very agreeable company.

"Sept<sup>r</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 203.]

"I cannot quit Reading without doing this justice to the Ladies of it—that they are exceeding sociable and very polite. On the evening before the party marched on half an hour's notice, all the young ladies of the place were assembled to a dance that a few of us had at Mrs. Whitehead's. As there were not ladies sufficient for partners for all the officers, we invited as many as could be supply'd and had a genteel little Family Hop (as we term'd it, that no one could take offence), but in fact we had more satisfaction and as many couples on the floor as at the large Assembly. We had no supper, but apples, nuts &c., substituted in the room of it, with wine, punch &c. The evening was spent with all the mirth and gaiety possible, and always to be found in companies that can be free together in preference to large and fixed Assemblies.

"The company broke up about one o'clock in the morning, when each waited on his partner home and then retired each to his own quarters.

"Captains Patterson and Lusk, Lieuts. Pursell and Le Roy were order'd for the detachment from our Regiment. But it being so much against Pursell to march to the Southward, that he was determined to resign rather than go. I had engaged to go in his stead [*badly torn*]. The alternative is that Pursell is determined and gave in his resignation



this day. I opposed it with all my might, and made use of every argument I was master of to dissuade him from it, but all to no purpose.

"Orders came out this afternoon to hold ourselves in readiness to march tomorrow morning at eight o'clock, the Assembly at half past, and to march off at 9 o'clock. We have been obliged to stay very close to camp, on account of deliveries of clothing, arms, accoutrements. I have spent the day in the City, and am as busy as you please in getting in readiness for a long march.

"PHILADA.

"Oct<sup>r</sup> 2 1781."

[LETTER 204.]

"We march'd from our encampment about 11 o'clock yesterday, crossed Schuylkill bridge, and marched into the city, down Chestnut Street about one o'clock, the detachment divided into two Battalions. We marched down Front street and embark'd near the Drawbridge, hauled off in the Stream, and fell down opposite Almond street. About an hour after the most of the officers went on shore and received from the Paymaster one month's pay in hard money; *the first of the kind that any of our Line ever received.* Having a number of necessaries to purchase, I was kept busy 'till almost night. I called in at Mr. Gardner's to bid adieu and drank Tea; I then drank Tea at my Aunt's, with the family, and the very agreeable Miss Morris.

"I had everything put on board and then spent the evening with Miss Morris, Miss Carithers. Took my leave of the girls and my aunt, and retired on board the vessel about 11 o'clock at night.

"I never experienced so much of female friendship as in the above two ladies, everything in their power to serve me was done and much more than I have in power to tell, friendship so sincere and so refined ought to meet a suitable return. On examination I found things packed up for my use that I had no idea of, such as they knew I should stand in need of. I must say that I was sensibly affected at taking



my leave of people that I have such a real esteem for, (Esteem is too cold a word), let me say warmth of Friendship for. I spent my time when I was last in the city with as much real satisfaction, as ever I enjoyed in the same place in my life.

"We weighed anchor about sunrise in the morning, when the tide was about half spent and but little wind, fell down with the tide and the little wind, a little below Billingsport, where we went on shore and dined. The fort at Billingsport is not in good repair at present; Fort Mifflin on Mud Island is in a tolerable state of defence, if it were well mounted and man'd. This is the place famous for holding out against the British fleet for two months, before which they had two ships burnt, one of which was blown up, with a number of men. Red Bank, quite destroyed, is famous for standing the attack made by General Kniphausen, before which fell six hundred Hessians with the famous Count Denaub [Donop]. After refreshing ourselves we came on board and set off with afternoon tide and almost a head wind.

"ON BOARD THE —

"Oct' 4<sup>th</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 205.]

"On Friday morning last we found ourselves opposite to the mouth of Christiana Creek, when a few of us went up and landed near the ferry and walked up to Wilmington, where we found Lieut. Col. Mentges, Major Moore and several officers who had come down on horseback. I went to see Mr. Devenport's family from Georgetown, where I breakfasted. I likewise went to see an old Mr. Broom, whose son you have heard me mention, who kindly received me and would make me stay to drink a Sling with him, of which he is very fond.

"I had the offer of a horse to ride to Christiana Bridge and let the vessel pass, and remained with the company, we stayed to Dinner, and with drinking wine and bitters, and Punch before Dinner, and Punch and wine at and after Dinner, the most of the company got pretty full. About 3



o'clock we mounted and rode to the Bridge, only stopping to drink a double Bowl of Punch on the way.—At night the most of the company *kept it up* at Doudles, where we sup'd and stay'd all night, and breakfasted next morning.

"One vessel load of troops was stationed in the town; on Saturday night three of them deserted and stole and carry'd off with them a horse of Col. Craig's, one of Major Moore's and one of Captain Bankson's. Last night all the vessels arrived; this morning the troops landed, marched about a mile beyond the town, and drew provisions, the wagons are loaded and we expect to march off about 11 o'clock for the Head of Elk, which is about ten miles from this.

"Christiana Creek makes up from the Delaware about forty miles below Philadelphia; it is a fine bold creek. Large square rigg'd vessels come up to Wilmington. The Brandywine Creek empties into this within two miles of the mouth. This Creek is famous all over America for its Merchant Mills, seven of them being built within 150 yards of each other—and the vessels load and unload at the mills. Wilmington is a fine borough, has a number of regular streets, a Court House, Market house, and contains about 5 or 600 houses, a number of which are very good—with a fine Academy on the Hill. You may have a beautiful prospect of the town from the Delaware, as it is built on a side hill, and from the town a beautiful prospect of the Christiana Creek, which is not very broad, but large sea schooners may run up it near twenty five miles, to a place where a bridge is built across, and a town which is called by the name Christiana Bridge. The town is small and ill built, containing 50 houses, some of which are very good; it is a place of trade, by reason of the transportation of goods from this place to and from the Head of Elk.

"We marched off from Christiana Bridge and arrived at this place late this afternoon, and encamped near the town, to draw provisions and wait for vessels to transport us to Baltimore.

"HEAD OF ELK, MARYLAND,

"Oct 7, 1781."



## [LETTER 206.]

“On Monday and Tuesday last we lay still at the Head of Elk. The town is small, not containing more than 20 Dwelling-houses and they much scattered. This is a principal place of conveyance for goods across from the Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware, being but 12 miles land carriage, when it would be six hundred miles to go round. It was agitated to cut a Canal from a branch of the Bohemia to St. George’s Creek on the Delaware, which is about eight miles from *Tide to Tide*, and would have been done had not this war commenced.

“On the 10th we embarked on the Kitty, James Jackson, master, for Baltimore. We was left aground when the fleet set sail; got off in the night and overtook them at Cecil Court House the 11th in the morning. We cast anchor and went on shore, where I saw several of my acquaintances from Georgetown, and tho’ within eight miles of it could not go to see my friends there.

“The 12th lay off the mouth of Sassafras River in Chesapeake Bay.

“*Sat. 13th.*—Beat down with the wind at south west—at the lower end of Poole Island the wind blew so hard we was obliged to put about and stand before it, we in a little time made Worton River, the mouth of which is a good harbour. But the wind shifting suddenly to northwest blew a storm, Set in to the Worton and we had nearly been cast away tho’ in harbour; the wind abated for a few minutes of which we took the advantage and ran up to a safe harbour.

“I went on shore and dined with Mr. Duke Tilden, who informed me of the arrival of Capt. Giles Hicks. (Mentioned in Vol VI. Letter —.) I am informed by him that as he was going to the Island of Tobago in the West Indies, he was taken by the French fleet and brought by them into this Bay, and being known by his Excellency Gen’ Washington, has got permission to come to this place to see his Aunt Chaloners. I wrote to him from Mr. Tilden’s.



"*Sun: the 14th.*—Capt. Patterson drew provisions from Chestertown, which is within 8 miles from this place, our men having been out for several days.

"The 15th and this day, the wind has continued ahead; our vessel being too deeply laden, we impressed Mr. Gilbert Backson from Georgetown, and I with part of the company ship'd ourselves on board his vessel, the Molley, and shall leave this as soon as we can.

"We dined and spent the afternoon with Mr. Peconee, who treated us very genteely, and pres'd us to spend the evening and stay all Night with him, which we could not do, as we were waiting for a wind.

"ON BOARD THE MOLLEY

"WORTON HARBOUR

"EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND

"Oct<sup>r</sup> 16, 1781."

[LETTER 207.]

"On the morning of the 17th we set sail with a west wind, which is almost ahead, and was all the day beating over to the Western shore.

"On the morning of the 18th, we run down with a North Wester to the mouth of the Potapsco river, and the wind being ahead we landed at North Point, left part of our Baggage, and marched up to Baltimore town, sixteen miles in about four hours. We got to town about 9 o'clock at Night. I got my men in quarters and put up at Mr. Grant's, at the sign of the Fountain, the first Tavern in the place.

"On Friday the 19th I dined with Mr. Fell at his Mansion House at *Fell's Point*, and in the afternoon rode out with him in a carriage to take a view of Baltimore town. We took a circuit almost round it and from some of the neighboring heights I had a full view of it. Some of the inhabitants of Baltimore will tell you that it is nearly half as large as Philadelphia, but you may depend upon it, that it is not one eighth as large. Impartially I believe it to be about the size of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia, which is from Vine



street upward—And Fell's Point is situated very much like Kensington, but thicker settled, with two bridges going to it in the same manner.

“The town is built on a low uneven piece of ground, the streets are not paved—in wet weather very muddy and in dry, dirty, very disagreeable in either. The Market house is on one side of the street, under an old Court House, and contains twelve stalls, and about eight board Shambles. I made it my business to attend to see their market, which was tolerable full, but in great confusion, as most of the country people remain in their waggons with their produce, and a number of butchers with their beef in carts in quarters, who will cut a piece off any where for you without regard to the [torn].

“There is no Public Buildings here of any note, except an unfinished Church and State House, as it is called, which is no other than a genteel Court House. Some of the streets are very regular and wide, but many winding and turning as the first comers happen'd to build; there is a number of genteel houses in the place but none elegant.

“Mr. Fell where I now make my home, is a gentleman of princely fortune. I got acquainted with him at Philadelphia and he has kindly invited me to make his house my home as long as I remain in the place. The whole of the place called Fell's Point belongs to him, which in a short time will be the place of trade; it is now one fourth as large as Baltimore. He is at this time laying the remainder out in lots to be sold, leased or rented. A great estate has fell to him in Philadelphia and if he gets his due a great part of Baltimore will be his. This must be the place of trade, because the large vessels can go no higher up than the Point, and are obliged to load and unload here. On account of the filling up of the Basin, which is before the town, within these few years past, this is what is called the North Branch of the Potapsco, and is an inlet which makes up about two miles and is twelve miles from the Bay.

“BALTIMORE TOWN,

“Oct' 20<sup>th</sup> 1781.”



[LETTER 208.]

"On Saturday the 20th, in the forenoon, I went with an old acquaintance of ours from Georgetown known to you as *Rosanda*, who was much surprised and would scarcely believe her own eyes and senses that I was alive, for she had long since heard and took it for granted that I was dead. However, I have convinced her to the contrary, and she seemed to be very happy to find out her mistake. I drank Tea and spent the evening with her.

"*On Sun: 21.*—This morning to my unspeakable joy, I saw the copy of a Letter from the Count d'Grasse to the Governor of Maryland, giving him an account of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis with all the army under his command at York, in Virginia. I was somewhat mortified to think, that I had been eighteen days on our way to that place and by misfortune could not be there. It is very remarkable that on the same day, of the same month, (that is the 17th of Octobr, 77), that Burgoyne surrendered with his army at Saratoga, so on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Oct' '81 has Lord Cornwallis surrendered with all the British, Refugees, Negroes Torys &c., under his command at York in Virginia. You shall have the particulars as soon as I can get them. I congratulate you on the above good news!

"We have had a very bad passage to this place, was cast away in the Bay, and Col. Craig supposing us lost, went off and left us. He left Baltimore on the 16th instant. I marched with my men down to the Fort, and quartered them in the Barracks, which are in tolerable repair. Capt. Patterson is left in town in order to prepare for our departure. I promised to write to you from this place and am happy my first carries agreeable news.

"FORT BALTIMORE,

"Oct' 22, 1781.

"P.S.—There is to be a *Feau d' Joy* at Baltimore this Day."



[LETTER 209.]

[The first part of this letter is missing.]

"In the evening the Town and Fell's Point were elegantly illuminated—what few houses that were not, had their windows broke. About eight o'clock got tired and went to Mr. Fell's (where I made my home) who had a genteel Ball and Entertainment for the Ladies and gentlemen at the Point. Capt. Gasseway and myself were introduced to the company, where we danced and spent the night until 3 o'clock in the morning of the 23<sup>d</sup>, as agreeably as we could wish—As the ladies were very agreeable, and the whole company seemed to enjoy themselves perfectly, and indeed seemed to be carry'd away beyond themselves on this happy occasion.

"This day Captain Patterson being unwell gave up the command to me, I have exerted myself and shall be ready to sail tomorrow morning.

"FELL'S POINT, MARYLAND,

"Oct 25 1781."

[LETTER 210.]

"*Thurs. Oct. 25<sup>th</sup>.*—I fell down with the schooners Nancey and Juliet to the Fort and took our men on board. I waited till four o'clock in the afternoon for Capt. Patterson, and then set sail without him. The wind being ahead we beat down the River and made a harbour in Rock Creek.

"On the 26th with a light breeze [*torn*] North Point, took our baggage on board. Dine with a gentleman where we left our baggage, and set sail about four o'clock in the afternoon with a fair wind.

"This vessel is small but runs very fast, so that on the morning of the 27th instant I found myself in harbour in Miles River below Kent Island, where I gave the Skipper leave to call in order to get a hand and put a sick man ashore.

"*Eastern Shore of Maryland.*—I walked up to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Tilghman (to whom our schooner belongs), he was lately a member of Congress. This gentleman lives



in an elegant old fashioned house, very genteely furnished, who was exceeding kind and entertained Mr. Legare (a Carolina gentleman) and myself with the utmost politeness. After a genteel breakfast he very politely waited upon us to the shore. We got under way about 10 o'clock with a fair wind at Northwest and proceeded on our way.

"On the 28th, in the afternoon, we arrived at the mouth of York river in Virginia, from which place I had a view of the French Fleet, which forms a line from the Eastern to the Western side of the Channel quite across and makes a grand appearance.

"ON BOARD YE NANCEY,

"OFF YORK RIVER, VIRGINIA,

"Oct. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1781.

[LETTER 211.]

"On the 28th instant I ran up York River to Yorktown, about 8 miles from the Bay, where I landed and walk'd up to the Encampment and made my report to Colonel Craig, and got his thanks for pushing on with the company.

"I landed and marched the company to camp within two miles of the town of York, on the morning of the 29th instant, and have once more joined the Regiment from which I was separated sixteen days, with sixty men and upwards, to the general joy of the whole, as they all supposed that we were lost in the storm.

"All the prisoners are sent off to the back parts of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, except the officers, who are on Parole and have liberty to go where and when they please. Mr. Legare, a Carolina gentleman who came down with me from Baltimore, who is on his way to South Carolina, and would wish to proceed with the Army, I have invited to take part of my tent and he has consented. He is a gentleman who has been a Captain in one of the Carolina Regiments, and was made prisoner at Charleston, when it was taken, is since resigned and is now going home to his family.

"This day in town I met with Captain Sproat, who is very well, and exceeding happy to see me. He insisted on



my dining with him. About 12 o'clock I went to General Hand's Headquarters with him, who is very well, where I dined and spent part of the afternoon. The remainder I spent with the officers of the Line who were very happy to see me. The most of them appear to be in perfect health, after all the fatigues of campaign and siege.

"YORKTOWN,

"Oct' 31, 1781."

[LETTER 212.]

"On the second instant, I went to take a view of the Lines and found them very grand. The enemy had the town piqueted all round very strongly. The town is small, not exceeding two hundred and fifty houses, the most of which were shot through like a riddle—some had the whole side burst out with the explosion of shells, and the whole at present in a ruinous state. At present all the small craft that can be had is Loading with the heavy artillery and ordanance stores, which are to be sent immediately to the Head of Elk by water. The town at present is entirely a scene of confusion—here you may see all putting backward and forward, and running one among another about their own business. British officers and French sailors, soldiers, marines, fatigue men, boatmen, British merchants, American Speculators, Jews and Infidels—Negroes, British wives, soldiers' trolls, with a song &c. So be-mixed, be-hurried, be-know'd, be-frightened and be-deviled, that nothing short of a [*torn*] or the pencil of a Hogarth could possibly do them justice to delineate or describe.

"Extract from the General Orders of the 30th ultimo:

"In pursuance of the Determination of a Board of Gen. Officers setting forth the means by which the officers of this Army may Receive a General Benefit from that Article of the Capitulation which intitles them to a right of [*torn*] in the possession of the [*torn*] in York and Gloucester at the time of the surrender of these parts—

"The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct that every officer who came here with the Army (coming under



the following description) receives on account of his pay to the Ammount of twenty Pounds (Dollars at 6 Shillings each) viz<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers & their families and other military staff; Regimental officers, the officers of the Hospital, the Chaplains, the Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>, the Com<sup>r</sup> Genl. and their Deputies—That an officer from each Brigade be appointed to take up the Goods from the Traders for the officers of their respective Brigades, whose receipt shall intitle them to payment.'

"Since the above Order, we have been busied in purchasing and dividing the above. The merchants are allow'd one hundred per cent. on their goods from the Sterling cost, and then to be reduced into Currency.

"Every preparation is making for a movement from this place. I spent the afternoon with Major Sproat, who is aid to General Hand. He informs me that the whole Army will move for the Northward at the same time that we move off for the South.

"Three thousand French troops under the command of the Count Rochambeau, with a proper number of Shipping to protect the Harbour will be station'd at York this Winter, and as long next Spring as will suffice them to get up and repair the shipping that has been sunk and damag'd since the siege, fortunately the property of the Enemy, which amount to upward of one hundred sail.

"I am entirely reconciled to the march to Carolinas, as we are likely to have such a very pleasant season for it. The evenings are beginning to be a little cool here, and if we don't hurry on, the Winter will be likely to overtake us.

"YORK, VIRGINIA,

"Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 213.]

"On the fifth instant about 9 o'clock the Gen<sup>l</sup> beat and we marched off under the command of Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair. The detachment is composed of the Pennsylvania Line, the Maryland Troops that are here, a detachment of Virginians, a detachment of artillery with brass pounders



and Howitzers,—inch mortars, with a large quantity of Ordnance stores, Commissary, Qr. Mr. Gen<sup>l</sup> Stores, with a quantity of clothing for the Southern Army—with these we marched and encamp'd within three miles of Williamsburg, on our way to join the Southern Army, under the command of General Greene. Being encumbered with such a quantity of waggons will cause us to move on very slow.

"On the 6th the Gen<sup>l</sup> beat at sunrise. We encamped at Bird's Ordinary—the name given to the taverns in this country, and *ordinary* enough they are, God knows, and not worthy to be called a Tavern in any other country. We arrived at our ground in the afternoon.

"On the 8th moved on to Bottom Bridge, over the Chicohomeney, a small creek. During our four days march, we have come through a poor sandy country, thinly settled and the houses meanly built. Except Williamsburg, the Metropolis of Virginia, the town is not large, but very regular, the Governor's palace standing at one end and the capital at the other, of the Main street facing each about one quarter of a mile distant—both elegant buildings with wings; the streets are wide and houses large and contain about three hundred and fifty houses. The seat of [*torn*].

"The season here is very pleasant and the road good, and as yet we have had no scarcity of water.

"BOTTOM BRIDGE,

"Nov. 8<sup>th</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 214.]

"On the 9th instant we marched at the same time as usual and arriv'd at this place about the middle of the afternoon, 13 miles, and encamp'd on a hill on the left of the town, a beautiful place with the James River in front. Richmond is now the seat of Government; the Governor's residence is an elegant [*torn*] situated on the bank of James River, just below the falls. The houses are principally on the main street, and no grand buildings in it. It contains about one hundred houses. There is two good Ordinaries in it, and two or three stores, but every thing extravagantly dear.



Such Sugar as might be purchased in Philadelphia for six pence, would cost you here eighteen.

"On the 10th instant, the Maryland Line crossed the James River opposite the town. On the 11th the artillery crossed with their stores in a heavy rain [*torn*].

"On the 13th [*torn*] the Battalion with their Baggage crossed the River and pitch'd on Manchester side of the River. Manchester is a small town opposite to Richmond, very irregularly built and contains about 40 houses, where the Enemy burnt a great number of stores, warehouses and inspecting houses with a great quantity of Tobacco in them, and took off a quantity of cattle, horses and negroes from the inhabitants.

"My fever has increased and the swelling in my face continued. I was invited by a Mr. Archer to stay at his house while I remained in Richmond. He keeps a store in the Town, keeps open house for all the officers who will favor him with their company [*torn*]."

[LETTER 215.]

"On the 17th cross'd the Appomatox river in boats—it appears to be much such a river as the Schuylkill above the Falls. At our place of crossing it was not more than 200 yards across. We encamped on the bank of the River just in the rear of Petersburg.

"The above is a small town built in a hollow or rather on a side hill, very irregular and ill built and contains about 50 houses. There is two Ordinaries and three stores in the town. Below this is a small town call'd Blandford on the river and contains 20 or 30 houses and store [*torn*]. The paper currency is still in circulation in this State—a State Currency that was struck to pass one for forty of the old Continental—now this is depreciated to such a degree that it is scarcely worth counting; it passes at this time twelve hundred to one Hard Dollar, which reduces the old Continental (tho' not in circulation) to forty eight thousand for one. The hard money being so very plenty to the



northward, it has made its way here and now circulates very freely. I am in hopes the Continent will not be troubled with striking any more paper money.

"PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,

"Nov. 18<sup>th</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 216.]

"On the 19th instant we march'd to Dinwiddie Court House and encamp'd near it. There was a large Assembly at the Court House as it was Term time with them.

"On the 20th we crossed Notaway River at Jones's Bridge and encamp'd on Jones's farms at the Beaver Pond, in Brunswick county. This is looked upon as a good country, and Dinwiddie has a number of elegant buildings in it and the people all good-livers. But Amelia County which joins this is still better, has a vast number of the first families living in it, the ladies of which have made themselves famous by an Association they enter'd into early in the war, 'That they were determin'd to live single 'till the conclusion of the war without they married an officer of the Army or one who had served their Country in a public manner since the commencement of the War.' I am told by men who have seen them, that the ladies are very genteel, handsome and of the first families in Virginia, who are of this Association. I must confess I should have been very happy to have seen girls who have discover'd so much Patriotism to the World.

"On the 21st we marched to Earle Edmund's farm. In the morning before we march'd off a Duel was fought in the Maryland Line between Captain Menzie and Ensign Bettis—each fired and miss'd; fired the second time and miss'd; the third fire the Ensign shot Capt. Menzie thro' the head, of which he died immediately. The officers had a hole dug and buried him on the spot in his clothes, and march'd off without further ceremony. He had used Bettis very ill, who has since been ordered to take his command, and no further notice is taken of it. Congress and the Legislative body have used every means in their power to stop dueling [torn].



"On the 22d continued our march, crossed Mahoming creek over a high bridge to Mitchel's Ordinary, and encamp'd in a poor neighborhood.

"On the 23d we proceeded on our march, passed Miller's Ordinary, crossed Miles Creek, and encamp'd on Sir Peyton Skipper's [Skipwith] farms in the heart of a good country, in Mecklenburgh County. For three nights past we have had hard frost and ice a quarter of an inch thick; I am much afraid we shall be overtaken by the Winter, as it seems to come on faster than we march.

"The common inhabitants of Virginia dress in a very particular manner. The men with little round hats, coarse mixed grey Jackets, breeches of the same, and all of them wear what they call Leggins, which is a piece of cloth. Kersey Ticking [*torn*]. The women [*torn*] Bonnet on their head. If it is made of any other stuff and of the Bonnet shape, they have them so small that they appear ridiculous. The people in general have a pale, sickly appearance, inclining to the Yellowish color. Their remark upon us is, that they never saw such a set of Red-Black looking men in all their lives.

"Their Negroes tho' not at this season of the year, are almost naked in general—some of them quite as naked as they were born, came into our camp to look for pieces of old clothes. I don't know how they reconcile this treatment of their slaves with their liberal principles of hospitality, when a trifle of expense would give them some kind of coarse clothes to cover their nakedness [*torn*].

"SKIPPER'S [SKIPWITH] FARMS,

"Nov. 23<sup>d</sup> 1781."

[LETTER 217.]

"On the 24th, we march'd from Sir Peyton Skipper's [Skipwith] farms to the banks of the Roanoke. We began to cross the River immediately and by 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Pennsylvania Line and baggage was all over and we encamp'd [*torn*] a number of fine buildings near its Bank. Below this, I am informed, occupied by a set of very genteel inhabitants. . . .



“On the 25th, the Artillery and stores crossed the River.

“On the 26th, a fresh and high wind hindered the crossing of the Maryland Line. . . .

“On the 30th the Maryland Line crossed the River in the rain. This day I dined with Col. Craig, in company with General St. Clair and his family. My guest, Capt. Legare, has provided himself with a horse, and has joined the Cavalry, where he has acquaintances, and can have his *Beast* properly provided for.”

[Balance of this letter and also Letters 218, 219, 220, 221, and 222 are missing.]

[LETTER 223.]

“On the Seventh instant finding I was not likely to be furnish'd with Quarters, Doctor King invited me to live with him for the remainder of the time I have to stay. . . . I live here exceeding happy, having nothing to do but visit my men, and recreate myself with the guns, etc.

“The Doctor is young, and exceeding good company, that the time passes Insensibly away, and I shall scarcely miss it as it flies.

“WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

“De<sup>c</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 81.”

[LETTER 224.]

“On the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo I accompanied Mr. George King, brother to the Doctor, to have the matrimonial knot tied. The young lady is daughter to a Mr. Le Nier, a gentleman of a good family in the neighbourhood. She stood the Ceremony with a very good grace; the company was not numerous, but genteel; the evening was spent in supping and dancing.

“On the first instant the company adjourn'd, to the Doctor's, with great additions, among the rest was three South Carolina officers, who have been prisoners, and are now on their way to join the Army. We had a very genteel dinner, after which we enter'd upon Dancing and kept it up till late in the evening. I think the Bride looks much improved;



I would advise the ladies of my acquaintance, to try the experiment, that is if they want a good colour. It is something like putting out to Sea, tho' numbers are shipwreck'd (often by their own imprudence) yet so great a propensity have we all for Matrimony, that we are willing to try our fortune and see if our voyage will not turn out more prosperous.

"WILLIAMSBOROUGH, N. C.

"Jan. 5th, 1782."

[LETTER 225.]

"On the morning of the 6th instant I mounted my Rosnetta and scampered to Mr. Le Nier's, where I expected comp'y (Messers George and Edward King) on my way to the town of Halifax. Before I got six miles on the way, I found Rosnetta to be an arrant Scoundrel and would take advantage of me upon all occasions. I was in a fine humour and in full flow of spirits,—they carrying me at the rate of ten knots an hour, and my horse only going at the rate of three and a half; and that with the greatest difficulty, sometimes whip, sometimes spur, often both. Only figure to yourself, my situation, when I would willingly have gone on so rapidly, to be kept back, harras'd, and hinder'd, by a perverse lump of clay who would not be brought to join with me, neither by fair means or foul. Like many dull readers who will never enter into the spirit of any author nor can they be beat into it.—Thy Soul, said I, must have belonged to some cold, phlegmatic Pedagogue (please to allow me transmigration), who in his life would neither lead nor drive. I coaxed him, he went too slow, I whipp'd, 'twas all the same, I pricked him with my spur, (as the Yankee girl said) —he minded it no more.

"I would give thee (as a punishment) to a Mahomedan to ride or an Indian pagan. No! I recall that. I think I see the Courtious *Brahmin* advancing from the mouth of thy cave, thro' a pleasant Grove, in an inviteing posture, and with a benevolent aspect; entreating me a stranger to walk in, and share thy homely fare. Generous soul! when I had



come there on purpose to insult thee. Happy man! would that our Christians would follow thy example. No!—God forbid that such a man should ride on such a Horse! well then I'll ride thee myself, said I, and to it *Whip and Spur*. A punishment indeed!

"It would have made you laugh, to have seen us at our repast, three gentlemen on a journey, sitting by the roadside, on an old log, breaking our fast, on bacon and bread, and bread and bacon. 'Twas like the knight of the Woe-full Countenance seeking melancholly adventures; and not much unlike him was I mounted. 'Tis the Custom of the Country.

"As we were coming up to an Ordinary, my poney prick'd up his ears and trotted up to it very lively. If that is the case, I wish you always had a house before you.

"A bowl of Grog was called for. The fellow came out to us with the half of it in a small pewter basin, and as he was sensible it was too strong, he was prepared with a little gourd full of water. 'Pray sir, why did you not make it in a bowl?'—'I have none.' 'A mugg?' 'none either'—'you shall have it at will Gentlemen.' We must dismount. I had but a mean opinion of the house from the outward appearance, which was ten times worse when I saw the inside;—a crazy table, four old chairs, two of these without seats, and the little basin, composed the whole furniture of the house;—in fact, it looked as if they were just going to run away from it. His *bar* was a shelf in a dark corner, on which stood a pail of water, a bottle and a horn gill measure, which was a rough piece of horn, which no doubt he had made to suit his own interest. The mistress of the family, was of a pale, sallow complexion, of middle stature. Instead of being the ornament of the family, she looked as if some person had thrown her clothes at her, (comparatively speaking) for they were on in no kind of form. Three or four of the inhabitants of the lower class had collected here, and tho' it was remarkably warm for the season, they were sitting round a tolerable fire drinking hot Eggnog out of a little gourd, enough to roast their souls out. But I suppose



they thought any thing the best that would make them soonest drunk, for in that, the happiness of numbers (here) consist. God help them thought I! As I was preparing to pay my pistereen for the Grog, I heard a confused cry of 'whoa!—whoa!!—whoa!!!—d—n you!!!' What should it be but my horse, who among the rest of his failings, will forever slip his bridle (if possible) and here the consequence had like to have proved fatal to the house. I had tied him to the post of the piazza, and as three posts out of five were loose with his pulling, the whole was like to have come down.

"When we came within ten miles of our intended stage for the day, on enquireing the way, our old fellow undertook to direct us a near way by which we should gain several miles. 'You must go' said he, 'round my field,' ('twas about the size of a large hog-pen) 'go round my field, and you will come into a cart-path, (for all are paths in this country) and that will take you about four miles through the woods, and then you will come into a great cart-path, and turn up that about one hundred yards to the right and there the road forks; you must take to the left, cross two bridges and then turn up to Col. Willis Alston's house.'

"The direction was so plain you would have taken it yourself. 'Is there no Road to turn us out of the way?' 'No, none at all.' The event proved him a liar, before we got out of sight of his house. We thought it the only one, we followed it about two hundred yards, went back and took the other. For about six miles we had to stop and hold a council over the forks, and cross-ways, two or three times a mile. The Devil take such directions! We came across a little house in the wood and enquired for directions; the fellow said he believed it to be about four miles, but he was a stranger in that part, as he had lived there only three years. Thou must be an unsociable Soul to live three years in a place and not know thy neighbors within four miles. Happily we met a little boy about ten years of age, who gave proper directions. The old fellow was wrong; the second was wrong; and they were all wrong, but this boy.



I was vexed! When we came to the main road a young lady passed us at half speed, I saw she was very handsome, and followed. We had a chase of near half a mile; she was very handsome, and in the language of the country, *Clever*. She gave me the directions I required, in a soft voice and a most engaging accent, and posted off with her servant at the same half speed. If I had had a heart to lose, I believe she would have taken it with her. We arrived an hour after dark; the most tedious travelling that I ever experienced, is when you don't know the way, nor have light enough to see it; we went on by guess. Not the sweetest music that I ever heard, was half so pleasing to me, as the cackling of the geese was that evening, when we was in a dark road, and neither of us knew the way out.

"We were Joyfully Receiv'd by Col. and Mrs. Alston,—Mr. King was her relation. I was treated in a very, very friendly manner by the family.

"HALIFAX, N. C.

"Jan' 7<sup>th</sup> 82."

(To be continued.)



THE FRENCH FÊTE IN PHILADELPHIA IN HONOR  
OF THE DAUPHIN'S BIRTHDAY, 1782.

[The following account of the French fête in Philadelphia in honor of the Dauphin's birthday, given on Monday evening, July 15, 1782, is extracted from a letter of Dr. Benjamin Rush to a lady.]

PHILADELPHIA, 16 July, 1782.

DEAR MADAM :—For some weeks past our city has been amused with the expectation of a most splendid entertainment to be given by the minister of France, to celebrate the birthday of the Dauphin of France. Great preparations, it was said, were made for that purpose. Hundreds crowded daily to see a large frame building which he had erected for a dancing room on one side of his house. This building, which was sixty feet in front and forty feet deep, was supported by large painted pillars, and was open all round. The ceiling was decorated with several pieces of neat paintings emblematical of the design of the entertainment. The garden contiguous to this shed was cut into beautiful walks, and divided with cedar and pine branches into artificial groves. The whole, both the building and walks, were accommodated with seats. Besides these preparations, we were told that the minister had borrowed thirty cooks from the French army, to assist in providing an entertainment suited to the size and dignity of the company. Eleven hundred tickets were distributed, most of them two or three weeks before the evening of the entertainment.

Forty were sent to the governor of each state, to be distributed by them to the principal officers and gentlemen of their respective governments, and, I believe, the same number to General Washington, to be distributed to the principal officers of the army. For ten days before the entertainment, nothing else was talked of in our city. The shops were crowded with customers. Hair dressers were retained; tailors, milliners and mantua-makers were to be seen, covered with sweat and out of breath, in every street. Monday, July 15th, was the long expected evening.



The morning of this day was ushered in by a corps of hair dressers, occupying the place of the city watchmen. Many ladies were obliged to have their heads dressed between four and six o'clock in the morning, so great was the demand and so numerous the engagements this day of the gentlemen of the comb. At half past seven o'clock was the time fixed in the tickets for the meeting of the company. The approach of the hour was proclaimed by the rattling of all the carriages in the city. The doors and windows of the streets which led to the minister's were lined with people, and near the minister's house was a collection of all the curious and idle men, women and children in the city, who were not invited to the entertainment, amounting, probably, to ten thousand people. . . . The minister was not unmindful of this crowd of spectators. He had previously pulled down a board fence and put up a neat palisado fence before the dancing room and walks, on purpose to gratify them with a sight of the company and the entertainment. He intended further to have distributed two pipes of Madeira wine and \$600 in small change among them; but he was dissuaded from this act of generosity by some gentlemen of the city, who were afraid that it might prove the occasion of a riot or some troublesome proceedings. The money devoted to this purpose was charitably distributed among the prisoners in the jails, and patients in the hospital in the city. About eight o'clock our family, consisting of Mrs. Rush, our cousin Susan Hall, our sister Sukey and myself, with our good neighbours Mrs. and Mr. Henry, entered the apartment provided for this splendid entertainment. We were received through a wide gate by the minister and conducted by one of his family to the dancing room. The scene now almost exceeds description. The numerous lights distributed through the garden, the splendor of the room we were approaching, the size of the company which was now collected and which consisted of about 700 persons: the brilliancy and variety of their dresses, and the band of music which had just begun to play, formed a scene which resembled enchantment. Sukey Stockton said "her mind



was carried beyond and out of itself." We entered the room together, and here we saw the world in miniature. All the ranks, parties and professions in the city, and all the officers of government were fully represented in this assembly. Here were ladies and gentlemen of the most ancient as well as modern families. Here were lawyers, doctors and ministers of the gospel. Here were the learned faculty of the college, and among them many who knew not whether Cicero plead in Latin or in Greek; or whether Horace was a Roman or a Scotchman. Here were painters and musicians, poets and philosophers, and men who were never moved by beauty or harmony, or by rhyme or reason. Here were merchants and gentlemen of independent fortunes, as well as many respectable and opulent tradesmen. Here were Whigs and men who formerly bore the character of Tories. Here were the president and members of congress, governors of states and generals of armies, ministers of finance and war, and foreign affairs; judges of superior and inferior courts, with all their respective suites and assistants, secretaries and clerks. In a word, the assembly was truly republican. The company was mixed, it is true, but the mixture formed the harmony of the evening. Everybody seemed pleased. Pride and ill-nature for a while forgot their pretensions and offices, and the whole assembly behaved to each other as if they had been members of the same family. It was impossible to partake of the joy of the evening without being struck with the occasion of it. It was to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin of France.

How great the revolution in the mind of an American! to rejoice in the birth of an heir to the crown of France, a country against which he had imbibed prejudices as ancient as the wars between France and England. How strange! for a protestant to rejoice in the birth of a prince, whose religion he had been always taught to consider as unfriendly to humanity. And above all how new the phenomenon for republicans to rejoice in the birth of a prince, who must one day be the support of monarchy and slavery. Human nature in this instance seems to be turned



inside outwards. The picture is still agreeable, inasmuch as it shows us in the clearest point of view that there are no prejudices so strong, no opinions so sacred, and no contradictions so palpable, that will not yield to the love of liberty.

The appearance and characters, as well as the employment of the company naturally suggested the idea of Elysium given by the ancient poets. Here were to be seen heroes and patriots in close conversation with each other. Washington and Dickinson held several dialogues together. Here were to be seen men conversing with each other who had appeared in all the different stages of the American war. Dickinson and Morris frequently reclined together against the same pillar. Here were to be seen statesmen and warriors, from the opposite ends of the continent, talking of the history of the war in their respective states. Rutledge and Walton from the south, here conversed with Lincoln and Duane from the east and north. Here and there, too, appeared a solitary character walking among the artificial bowers in the garden. The celebrated author of "Common Sense" retired frequently from the company to analyze his thoughts and to enjoy the repast of his own original ideas. Here were to be seen men who had opposed each other in the councils and parties of their country, forgetting all former resentments and exchanging civilities with each other. Mifflin and Reed accosted each other with all the kindness of ancient friends. Here were to be seen men of various countries and languages, such as Americans and Frenchmen, Englishmen and Scotchmen, Germans and Irishmen, conversing with each other like children of one father. And lastly, here were to be seen the extremes of the civilized and savage life. An Indian chief in his savage habits, and the count Rochambeau in his splendid and expensive uniform, talked with each other as if they had been the subjects of the same government, generals in the same army, and partakers of the same blessings of civilized life.

About half an hour after eight o'clock the signal was given for the dance to begin. Each lady was provided with a partner before she came. The heat of the evening de-



tered above one half of the company from dancing. Two sets however, appeared upon the floor during the remaining part of the evening.

On one side of the room were provided two private apartments, where a number of servants attended to help the company to all kinds of cool and agreeable drinks, with sweet cakes, fruit and the like.

Between these apartments and under the orchestra, there was a private room where several Quaker ladies, whose dress would not permit them to join the assembly, were indulged with a sight of the company through a gauze curtain.

This little attention to the curiosity of the ladies marks in the strongest manner the minister's desire to oblige everybody.

At nine o'clock were exhibited a number of rockets from a stage erected in a large open lot before the minister's house. They were uncommonly beautiful and gave universal satisfaction. At twelve o'clock the company was called to supper. It was laid behind the dancing room under three large tents, so connected together as to make one large canopy. Under this canopy were placed seven tables, each of which was large enough to accommodate fifty people.

The ladies who composed nearly one half the whole assembly, took their seats first, with a small number of gentlemen to assist in helping them. The supper was a cold collation; simple, frugal and elegant, and handsomely set off with a dessert consisting of cakes and all the fruits of the season. The Chevalier de la Luzerne now appeared with all the splendor of the minister and all the politeness of a gentleman. He walked along the tables and addressed himself in particular to every lady. A decent and respectful silence pervaded the whole company. Intemperance did not show its head; levity composed its countenance, and even humour itself forgot for a few moments its usual haunts; and the simple jest, no less than the loud laugh, were unheard at any of the tables. So great and universal was the decorum, and so totally suspended was every species of convivial noise, that several gentlemen remarked that the



“company looked and behaved more as if they were worshipping than eating.” In a word, good breeding was acknowledged, by universal consent, to be mistress of the evening, and the conduct of the votaries at supper formed the conclusion of her triumph. Notwithstanding all the agreeable circumstances that have been mentioned, many of the company complained of the want of something else to render the entertainment complete. Everybody felt pleasure but it was of too tranquil a nature. Many people felt sentiments, but they were produced by themselves, and did not arise from any of the amusements of the evening. The company expected to feel joy, and their feelings were in unison with nothing short of it. An ode on the birth of the Dauphin, sung or repeated, would have answered the expectations and corresponded with the feelings of everybody. The understanding and taste of the company would have shared with the senses in the pleasures of the evening. The enclosed ode written by Mr. William Smith, son of the Rev. Dr. Smith, was composed for the occasion, but from what cause I know not, it did not make its appearance. It has great merit, and could it have been set to music, or spoken publicly, must have formed a most delightful and rational part of the entertainment. About one o’clock the company began to disperse, our family moved with the foremost of them. Before three o’clock the whole company parted, every candle was extinguished, and midnight enjoyed her dark and solitary reign in every part of the minister’s house and garden. Thus I have given you a full account of the rejoicing on the birth of the Dauphin of France.

If it serves to divert your thoughts for an hour or two from the train of reflections to which the shades and walks of — at this season of the year, too naturally dispose you, I shall be more than satisfied and shall esteem the history which my attendance at the minister’s house has enabled me to give you, as the most fortunate and agreeable event (as to myself) of the whole evening. . . .

BENJAMIN RUSH.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

GENERAL EDMUND P. GAINES'S OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF FORT ERIE, August 15, 1814.—The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been presented by Colonel E. P. Stacey, of Dover, Delaware, with the original MS. "General Orders" of General Edmund P. Gaines, issued after the battle of Fort Erie, August 15, 1814. This valuable document, in the handwriting of Lieutenant Samuel Sewall Stacey, of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, grandfather of the donor, is signed by Roger Jones, the Assistant Adjutant-General of General Gaines.

"ADJ. GENERAL'S OFFICE  
"HD QUARTERS FORT ERIE U. C.  
"August 23d. 1814.

## "GENERAL ORDERS—

"Brigadier General Gaines owes an Apology to the gallant Army under his Command for delaying until this Day the tender of his grateful acknowledgements and warmest Thanks for the steady Disciplined Valor, and determined Bravery, with which they received and beat the Enemy on the Morning of the 15th inst. The want of Returns and particular Reports from the Commanding Officers of Corps, to enable the General to do Justice to all, has rendered this delay unavoidable. The Reports are in part received, but in taking a review of the various Acts of individual bravery, and good Conduct which he witnessed among all grades of Officers, Non Commissioned Officers and Privates, he perceives that to mention the names and gallant acts of all would fill a volume. Our beloved and grateful Country will acknowledge that this Army has done its Duty.

"The General calls the attention of the Army to the subjoined Order of Lieut. General Drummond, by which they will see the plan of Attack, the Corps employed, and the Enemy's determination to make a '*free use of the Bayonet.*'

"The night of the Battle of Fort Erie will be long remembered by every gallant Spirit of the Army. It was stormy and dark—dark as the designs of the Murderous Foe, who resolved to give no quarter—but our faithful Centinels slept not. At half past two in the morning the right Column of the Enemy approached. His footsteps were heard, his course was marked by a blaze of fire from Captain Towson's Artillery and Major Wood's 21st Infy on our left. Five times the Enemy attempted to carry this Point with the Bayonet (having taken out their flints) and five times was he repulsed with great loss. The Cannon and Musquetry, on the right, now announc'd the approach of the Centre and left Columns of the Enemy under Colonels Drummond and Scott. The latter was received by the Veteran 9th under the Command of Captain Foster, and Captains Boughton and Harding's companies of New York and Penna. Volunteers aided by a 6 Pr judiciously posted by Major McKee, Chief Engineer who was most active and useful at this Point. The Enemy was repulsed. The Centre Column under Colonel Drummond



was not long kept in Check, it approached at once every assailable point of the Fort and with Scaling Ladders ascended the Parapet, but was repulsed, with fearful carnage. The assault was twice repeated, and as often checked, but the Enemy having moved round in the ditch, covered by darkness added to the heavy cloud of Smoke which had rolled from our Cannon, and musquetry enveloping surrounding objects, repeated the charge, reascended their Ladders. Their Pikes, Bayonets and Spears fell upon our gallant Artillerists. The heroic Spirits of our favorite Captain Williams and Lieuts. McDonough and Watmaugh, with their brave men were overcome. The two former and several of their men received Deadly Wounds—our bastion was lost. Lieut. McDonough being severely wounded demanded Quarter. It was refused by Col. Drummond. The Lieut. then seized a Handspike and nobly defended himself until he was shot down with a pistol by the Monster, who had refused him quarter, who often reiterated the order 'Give the d—d Yankee rascals no Quarter!' This officer whose bravery if it had been seasoned with Virtue, would have entitled him to the admiration of every soldier, this hardened murderer, soon met his merited fate—he was shot thro' the breast by Jacob Plank, private of the 19th Reg' whilst repeating the order to give no Quarter.

"The battle now raged with increased fury on our right; but on the left the Enemy was repulsed and put to flight. Thence and from the Centre the General ordered re-enforcements; they were promptly sent by Brig. General Ripley and Brig' General Porter. Capt. Fanning of the Corps of Artillery kept up a spirited and destructive fire with the field pieces, on the Enemy attempting to approach the Fort.

"Major Hindman's gallant efforts, aided by Major Trimble having failed to drive the Enemy from the Bastion; with the remaining Artillerists & Infantry in the Fort, Captain Birdsall of the 4th R. Reg' with a detachment of Riflemen gallantly rushed in thro' the gateway to their assistance, and with some Infantry charged the Enemy, but was repulsed and the Captain severely wounded. A detachment from the 11th, 19th and 22d Infantry under Captain Foster of the 11th, were introduced over the interior bastion for the purpose of charging the Enemy. Major Hall Asst. Inspector General very handsomely tendered his services to lead the charge. The charge was gallantly made by Captain Foster and Major Hall, but owing to the narrowness of the passage up to the bastion, admitting only two or three men abreast, it failed. It was often repeated and as often checked. The Enemy's force in the bastion was however, much cut to pieces and diminished by our Artillery and small arms. At this moment every operation was arrested by the explosion of some Cartridges deposited in the end of the Stone building adjoining the contested Bastion. The explosion was *majestically* splendid and terrible. The Bastion was restored. At this moment Captain Biddle was ordered to cause a field piece to be posted so as to enfilade the Exterior plain and salient Glacis. The Captain though not recovered from a severe contusion in the shoulder received from one of the Enemy's shells, promptly took his position and served his field piece with vivacity and effect. Captain Fanning's battery likewise played upon them at this time with great effect. The Enemy were in a few minutes entirely defeated, likewise put to flight, leaving on the field 221 killed, 174 wounded, and 186 prisoners: Total 581, including 14 officers killed 7 wounded and prisoners. A large portion so severely wounded that they cannot survive, the slightly wounded it is presumed were carried off.

"To Brigadier General Ripley much credit is due for the judicious dis-



position of the left wing previous to the action and for the steady disciplined courage manifested by him and his immediate Command, and for the promptness with which he complied with orders for re-enforcements during the action. Brig<sup>r</sup> General Porter commanding the New York and Penna. Volunteers manifested a degree of vigilance and judgement in his preparatory arrangements, as well as military skill and courage in action which proves him to be worthy the confidence of his Country and the brave Volunteers who fought under him. Of the Volunteers, Captains Boughton and Harding with their detachments posted and attached to the line, commanded by Captain E. Foster of the Veteran 9th, handsomely contributed to the repulse of the Enemy's column.

"The judicious preparations and steady conduct of Lieut. Colonel Aspinwall commanding the first Brigade merit the General's approbation.

"To Major McKee, chief engineer, the greatest credit is due for the excellent arrangement and skilful execution of his plan for fortifying and defending our position, as well as for his active exertions in defending the right, and for his correct and seasonable suggestions to the General to regain the Bastion. Major Wood of the Engineers, also greatly contributed to the previous measures of defence. He had accepted the command of a regiment of Infantry (the 21st.) for which he has often proved himself well qualified, but never so conspicuously as on this occasion. He had the singular good fortune to receive, in conjunction with the gallant Captain Towson of the Artillery the first attack—never was the point of attack more ably or more gallantly defended than on this occasion by Major Wood and Capt. Towson, and the officers and men under their command. Towson's battery on Snake or Bunker's Hill emitted a constant sheet of fire, prodigiously splendid. Wood's small arms lighted up the space and repulsed five terrible charges, made between the Battery and the Lake. Brig<sup>r</sup> Gen. Ripley and Major Wood speak in high terms of the officers and men engaged, particularly Captains Marston and Ropes; Lieuts. Riddle of the 15th, (doing duty with the 21st.), Bowman, Hall, Learned and Bean, and Ensigns Greene, Jones, Cummings and Thomas of the 21st.; Capt. Chunn, of the 17th; and Lieut. Neally of the 19th.

"Major Hindman and the whole of the artillery under the command of that excellent officer displayed a degree of gallantry and good conduct not to be surpassed. The particular situation of Captain Towson and of the much lamented Capt. Williams and Lieut. McDonough—and that of Lieut. Watnaugh, as already described with their respective commands rendered them most conspicuous. The courage and good conduct of Lieut. Zantzinger and Lieut. Childs are spoken of in highest terms by Major Hindman and Capt. Towson, and also that of Sergeant Major Denoon. Captains Biddle and Fanning posted on the centre and right of the intrenchments, threw their shot to the right, left centre and front with considerable effect, and annoyed the Enemy's light troops and Indians approaching from the Woods. Lieut. Fontaine in his zeal to meet the Enemy was unfortunately wounded and made prisoner. Lieut. Bird was active and useful, and in fact every individual of the Corps did their duty.

"The detachment of Scott's gallant Brigade, consisting of the 9th, 11th, and 22nd Infantry did its duty in a manner worthy the high reputation the Brigade had acquired at *Chippawa* and at the *Falls of Niagara*. The 9th, under the command of Capt. Edmund Foster was actively engaged against the left of the Enemy and with the aid of Lieut. Douglass commanding the Water Battery, and that of the Volunteers under Captains Boughton and Harding effected their repulse. Of the good con-



duct of Lieut. Childs of the 9th, the General was satisfied as with that of Lieuts. Cushman, Foot and Ensign Blake.

"To Major Jones, Asst. Adjutant General, and Major Hall, Asst. Inspector General, Capt. Harris, of the Dragoons, Volt. Aid-de-Camp, and Lieut. Belton, of the Dragoons, Aid-de-Camp, and Lieut. Gleason, Brigade Major, great credit is due for their constant vigilance and strict attention to every duty, previous to the action, and the steady courage, zeal, and activity which they manifested during the action.

"The Surgeons, Doctors Fuller, 23rd, Trowbridge 21st, with their Mates Doctors Gale of the 23rd, and Everett and Allen of the 21st, merit the General's warmest approbation for their indefatigable exertions and humane attentions to the wounded of our army, as well as to the prisoners who fell into our hands.

"The officers killed are Captain Alexander J. Williams and Lieut. Patrick McDonough of the Artillery; wounded Lieut. Watmaugh of the Artillery, severely; Ensign Cisna of the 19th, Lieut. Bushnell of the 19th, Lieuts. Brown and Belknap of the 23rd., and Captain Birdsall 4th R. Regt. all severely. Lieut. Fontaine of the Artillery, who was taken prisoner writes from the British camp, that he fortunately fell into the hands of the Indians, who after taking his money, treated him kindly. It would seem then that the *Red* Savages had not joined their British allies, in the resolution to give no quarter.

"By Command of Genl. Gaines,

"R. JONES

"*Ass. A. Genl.*"

IN RE MARRIAGE PROPOSALS.—The following is a copy of the original manuscript in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is endorsed "John Griffiths directions in case of either of his Daughters proposals of marriage."

"Memorandum 13<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup> 1766. Whereas my distant Situation from my children renders it necessary to refer my Daughters Amy & Rebecca to some solid Judicious friends (In case either or both of them should encline to enter into a Married State) for advice and Counsel—I do therefore hereby appoint my Sister Mary Speakman, my friends Isaac Zanes, John Pemberton and Edmund Holingshead, or any two of them, unto whom I do fully resign my right as a parent of Consenting, advising and Directing in this Important affair of marriage, as fully to all Intents and purposes as if I were present to do it myself. And I entreat them to be assistant to them in all other cases wherein they may have occasion of their advice & Counsel and I do enjoin my said Daughters to regard & submit unto the said frds Counsel & direction as if given to them by myself.

"JOHN GRIFFITH."

DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, SENIOR.—It is remarkable for one whose history in church, charitable, and professional work was prominently recognized that so little is known of his domestic affairs. Who was Anne, his first wife? When and where did the marriage take place, and what were her family connections? No biographical sketch of his life gives the answer.

The annals of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania record the death of the "young wife of Doctor Kearsley, Sr.," which occurred in August of 1747, during a prevailing fever of that summer.

A tradition of the Valteau family existed that Dr. Kearsley had married one of the daughters of Magdalen Valteau. Until recently, those



of the Vallean family who are interested in obtaining correct genealogical evidence confirming this tradition have failed to do so. A copy has now been found of the "American Medical Record," Vol. IV., published in Philadelphia in 1821. The volume contains a memoir of Dr. Samuel Bard, and it is therein stated that "his mother was a Miss Vallean, who was a niece of the highly respected Doctor John Kearsley, Sr., of Philadelphia." Given on the authority of his son William Bard, his son-in-law Rev. Dr. John McVicker, and Dr. Hosack.

The niece referred to was a niece of Mrs. Dr. Kearsley. Mrs. Kearsley was a daughter of Pierre Fauconnier. Her name was Anne Magdalen. Her sister married Peter Vallean, whose daughter intermarried with Dr. John Bard, father of Dr. Samuel Bard.

Another daughter of Pierre Fauconnier, Jeanne Elizabeth, was the wife of Robert Assheton, one of the Supreme Judges, and was also one of the Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania. Assheton died suddenly at the council-table in 1727. In 1729 his widow was married to Rev. Archibald Cummings, who dying in 1741, Mrs. Cummings was again married, to the succeeding rector of Christ Church, Rev. Robert Jenny, D.D. Dr. Jenny died January 25, 1762, and Mrs. Jenny a few days later. The remains of both lie under a marble slab in front of the chancel at Christ Church.

W. R. VALLEAU.

### Queries.

GLENN—WILSON.—Ancestry is requested of John Glenn, of York County, Pennsylvania, who served in Braddock's army. He married a Miss Spratt, and moved to North Carolina prior to the Revolution. Information is also requested of the ancestry of John Wilson, a boy during the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, and whose father was one of the defenders. He came to Pennsylvania, lived at Rocky Spring Church, near Newville, and married Sarah Reid. His eldest son, John, married Mary Wray, and removed to North Carolina. The fourth son, Samuel, graduated from Princeton in 1782, and was pastor of Big Spring Church.

L. C. GLENN.

Johns Hopkins University.

GERMANTOWN ACADEMY.—Any one having any old papers or manuscripts relating in any way to the earlier history of the Germantown Academy, known also as the "Germantown Union School" and the "Public School of Germantown," or who can give any information relating to the scholars of this school prior to 1860, will confer a favor by communicating with the undersigned, as the trustees desire to preserve by publication the records of the school, together with a list of the scholars.

CHARLES J. WISTER, *President*.

Main Street, opposite Queen Lane, Germantown.

HARROLD E. GILLINGHAM, *Secretary*.

410 West Lehman Street, Germantown.

LANGHORNE—MAULSBY—LLOYD.—About the year 1744 Mary Langhorne, daughter of John Langhorne and Mary Wheeler, of St. Bride's, Wales, ran off from home and came to Philadelphia. The captain of the vessel put her in charge of a Mr. Lloyd (said to be a silk merchant), who knew her family in Wales. She refused to return home, and before many months was married from his house to David Maulsby, of



Plymouth, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Can any one tell me of this Mr. Lloyd, or where Mary Langhorne's marriage record may be found?

ELLA K. BARNARD.

1750 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.

### **Book Notices.**

**HISTORY OF PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA.** By William Robert Shepherd, Ph.D., Prize Lecturer in History, Columbia University, New York.

W. R. Shepherd brings to his task abundant industry and sincere honesty. His work is a valuable contribution to Pennsylvania history. The Colonial Records and Laws, Pennsylvania Archives, and Penn's MSS. have been carefully examined. Numerous pamphlets and discussions and to some extent the newspapers of the day have been consulted. The work is divided into two departments, the land policy and the government. It is a series of monographs with very little needless repetition.

The sources of Penn's title both to the Province and to "the Three Lower Counties" are quite fully treated. A genuine effort is made to throw some light upon the confused practices of the land office. The probability is that the general reader will turn from this chapter with the same impressions that Mr. Shepherd had when he entered upon it. The land policy of the Proprietary, we are told, was beneficial to the Province because "an Englishman three thousand miles away and possessing but little real power, was not greatly to be feared," whereas "a Pennsylvanian might have succeeded in establishing a monopoly." Whether this land policy was in any way responsible for the remarkable growth of the Colony we are not told. A partial investigation of Indian affairs is made, assuming in the beginning that Penn's ideas in relation to the Indians were "somewhat imaginative," since "he believed, strangely enough, that the aborigines were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel."

In extenuation of Penn's conception it might be said that knowledge on these subjects was at that time far more meagre than now. Even Conrad Weiser, who was the devoted friend of the Iroquois for over thirty years, entertained similar notions. Indeed, both Weiser and Penn had an optimistic faith in the Indian, which, mingled with their religious natures, might naturally account for such conclusions in that age.

Mr. Shepherd states further that Penn's "purpose, however lofty, was a mistaken one, and could not be realized because it arose from ignorance of the essential characteristics of the Indian nature."

We are left to infer that this "ignorance" arose from Penn's desire that juries in cases affecting an Indian should be composed equally of white men and red men. The absurdity of this notion Mr. Shepherd tells us "was speedily revealed." When this occurred we are not told. The law was repealed by William and Mary when the Province was temporarily taken from Penn's control. It was customary for Indians to be present at the trials of their own people for many years afterwards.

The conviction at Chester of John and Walter Winters for the murder of two innocent Indians took place in the presence of several red men. It was afterwards referred to at numerous Indian treaties. The request of the Six Nations for the pardon of John Cartlidge, who murdered an



Indian, illustrates Conrad Weiser's repeated assertions relative to the nature of the primitive Indian, and those assertions were in singular accord with William Penn's ideas on the same subject.

Indeed, one is slightly surprised that Mr. Shepherd, with his tireless industry, should have concluded this chapter on Indian affairs without examining the journals of Christian Frederick Post, George Croghan, and Conrad Weiser, especially since the latter seems to have shaped the Indian policy of the Province for over thirty years.

The causes of the remarkable boundary difficulties are quite carefully discussed. The numerous border disputes which embarrassed and delayed the settlement of the Maryland trouble are not given. Much valuable material is presented on the Wyoming dispute.

The second part of this work is devoted to government in the Province. The evolution of Penn's frame, the workings of the Council, the difficulties with the lower counties, the issuing of bills of credit, and the long struggle between the Assembly and the Proprietors are followed in much detail.

William Penn is "characterized as a seventeenth-century idealist of the more attractive and genial type, one whose knowledge was as extensive as his piety, whose reputation as a courtier was second only to his capacity for religious enthusiasm, and who, though benevolent, never lost sight of private advantage . . . his philanthropic schemes did not entirely exclude the thought of gain. . . . The spirit of William Penn was not of the Puritan, who desired to make New England the possession of the saints alone, and who labored to shut out all who did not hold religious views identical with his own.

"His plan was nobler and broader than this. . . . His views were those of the enlightened lover of humanity. He desired that some secluded spot might be chosen where, under the most favorable conditions, purity and virtue might flourish till they appeared in bold contrast with the immoralities of the age, where freedom of religious belief and practice might be enjoyed, and where truth and Christian charity might triumph over all that was narrow and persecuting."

An interesting chapter on the oath and affirmation illustrates some of the difficulties experienced in adjusting matters of conscience with matters of state. Mr. Shepherd finally concludes that if "the Quaker system of government, lacking as it was in the means of securing by the use of oaths satisfactory judicial information, and by force of arms adequate military protection," had "been carried to its legitimate conclusion, great confusion must have resulted." Indeed, we are led to infer that it was the peculiar tenets of the people called Quakers that prevented the Assembly from adequately defending the frontier and led it to be duped by false witnesses. The real causes of the deepening quarrel between the Assembly and the Proprietors are not brought prominently to the surface.

It would seem from Mr. Shepherd that the reluctance on the part of the Assembly to act promptly resulted more from members of the Society of Friends persistently blocking legislation than from the action of the Proprietors; while it is generally supposed that the Proprietors' determination to avoid paying tax on their land, to prevent the Assembly from issuing bills of credit, and to deprive border counties of their right to try their own criminals, as in the case of Stump in Cumberland County, constituted the most potent causes in this affair.

In the differences between Franklin and the Proprietors, Mr. Shepherd seriously questions the veracity of "Poor Richard" in his charges against the Penns.



As a whole, the work recommends itself to the careful consideration of the student of history. The author comes among us with all honesty of purpose. His conclusions, though few and guarded, illustrate how hard it is to become one of us. His research is worthy of admiration and imitation. His work has brought within reach and partially refined a vast amount of crude material.

**THE TALCOTT PAPERS**, Correspondence and Documents (chiefly Official) during Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1724-41. Edited by Mary Kingsbury Talcott. Vol. I., 1724-36; Vol. II., 1736-41. Published by the Connecticut Historical Society, 1892-96. Pp. 417, 517.

The history of Connecticut, like that of most of the other of the original thirteen Colonies, remains to be written. It is not a little remarkable that the only work that can be considered in any way adequate was finished eighty years ago by the historian Trumbull, a man who, although writing with unusual candor for one who lived in the midst of many of the events he narrates, knew little history beyond that of the Colony he served so well, and was indifferent to many aspects of that history which are considered essential in modern works. Trumbull made use of tradition as well as of documentary evidence; and though his conclusions as well as his statements are never to be lightly set aside, nevertheless there is grievous need to-day, not only for the people of Connecticut but for all interested in the history of our country, for a work which shall be written with due regard to all the canons of historical criticism and with such largeness of view as to bring out clearly the relation of Connecticut to England and the sister Colonies.

Such a history can be written only after a thorough exploitation has been made of the material contained within the State itself and to be found in the archives of the neighboring Colonies, as well as in both public and private collections in England. Such a history should include not only the political life of the Colony and the State but its social, economic, and religious life also. This is a large task, and one that can be accomplished only through the co-operation of many laborers in the field. For many years historical interest in Connecticut lay dormant. Few students were attracted to its archives, and fewer still knew of the wealth of documentary material that the Historical Society possessed. The policy of those in control—not unlike that of others in charge of valuable historical collections in this country—was not friendly to investigators. Fortunately, this period of exclusiveness is past, and with younger hands controlling affairs a new life has been infused into the old historical organization, a more liberal policy has been adopted, and admirable results have been attained. The first fruits of the new régime are the volumes, the titles of which are placed at the head of this notice, which contain the letters and other official papers of Joseph Talcott, who was Governor of Connecticut from 1724 to 1741.

This is the first attempt that the Society has made to publish in anything like a complete form the materials which it possesses. Hitherto it has been content to print isolated pamphlets or collections of unrelated papers, some, indeed, of great value, but others of less importance or of only local interest. In nearly seventy years of its existence, for it was founded in 1825, the Society has put forth but two volumes of collections; since 1892 it has issued three volumes, has two others in the press, and still more in contemplation, to be pushed as rapidly as funds and good editors can be secured. Volume III. contains Pierson's "Some Helps



for the Indians," Gershom Bulkeley's "Will and Doom," Trumbull's "Extracts from Letters to T. Prince," and Wolcott's "Memoir relating to Connecticut." Volumes IV. and V. contain "The Talcott Papers." Volume VI., already in print (except the index) and to be issued at an early day, contains the early town votes of Hartford prior to 1716, and will be the most important publication of this character in the history of Connecticut. Volume VII. will contain, together with other similar revolutionary matter, "A Concise Journal, or Minutes of the principal movements toward St. John's (Chambly) of the siege and surrender of the forts there in 1775." This is an interesting journal of the Rev. Dr. Trumbull, a chaplain in the army, and gives a detailed account of all the military operations in which he was engaged during the period mentioned. It is also proposed to put into print the correspondence of other colonial governors, as, for example, of Jonathan Law, who succeeded Talcott in 1741, now in the manuscript vault of the Society.

After this brief note upon the work of the Society, let us examine the character and importance of "The Talcott Papers." The work concerns a period of little political but of great economic activity, not only in Connecticut but in all the Colonies as well,—a period during which the colonists were enjoying the benefits of that policy of wise neglect which characterized the English government during the reigns of the first and second Georges. This policy made it possible for the colonists to increase their own wealth without regard to England's commercial regulations, which had hitherto hampered their actions. It was a period of religious change, when New England was becoming a battle-ground between Congregationalists, Anglicans, and Methodists. It was a period of financial unrest, when the Colonies were issuing bills of credit and involving themselves in financial crises which were injuring their credit among themselves and bringing down upon them the wrath of the home government because the depreciation of the bills and the raising of the rate of exchange were considered injurious to British commerce. It was a period when important legal questions were in process of settlement, such as the extent to which the Colony could legislate for itself, the meaning of the term "contrary to the law of England," the right of appeal from the colonial courts to the king in council, and the power of the king to declare legislative acts of the Colonies null and void. It was a period when boundaries were being settled and disputes were arising on all sides owing to differences of opinion regarding the ownership of border lands, which were bound to come as the Colonies increased in size and number of inhabitants and began to push out from the original centres of settlement to the far-lying districts. On all these matters, particularly as relating to Connecticut, "The Talcott Papers" throw light. These volumes contain letters to and from the governors and other public men of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York; to and from the colonial agents and other important men in England; to and from the Board of Trade. They contain official documents of the law-making bodies of the New England Colonies and New York; instructions from the king, the commissioners of customs, and the lords justices; proceedings of committees; certificates of officials and depositions of witnesses; proclamations of king and governor; petitions, memorials, and addresses; orders in council, representations of the Board of Trade, letters, and extracts from contemporary diaries. Altogether there are more than four hundred and seventy-five documents, carefully arranged and excellently indexed. Among the subjects to which these refer are the intestacy law, the Mohegan question, the war with Spain, bills of credit, ports of entry, admiralty courts, coasting trade, Chris-



tianizing the Indians, boundaries between Connecticut and New York on one side and Rhode Island on the other, etc.

The work is done in a very scholarly manner. Save for a few documents in the first volume which have been somewhat "modernized," the matter is printed verbatim as in the original. Valuable notes have been added by the editor which throw no little light upon the persons concerned and often give valuable information upon the larger constitutional questions. Altogether the attempt of the Connecticut Society is worthy of high praise.

C. M. A.

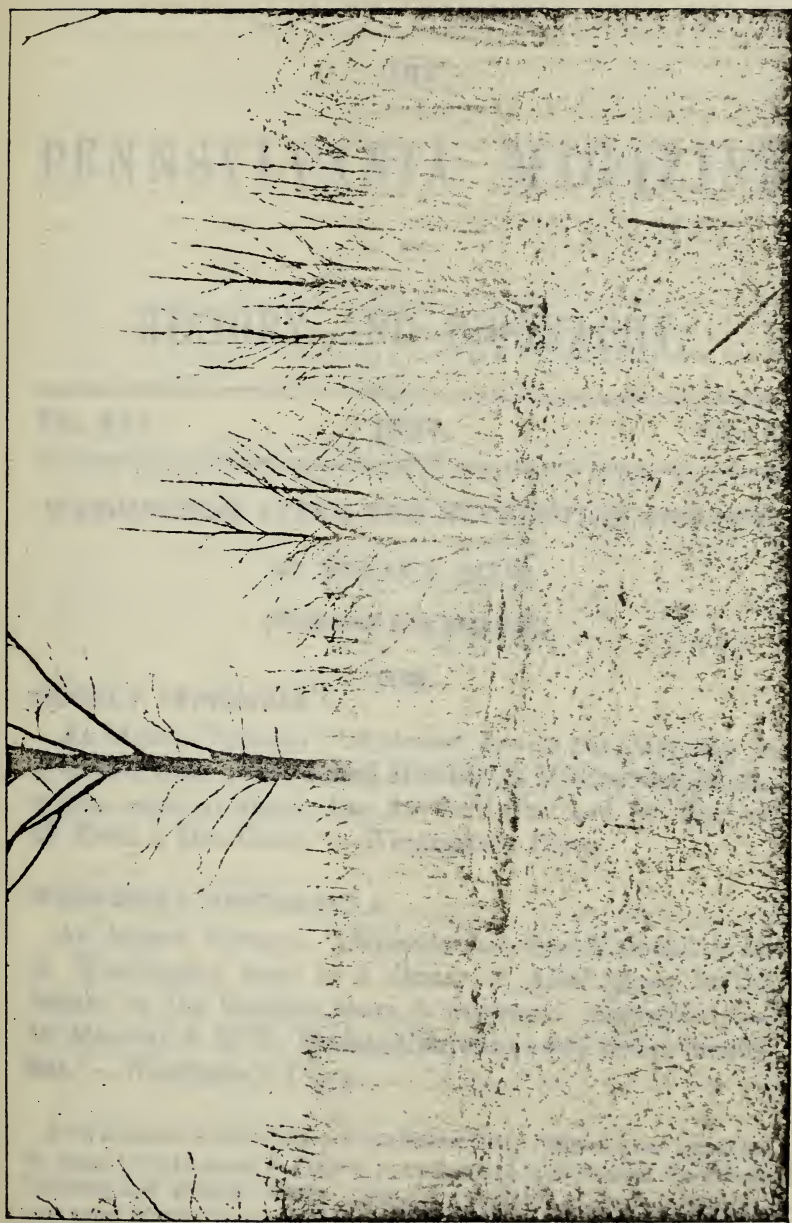
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THE  
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OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XXI.

1897.

No. 3.

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WASHINGTON AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1784-1799.

BY WILLIAM S. BAKER.

(Continued from page 215.)

1798.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

At Mount Vernon: "*September 3.*—In the Morning to breakfast came Gen<sup>l</sup> [John] Marshall & M<sup>r</sup> Bushrod Washington—and to dinner the At<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> Lee M<sup>r</sup> Herbert M<sup>r</sup> Keith & Doc Craik."—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: "*September 5.*—Gen<sup>l</sup> Marshall & M<sup>r</sup> B. Washington went to a dinner in Alex<sup>a</sup> given to the former by the Citizens there & returned. *September 6.*—M<sup>r</sup> Marshall & M<sup>r</sup> B. Washington went away before breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

John Marshall (Chief-Justice of the United States, 1801-35) was appointed in June, 1797, an envoy to France, in conjunction with Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry. The envoys arrived at Paris in October, and were shortly approached by secret agents (X. Y. Z.) of Talleyrand with a demand for money,—fifty thousand pounds sterling for private ac-



count and a loan to the government. These suggestions were repelled with indignation, and a paper prepared by Mr. Marshall was sent to the minister, which set forth with great precision and force of argument the views and requirements of the United States and their earnest desire for maintaining friendly relations with France. But it availed nothing, and Pinckney and Marshall, who were Federalists, were ordered to leave the territory of France, while Gerry, as a Republican, was allowed to remain. The news of these events was received in this country with the deepest indignation, and when Mr. Marshall returned in June, 1798, he was everywhere received with marks of the highest respect and approval for the course he had pursued. The public dinner given to him at Alexandria, noted in the Diary, was one of other demonstrations of a like character, that given at Philadelphia on June 23 being noteworthy in consequence of the introduction of Mr. Pinckney's celebrated sentiment, "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute," as one of the toasts.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20.

At Washington City: "*September 20.*—Went up to the Federal City—Dined & lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Peters. *September 21.*—Examined in company with the Com<sup>rs</sup> some of the Lots in the Vicinity of the Capital & fixed upon N<sup>o</sup> 16 in 634 to build on. Dined & lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Laws. *September 22.*—Came home with M<sup>r</sup> T. Peter wife & 2 children to Dinner."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

At Alexandria: "*September 30.*—Went to Church in Alex<sup>a</sup>."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5.

At Mount Vernon: "*October 5.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Thornton—M<sup>r</sup> Law and a M<sup>r</sup> Baldo a Spanish Gentleman from the Havana came to Dinner. *October 6.*—M<sup>r</sup> Bushrod Washington & Capt<sup>n</sup> Blackburn came to dinner & M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Peter returned in the afternoon from New Kent. *October 7.*—M<sup>r</sup> B. Washington & Capt<sup>n</sup> Blackburn went away after Breakf<sup>t</sup>."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9.

At Washington City: "*October 9<sup>th</sup> 10 and eleventh* absent—in the Federal City."—*Washington's Diary.*



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

At Mount Vernon: "October 13.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee, Capt<sup>n</sup> Presley Thornton & M<sup>r</sup> T. Peters came to dinner. October 14.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee & Capt<sup>n</sup> Thornton went away after breakfast & M<sup>r</sup> Booker came at Night."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 16.

At Mount Vernon: "October 16.—The Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> of the United States Lee and Lady & M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Craik dined here & ret<sup>d</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18.

At Mount Vernon: "My opinion always has been (however necessary to be in a state of preparation) that no formidable invasion is to be apprehended from France, while Great Britain and that country are at War; not from any favorable disposition the latter has towards us, but from actual inability to transport Troops and the Munitions of War, while their ports are blockaded. That they would willingly, and perhaps necessarily, employ their forces in such an enterprise in case of Peace I have little doubt, unless adverse fortune in their foreign relations—a Revolution at home—or a wonderful change of sentiment in the governing powers of their country, should take place."—*Washington to Timothy Pickering*.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At Mount Vernon: "October 28.—The Att<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> U. S. M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Hopkin & M<sup>r</sup> Ch<sup>s</sup> T. Mercer dined here & returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

Leaves Mount Vernon: "November 5.—I set out on a journey to Phil<sup>a</sup> about 9 oclock with M<sup>r</sup> Lear my Secretary—was met at the Turnpike by a party of horse & escorted to the Ferry at George Town where I was rec<sup>d</sup> with Military honors lodged at M<sup>r</sup> T. Peters."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*Alexandria*, November 6.—Yesterday about 11 o'clock, arrived in town, on his way to the seat of the Federal Government—his excellency



Lieutenant-General GEORGE WASHINGTON, accompanied by his Secretary Colonel Lear. He was met at West End and escorted into town by Colonel Fitzgerald's and Captain Young's troops of cavalry, and the company of Alexandria blues, under the command of Captain Piercey. When he alighted at Gadsby's tavern, the blues fired a continental salute of 16 rounds. The troops of horse escorted the General to the ferry at George Town where the George Town troop were in waiting to pay him the same token of respect."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 10.

"George Town, November 6.—Lieutenant General WASHINGTON, arrived on the Virginia shore of the Potomak, yesterday, about 1 o'clock; to which place he was escorted by a party of horse from Alexandria. Five gentlemen of George Town, in uniform, received him into a yawl and passed the river while the infantry and artillery on the Maryland side by several discharges, honoured their illustrious chief. The George Town troop of horse and the other military companies then escorted him into the city of Washington and after firing a number of rounds, they and the whole assemblage of spectators retired. This morning early he who 'amidst all plaudits takes command' resumed his journey, attended by the horse.

"The warriors of Homer were aided by the Gods—oratory and poetry awoke the spirits of 'departed heroes;' and perhaps nothing on earth more nearly resembles obtaining the aid of the immortal heroes of Elysium, than when a WASHINGTON, venerable from age, from experience and from former services—surrounded by virtues and glory, leaves 'his choice retreat' and 'blest abode,' for the cares of mortals and military scenes."—*Idem*.

#### TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

At Spurrier's Tavern: "November 6.—Breakfasted at Bladensburgh—dined & lodged at Spurriers Escorted by horse."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

At Baltimore: "November 7.—Breakfasted at Baltimore—dined at Websters, & lodged at Hartford—Met at Spurriers by the Baltimore horse & escorted in and out by the same—Viewed a Brigade of Militia at Balt'."—*Washington's Diary*.

"Baltimore, November 7.—This morning arrived in town, the Chief who unites all hearts. He left Spurriers pretty early, and lighted at Bryden's about 8 o'clock, escorted in by Captains Hollingsworth's and Bentalon's troops, who went out last evening for that purpose. About 10, the 5th and 27th regiments (as many as from the shortness of the notice could get ready) had the gratification of being reviewed by him in Market street, much to the satisfaction of a large concourse of spectators who thronged



around him, again to behold at once the venerable Cincinnatus and commander in chief of America. The City Company, capt. Harris, waited on the general at his quarters, personally to congratulate him on once more seeing him among them in health, and made open ranks for him to pass through as he came out to review the troops. He was accompanied, as he marched in front of the line, by generals Smith and Swan; his secretary, Mr. Lear; judge Chase, and several other gentlemen. About 11 he proceeded on his way to Trenton, escorted out by the Fell's Point troop.

"The object of the commander in chief in going to Trenton, is, we understand, to attend a grand council of the executive and general military officers of the union. The president, and the three late unsuccessful ambassadors to France, we also learn, are to be present.<sup>1</sup>

"Americans! what measure of gratitude is not due to a man, loaded with years and glory, who so ardently wished to terminate his days in the peaceful shades of Mount Vernon, again coming forth, to sustain the thought of council and the fatigue of war, to perpetuate that liberty which he so gloriously achieved for his country."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 10.

#### THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

At Elkton, Maryland: "November 8.—Breakfasted at Susquehanna escorted by the Hartford horse—dined at Elkton and lodged at Christiana bridge."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 9.—Breakfasted in Wilmington & dined & lodged at Chester—wait<sup>d</sup> at the latter the Return of an Exp<sup>t</sup>, at this place was met by sev<sup>l</sup> Troops of Phil<sup>a</sup> horse."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

At Philadelphia: "November 10.—With this Escort I arrived in the City about 9 oclock & was rec<sup>d</sup> by Gen<sup>l</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Phersons Blues & was escorted to my lodgings in 8<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the adjournment of Congress, on the 16th of July, the public offices were removed to Trenton, New Jersey, in consequence of the prevalence of yellow fever in Philadelphia. The President also went to Quincy, Massachusetts, and did not return to the city until November 23, having been detained by the illness of Mrs. Adams. All danger from the fever was, however, over by the end of October, and a proclamation to that effect was issued by the city authorities on the first day of November. Washington, therefore, met the Secretary of War and Major-Generals Hamilton and Pinckney at Philadelphia to make the necessary arrangements for the provisional army.



Street (M<sup>rs</sup> White's<sup>1</sup>) by them & the Horse."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 12.—Lieutenant General WASHINGTON Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States, arrived here on Saturday morning last [November 10], escorted by the different troops of horse—and, notwithstanding the short notice which had been given the [Macpherson] Blues, almost the whole of that corps, with an alacrity which does them honor, were drawn up on the commons,<sup>2</sup> to receive their beloved General.

"On his arrival, the cavalry and infantry were drawn up, and the General, having passed in review down their front, is said to have expressed the highest satisfaction at their soldierly and elegant appearance. The procession then moved from the commons, the General accompanied by his secretary Mr. Lear, in the centre of the cavalry. On his arrival at his lodgings in Eighth-street, he was saluted by the acclamations of the citizens who had collected once more to behold their Chief. The General was dressed in his uniform, and is apparently in good health and spirits."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

At Philadelphia: "November 11, 12, & 13.—Dined at my Lodgings receiving many Visits."—*Washington's Diary*.

"November 14.<sup>3</sup>—Dined at Maj<sup>r</sup> [William] Jackson's [187 South Third Street]. November 15.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Tench Francis's [Market between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets]. November 16.—Dined at the Sec<sup>ry</sup> of the Treas<sup>ry</sup> [Oliver Wolcott, Junior, 91 Spruce Street]. November 17.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [Thomas] Willings [100 South Third Street]. November 18.—Dined at my lodgings. November 19.—Dined at Doct<sup>r</sup> Whites—Bishop [of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Pennsylvania, 89 Walnut Street]. November 20.—Dined at the Secretary of Wars [James McHenry, 113 South Third Street]. November 21.—Dined at Maj<sup>r</sup> Reeds—Senator's [Jacob Read, of South Carolina, corner of Eleventh and Chestnut Streets]. November 22.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> [William] Bingham's [South Third, near Spruce Street]. November 23.—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Meredith's Treasurer [of the United States, 171 Chestnut Street]. November 24.—Dined at the Secretary of States [Timo-

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<sup>1</sup> "Rosannah White, widow, boarding house, 9 north eighth street."—*Philadelphia Directory*, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> The vacant ground west of the built-up portion of the city was known as the commons.

<sup>3</sup> "November 14.—We are informed, that the governor as commander in chief of the state militia, attended by the officers of the city and county brigades, will pay their respects to the Commander in chief of the armies of the United States at 10 o'clock this forenoon."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.



thy Pickering, corner of Sixth and Arch Streets]. November 25.—Dined at my Lodgings. November 26.—Dined at the Presidents of the U: States [190 High Street].<sup>1</sup> November 27.—Dined in a family with Mr [Robert] Morris.<sup>2</sup> November 28.—Dined with Judge [Richard] Peters [85 Walnut Street]. November 29.—Dined with the British Minister [Robert Liston, 217 Arch Street]. November 30.—Dined with the Gov<sup>t</sup> of the State Gov<sup>r</sup> Mifflin [250 High Street]. December 1.—Dined with Mr [William] Rawle [260 High Street]. December 2.—Dined with Bingham. From hence until my leaving the City on the 13 I dined at my lodgings.”—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Philadelphia: “December 6.—Last Tuesday [December 4] the Potawatamy, Chippawa, and Ottawa Chiefs paid their respects to the President of the United States, and to Lieutenant General Washington.”—*Claypole's American Daily Advertiser*.

#### SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Philadelphia: Present at the delivery of the President's address to both Houses, Third Session, Fifth Congress.

“At twelve o'clock, Lieutenant General Washington, with his Secretary, Colonel LEAR, Major Generals [Charles Cotesworth] PINCKNEY and [Alexander] HAMILTON, entered the Hall [of the House of Representatives], and took their places on the right of the SPEAKER's Chair. The British and Portuguese Ministers, and the British and Danish Consuls, with the Secretaries, had their places assigned them on the left of the Chair.

“A few minutes after twelve, the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, accompanied by his Secretary, and the Heads of the several Departments of the Government, appeared. The PRESIDENT having taken his seat, and the officers of Government theirs, near the general officers, he rose and addressed the two Houses.”—*Journal of Congress*.

<sup>1</sup> No. 190 High or Market Street was the house occupied by Washington when residing in Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Morris was imprisoned for debt February 15, 1798, and was not released until August 26, 1801. This family dinner must therefore have taken place in the debtors' apartment of the Old Walnut Street Prison at Sixth and Walnut Streets. The debtors' apartment was situated on the north side of Prune, now Locust, Street, east of Sixth Street. The buildings were taken down in 1836.



## FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14.

Leaves Philadelphia: "*December 14.*—After dinner set out on my journey home—Reached Chester."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*December 15.*—Yesterday morning Lieut. Gen. WASHINGTON left this city, on his journey to Mount Vernon, Virginia. The General was accompanied by his Secretary, Col. Lear."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*.

## SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15.

At Elkton: "*December 15.*—Breakfasted at Wilmington bated at Christiana—and dined and lodged at Elkton."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*December 16.*—Set out after a very early breakfast;—and was detained at Susquehanna from 10 O'clock until the next morning—partly by Ice and Winds—but principally by the Lowness of the tides occasioned by the N<sup>o</sup> Westerly Winds. *December 17.*—Breakfasted at Barney's—bated at Hartford—Dined at Webster's and Lodged at Baltimore."—*Washington's Diary*.

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18.

At Washington City: "*December 18.*—Breakfasted at Spurriers—dined at Rhodes's—and lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Laws in the Federal City."—*Washington's Diary*.

"We had an invitation to dine with Doctor Thornton [at Washington City]: and the Doctor having a public dinner on that day, I got introduced to many respectable characters; and among the rest to Mr. Law, a gentleman married to the granddaughter of Mrs. Washington. Mr. Law is an Englishman, and brother to Lord Ellenborough. He gave Colonel Lyles and myself an invitation to go to sleep at his house; but we were prevented by General Washington coming to sleep there that night, and Colonel Lear, his Secretary. I had, however, the gratification to be introduced to the General; and Colonel Lyles being a neighbour and a particular acquaintance of his, a most pleasing evening I spent. The General was quite sociable, and received me very kindly. After supper, at nine o'clock the General went to bed, as that was his hour; for the supper in most houses being tea, and some broiled fish, sausages, steaks, &c., it is generally introduced between six and seven o'clock, which was done that evening. Doctor Thornton, Colonel Lyles, Mr. Law, and myself, sat some hours after; and the Colonel and I went to sleep at a tavern in the city, which was kept by an Englishman named Tunnercliffe. We were asked the next morning to breakfast at Mr. Law's, with the General; which we did: and the General



gave me a most kind invitation to go to see him in a few days.<sup>1</sup> After breakfast, he set off in his carriage for Mount Vernon."—RICHARD PARKINSON, *Tour in America in 1793*, etc. London: 1805. Vol. I. p. 59.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19.

At Mount Vernon: "December 19.—Stopped at Doct<sup>r</sup> Thornton's and M<sup>r</sup> Peter's & dined at home."—*Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24.

At Mount Vernon: "December 24.—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik came to D[inner] & Judge Cushing & lady in the Afternoon—as did a M<sup>r</sup> Dinsmoor Agent in the Cherokee Country on his way to Philadelphia."—*Washington's Diary*.

"We reached Mount Vernon," wrote the wife of Judge Cushing, in February, 1799, "the evening before Christmas, and if any thing could have added to our enjoyment, it was the arrival of General and Mrs. Pinckney the next day, while we were dining.<sup>2</sup> You may be sure it was a joyful meeting, and at the very place my wishes had pointed out. To be in the company of so many esteemed friends, to hear our good General Washington converse upon political subjects without reserve, and to hear General and Mrs. Pinckney relate what they saw and heard in France, was truly a feast to me. Thus the moments glided away for two days, when our reason pointed out the propriety of our departing and improving the good roads, as the snow and frost had made them better than they are in summer."—*Lossing's Mount Vernon*, p. 309.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26.

At Mount Vernon: "I returned a few days ago from Philadelphia, whither I had been for the purpose of making military arrangements with the Secretary of War, respect-

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Parkinson, referring to the visit to Mount Vernon made in consequence of this invitation from Washington, says, "I dined with him; and he showed me several presents that had been sent him, viz. swords, china, and among the rest the key of the Bastille. I spent a very pleasant day in the house, as the weather was so severe that there were no farming objects to see, the ground being covered with snow. The General wished me to stay all night; but having some other engagements, I declined his kind offer."

<sup>2</sup> "December 25.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Pinckney Lady & daughter came to dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.



ing the force which is about to be raised."— *Washington to William Vans Murray.*

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 27.*—The following Gentlemen dined here the 27<sup>th</sup> viz—Mess<sup>rs</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Fitzhugh—W<sup>m</sup> Herbert Potts—Wilson—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik & Son Geo: Washington Craik, Heath & Doct<sup>r</sup> Greenhow of Richmond."— *Washington's Diary.*

1799.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16.

At Mount Eagle: "*January 20.*—On Wednesday last [January 16] M<sup>rs</sup> Washington & myself took a family dinner at Mount Eagle<sup>1</sup>—and left all the family in good health & Spirits in the afternoon—Miss Custis was, at that time, with her mother [Mrs. Stuart], at Hope Park, or she would have accompanied us on that visit."— *Washington to Bryan Fairfax.*

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23.

At Mount Vernon: "Your letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant I received in Alexandria, on Monday, whither I went to become the guardian of Nelly, thereby to authorize a license for your nuptials on the 22<sup>d</sup> of next month."— *Washington to Lawrence Lewis.*

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 10.*—Wind shifted in the Night to N. W. blew fresh & turned cold—Mer at 30 in the morning & 34 at Night—clear all day."— *Washington's Diary.*

Washington's custom of recording the state of the weather will be noticed in nearly all of his diaries. Indeed, one kept at Philadelphia in

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<sup>1</sup> Mount Eagle, on the old road from Alexandria to Mount Vernon, was the home of Bryan Fairfax, rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, 1790–1792, and afterward Lord Fairfax. The house is still standing. At the date of the above-quoted letter Mr. Fairfax was in England on a visit.



1796, with the exception of two entries, one referring to receiving the national colors of France from M. Adet on January 1, and the other to George Washington Craik having joined him as private secretary on April 12, is entirely devoted to that subject. This diary, the handwriting of which is peculiarly neat and distinct, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It runs from January 1 to June 21.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11.

At Alexandria: "*February 11.*—Went up to Alexandria to the celebration of my birth day—Many Manœuvres were performed by the Uniform Corps—and an elegant Ball & supper at Night. *February 12.*—Return'd home."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 16.*—M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Peters came to dinner. *February 18.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart and her 3 daughters<sup>1</sup> came here in the afternoon."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

At Mount Vernon: "You will please to grant a license for the marriage of Eleanor Parke Custis with Lawrence Lewis, and this shall be your authority for so doing."—*Washington to Captain George Deneale, Clerk of Fairfax County Court*.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 21.*—M<sup>r</sup> Ch<sup>r</sup> Carter wife & daughter came to dinner—& M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Lewis in the Afternoon."—*Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 22.*—The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Davis & M<sup>r</sup> Geo: Calvert came to dinner & Miss Custis was married ab<sup>t</sup> Candle light to M<sup>r</sup> Law<sup>d</sup> Lewis."—*Washington's Diary*.

"An event occurred on the twenty-second of February 1799, that, while it created an unusual bustle in the ancient halls, shed a bright gleam of sunshine on the last days at Mount Vernon. It was the marriage of Major

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<sup>1</sup> By her second marriage Mrs. Stuart had seven children,—five daughters and two sons.



Lewis, a favorite nephew, with the adopted daughter of the chief. It was the wish of the young bride that the general of the armies of the United States should appear in the splendidly embroidered uniform (the costume assigned him by the board of general officers) in honor of the bridal; but alas, even the idea of wearing a costume bedizened with gold embroidery, had never entered the mind of the chief, he being content with the old Continental blue and buff, while the magnificent white plumes presented to him by Major-General Pinckney he gave to the bride, preferring the old Continental cocked hat, with the plain black-ribbon cockade, a type of the brave old days of '76."—GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE CUSTIS, *Recollections of Washington*.

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25.

At Mount Vernon: "*February 25.*—River nearly closed with Ice.—M<sup>r</sup> L: Lee M<sup>rs</sup> Lee & Miss French—M<sup>r</sup> Herbert, M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>r</sup> Herbert & Miss Herbert.—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik & M<sup>r</sup> G. W. Craik—Miss Fitzhugh Miss Moly Fitzhugh & Miss Chew— & Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald dined here & returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

"*February 26.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Potts—M<sup>rs</sup> Fendall—M<sup>r</sup> And<sup>r</sup> Ramsay & Wife—M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Ramsay—M<sup>r</sup> Edm<sup>d</sup> Lee & Sister Lucy—and M<sup>r</sup> Hodgden dined here & returned—and M<sup>r</sup> Bushrod Washington came in the afternoon. *February 27.*—M<sup>r</sup> Thomson Mason & Wife and M<sup>r</sup> Nicholls & Wife dined here & returned."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 3.

At Mount Vernon: "*March 3.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart & her 3 daughters (Stuarts) and M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Peters went away after breakfast. *March 4.*—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Carter went away after Breakfast. *March 6.*—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Law went away to day."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### SUNDAY, MARCH 31.

At Mount Vernon: "M<sup>r</sup> Lewis & Nelly Custis fulfilled their matrimonial engagement on the 22<sup>d</sup> of February. In consequence the former, havg. relinquished the lapp of Mars for the Sports of Venus, has declined a Military appointment."—*Washington to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*.



## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3.

At Four Mile Run:<sup>1</sup> "April 3.—Went up to four mile Run to run round my land there—Got on the gr<sup>d</sup> about 10 O'clock and in Company with Capt<sup>a</sup> Terret and M<sup>r</sup> Luke commenced the Survey on 4 mile run & ran agreeably to the Notes taken—In the evening went to Alex<sup>a</sup> & lodged my self at M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhugh's."—*Washington's Diary*.

"April 4.—Recommended the Survey at the upper end where we left off in company with Col<sup>o</sup> [Charles] Little—Capt<sup>a</sup> Sterret and M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Adams —& cont<sup>d</sup> it agreeably to the Notes until we came to 4 Mile run again which employed us until dark—Returned to Alex<sup>a</sup> and again lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhughs. April 5.—Returned home to Breakfast."—*Washington's Diary*.

## FRIDAY, APRIL 12.

At Mount Vernon: "April 12.—Spread Plaster of Paris this Morning on the circle & sides before the door—& on the Lawn to the Cross Path betw<sup>a</sup> the Garden gates—& on the Clover by the Stable."—*Washington's Diary*.

## WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24.

At Alexandria: "April 24.—Went up to Alex<sup>a</sup> to an Election of a Representative from the District to Congress & from the County to the State Legisla<sup>a</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

## MONDAY, APRIL 29.

At Four Mile Run: "April 29.—Went up to run round my land on 4 Mile run. Lodged at Col<sup>o</sup> Littles [at Alexandria]. April 30.—Engaged on the same business as yesterday & returned home in the afternoon."—*Washington's Diary*.

## TUESDAY, MAY 14.

At Mount Vernon: "May 14.—Maj<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Harrison came here to dinner. May 15.—M<sup>r</sup> Thomson Mason came here to breakfast and attended Maj<sup>r</sup> Harrison & me on the

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<sup>1</sup> Four Mile Run empties into the Potomac about three miles above Alexandria. See note to May 4, 1786.



Survey of the latters land & both dined here, as did a M<sup>r</sup> Season."— *Washington's Diary*.

John Searson, whose visit to Mount Vernon is noted in the Diary under the name of Season, was the author of a disjointed composition (the result of this visit), entitled "MOUNT VERNON, A POEM: Being the seat of his excellency George Washington, in the STATE OF VIRGINIA; Lieutenant-general and commander in chief of the land forces of the United States of America. This rural, romantic and descriptive Poem of the seat of so great a character, it is hoped may please, with a copper-plate likeness of the General. It was taken from an actual view on the spot by the author, 15th May, 1799. BY JOHN SEARSON, formerly of Philadelphia, merchant." This remarkable attempt at verse was published at Philadelphia in September of the same year.

THURSDAY, MAY 16.

At Alexandria: "May 16.—Went up to Alexandria to the Purse Race, & returned in the Evening M<sup>r</sup> Law & Doct<sup>r</sup> Thornton here."— *Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, MAY 23.

At Mount Vernon: "May 23.—M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Adams third son to the President & M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Johnson, Lady & son came to din<sup>r</sup>."— *Washington's Diary*.

FRIDAY, MAY 31.

At Washington City: "May 31.—Went up to the Fed<sup>l</sup> City—dined & lodged with M<sup>r</sup> Peter. June 1.—Dined & lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Laws. June 2.—Returned home to dinner—tak<sup>d</sup> Church at Alex<sup>a</sup> in my way."— *Washington's Diary*.

Edward C. McGuire on page 154 of his work, entitled "The Religious Opinions and Character of Washington,"<sup>1</sup> quotes the following narrative "from a valued female friend, now [1836] numbered with the dead," which evidently refers to Washington's attendance at Christ Church, Alexandria, on Sunday, June 2, recorded in the Diary. "In the summer of 1799," said Mrs. M., "I was in Alexandria, on a visit to the family of Mr. H., with whom I was connected by the ties of relationship. Whilst there, I expressed a wish to see General Washington, as I had never enjoyed that pleasure. My friend Mrs. H. observed, 'You will certainly see him on Sunday, as he is never absent from church when he can get there; and as he often dines with us, we will ask him on that day, when you will have a

<sup>1</sup> Published at New York in 1836.



better opportunity of seeing him.' Accordingly, we all repaired to church on Sunday, and seated in Mr. H's large double pew, I kept my eyes upon the door, looking for the venerable form of him I had so long desired to see. Many persons entered the doors, but none came up to my impressions of General Washington's appearance. At length, a person of noble and majestic figure entered, and the conviction was instantaneous that I beheld the Father of his Country. It was so!—my friend at that moment intimated the fact to me. He walked to his pew, at the upper part of the church, and demeaned himself throughout the services of the day with that gravity and propriety becoming the place and his own high character. After the services were concluded we waited for him at the door, for his pew being near the pulpit he was among the last that came out—when Mrs. H. invited him to dine with us. He declined, however, the invitation, observing, as he looked at the sky, that he thought there were appearances of a thunder-storm in the afternoon, and he believed he would return home to dinner."

#### THURSDAY, JUNE 20.

At Mount Vernon: "*June 20.*—The following company dined here—Chief-Justice of the U. S. Ellsworth, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Steer Sen<sup>r</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Steer Jun<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Van Havre—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ludwell Lee—M<sup>rs</sup> Corbin Washington M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Hodgson & Miss Cor Lee M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Geo. Calvert and a Capt<sup>a</sup> Hamilton & Lady from the Bahama Islands."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### TUESDAY, JUNE 25.

At Mount Vernon: "Your favor of the 18th of September last, with the small box containing four pairs of prints, came safe to hand, but long after the date of the letter."—*Washington to John Trumbull*.

In April, 1790, Washington subscribed to four sets of engravings after Trumbull's pictures, "The Battle of Bunker Hill" and "The Death of General Montgomery." They were published in London, the former executed by J. G. Müller, of Stutgard, Germany, and the latter by J. F. Clemens, of Copenhagen, Denmark. These are the *four pairs of prints* referred to in the above letter.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 4.

At Alexandria: "*July 4.*—Went up to Alex<sup>a</sup> and dined with a number of the Citizens there, in celebration of the anniversary of the declaration of american Independ<sup>a</sup> at Kemps Tavern."—*Washington's Diary*.



"*Alexandria*, July 6.—The 23d anniversary of the American Independence was celebrated in this town with the greatest harmony and decorum. The military commands agreeably to orders previously given, mustered in the court house square, and the line was formed in Fairfax street. After going through the manual, which was performed with the strictest exactitude, Col. John Fitzgerald, accompanied by John Potts, Esq., passed the line in review, and expressed his satisfaction at their military and elegant appearance. The battalion then marched, by sections, up King street, and formed the line there to receive their beloved Chief General GEORGE WASHINGTON. On his passing the line the usual military honors were paid; and it is with pleasure I remark, that the Cincinnatus of America appeared in excellent health and good spirits.

"Lieutenant General Washington dined at Col. Kemp's tavern, with a select party of friends."—*Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 11.

#### TUESDAY, JULY 9.

At Mount Vernon: On this day Washington executed his Last Will and Testament, consisting of twenty-nine pages of manuscript, written entirely by himself; and at the bottom of each, with the exception of page twenty-three, he affixed his signature. To this he added a schedule with descriptive notes of the property included in the will, which was directed to be sold, making thirteen additional pages.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 17.

At Mount Vernon: "*July 17.*—Colonels Powell & Simms and M<sup>r</sup> Herbert—and Judge Washington<sup>1</sup> Capt<sup>a</sup> Blackburn & M<sup>r</sup> H. Turner dined here—the three first went away in the afternoon. *July 18.*—Slow rain with the wind at S<sup>o</sup> E<sup>t</sup> & cont<sup>d</sup> until I went to bed a 9 oclock. . . . Capt<sup>a</sup> Blackburn went away after breakfast. *July 19.*—Judge Washington & M<sup>r</sup> H. Turner left this after dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.

#### MONDAY, AUGUST 5.

At George Town: "*August 5.*—Went up to George Town, to a general meeting of the Potomac Company—dined at the Union Tavern & lodged at Mr. Laws. *August 6.*—

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<sup>1</sup> Bushrod Washington was commissioned an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, December 20, 1798.



Returned home to dinner—found Gen<sup>l</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Washington<sup>1</sup> of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina and Son here.”—*Washington's Diary*.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7.

At Mount Vernon: “*August 7.*—The following Gentlemen dined here—viz. Col<sup>o</sup> Fitzgerald—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik & son—M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Craik—M<sup>r</sup> Herbert & Son Jn<sup>o</sup> C. Herbert—Col<sup>o</sup> Ramsay—M<sup>r</sup> Potts—M<sup>r</sup> Edm<sup>d</sup> Lee—M<sup>r</sup> Keith—Lieut Kean of the Marines—and M<sup>r</sup> Ch<sup>s</sup> Fenton Mercer. *August 8.*—Gener<sup>l</sup> Washington & son went away after breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 24.

At Mount Vernon: “*August 24.*—M<sup>r</sup> White came to dinner—as did 4 Gentlemen from Phil<sup>a</sup> viz—Young M<sup>r</sup> Meredith (son of the Treasurer) M<sup>r</sup> Clifton, a M<sup>r</sup> Walter & ——— the 4 last returned after dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: “*September 1.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik dined here—sent for to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington who was sick. *September 6.*—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik who was sent for in the night to M<sup>rs</sup> Washington came early this morning.”—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

At Mount Vernon: “*September 7.*—M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Peter and Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington came in the afternoon. *September 8.*—Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington went away after breakfast—& M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Law came to dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12.

At Mount Vernon: “*September 12.*—Cap: Truxton [Thomas Truxtun] came to dinner.”—*Washington's Diary*.

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel William Washington, a distinguished cavalry officer in the Revolution, was appointed a brigadier-general July 19, 1798. He was born in Stafford County, Virginia, February 23, 1752, and was a descendant of Lawrence Washington the Immigrant. General William Washington died at Charleston, South Carolina, March 6, 1810.



## SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: "The death of near relations always produces awful and affecting emotions, under whatsoever circumstances it may happen. That of my brother [Charles] has been so long expected, and his latter days so uncomfortable to himself, must have prepared all around him for the stroke, though painful in the effect.

"I was the first, and am, now, the last of my father's children by the second marriage, who remain. When I shall be called upon to follow them is known only to the Giver of Life. When the summons comes I shall endeavor to obey it with a good grace."—*Washington to Colonel Burgess Ball.*

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: "*September 27.*—Governor Davie on his way to the Northward to Embark as Envoy to France called, dined & proceeded on."—*Washington's Diary.*

William Richardson Davie, Governor of North Carolina in 1798, was appointed in conjunction with Oliver Ellsworth and William Vans Murray, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France. The envoys reaching Paris in March, 1800, found Napoleon Bonaparte at the head of the new republic, and soon concluded a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes. The result of which was the convention signed September 30, 1800, which included a recognition from France of the rights of neutral vessels, and an indemnity for depredations on American commerce.

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1.

At Mount Vernon: "*October 1.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Fairfax sister and daughter—and M<sup>rs</sup> Herbert & M<sup>rs</sup> Nelson—M<sup>r</sup> J<sup>n</sup> Herbert & two of M<sup>rs</sup> [Warner] Washington of Fairfields Sons dined here."—*Washington's Diary.*

## TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: "*October 22.*—M<sup>r</sup> Liston (British Minister) & lady came to dinner. *October 25.*—M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Liston left this after breakfast."—*Washington's Diary.*



MONDAY, OCTOBER 28.

At Mount Vernon: "October 28.—M<sup>r</sup> Ridout an English Gentleman and his Lady dined here as did M<sup>r</sup> G. W. Craik—M<sup>r</sup> Lear set out for Harper's Ferry to make some arrangement with Col<sup>o</sup> Parker respecting Cantoning the Troops."—*Washington's Diary*.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5.

At Difficult Run, Virginia: "November 5.—Set out on a trip to Difficult Run to view some Land I had there & some belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Gill who had offered it to me in discharge of Rent which he was owing me—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Fitzhughs and lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Corbin Washingtons. November 6.—Set out from thence after 8 Ocl<sup>k</sup> being detained by sprinkling Rain, & much appearance of it until that hour—reached Wiley's Tavern near Difficult Bridge to Breakfast and then proceeded to Survey my own Land."—*Washington's Diary*.

In the notes to the schedule of property directed to be sold by his executors, the land on Difficult Run, Loudoun County (three hundred acres), is described as follows: "It lyes on the great Road from the City of Washington, Alexandria and George Town to Leesburgh & Winchester, at Difficult bridge—nineteen miles from Alexandria—less from the City & George Town, and not more than three from Matildaville at the Great Falls of Potomac."

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

At Difficult Run: "November 7.—Finished Surveying my own Tract & the Land belonging to Gill—returning, as the Night before to Wiley's Tavern. November 8.—Morning very heavy and about 9 oclock it commenced Raining which it continued to do steadily through the day—notwithstanding which I proceeded to ascertain by actual measurement the qualities [? quantities]—this being finished betw<sup>n</sup> 12 & 1 oclock I returned to Wiley's Tavern & stayed there the remainder of the day."—*Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

At Washington City: "November 9.—Morning & whole day clear warm & pleasant set out a little after 8 oclock—



viewed my building in the Fed<sup>l</sup> City—Dined at M<sup>r</sup> Laws—& lodged at M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Peter's. *November 10.*—Returned home about noon.”—*Washington's Diary.*

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

At Mount Vernon: “M<sup>rs</sup> Washington and myself have been honoured by your polite invitation to the Assemblies at Alexandria this winter, and thank you for this mark of attention. But, alas! our dancing days are no more. We wish, however, all those who have relish for so agreeable and innocent an amusement all the pleasures the season will afford.”—*Washington to the Gentlemen of the Alexandria Assemblies.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

At Mount Eagle: “*November 15.*—Rode to visit M<sup>r</sup> now Lord Fairfax who was just got home from a Trip to England—ret<sup>d</sup> to dinner.”—*Washington's Diary.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

At Alexandria: “*November 17.*—Went to Church in Alexandria & dined with M<sup>r</sup> Fitzhugh.”—*Washington's Diary.*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

At Mount Vernon: “*November 22.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Carrington<sup>1</sup> & Lady came in the aftern<sup>n</sup>. *November 23.*—Col<sup>o</sup> Carrington & Lady went away after Breakfast.”—*Washington's Diary.*

“*Mount Vernon, November 22.*—We arrived at this venerable mansion in perfect safety, where we are experiencing every mark of hospitality and kindness that the good old General's continued friendship to Colonel Carrington could lead us to expect. His reception of my husband was that of

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<sup>1</sup> Colonel Edward Carrington, a Virginian by birth (February 11, 1749), was Quartermaster-General under General Greene in the Revolution. He commanded the artillery and did good service at the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, April 24, 1781, and also at Yorktown. He was a member of Congress 1785-86, and was foreman of the jury in Burr's trial for treason in 1807. Colonel Carrington died at Richmond, Virginia, October 28, 1810.



a brother. He took us each by the hand, and, with a warmth of expression not to be described, pressed mine, and told me that I had conferred a favor never to be forgotten in bringing his old friend to see him; then, bidding a servant to call the ladies, entertained us most facetiously till they appeared.'—*Mrs. Edward Carrington to Mrs. George Fisher.*<sup>1</sup>

## WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27.

At Mount Vernon: "November 27.—Doct<sup>r</sup> Craik who was sent for to M<sup>r</sup> Lewis (& who was delivered of a daughter ab<sup>t</sup> — oclock in the forenoon) came to Breakfast & stayed dinner."—*Washington's Diary.*

## THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 28.

At Mount Vernon: "November 28.—Col<sup>o</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Carrington came to Dinner. November 30.—Col<sup>o</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Carrington went away after B<sup>t</sup>."—*Washington's Diary.*

"*Mount Vernon.*—After visiting my numerous friends, we returned to this revered mansion. . . . Everything within doors is neat and elegant, but nothing remarkable, except the paintings of different artists which have been sent as specimens of their talents. I think there are five portraits of the General, some done in Europe and some done in America, that do honor to the painters. There are other specimens of the fine arts from various parts of the world, that are admirably executed and furnish pleasant conversation. Besides these, there is a complete greenhouse, which at this season is a vast, a great source of pleasure. Plants from every part of the world seem to flourish in this neatly finished apartment, and from the arrangement of the whole I conclude that it is managed by a skillful hand, but whose I cannot tell: neither the General nor Mrs. Washington seem more interested in it than their visitors. We have met with no company here, but am told that scarcely a week passes without some, and often more than is agreeable or convenient. Transient persons, who call from curiosity, are treated with civility, but never interfere with the order of the house, or with the General's disposition of time, which is as regular as when at the head of the army or in the President's chair. Even friends who make a point of visiting him are left much to themselves; indeed, scarcely see him from breakfast to dinner, unless he engages them in a ride, which is very agreeable to him. But from dinner to tea our time is most charmingly spent; indeed, one evening the General was so fascinating, and drew my husband out into so many old stories relating to several campaigns where they had been much together, and had so many inquiries to make respecting their mutual friends, particularly Kosciusko and Pulaski, who have always corresponded with Colonel Carrington, whose characters afford

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Ambler, a sister of Mrs. Edward Carrington.



great interest, that it was long past twelve when we separated, At breakfast I feel quite at home, everything is so plain."—*Mrs. Edward Carrington to Mrs. George Fisher.*

#### SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 1.*—Morning clear & but little W<sup>d</sup>—that Southerly—Mer 26—Lowering towards evening—Mer 36.—M<sup>r</sup> Foot dined here."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### MONDAY, DECEMBER 2.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 2.*—Rained in the Night—Morning heavy—Wind Southerly—and Mer at 36.—afternoon calm & less clouded—Mer 38—Lord Fairfax, Lady, Daughter & Miss Dennison dined here."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 3.*—Morning extremely foggy—Mer at 38 and wind what there was of it Southerly—Ab<sup>t</sup> 2 oclock the fog dispelled and it became extremely pleasant—M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart & daughters went away after breakfast."<sup>1</sup>—*Washington's Diary.*

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 4.*—Morning clear—Wind at N<sup>o</sup> W<sup>t</sup> and Mer at 36—From 10 oclock until 2 very like for Snow—it then cleared & became mild & pleasant Mer 38 at N :''—*Washington's Diary.*

#### THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 5.*—Morning raining, and it continued to do so moderately through the day with the Wind at S<sup>o</sup> E<sup>t</sup>—Mer 38 in the Morning & 36 at Night."—*Washington's Diary.*

#### FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6.

At Mount Vernon : " *December 6.*—Morning heavy, with appearances of clearing now & then, but about 2 o'clock it

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<sup>1</sup> " *November 21.*—M<sup>rs</sup> Stuart and the two eldest Miss Stuarts came here to dinner."—*Washington's Diary.*



set in to raining—Mer 34 in the Morning & 37 at Night.”  
— *Washington's Diary*.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7.

At Mount Eagle: “*December 7.*—Rainy Morning, with the wind at N° E<sup>t</sup> & Mer at 37—afternoon clear & pleasant wind westerly—Mer 41 at Night—dined at Lord Fairfax’s.”  
— *Washington's Diary*.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 8.*—Morning perfectly clear, calm and pleasant; but about 9 o’clock the wind came from the N° W<sup>t</sup> and blew fresh. Mer 38 in the Morning—and 40 at Night.”— *Washington's Diary*.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 9.

At Mount Vernon: “*December 9.*—Morning clear & pleasant, with a light wind from N° W<sup>t</sup> Mer at 33—pleasant all day—afternoon Calm Mer 39 at Night—M<sup>r</sup> Howell Lewis & wife set off on their return home after breakfast—and M<sup>r</sup> Law<sup>e</sup> Lewis and Washington Custis on a journ<sup>y</sup> to N: Kent.”— *Washington's Diary*.

James K. Paulding, in his “*Life of Washington*”<sup>1</sup> (Vol. II. p. 195), gives a statement made to him personally by one of the favorite nephews of Washington, describing his last parting with the General. This nephew was doubtless Howell Lewis, who, by the above-quoted entry in the Diary, left Mount Vernon on December 9, after a ten days’ visit. The statement is as follows:

“During this, my last visit to the general, we walked together about the grounds, and talked of various improvements he had in contemplation. The lawn was to be extended down to the river in the direction of the old vault, which was to be removed on account of the inroads made by the roots of the trees, with which it is crowned, which caused it to leak. ‘I intend to place it there,’ said he, pointing to the spot where the new vault stands. ‘First of all, I shall make this change; for after all, I may require it before the rest.’

“When I parted from him, he stood on the steps of the front door, where he took leave of myself and another, and wished us a pleasant journey, as I was going to Westmoreland on business. It was a bright frosty morning,

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<sup>1</sup> Published at New York in 1835.



he had taken his usual ride, and the clear healthy flush on his cheek, and his sprightly manner, brought the remark from both of us that we had never seen the general look so well. I have sometimes thought him decidedly the handsomest man I ever saw; and when in lively mood, so full of pleasantry, so agreeable to all with whom he associated, that I could hardly realize that he was the same Washington whose dignity awed all who approached him.

"A few days afterwards, being on my way home in company with others, while we were conversing about Washington, I saw a servant rapidly riding towards us. On his near approach, I recognised him as belonging to Mount Vernon. He rode up—his countenance told the story—he handed me a letter. Washington was dead!"

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 10.*—Morning clear & calm—Mer at 31 afternoon lowering—Mer at 42 and wind brisk from the Southward—A very large hoar frost this Morn<sup>g</sup>."—*Washington's Diary*.

On this day (December 10) Washington completed a plan or system, which had been under consideration for some time, for the management and cultivation of the Mount Vernon farms for several successive years. In this paper, which occupies thirty closely written folio pages, the most minute and detailed instructions are given as to the cultivation of the land, with tables designating the rotations of the crops. This was accompanied by a letter of the same date to James Anderson, his manager, with a request that the instructions be "most *strictly* and *pointedly* attended to and executed, as far as the measures required will admit."

As an example of his remarkable powers of application and life-long attention to detail, and also as showing the soundness and vigor of his intellect at this period of his life, the document possesses considerable interest.

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 11.*—But little wind and Raining—Mer 44 in the Morning and 38 at Night.—About 9 oclock the Wind shifted to N° W<sup>t</sup> & it ceased raining but cont<sup>d</sup> Cloudy.—Lord Fairfax, his Son Tho<sup>a</sup> and daughter—M<sup>r</sup> Warner Washington & son Whiting—and M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Herbert dined here & returned after dinner."—*Washington's Diary*.



THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 12.—Morning Cloudy—Wind at N° E° & Mer 33—a large circle round the Moon last Night.—about 1 o'clock it began to snow—soon after to Hail and then turned to a settled cold Rain—Mer 28 at Night.*"—*Washington's Diary.*

"On Thursday, December 12, the General rode out to his farms about ten o'clock, and did not return home till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad, rain, hail, snow falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in, I carried some letters to him to frank, intending to send them to the post-office in the evening. He franked the letters, but said the weather was too bad to send a servant to the office that evening. I observed to him, that I was afraid he had got wet. He said, No, his great-coat had kept him dry. But his neck appeared to be wet, and the snow was hanging upon his hair. He came to dinner (which had been waiting for him) without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual."—TOBIAS LEAR. (Sparks, Vol. I. p. 555.)

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13.

At Mount Vernon: "*December 13.—Morning Snowing & ab<sup>t</sup> 3 Inches deep<sup>1</sup>—Wind at N° E° & Mer at 30—cont<sup>s</sup> Snowing till 1 o'clock—and ab<sup>t</sup> 4 it became perfectly clear—wind in the same place but not hard—Mer 28 at Night.*"—*Washington's Diary.*

This, the final entry of the Diary of 1799, was the last piece of writing executed by Washington. On the following morning, Saturday, December 14, between two and three o'clock, he was taken seriously ill from a cold incurred on the morning of the 12th, while taking his usual ride, and died that night of quinsy, between ten and eleven o'clock.

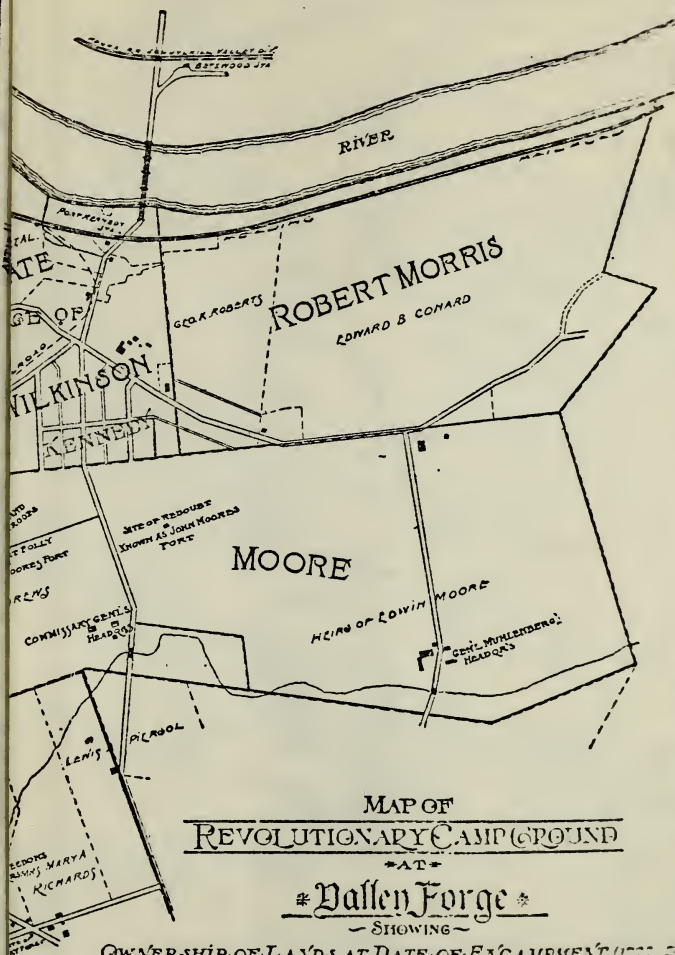
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<sup>1</sup>"A heavy fall of snow took place on Friday, which prevented the General from riding out as usual. He had taken cold, undoubtedly from being so much exposed the day before, and complained of a sore throat. He, however, went out in the afternoon into the ground between the house and the river to mark some trees, which were to be cut down in the improvement of that spot."—TOBIAS LEAR.



At three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, December 18, 1799, all that was mortal of George Washington, soldier, statesman, and patriot, the foremost man in American history, was deposited with Masonic ceremonies in the family vault at Mount Vernon. He had passed from the sight of man; but his fame, so long as virtue, truth, and sincerity shall be guiding principles, will increase with the gathering years!





OWNERSHIP OF LANDS AT DATE OF ENCAMPMENT 1777-78

AND AT THE PRESENT TIME ALSO THE DEFENCES SO FAR AS KNOWN

COMPILED FROM

RECORDS OF PHILA MONTG AND CHESTER COUNTIES PENNA AND ORIGINAL SURVEYS

FEBRUARY 1897.

### NOTES

DEFENCES CAMPS &c ARE AS NOW  
 EXISTING OR AS ON THE LAFAYETTE AND ARMY  
 STRONG MAPS OR MENTIONED IN WOODMAN'S  
 VALLEY FORGE

REVOLUTIONARY OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES

SHOWN IN LARGE LETTERS AND SKETCHES

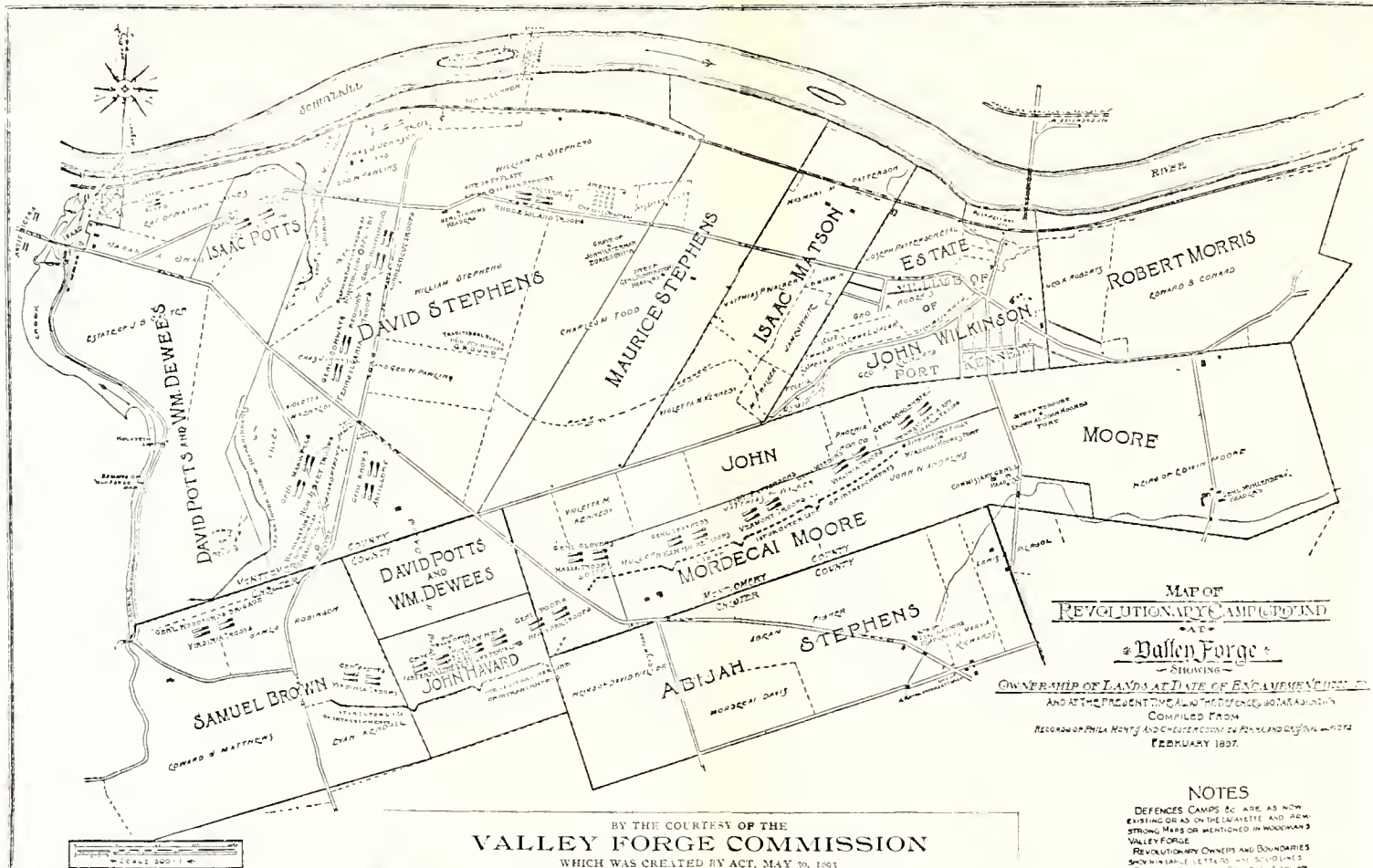
PRESENT OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES SHOWN

IN SMALL LETTERS AND DOTTED LINES

ALL ROADS ARE SHOWN AS NOW EXISTING

LANDS NOW OWNED BY STATE SHOWN IN PINK





MAP OF  
REVOLUTIONARY CAMP GROUND

Valley Forge

SHOWING  
OWNERSHIP OF LANDS AT DATE OF ENCAMPMENT  
AND AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THE DEFENSES OF THE CAMP  
COMPILED FROM  
RECORDS OF PHILA. MOUNT AND CENTER COUNTIES BY PHILA. MOUNT  
FEBRUARY 1897.

NOTES

DEFENSES CAMPS &c. ARE AS NOW  
EXISTING OR AS ON THE MAPS AND ARE  
STRONG MAPS OR MENTIONED IN WOODMAN'S  
VALLEY FORGE  
REVOLUTIONARY OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES  
SHOWN IN SMALL LETTERS  
PRESENT OWNERS AND BOUNDARIES SHOWN  
IN SMALL LETTERS AND DOTTED LINES  
ALL PLACES ARE SHOWN AS NOW EXISTING  
LANDS NOW OWNED BY STATE SHOWN IN PINK

BY THE COURTESY OF THE  
VALLEY FORGE COMMISSION

WHICH WAS CREATED BY ACT, MAY 30, 1893  
To acquire, maintain and preserve forever *The Revolutionary Camp Ground at Valley Forge*, for the FREE enjoyment of the people.

SAM'L. M. GARRIGUES C.E.  
PHILA. MOUNT & CENTER COUNTIES

1840



## VALLEY FORGE, 1777-1778.

## DIARY OF SURGEON ALBIGENCE WALDO, OF THE CONNECTICUT LINE.

[Dr. Albigece Waldo was born February 27, 1750, at Pomfret, Connecticut. His medical preceptor was Dr. John Spaulding, of Canterbury. During the Revolution he served as clerk in Captain Samuel McClelland's Woodstock company, in the "Lexington Alarm;" July 6, 1775, was commissioned surgeon's mate of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Jedediah Huntington, but, owing to ill health, was discharged in September following. On December 14, 1776, the Connecticut Committee of War commissioned him chief surgeon of the armed ship "Oliver Cromwell." He was next commissioned surgeon (January 1, 1777) of the First Connecticut Infantry Regiment of the Line, and served while it was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Prentice and Colonel Josiah Starr, and attached to Huntington's brigade of McDougall's division. This regiment was raised largely in New London County, Connecticut, and took the field in the spring at Peekskill, New York, where it remained until ordered by Washington to join the army in Pennsylvania in September of 1777. In the battle of Germantown the regiment was engaged on the left flank, and suffered some loss in killed, wounded, and missing. Ill health again compelled Surgeon Waldo to retire from the service, and he resigned October 1, 1779. He died January 29, 1794. His last lineal descendant, Charles A. Waldo, died in Florida in December of 1896.]

We print Surgeon Waldo's diary from the manuscript kindly contributed by Mr. Amos Perry, of the Rhode Island Historical Society; the annotations are by the ED. PENNA. MAG.]

*November 10, 1777.*—Captain [Henry] Lee, of the Light Dragoons brought in Capt. Nichols of the English Packet whom he took prisoner at New Castle.<sup>1</sup> I heard Capt. Nichols observe that one hour before he was taken he had the following reflections:—"His Majesty has made me commander of a fine ship—a packet too; I need not ever fight. I have nothing to do but transport gentlemen and ladies of the first rank. I have a fine stock of provisions aboard, hens, turkeys, geese, pigs, ducks, wine and cider. I have a

<sup>1</sup> See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVIII. p. 494.



good interest at home, and what is above all, an agreeable family. I am not troubled in my mind. In short, I've nothing to make me uneasy, and believe I am the happiest man in the world."

Capt. Nichols was now the unhappiest man in the world. His reflections were turned upon the vicissitudes of life, the sudden changes of fortune and the variety of events that may happen to a man in the course of a few hours. If we would set our reasons to work and believe what is undeniably true that there is no dependence to be put on the wiffling wind of fortune, we could bear disappointments without anxiety. A man of the least observation will find every state changeable, and while he considers this mutability of time and things, he will be better prepared to undergo the misfortunes of life and the disappointments inseparable from it. When a disappointment overtakes us unguarded by such reflections, it often throws us into a fit of anger which vents itself on those connected with us in opprobrious words against the Providence of God.

An incessant cannonading at or near Red Bank this day. No salt to eat dinner with.<sup>1</sup>

*November 11, 12, 13 & 14.*—Nothing material happened.

*November 15.*—An attack was made on Fort Mifflin by 4 ships, 4 Batteries, & 1 Gally. Our People fired from Fort Mifflin 1 Battery, 12 Gallies & two Shearbacks or small ships. The firing was incessant all Day. Our people defended themselves with unparallel'd bravery amidst a continual storm of Balls 'till at length when Capt. Lee's company of Artillery<sup>2</sup> were almost all cut off, and a reinforcement had stood at the Guns till 9 o'clock in the evening the Garrison evacuated the fort, after having spiked up the Cannon. Capt. Stephen Brown<sup>3</sup> was kill'd by a shot from the round-top of a Ship that had hauled up in pistol shot of the Fort.

<sup>1</sup> See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX. p. 84 *et. seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Captain James Lee, of Philadelphia, of Second Regiment Artillery, Colonel John Lamb.

<sup>3</sup> He commanded a company of the Fourth Connecticut Line.



*Mem.*—Fort Mifflin was a Burlesque upon the art of Fortification.

*November 19.*—The Boston and Hampshire Regiments began to join the Grand Army. This Day Huntington's Brigade consisting of Prentice's,<sup>1</sup> Bradley's,<sup>2</sup> & Swift's,<sup>3</sup> march'd for Red Bank, which the Garrison Evacuated before we arrived. Greene's Division next day march'd for the same place, who, with Huntington's Brigade & the Garrison consisting of Varnum's Brigade met at Mount Holly 5 miles east of Burlington, where we Encamped till the Evening of the 25th.<sup>4</sup> Mount Holly—so call'd from a little Mount nigh the town—is a Compact & Pleasant Village, having a great proportion of handsome women therein. Near this Town in a Wood, a Hermit has dwelt these 27 years, living on Bread and water. His bed is a hole dug in the ground about one foot and a half below the surface, and cover'd at pleasure with a board—over this is built a small bark hut hardly big enough for a man to sit up in. When he goes to bed he crawls into his hut and at the further end slips into his hole which he calls his grave, drawing over the Board and goes to sleep. He crawls night and morning on his hands and knees about two rods to a particular tree to pray. He says he was warned of God in a remarkable Dream when he first came to America to take this course of Life. He has many Latin and other Books in his lonely Cell, and is said to write considerably. He kisses every man's hand that visits him and thankfully accepts of what is gave him, except Money, which he refuses. His Beard is done up in a loose club under his chin, he is small of stature and speaks very fast, he talks but little English—chiefly German or Latin.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Prentiss, First Connecticut Line.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Philip Burr Bradley, Fifth Connecticut Line.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Heman Swift, Seventh Connecticut Line.

<sup>4</sup> Huntington's brigade of the Connecticut Line regiments of Prentiss, Bradley, and Swift (and joined by Webb's at Valley Forge), Varnum's brigade of Greene and Angell's Rhode Island Line regiments, and Durkee's and Chandler's Connecticut Line regiments comprised the division of General McDougall.



He says he shall come out purified & live like other folks if he continues in this State till he is eighty. He says he often wishes for Death, being frequently afflicted with pains of Body by this method of life. He never goes near a fire in the coldest time. Much is said about the reasons of his doing penance in this manner, but chiefly that he murdered his own sister, and that he killed a Gentleman in a Duel while an officer in the French Service. He was also in the German Service among his countrymen the Germans.

*November 25.*—In the Evening we march for Haddonfield (not far from Red Bank) where we arrived in the morning of

*November 26.*—Lay in the Forest of Haddonfield, cold and uncomfortable. Two Hessian deserters came in who declar'd our little parties had kill'd a number of the Enemy—15 prisoners were bro't in, 2 women.

*November 27.*—Return'd to Mount Holly. Same Day Greene's Division and Glover's Brigade (who had arriv'd from the Northward 2 Days before) march to Burlington. Morgan with his Riflemen were left with the militia to harrass the Enemy as they were Recrossing the River from Red Bank to the City.

*November 28.*—The remainder of us marched to Burlington. P.M. the rear of the army crossed over to Bristol. A Storm prevented the Baggage going over this Night, which prevented Dr. L. & myself also crossing with our horses.

*November 29.*—Storm increas'd. About one p.m. An alarm was made by a report that the enemy were within 15 minutes march of the Town to take the Baggage. Those of us who had horses rode up to Burdowntown. The Baggage and the Sick were all hurried out of Town the same way, but had not got 2 miles before they were turn'd back on its being a false Alarm. For the sake of good living however Dr. L.,<sup>1</sup> Parson E.<sup>2</sup> & myself went to Burdowntown

<sup>1</sup> Probably Surgeon Samuel Lee, of the Fourth Connecticut Line.

<sup>2</sup> Chaplain John Ellis, of the First Connecticut Line, and subsequently brigade chaplain of Huntington's brigade.



up the River, liv'd well & cross'd over to Winsor next Day, and arrived at Bristol in the Evening when I had my Shoes and Silver Buckles stole. Dr. L. had a valuable Great Coat stole the Day before at Burlington.

*December 1.*—We marched to Head Quarters [Whitemarsh] and our Division (McDougals) encamped on the Left of the Second Line. Our former Station was in the Centre of the Front Line. Here Huts of sticks & leaves shelter'd us from the inclementcy of the Weather and we lay pretty Quiet until

*December 5.*—At 3 o'clock a.m. the Alarm Guns were fired and Troops immediately paraded at their several Alarm posts. The Enemy were approaching with their Whole Strength to give us Battle. Nothing further remarkable ensued this Day—at Night our Troops lay on their Arms, the Baggage being all sent away except what a man might run or fight with.

*December 6.*—The Enemy forming a Line from towards our right to the extremity of our left upon an opposite long height to ours in a Wood. Our men were under Arms all Day and this Night also, as our Wise General was determined not to be attack'd Napping.

*December 7.*—Alarm given. Troops on their several posts. Towards Noon Col. Ch. Webb's Reg<sup>t</sup><sup>1</sup> were partly surrounded and Attack' on the Right of the Army. They being overpower'd by Numbers, retreated with loss—the brave Capt. Walbridge<sup>2</sup> was wounded in the head—Lieut. Harris kill'd.<sup>3</sup> A scattering fire through to the left soon began & continued a few minutes, till our Piquets ran in. The firing soon ceased on the Right & continued on the Left, as tho' a General Attack was meant to begin there. On this supposition the Left were Reinforced. But a scatter-

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Charles Webb, Second Connecticut Line.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Amos Walbridge, later major of the Second Connecticut Line.

<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant John Harris entered the service as second lieutenant in the Seventeenth Connecticut Infantry December 31, 1776; promoted to first lieutenant and transferred to Second Connecticut Line.



ing fire was kept up by Morgan's Battalion, at Intervals all Day, and concluded with a little skirmish at Sun Set. Our Troops lay on their Arms this night also. Some firing among the Piquets in the night.

*December 8.*—All at our Several Posts. Provisions & Whiskey very scarce. Were Soldiers to have plenty of Food & Rum, I believe they would Storm Tophet. Our Lines were on a long high hill extending about three Miles—all Man'd. An Abettes in front from Right to Left—another in the rear of the Left, with a Cross Abettee near the Extremety.

Five men from each Reg<sup>t</sup> in Varnum's & Huntington's Brigades as Volunteers join'd Morgan's Rifle Men to Harrass the Enemy, and excite an Attack. Some Reg<sup>ts</sup> were ordered to march out if an Attack should begin in earnest. This Afternoon a small Skirmish happen'd near the Enemies lines against our left. Towards Night the Enemy fired some Cannon against our Right & 2 against our left. Their horse appear'd to be busily moving. In the Evening there were but two spots of fires in the Enemies Camp. One against our Park (or main center); the other against the extremity of our Left, when the evening before they extended from almost our Right to our Left. At 12 o'clock at Night our Reg<sup>t</sup>, with Sixteen more were Ordered to parade immediately before his Excellencies Quarters under Command of Sullivan & Wayne. We were there by One, when Intelligence came that the Enemy had made a precipitate retreat and was safely got into the City. We were all Chagrin'd at this, as we were more willing to Chase them in Rear, than meet such Sulkey Dogs in Front. We were now remanded back with several draughts of Rum in our frozen bellies, which made us so glad we all fell asleep in our open huts, nor experienced the Coldness of the Night 'till we found ourselves much stiffened by it in the Morning.

*December 9.*—We came from within the breastworks, Where we had been coop'd up four tedious Days, with Cloaths & Boots on Night and Day, and resumed our old



Hutts East of the Breastwork. The rest of the Army Chiefly had their huts within the Lines. We are insensible what we are capable of enduring till we are put to the test. To endure hardships with a good grace we must allways think of the following Maxim: "Pain succeeds Pleasure, & Pleasure succeeds Pain."

*December 10.*—Lay still.

*December 11.*—At four o'clock the Whole Army were Order'd to March to Swedes Ford on the River Schuylkill, about 9 miles N. W. of Chestnut Hill, and 6 from White Marsh our present Encampment. At sun an hour high the whole were mov'd from the Lines and on their march with baggage. This Night encamped in a Semi circle nigh the Ford. The enemy had march'd up the West side of Schuylkill—Potter's Brigade of Pennsylvania Militia were already there, & had several skirmishes with them with some loss on his side and considerable on the Enemies. An English Serj. deserted to us this Day, and inform'd that Webb's Reg<sup>t</sup> kill'd many of their men on 7th, that he himself took Webb's Serj. Major who was a former Deserter from them, and was to be hanged this day.

I am prodigious Sick & cannot get any thing comfortable—what in the name of Providence am I to do with a fit of Sickness in this place where nothing appears pleasing to the Sicken'd Eye & nausiating Stomach. But I doubt not Providence will find out a way for my relief. But I cannot eat Beef if I starve, for my stomach positively refuses to entertain such Company, and how can I help that?

*December 12.*—A Bridge of Waggon's made across the Schuylkill last Night consisting of 36 waggon's, with a bridge of Rails between each. Some skirmishing over the River. Militia and dragoons brought into Camp several Prisoners. Sun Set—We were order'd to march over the River—It snows—I'm Sick—eat nothing—No Whiskey—No Forage—Lord—Lord—Lord. The Army were 'till Sun Rise crossing the River—some at the Waggon Bridge & some at the Raft Bridge below. Cold & uncomfortable.

*December 13.*—The Army march'd three miles from the



West side the River and encamp'd near a place call'd the Gulph and not an improper name neither, for this Gulph seems well adapted by its situation to keep us from the pleasures & enjoyments of this World, or being conversant with any body in it. It is an excellent place to raise the Ideas of a Philosopher beyond the glutted thoughts and Reflexions of an Epicurian. His Reflexions will be as different from the Common Reflexions of Mankind as if he were unconnected with the world, and only conversant with immaterial beings. It cannot be that our Superiors are about to hold consultations with Spirits infinitely beneath their Order, by bringing us into these utmost regions of the Terraqueous Sphere. No, it is, upon consideration for many good purposes since we are to Winter here—1<sup>st</sup> There is plenty of Wood & Water. 2<sup>d</sup> There are but few families for the soldiery to Steal from—tho' far be it from a Soldier to Steal. 4<sup>th</sup> There are warm sides of Hills to erect huts on. 5<sup>th</sup> They will be heavenly Minded like Jonah when in the Belly of a Great Fish. 6<sup>th</sup> They will not become home Sick as is sometimes the Case when Men live in the Open World—since the reflections which will naturally arise from their present habitation, will lead them to the more noble thoughts of employing their leisure hours in filling their knapsacks with such materials as may be necessary on the Journey to another Home.

*December 14.*—Prisoners & Deserters are continually coming in. The Army which has been surprisingly healthy hitherto, now begins to grow sickly from the continued fatigues they have suffered this Campaign. Yet they still show a spirit of Alacrity & Contentment not to be expected from so young Troops. I am Sick—discontented—and out of humour. Poor food—hard lodging—Cold Weather—fatigue—Nasty Cloaths—nasty Cookery—Vomit half my time—smoak'd out of my senses—the Devil's in't—I can't Endure it—Why are we sent here to starve and Freeze—What sweet Felicities have I left at home; A charming Wife—pretty Children—Good Beds—good food—good Cookery—all agreeable—all harmonious. Here all Con-



fusion—smoke & Cold—hunger & filthiness—A pox on my bad luck. There comes a bowl of beef soup—full of burnt leaves and dirt, sickish enough to make a Hector spue—away with it Boys—I'll live like the Chameleon upon Air. Poh! Poh! crys Patience within me—you talk like a fool. Your being sick Covers your mind with a Melanchollic Gloom, which makes every thing about you appear gloomy. See the poor Soldier, when in health—with what cheerfulness he meets his foes and encounters every hardship—if barefoot, he labours thro' the Mud & Cold with a Song in his mouth extolling War & Washington—if his food be bad, he eats it notwithstanding with seeming content—blesses God for a good Stomach and Whistles it into digestion. But harkee Patience, a moment—There comes a Soldier, his bare feet are seen thro' his worn out Shoes, his legs nearly naked from the tatter'd remains of an only pair of stockings, his Breeches not sufficient to cover his nakedness, his Shirt hanging in Strings, his hair dishevell'd, his face meagre; his whole appearance pictures a person forsaken & discouraged. He comes, and crys with an air of wretchedness & despair, I am Sick, my feet lame, my legs are sore, my body cover'd with this tormenting Itch—my Cloaths are worn out, my Constitution is broken, my former Activity is exhausted by fatigue, hunger & Cold, I fail fast I shall soon be no more! and all the reward I shall get will be—"Poor Will is dead." People who live at home in Luxury and Ease, quietly possessing their habitations, Enjoying their Wives & families in peace, have but a very faint Idea of the unpleasing sensations, and continual Anxiety the Man endures who is in a Camp, and is the husband and parent of an agreeable family. These same People are willing we should suffer every thing for their Benefit & advantage, and yet are the first to Condemn us for not doing more!!


*December 15.*—Quiet. Eat Pessimens, found myself better for their Lenient Opperation. Went to a house, poor & small, but good food within—eat too much from being so long Abstemious, thro' want of palatables. Mankind are



never truly thankfull for the Benefits of life, until they have experienc'd the want of them. The Man who has seen misery knows best how to enjoy good. He who is always at ease & has enough of the Blessings of common life is an Impotent Judge of the feelings of the unfortunate. . . .

*December 16.*—Cold Rainy Day, Baggage ordered over the Gulph of our Division, which were to march at Ten, but the baggage was order'd back and for the first time since we have been here the Tents were pitch'd, to keep the men more comfortable. Good morning Brother Soldier (says one to another) how are you? All wet I thank'e, hope you are so (says the other). The Enemy have been at Chestnut Hill Opposite to us near our last encampment the other side Schuylkill, made some Ravages, kill'd two of our Horsemen, taken some prisoners. We have done the like by them. . . .

*December 18.*—Universal Thanksgiving—a Roasted pig at Night. God be thanked for my health which I have pretty well recovered. How much better should I feel, were I assured my family were in health. But the same good Being who graciously preserves me, is able to preserve them & bring me to the ardently wish'd for enjoyment of them again.

 Rank & Precedence make a good deal of disturbance & confusion in the American Army. The Army are poorly supplied with Provision, occasioned it is said by the Neglect of the Commissary of Purchases. Much talk among Officers about discharges. Money has become of too little consequence. The Congress have not made their Commissions valuable Enough. Heaven avert the bad consequences of these things!!<sup>1</sup>

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up the Bristol Road & so got out unnoticed. He inform'd that Cornwallis was embark'd for England, and that some High-landers had gone to N. York for Winter Quarters.

There is nothing to hinder Parties of the like kind above mention'd, continually coming out between Delaware and Schuylkill, and plundering and destroying the Inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> A hiatus occurs here in the manuscript.



Our brethren who are unfortunately Prisoners in Philadelphia meet with the most savage and inhumane treatments that Barbarians are Capable of inflicting. Our Enemies do not knock them in the head or burn them with torches to death, or flee them alive, or gradually dismember them till they die, which is customary among Savages & Barbarians. No, they are worse by far. They suffer them to starve, to linger out their lives in extreem hunger. One of these poor unhappy men, drove to the last extreem by the rage of hunger, eat his own fingers up to the first joint from the hand, before he died. Others eat the Clay, the Lime, the Stones of the Prison Walls. Several who died in the Yard had pieces of Bark, Wood, Clay & Stones in their mouths, which the ravings of hunger had caused them to take in for food in the last Agonies of Life! "These are thy *mercies*, O Britain!"

*December 21.*—[Valley Forge.] Preparations made for hutts. Provisions Scarce. Mr. Ellis went homeward—sent a Letter to my Wife. Heartily wish myself at home, my Skin & eyes are almost spoil'd with continual smoke. A general cry thro' the Camp this Evening among the Soldiers, "No Meat! No Meat!"—the Distant vales Echo'd back the melancholly sound—"No Meat! No Meat!" Immitating the noise of Crows & Owls, also, made a part of the confused Musick.

What have you for your Dinners Boys? "Nothing but Fire Cake & Water, Sir." At night, "Gentlemen the Supper is ready." What is your Supper Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir." Very poor beef has been drawn in our Camp the greater part of this season. A Butcher bringing a Quarter of this kind of Beef into Camp one day who had white Buttons on the knees of his breeches, a Soldier cries out—"There, there Tom is some more of your fat Beef, by my soul I can see the Butcher's breeches buttons through it."

*December 22.*—Lay excessive Cold & uncomfortable last Night—my eyes are started out from their Orbits like a Rabbit's eyes, occasion'd by a great Cold & Smoke.



What have you got for Breakfast, Lads? "Fire Cake & Water, Sir." The Lord send that our Commissary of Purchases may live [on] Fire Cake & Water, 'till their gluttoned Guts are turned to Pasteboard.

Our Division are under Marching Orders this morning. I am ashamed to say it, but I am tempted to steal Fowls if I could find them, or even a whole Hog, for I feel as if I could eat one. But the Impoverish'd Country about us, affords but little matter to employ a Thief, or keep a Clever Fellow in good humour. But why do I talk of hunger & hard usage, when so many in the World have not even fire Cake & Water to eat.<sup>1</sup>

The human mind is always poreing upon the gloomy side of Fortune, and while it inhabits this lump of Clay, will always be in an uneasy and fluctuating State, produced by a thousand Incidents in common Life, which are deemed misfortunes, while the mind is taken off from the nobler pursuit of matters in Futurity. The sufferings of the Body naturally gain the Attention of the Mind, and this Attention is more or less strong, in greater or lesser souls, altho' I believe that Ambition & a high Opinion of Fame, makes many People endure hardships and pains with that fortitude we after times Observe them to do. On the other hand, a despicable opinion of the enjoyments of this Life, by a continued series of Misfortunes, and a long acquaintance with Grief, induces others to bear afflictions with becoming serenity and Calmness.

It is not in the power of Philosophy however, to convince a man he may be happy and Contented if he will, with a *Hungry Belly*. Give me Food, Cloaths, Wife & Children, kind Heaven! and I'll be as contented as my Nature will permit me to be.

This Evening a Party with two field pieces were order'd

<sup>1</sup> Surgeon Waldo does not exaggerate the state of the commissary department of the army at this time. General Huntington, to whose brigade his regiment was attached, wrote to Washington on the subject, and his letter with a number of others the Commander-in-Chief forwarded to Congress.



out. At 12 of the Clock at Night, Providence sent us a little Mutton, with which we immediately had some Broth made, & a fine Stomach for same. Ye who Eat Pumkin Pie and Roast Turkies, and yet Curse fortune for using you ill, Curse her no more, least she reduce your Allowance of her favours to a bit of Fire Cake, & a draught of Cold Water, & in Cold Weather too.

*December 23.*—The Party that went out last evening not Return'd to Day. This evening an excellent Player on the Violin in that soft kind of Musick, which is so finely adapted to stirr up the tender Passions, while he was playing in the next Tent to mine, these kind of soft Airs it immediately called up in remembrance all the endearing expressions, the Tender Sentiments, the sympathetic friendship that has given so much satisfaction and sensible pleasure to me from the first time I gained the heart & affections of the tenderest of the Fair. A thousand agreeable little incidents which have Occurr'd since our happy connection, and which would have pass'd totally unnoticed by such who are strangers to the soft & sincere passion of Love, were now recall'd to my mind, and filled me with these tender emotions, and Agreeable Reflections, which cannot be described, and which in spite of my Philosophy forced out the sympathetic tear. I wish'd to have the Musick Cease, and yet dreaded its ceasing, least I should loose sight of these dear Ideas, which gave me pain and pleasure at the same instant. Ah Heaven why is it that our harder fate so often deprives us of the enjoyment of what we most wish to enjoy this side of thy brighter realms. There is something in this strong passion of Love far more agreeable than what we can derive from any of the other Passions and which Duller Souls & Cheerless minds are insensible of, & laugh at—let such fools laugh at me.

*December 24.*—Party of the 22<sup>d</sup> not returned. Hutts go on Slowly—Cold & Smoke make us fret. But mankind are always fretting, even if they have more than their proportion of the Blessings of Life. We are never Easy, allways repining at the Providence of an Allwise & Benevolent



Being, Blaming Our Country or faulting our Friends. But I don't know of any thing that vexes a man's Soul more than hot smoke continually blowing into his Eyes, & when he attempts to avoid it, is met by a cold and piercing Wind.

*December 25, Christmas.*—We are still in Tents—when we ought to be in huts—the poor Sick, suffer much in Tents this cold Weather. But we now treat them differently from what they used to be at home, under the inspection of Old Women and Doct. Bolus Linctus. We give them Mutton & Grogg and a Capital Medicine once in a While, to start the Disease from its foundation at once. We avoid Piddling Pills, Powders, Bolus's Linctus's Cordials and all such insignificant matters whose powers are Only render'd important by causing the Patient to vomit up his money instead of his disease. But very few of the sick Men Die.<sup>1</sup>

*December 26.*—Party of the 22<sup>d</sup> not Return'd. The Enemy have been some Days the west Schuylkill from Opposite the City to Derby. Their intentions not yet known. The City is at present pretty Clear of them. Why don't his Excellency rush in & retake the City, in which he will doubtless find much Plunder? Because he knows better than to leave his Post and be catch'd like a d——d fool cooped up in the City. He has always acted wisely hitherto. His conduct when closely scrutinised is uncensurable. Were his Inferior Generals as skillfull as himself, we should have the grandest Choir of Officers ever God made. Many Country Gentlemen in the interior parts of the States who get wrong information of the Affairs & state of our Camp, are very much Surprized at G<sup>1</sup> Washington's delay to drive off the Enemy, being falsely inform'd that his Army consists of double the Number of the Enemy's—such wrong information serves not to keep up the spirit of the People, as they must be by and by undeceiv'd to their no small disappointment;—it brings blame on his Excellency, who is deserving of the greatest encomiums; it brings disgrace on the Continental Troops, who have never evidenced the least

<sup>1</sup> Two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men were reported by the surgeons unfit for duty.



backwardness in doing their duty, but on the contrary, have cheerfully endur'd a long and very fatiguing Campaign. 'Tis true they have fought but little this Campaign; which is not owing to any Unwillingness in Officers or Soldiers, but for want of convenient Opportunities, which have not offer'd themselves this Season; tho' this may be contradicted by many; but Impartial Truth in future History will clear up these points, and reflect lasting honour on the Wisdom & prudence of G<sup>enl</sup> Washington. The greatest Number of Continental Troops that have been with his Excell<sup>y</sup> this Campaign, never consisted of more than Eleven thousand; and the greatest Number of Militia in the field at Once were not more than 2000. Yet these accounts are exaggerated to 50 or 60,000. Howe, by the best, and most authentic Accounts has never had less than 10,000. If then, Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, by Opposing little more than an equal Number of young Troops, to Old Veterans has kept his Ground in general, Cooped them up in the City, prevented their making any considerable inroads upon him, Killed and wounded a very considerable number of them in different Skirmishes, and made many proselytes to the Shrine of Liberty by these little successes, and by the prudence, calmness, sedateness & wisdom with which he facilitates all his Operations. This being the case, and his not having wantonly thrown away the lives of his Soldiers, but reserved them for another Campaign (if another should Open in the Spring) which is of the utmost consequence This then cannot be called an Inglorious Campaign. If he had risk'd a General Battle, and should have proved unsuccessfull, what in the name of Heaven would have been our case this Day. Troops are raised with great difficulty in the Southern States, many Regiments from these States do not consist of one hundred men. What then was the grand Southern Army before the N. England Troops joined them and if this Army is Cut off where should we get another as good. General Washington has doubtless considered these matters & his conduct this Campaign has certainly demonstrated his prudence & Wisdom.



This Evening, cross'd the Schuylkill with D<sup>r</sup> Col<sup>a</sup><sup>1</sup>—eat plenty of Pessimmens which is the most lenient, Sub Acid & Subastringent fruit, I believe that grows.

*December 27.*—My horse shod. A Snow. Lodg'd at a Welchman's this Night, return'd to Camp in the morning of 28<sup>th</sup>. Snow'd last Night.

*December 28.*—Yesterday upwards of fifty Officers in Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene's Division resigned their Commissions—Six or Seven of our Regiment are doing the like to-day. All this is occasion'd by Officers Families being so much neglected at home on account of Provisions. Their Wages will not by considerable, purchase a few trifling Comfortables here in Camp, & maintain their families at home, while such extravagant prices are demanded for the common necessities of Life—What then have they to purchase Cloaths and other necessities with? It is a Melancholly reflection that what is of the most universal importance, is most universally neglected—I mean keeping up the Credit of Money.

The present Circumstances of the Soldier is better by far than the Officers—for the family of the Soldier is provided for at the public expence if the Articles they want are above the common price—but the Officer's family, are obliged not only to beg in the most humble manner for the necessities of Life,—but also to pay for them afterwards at the most exorbitant rates—and even in this manner, many of them who depend entirely on their Money, cannot procure half the material comforts that are wanted in a family—this produces continual letters of complaint from home. When the Officer has been fatiguing thro' wet & cold and returns to his tent where he finds a letter directed to him from his Wife, fill'd with the most heart aching tender Complaints, a Woman is capable of writing—Acquainting him with the incredible difficulty with which she procures a little Bread for herself & Children—and finally concluding with expressions bordering on despair, of procuring a sufficiency of food to keep soul & Body together through the Winter—that her money is of very little consequence to her—that

<sup>1</sup> Probably Surgeon Noah Coleman, of the Second Connecticut Line.



she begs of him to consider that Charity begins at home—and not suffer his family to perish with want, in the midst of plenty. When such, I say—is the tidings they constantly hear from their families—What man is there—who has the least regard for his family—whose soul would not shrink within him? Who would not be disheartened from persevering in the best of Causes—the Cause of his Country,—when such discouragements as these ly in his way, which his Country might remedy if they would?

*December 28.*—Building our Hutts.

*December 29.*—Continued the Work. Snow'd all day pretty briskly.—The party of the 22<sup>a</sup> return'd—lost 18 men, who were taken prisoners by being decoyed by the Enemies Light Horse who brought up the Rear, as they Repass'd the Schuylkill to the City. Our party took 13 or 14 of their Horsemen. The Enemy came out to plunder—& have strip'd the Town of Derby of even all its Household furniture. Our party were several times mixed with the Enemy's horse—not knowing them from our Connecticut Light Horse—their Cloaks being alike.

So much talk about discharges among the Officers—& so many are discharged—his Excellency lately expressed his fears of being left Alone with the Soldiers only. Strange that our Country will not exert themselves for his support, and save so good—so great a Man from entertaining the least anxious doubt of their Virtue and perseverance in supporting a Cause of such unparallel'd importance!!

All Hell couldn't prevail against us, If Heaven continues no more than its former blessings—and if we keep up the Credit of our Money which has now become of the last consequence. If its Credit sinks but a few degrees more, we shall then repent when 'tis too late—& cry out for help when no one will appear to deliver. We who are in Camp, and depend on our Money entirely to procure the comforts of life—feel the Importance of this matter—He who is hording it up in his Chest, thinks little more of it than how he shall procure more.

*December 30.*—Eleven Deserters came in to-day—some



Hessians & some English—one of the Hes<sup>m</sup> took an Ax in his hand & cut away the Ice of the Schuylkill which was 1½ inches thick & 40 Rod wide and waded through to our Camp—he was ½ an hour in the Water. They had a promise when they engag'd that the war would be ended in one year—they were now tired of the Service.

Sir W<sup>m</sup> Askins commanded the 8000 who were out over the Schuylkill the Other Day—but part of two Brigades were left in the City. Cold Weather. Hutts go on moderately—very cold lying in Tents—beyond what one can think.

*December 31.*—Adjutant Selden<sup>1</sup> learn'd me how to Darn Stockings—to make them look like knit work.

VALLEY FORGE, Dec. 31st, 1777.

Doct. Waldo Surgeon of Col. Prentices Reg<sup>t</sup>, is recommended for a Furlow.

J. HUNTINGTON, B. General.

Apply'd with the above for a furlow, to Doct. Cochran, who reply'd—"I am willing to oblige every Gentleman of the Faculty, but some of the Boston Surgeons have by taking an underhand method of getting furlows, occasion'd a Complaint to be lodg'd with his Excellency, who has positively forbid my giving any furlows at present. We shall soon have regimental Hospitals erected—and general Ones to receive the superabundant Sick from them;—if you will tarry till such regulations are made—you will have an honourable furlow, and even now—I will, if you desire it—recommend you to his Excellency for one—but desire you would stay a little while longer—and in the mean time, recommend to me some young Surgeon for a Regiment, and I will immediately appoint him to a chief Surgeoncy from your recommendation—I shall remember the rascals who have us'd me ill."

I concluded to stay—& immediately set about fixing accommodations for the Sick &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Ezra Selden, adjutant First Connecticut Line. Commissioned January 1, 1777; promoted captain January 11, 1778. Severely wounded in hip at storming of Stony Point. Died December 9, 1784.



We got some Spirits and finish'd the Year with a good Drink & thankfull hearts in our new Hutt, which stands on an Eminence that overlooks the Brigade, & in sight of the Front Line. The Major and Commissary Little are to live with us which makes our Hutt Head Quarters.

In the Evening I joyfully received a Letter from my good and loving Wife. The pleasure and satisfaction a man enjoys upon hearing of the health & peace of a Friend, and more especially of a Wife, on whose affections & peace his own happiness depends, is a greater pleasure than . . .

*1778, January 1. New Year.*—I am alive. I am well.

Hutts go on briskly, and our Camp begins to appear like a spacious City.

A party of our Army at Wilmington took a Ship in the Delaware from New York tother day, in which were a Number of Officers Wives and about 70 or 80 men.

His Excellency Issued an Order this day that No one in the Army should have a new Coat made without first obtaining a pattern. . . .

Nothing tends to the establishment of the firmest Friendship like Mutual Sufferings which produces mutual Intentions and endeavours for mutual Relief which in such cases are equally shar'd with pleasure and satisfaction—in the course of this, each heart is laid open to full view—the similar passions in each, approximate themselves by a certain impulsive sympathy, which terminates in lasting esteem.

Bought an embroidered Jacket.

How much we affect to appear of consequence by a superfluous Dress,—and yet Custom—(that law which none may fight against) has rendered this absolutely necessary & commendable. An Officer frequently fails of being duly noticed, merely from the want of a genteel Dress;—and if joined to this, he has a bungling Address,—his situation is render'd very disagreeable. Neatness of Dress, void of unnecessary superfluities is very becoming—and discovers a man at least to have some Ambition—without which he will never make any figure in life. A man Appears to much



greater advantage, especially among strangers, with a genteel Dress, which will naturally prepossess the Company in his favour, before they hear him speak. In this way,—even the fool may pass for a man of consequence—A man ought always to dress according to his business let his Abilities be what they will;—for if his Business is not sufficient to support a Credible appearance in the world, let him discontinue it and undertake some other branch. But these are trifles not to be compared with Virtue and good Sense: by these is the road to true fame & Glory,—by these we walk thro' the world with the least hazzard—and obtain that peace of mind; that variety of agreeable Reflection—and that esteem among the Virtuous & Amiable, which the Vicious Fool is a stranger to.

*January 3.*—Our Hutt, or rather our Hermits Cell, goes on briskly, having a short allowance of Bread this morning we divided it with great precision, eat our Breakfast with thankful hearts for the little we had, took care of the Sick, according to our dayly practice, and went to Work on our little humble Cottage. Now ye poets give me my Wife & Children, with your daisies, your Roses, your Tuleps and your other insignificant poetical materials, & I believe I should be pretty contented in this humble Cottage which the muses have so often described.

Another Ship was taken from the Enemy this Week, the lading taken out & the Ship burnt. The other Ship mention'd New Years day, was loaded with Officers Baggage and Medicines, with other valluable matters, & Cloathing for 2000 men Compleat.

#### MARTIAL GLORY.

*The hint taken from the following line of Pope :*

“Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss & Thunder.”

Soldiers ! would you acquire a lasting fame ;  
 Would you be pleased with a Hero's name ;  
 Have you a wish, to be a Martial Wonder ;  
 Rush furious on your foes, & fearless blunder,  
 Thro' Gun, Drum, Trumpet, Blunderbuss and Thunder.



Fresh Beef and Flour make me perfectly Sick, especially as we have no Spirits to drink with it;—but others stand it, so must I.

To day his Excellency in Orders acquainted the Troops of the Congress's high approbation of their spirited perseverance and good Conduct this Campaign, that Rations should be raised monthly in proportion to the rise of the Articles of life, that the Congress were exerting themselves to supply the Commissary, and Cloathiers Departments, with a greater quantity of better Stores, than hitherto, that the Troops may be Supply'd with a greater quantity of Provision than they have been of late; and that a Month's Wages extraordinary shall be given to every Officer & Soldier who shall live in Hutts this Winter.

Good encouragement this, and we think ourselves deserving of it, for the hunger, Thirst, Cold & fatigue we have suffer'd this Campaign, altho' we have not fought much, yet the oldest Soldiers among us have called the Campaign a very severe & hard one. . . .

*Sunday, January 4.*—Properly accouter'd I went to work at Masonry, None of my Mess were to dictate me, and before Night (being found with Mortar & Stone) I almost compleated a genteel Chimney to my Magnificent Hutt, however, as we had short allowance of food & no Grogg, my back ached before Night.

I was call'd to relieve a Soldier tho't to be dying—he expir'd before I reach'd the Hutt. He was an Indian—an excellent Soldier—and an obedient good natur'd fellow. He engaged for money doubtless as others do;—but he has serv'd his country faithfully—he has fought for those very people who disinherited his forefathers—having finished his pilgrimage, he was discharged from the War of Life & Death. His memory ought to be respected, more than those rich ones who supply the world with nothing better than Money and Vice. There the poor fellow lies not Superior now to a clod of earth—his Mouth wide open—his Eyes staring. Was he affrighted at the scene of Death—or the consequences of it?—doubtless both;—but he has



doubtless acted agreeable to the dictates of Nature in the course of his whole life—why should he then be afraid of the consequences of Death. Where then is his immaterial part taken its flight—undoubtedly the scene Changes, and admits him into another State,—and there fixes him forever,—but what is that state—is it happy or miserable. He has been an honest fellow—has done his duty to his Maker and his fellow creatures as far as his Inclinations and Abilities would permit of,—therefore we'll suppose him happier now than ever.

What a frail—dying creature is Man. We are Certainly not made for this world—daily evidences demonstrate the contrary.

Ah! frail—vain man—ye jest of fortune *Here*  
 Riches thy bane—and Poverty thy Curse  
 All pleasures glutt thee—pain afflicts thy heart,  
 Thy Body only food for Death & worms.  
 Look upward then—O Man—the God of Worlds  
 Has form'd another World for thee—by far  
 Superior to this Orb on which we dwell.

The Marquis De la Fayette, a Volunteer in Our Army—& he who gave three Ships to Congress, is very agreeable in his person and great in his Character; being made a Major General—Brigadier Conway, an Irish Colonel from France, took umbrage thereat, and resigned—but is now made Inspector General of the Army—he is a great Character—he wore a Commission in the French Service when he was but ten years old. Major General Lord Stirling, is a man of a very noble presence,—and the most martial Appearance of any General in the Service—he much resembles the Marquis of Granby—by his bald head—& the make of his face—and figure of his Body—He is mild in his private Conversation, and vociferous in the Field;—but he has allways been unfortunate in Actions.

Count Pulaski—General of the Horse is a Man of hardly middling Stature—sharp Countenance—and lively air;—He contended a long time with his Uncle the present king of Poland for the Crown—but being overcome he fled to



France—and has now joined the American Army, where he is greatly respected & admired for his Martial Skill, Courage & Intrepidity. Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene & Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan are greatly esteemed. Baron De Kalb, a Major General is another very remarkable Character, and a Gentleman much esteemed.

*January 5.*—Apply'd for a Furlow, Surg<sup>n</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> not at home—come back mumping & Sulkey.

*January 6.*—Apply'd again—was deny'd by reason of Inoculations being set on foot—& because the Boston Surgeons had too many of them gone—one of whom is to be broke for his lying & deceiving in order to get a furlow—and I wish his cursed tongue was pull'd out, for thus giving an example of scandal to the New England Surgeons, tho' the Connect<sup>t</sup> Ones are well enough respected at present. Came home sulkey and Cross—storm'd at the boys—and swore round like a piper and a fool till most Night—when I bought me a Bear Skin—dress'd with the Hair on:—This will answer me to ly on—Set on.<sup>1</sup> . . .

Case;—it serves to keep off those melancholly Ideas which often attend such a person, and who loves his family and wishes to be with them. If I should happen to lose this little Journal, any fool may laugh that finds it,—since I know that there is nothing in it but the natural flowings & reflections of my own heart, which is human as well as other Peoples—and if there is a great deal of folly in it—there is no intended Ill nature—and am sure there is much Sincerity, especially when I mention my family, whom I cannot help saying and am not asham'd to say that I Love. But I begin to grow Sober, I shall be home sick again.—Muses attend!—File off to the right grim melancholly! Seek no more an asylum in thine Enemy's breast!—Waft me hence ye Muses to the brow of Mount Parnassus! for to the summit, I dare not, will not presume to climb— . . .

We have got our Hutts to be very comfortable, and feel ourselves happy in them—I only want my family and I

<sup>1</sup> Another hiatus occurs here in the manuscript.



should be as happy here as any where, except in the Article of food, which is sometimes pretty scanty.

The Brigg taken from the Enemy (& mention'd New Year's Day) is the greatest prize ever taken from them—There is Scarlet—Blue—& Buff Cloth, sufficient to Cloath all the Officers of the Army—& Hats—Shirts—Stockings—Shoes—Boots—Spurs—&c. to finish compleat Suits for all. A petition is sent to his Excellency, that this Cloathing may be dealt out to the Regimental Officers only—at a moderate price—Excluding Commissaries—Bull Drivers &c.—there are 4 or 5000 Apelets of Gold & Silver—Many Chests of private Officers Baggage—& General How's Silver Plate—& Kitchen furniture, &c. This Cargo was sent to Cloathe all the Officers of the British Army.

*January 8.*—Unexpectedly got a Furrow. Set out for home. The very worst of Riding—Mud & Mire.

We had gone thro' Inoculation before this furrow.

Lodged at—Porters . . . . .	£0	12	0
Breakfasted at Weavers Jan <sup>y</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup> just by Bartholomews . . . . .	0	5	0
Grogg . . . . .	0	4	0
Hyelyars Tavern 3½ from Caryls, dined . . . . .	0	5	1
Shocking Riding!			
Lodged at a private house three miles this side Delaware in			
Jersey & Breakfasted . . . . .	0	6	0
Treat Serj. Palmer with Baggage . . . . .	0	5	2
Mattersons Tavern 13 m De War . . . . .	0	4	0
Mattersons . . . . .	0	2	0
Conarts Tavern 10 M. . . . .	0	5	0
Sharps or M <sup>c</sup> Curdys, 4 M. . . . .	0	13	0
Capt. Porter's Cross Road 2 M. from M <sup>c</sup> Curdy's Lodged—5			
Dol. 1 Sixth . . . . .	1	11	0
Breakfasted at the pretty Cottagers Jan <sup>y</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	0	5	0
1 M. from Porters, Horses . . . . .	0	6	0
Lodging &c. . . . .	0	11	0
Bullions Tavern (Vealtown). . . . .	0	5	0
Morristown Din'd . . . . .	0	5	0
Poquonnack 10 M. from N. Y. at Jennings Tavern & a narrow Bed—Lodg'd here. Landlady w <sup>th</sup> Teethache, Children keep a squalling . . . . .	0	19	0
Roomē's or Romer's Tavern, Good Tavern, 11 Mile from Jennings . . . . .	0	20	0



For 2 boles Grog & Phyal of Rum Vault's house—	£0	10	0
Honey & Bread & Oats.	0	12	0
Good Old squeaking Widow Ann Hopkins, 26 M. from Jen-			
ning's, fine Living, for Horse, Supp'r, Lodg'd, Break'd	0	12	0
Satyr Tavern, Lodged & Supped	0	9	6
Judge Coe's, 9 M. from King's Ferry Dinner, Oats	0	6	0

## Clubb.

Adams £4 9 9 Paid

Waldo £4 9 9

*Jany.* 14.—Alone. Lodged at Sherald's. Left Mr. Adams

sick	0	9	0
15.—On the road to Fredericksburgh	0	7	0



## THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 160.)

## IX. THOMAS PENN.

Three children of William Penn and Hannah Callowhill, as we have seen, were married,—Thomas, Margaret, and Richard. Of Margaret (Freame) we have already spoken.<sup>1</sup> It remains, in this branch of the Founder's family, to speak of Thomas and Richard and their descendants. We therefore take up Thomas and his line.

At the death of his father, Thomas was in his seventeenth year,—an apprentice, as we have seen, with Michael Russell, in London. Apparently he resided in the city from that time until he came to Pennsylvania in 1732. Here he stayed nine years, and in 1741 returned to England. In 1751 he was married; in 1775 he died. About 1728 he appears to have been engaged in business of some sort in London, and to have had a partner. He writes to his brother John, April 26 of that year, and signs the letter "Thomas Penn and Company;" in it he speaks of "my business on partnership, of which I some time since acquainted thee."<sup>2</sup>

It is as the principal Proprietor of Pennsylvania for nearly thirty years that Thomas Penn has distinction. His influential connection with the Province was second only to that of his father.

The will of the Founder remained in dispute for nine years, 1718 to 1727. A summary of the several steps in the case is given in the "Breviate in the Boundary Dispute,"<sup>3</sup> and the subsequent arrangements concerning the Proprietary estate are outlined in an article by the late Eli K. Price,

<sup>1</sup> Some further details concerning her may be given later.

<sup>2</sup> MS. letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania collections.

<sup>3</sup> "Pennsylvania Archives," 2d series, Vol. XVI.





THE CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND LADY JULIANA PENN.

FROM A PAINTING BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, 1784.



in the *American Law Register* for August, 1871. Probate of the Founder's will was granted at Doctors' Commons, November 14-18, 1718. Hannah Penn then executed a "Deed Poll of Appointment," upon her powers under the will, by which she assigned half of Pennsylvania and the Delaware counties to her son John, and divided the other half between Thomas, Richard, and Dennis. In October, 1721, a suit was begun by Hannah Penn, in the Court of Exchequer, in her own right and for her five children (who were then all minors), to establish the will and her and the children's rights under it against all the other parties in interest,—the two earls to whom the powers of government were devised; Springett Penn, as heir-at-law of William Penn, Jr.; the surviving trustees in Pennsylvania, named in Penn's will; and the younger children of William Penn, Jr.<sup>1</sup> This suit in the Exchequer Court, after many delays, during which Dennis Penn, Henry Gouldney (one of the mortgagees), the Earl of Oxford, and Hannah Penn all died, was decided favorably to the will July 4, 1727. The "family deed sextipartite," to which an allusion has been made, was then framed, by which it was agreed that John Penn should have half the Pennsylvania and Delaware property, Thomas one-fourth, and Richard one-fourth, and that John's share should be charged with certain money payments to Margaret (Freame). In 1729/30, January 13 and 14, "Indentures of Lease and Release" were executed by the two surviving trustees of the old Ford mortgage, Joshua Gee and John Woods, to the three brothers, in the shares agreed on, half to John, a quarter to Thomas, and the other quarter to John and Thomas, as trustees for Richard. June 24, 1735, Samuel Preston and James Logan, surviving trustees in Pennsylvania under the will, released the estates on their part. The will of the Founder was thus established, and the enjoyment of the Proprietary rights lodged in the possession of the three surviving sons of his second wife.

There had been some question in the minds of the young

<sup>1</sup> The reference to Gulielma Maria, his daughter, in this suit, shows that she was then the wife of Aubrey Thomas.



Proprietaries what use to make of their inheritance. Prior to Springett Penn's death, in 1730 (? 1731), a negotiation with him had been on foot to sell to him and his brother William a life-right in the Proprietorship, and there was another negotiation for the purchase by John, Thomas, and Richard of all Springett's claims. After his death the claims of William Penn, 3d, were extinguished by the payment to him of five thousand five hundred pounds.<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Penn's residence in Philadelphia covered nine years,—the later period of Governor Gordon's administration, and his death; the interval, 1736–38, in which James Logan was acting Governor; and the first three years of Governor Thomas's perturbed administration. During these nine years the State-House, now Independence Hall, was built and Christ Church was given its present dimensions, the "Indian Walk" took place, and the great Indian Council of 1736 was held in the Friends' meeting-house at Second and Market Streets. This was the period when the "Palatine" German immigration was at full height, and the Scotch-Irish were also coming freely.

Leaving England in the summer of 1732, Thomas Penn reached the Delaware in August, and landed at Chester on the 11th of that month. An express rode with a letter from him to Governor Gordon, at Philadelphia, and that official hastened to receive him with due honor. The Governor, "and all the members of the Council who were able to travel, accompanied with a very large number of gentlemen," set out next day for Chester, waited on him, and paid him their compliments in due form. That he was embarrassed by the ceremonial, as the story attributed to Keimer the printer, cited in Watson, avers, is not very probable; he does not appear to have been a person unequal to the demands of the station he occupied, whether it might be that of mercer's apprentice or something higher. The company

<sup>1</sup> This sum was secured to him by a mortgage, and on this he borrowed two thousand five hundred pounds of Alexander Forbes, his father-in-law. The mortgage was finally extinguished by the three Proprietaries, January 29, 1740/41.



dined at Chester, then set out for Philadelphia, and near the city the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, "with a great body of people," met the party and extended the civic welcome. There was general anxiety to see the visitor, for since the brief stay of William, Jr., twenty-eight years before, and his angry departure, there had been none of the family of the Founder seen here. There were crowds in the streets as the cavalcade entered, and women and children gathered on the balconies and door-stoops to see the new arrival,—*"a son of William Penn!"* That they found a personable man we may infer from the portraits of him.

The stories which were told afterwards of Thomas Penn, the outcome of his stay here, are preserved by the omnivorous Watson, and may be read in his *"Annals."* They represent his manners as cold. This may have been. I presume him to have been a self-contained and somewhat formal man, with little disposition to what in a later day has been called *"gush."* The democratic colonists doubtless tried him by the tradition, then still fresh among them, of his father's gracious and graceful manner, and they are said to have found his brother John, when he came two years later, a more affable person. We may take from Watson the story of that worthy Welshman, descendant of the bards of Cambria, the Reverend Hugh David, who visited Thomas Penn to read him a congratulatory poem recalling the honorable connection of the Penns with the royal house of Tudor, and who retired from the presence much disappointed. Relating his experience afterwards to Jonathan Jones, of Merion, Hugh said with great disgust, *"He spoke to me but three sentences: 'How dost thou do?' 'Farewell!' 'The other door!'"* It is past denial that such brevity of speech and lack of poetic appreciation must figure poorly in the Welsh chronicle.

Thomas Penn addressed himself with energy to the Proprietary affairs. The situation had greatly changed since the days of continuous outlay and no income in the first years of the settlement, and of perpetual struggle to balance income and outgo in the period when the Founder broke



down. There was now a large revenue from the sale of lands and quit-rents, and the expense of the government could be sustained by the increasing numbers of the people.

In September, 1734, John Penn arrived at Philadelphia with his sister Margaret—the “Pegg” of the Ruscombe family life—and her husband Thomas Freame,<sup>1</sup> and now all the children of Hannah Callowhill but Richard—for Dennis had died in 1722—were gathered at Philadelphia. John returned to London in a year, to carry on the controversy with Lord Baltimore over the Maryland boundary, but Thomas and the Freames remained at Philadelphia.

Thomas Penn established himself at Philadelphia in a residence between Bush Hill and the Schuylkill, with grounds esteemed handsome in that day, and long known as the “Proprietor’s Garden.” A young Virginian, Daniel Fisher, who had come to Philadelphia to seek his fortune, and who walked late in the afternoon of the first day of the week in May, 1755, “two miles out of town,” found the garden, though somewhat neglected, more attractive, he thought, than that of ex-Governor James Hamilton at Bush Hill. It was, he says, “laid out with more judgment.” The house, of brick, was “but small,” with a kitchen, etc., “justly contrived for a small rather than a numerous family,”—a bachelor’s establishment, plainly. “It is pleasingly situated,” says the writer, “on an eminence, with a gradual descent, over a small valley, to a handsome, level road, out through a wood, affording an agreeable vista of near two miles.” The greenhouse, at that season empty, its plants and flowers disposed in the pleasure-garden, “surpassed everything of its kind” Daniel Fisher had seen in America, and he looked with pleasure on “a good many orange, lemon, and citron trees, in great perfection, loaded with abundance of fruit, and some of each sort seemingly ripe.”

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Freame had come over earlier, probably in 1732, and had returned to England. With some persuasion his wife now accompanied him to Pennsylvania. She finally returned to England in 1741 with her brother Thomas.



There was also a neat little deer park, but he was told that no deer were then kept in it.

At the time of Daniel Fisher's visit to the Proprietor's Garden, Thomas Penn had been absent from Philadelphia fourteen years. He returned to England in 1741. He had taken a somewhat active part in the affairs of the Province, especially in the treaties and conferences with the Indians, and was occasionally present at the meetings of the Governor's Council. The Council's minutes record him as present March 26, 1741, and at a meeting October 14, that year, several Cayuga chiefs being present, Governor Thomas told them that "Mr. Penn had hoped to have seen the Chief of their Nations here this summer, but being disappointed, and being obliged to go for England, he had left the Governor in his place."

The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 20, 1741, has this paragraph:

"This Day the Honourable Thomas Penn, Esq., one of the Proprietors of this Province, attended by a Great Number of the Principal Inhabitants of this City, set out for New York, in order to embark on board his Majesty's Ship Squirrel, Capt. Peter Warren Commander, for Great Britain."

Apparently he did not sail from New York, however, but from a port in New England, and his ship did not get away until October. The following letter to Richard Hockley,<sup>1</sup> who was about to sail from England for Pennsylvania, to act as agent for Thomas Penn, gives the time and circumstances of his arrival in England:

"DEAR DICKEY:

"As we have been in pain for you, hearing Privateers were off our Capes, and should have great pleasure in hearing you were safe, I conclude it has fared so with you, and that you will be glad to hear my Sister [Margaret Freame], with her Children and myself are arrived, in perfect health, as we have been ever since our departure, which was this day five weeks from New England; we expected after seeing the mast ship in the morning to have proceeded to Portsmouth, but the wind blowing hard at South our Captain judged proper to put in here,

<sup>1</sup> Penn MSS., Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



where it blows hard, but as soon as the wind is fair wee propose to sail for Portsmouth, from where I shall be very glad to see you. Enclosed is a letter from my Brother which put in the Post if he is not in Town, and desire Joseph Freame to get the enclosed bill for £1000 accepted and take his receipt for it. Wee all affectionately salute you, and I am

"Your Very Sincere Friend,

"THO: PENN

"PLYMOUTH HARBOR, Nov 22d 1741."

The death of John Penn, in 1746, left Thomas Penn the holder of three-fourths of the Proprietary and family land in Pennsylvania and Delaware. One-fourth had come to him in fee, as we have seen, and two-fourths had been left him in life-right by John. He thus became, prospectively if not already, a rich man. Thenceforward for almost thirty years, to his death in 1775, he was the chief of the Penn family and a figure of the first importance in the public affairs of Pennsylvania. Throughout the period following his return to England he was continually in correspondence with the Lieutenant-Governors and other officials, and with his legal and business representatives in Pennsylvania, and the mass of letters from and to him, in the collections now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is so extensive that it has been fully examined by but few persons.

Thomas Penn's letters bear the mark of an energetic, prudent, and capable man. His and the other Proprietary correspondence, Mr. W. R. Shepherd says,<sup>1</sup> after a fuller and more careful inspection than almost any one else has given, is creditable to the writers. "Our real cause for surprise," he thinks, "should be that in their voluminous correspondence with their officers in the Province, so few harsh and unkindly expressions appear."

The change in Thomas's financial condition made by the inheritance of John's half of the property was important. Down to that time, according to his own statement, in a letter of October 9, 1749, to Richard Peters,<sup>2</sup> he had spent,

<sup>1</sup> "Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," by William Robert Shepherd. New York, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Copy of letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania collections.



year by year, almost the whole of his income. "People imagine, because we are at the head of a large province," he says, "we must be rich; but I tell you that for fifteen years, from 1732 to 1747, I laid by [only] about £100 a year." He had been inclined to think, as is shown in a letter from Margaret Freame to their brother John Penn, in 1736, that he was doing in Pennsylvania the chief work for the united Proprietary interest, and should have corresponding compensation. He suggested, she wrote John, that he should be paid three thousand pounds for his expenses in managing the family affairs here,—two thousand pounds by John and one thousand pounds by Richard.<sup>1</sup>

While in Pennsylvania Thomas Penn engaged in some

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from this letter, dated Philadelphia, June 14, 1736:

"We [Margaret and Thomas Freame, no doubt] went up to Pennsbury, where we could not be long by ourselves; at last we got an opportunity to speak to our brother." He was "pretty warm" over a proposal of John's, "but on thinking it over became more mild." He would not, however, send a proposed power-of-attorney (for the sale of some property, apparently), "for you att home [John and Richard] that dont love any trouble will dispose of it for what you can get. . . . He much wonders at my brother Richard's declining to come over. . . . I heartily wish all your affairs were so well settled as the Family might enjoy life rather than suffer it."

The Freames, at this time, were remaining in Pennsylvania for the purpose of selling their lands, some of which appear to have been at Tulpehocken, in what is now Berks County. Thomas Freame writes to John Penn that there are plenty desiring to buy, but they want small tracts and have little ready money, while he wishes to sell in large blocks and for cash. He says, writing from Philadelphia, March 22, 1736/7, "I met with a very great Disappointment, for those Dutchmen that I wrote you were about a large part of my Land went up with me to see it. They approved of the Land and agreed w<sup>th</sup> me for a price, so that I began to think of seeing you this Summer, I having been informed that they had sixteen hundred pounds in Gold by them, but it proved otherwise, for they would pay but £150 this summer and the rest Six years hence. This would have done very well if I could afford to let my money lay at Interest, but that is not what I want, therefore I did nothing with them." Later, in September, 1736, he again writes to John that as soon as he is able to ride (he had been unwell) he is going to Tulpehocken "with some Palatines lately come in, to whom I have some expectation of disposing of half that tract."



commercial ventures. John Barclay—one of the sons of Robert Barclay, author of the famous Quaker book, the “Apology”—was a merchant in Dublin, Ireland, and to him Thomas consigned flaxseed and flour.<sup>1</sup>

After returning to England, Thomas Penn lived in London for a time. Letters in 1743 were addressed to him, “To the care of Mr. John Samuel, Merch’t, in Three Kings Court, Lombard street,” and in 1745 and 1746 “at Mr. Draper’s, Apothecary, in Charles Street, Convent Garden.” He was, however, much in the country with John, first at Feens, where John continued to live after returning from Pennsylvania in 1735,<sup>2</sup> and later at a place called Hurley, or Hurley Place, near Maidenhead, in Berks, to which John appears to have removed from Feens a year or more before his death. John’s health had not been good. There are frequent allusions in the letters to his illness, and Bishop Vickris, writing to Thomas from Bristol, in October, 1746 (near the time of John’s death), much regretted the removal from Feens to Hurley.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Barclay signs himself in his letters “thy sincere friend and affectionate kinsman,” but the relationship is not clear. It was John Barclay’s niece, Christian Forbes, who had married William Penn, Jr.’s, son, William Penn, 3d, in 1732, but this could hardly be regarded as creating kinship with Thomas.

<sup>2</sup> Feens was rented during John’s absence, with its furniture, etc., and “three fields” to a Walter Fisher for £32 2s. a year. The housekeeper at the place was named Hannah Roberts. John Penn, after his return to England, writes, December 2, 1735, to Thomas Penn, his steward or agent (not of the family apparently, but a Penn, perhaps of Bucks; there are several letters to and from him in the Historical Society’s collections), “at Walgrave, near Twyford, Berks,” thus: “I much want to know if the Gentleman is Returned to feen’s & when he will leave it, for I should Like to come down next Week if the house is Clear, want to know also if you have gott me a man for the Garden & horses, & if you hear anything of a Person for the house that can Shave and Write pretty well. I shall likewise want a maid servt. I wish you could gett some good small beer brewed soon to be fitt to drink at Xmass. if Dick Wilkins or Underwood has a good Sober Easy trotting horse, shall want one when I come down.”

<sup>3</sup> “I find you have got him into a more healthy and dry air, but I fear my Good Friend, tis too late in the day. Oh how I lament his



Thomas Penn had expected to return to Pennsylvania. In a letter to Richard Peters, at Philadelphia, March 13, 1744, giving him a message for the Indians, he says to tell them, "And, as for myself, that I fully expected to return before this time, but some affairs have hindered me; however, I hope to be in America some time the next year." And in a letter a few weeks later, May 9, he says, "I can't think of seeing Philadelphia until the latter end of summer twelvemonth."

Thomas Penn married, August 22, 1751, Lady Juliana Fermor, fourth daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Pomfret. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1751, reports the marriage:

"Aug. 22. Hon. Thos. Penn (one of the two proprietors of Pennsylvania) was married to Lady Juliana Fermor, youngest<sup>1</sup> daughter to the E. of Pomfret."

And the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 14, 1751, has the following paragraph:

"By Capt. Hinton [ship "Philadelphia," John Hinton, from London] there is advice that the Honourable Thomas Penn Esq; one of our Proprietaries, was married the 22nd of August last, to the Lady Juliana Fermor, youngest daughter of the Right Honourable the late<sup>2</sup> Earl of Pomfret."

In a letter to Richard Peters, September 29, 1751, Thomas Penn wrote,—

"As some of your letters are of a private nature, I shal now reply to such of them as I have not taken notice of in my letter of business, but first I shall tell you that for some time before I met with that unfortu-

ever putting a foot in that baneful place at Hurley, I greatly feared the Consequences and often Dissuaded him from it." A bill for repairs at "Hurley Great House," up to October 17, 1746, a few days before John's death, was paid by the executors of his estate, William Vigor, Joseph Freame, and Lascelles Metcalf.

<sup>1</sup> There is an error, apparently, in the statement that she was the youngest daughter; two others, according to the list in Burke, were younger than she.

<sup>2</sup> "Late" is an error; he was then living, and died two years after, in 1753.



nate, and what had like to have been fatal accident, I had determined on a change of life, and had settled all the necessary points and made visits to the lady, which I resumed on my return to Berkshire, and wee consummated our marriage the 22nd of last month. This necessarily engaged my mind as well as person til finished, that I could not sit down to write, but as my grand business is now finished, and I am happily settled with a companion possessed with those qualities that must render a reasonable man happy as well as of a Family remarkable for their affection to each other, and into which I have been received with marks of the greatest regard, I shall now sit down as a correspondent to answer all my friends' letters.

"... Wee are turning our thoughts toward Pennsylvania, and if I should be prevented from embarking the very next summer, if I live till the spring after, I make no doubt of being ready then."<sup>1</sup>

The "unfortunate" and nearly "fatal accident" alluded to above I have not found described in the Penn papers, though it is, I am told, referred to in some of them. It is said that Thomas and his brother Richard were riding in a coach out of London, and having pistols with them,—for fear of highwaymen, probably,—one of the weapons, in handling, was accidentally discharged, causing a peculiar and serious wound upon Thomas's person. Evidently this occurrence was a few months earlier than August, 1751.

Lady Juliana Fermor was born in 1729, and was therefore much younger—some twenty-seven years—than her husband, being, in fact, a woman in her youth at the time of her marriage. There are several portraits of her preserved,<sup>2</sup> and one of these, a small full-length, painted by Peter Van Dyck (a descendant, it is said, of the great Van Dyck) about the time of the marriage, represents her as a well-looking lady in her wedding-dress of white silk, made in a style which illustrates strikingly the fashion of the time, the skirt being spread out by hoops to enormous dimensions sidewise. She stands near the fireplace of a

<sup>1</sup> He never realized these expectations; he did not again come to Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Most of them in the possession of her descendant, the Earl of Ranfurly, at Dungannon Park, Ireland. Cf. article by W. M. Conway, PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII.



handsome room, presumed to be in her father's house in Albemarle Street, London.

This marriage was an event of high importance to Thomas Penn and to all of his family, most of whom, we may feel sure, had theretofore regarded him as a confirmed bachelor,—he was nearly fifty,—and had been not inconsiderate how his valuable estate as well as his present bounties would be ultimately bestowed. An agreement had been made in 1732 between the three brothers, John, Thomas, and Richard, “to devise their shares [of the Proprietary estate] to the eldest son in tail male, remainder to other sons in like manner,” and upon failure of these to other members of the family in succession; this agreement was confirmed by Thomas and Richard in 1750, and meantime John, in his will, 1746, had left his estate to Thomas for life, with remainder to his first son, “in tail male,” and then successively, in like manner, to the other sons. By this will of John, the will of Richard Penn, and the marriage agreement of Thomas, to be mentioned presently, the descent of the Proprietary estates was fixed.

The Fermors (Farmers, Farmars) were a family of greater social distinction, in the year 1751, than Thomas Penn. They accounted themselves as having had an ancestor among those Norman invaders of England who were enriched at Saxon expense in the Conqueror's time, and they had reached knighthood in 1586, baronetcy in 1641, and the peerage in 1692.

Their seat was at Easton Neston, in Northamptonshire, where Sir George Fermor (knighted by Elizabeth in 1586) had entertained James I., in 1603, so acceptably that his son, Hatton Fermor, was also made a knight by that charming and generous monarch.<sup>1</sup> In 1641, the family being then

<sup>1</sup> Robert Fermor (or in after-spelling Farmer and Farmar), a younger son of Sir George of Easton Neston, went to Ireland in the army of Elizabeth, received confiscated Irish estates in Cork and Tipperary, and was “slain” in that island in some of the fighting there. His grandson, Major Jasper Farmar, a neighbor of William Penn's at Shangarry, became a purchaser of land in Pennsylvania at the early settlement, and



staunchly royalist, Charles I. made a baronet of Sir William Fermor, and in 1692 his son Sir William, being then equally in favor with William III., was made a peer, with the title of Baron Lempster. Lord Lempster married three times, his third wife being Sophia, daughter of Thomas, Duke of Leeds, and one of his children by her was Thomas Penn's father-in-law, the second Baron Lempster, who was made by George I. Earl of Pomfret (Pontefract, in Yorkshire, pronounced Pomfret) in 1721. He married, 1720, Henrietta Louisa, daughter of John Lord Jeffreys, and had a large family,—Burke gives a list of eleven children. The eldest, George, succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father in 1753. Four died young. One daughter, Henrietta, married, 1747, John Conyers, Esq., of Copt House, Essex; Sophia married John Carteret, Earl Granville; Charlotte married William Finch, Esq., and died in 1813. These were older than Lady Juliana; the two younger, according to Burke's list, were Louisa, who married Sir Thomas Clayton, Bart., and Anne, who married, July 15, 1754, Thomas, first Viscount Cremorne, the husband, later, of Philadelphia Hannah Freame.<sup>1</sup>

The Earldom of Pomfret, it may be here mentioned, became extinct June 8, 1867, by the death of the fifth Earl, George William Richard (born December 31, 1824), who was unmarried. He was the great-grandson of Thomas, the first Earl, father of Lady Juliana Penn.<sup>2</sup>

coming over in the ship "Bristol Merchant," in 1685, died on the voyage. Major Farmar's son, Edward Farmar, was later a prominent citizen at Whitemarsh, near Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia Hannah, born at Philadelphia in 1740 (not 1746, as is twice by mistake stated in preceding pages of this essay), was married to Lord Cremorne, May 8, 1770, and had a son and a daughter who both died young.

<sup>2</sup> John Jay Smith, in his address ("Penn-Logan Correspondence," Vol. I.), cites some information as to this last Earl. Granville John Penn (Thomas Penn's grandson) had been his guardian. He left two sisters, one married to Sir Thomas George Hesketh, M. P., of Rufford Hall, Leicestershire, and the other to Colonel Thomas W. Ogilvy. Portions of his property descended to these sisters and to his cousin, Sir George William Denys, of Draycott Hall, Yorkshire.



The marriage with Lady Juliana was preceded by elaborate property arrangements. The settlement made upon her and the children whom she might have was drawn up with great care and a prodigious expenditure of legal phraseology. August 14, 1751, eight days before the marriage, the bridegroom expectant executed a "Lease for a year in order to the Settlement upon the marriage of Thomas Penn with Lady Juliana Farmor," and later the settlement was executed, quadripartite, Thomas Penn being of the first part; "the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Pomfret, Baron of Lempster, and Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath," of the second; Lady Juliana, of the third; and Messrs. Barclay<sup>1</sup> & Hyam, the Quaker merchants of London, of the fourth part. It can hardly be supposed that any one but the lawyers—and possibly Thomas Penn—ever read in full this latter extended document, much less followed intelligently all its repetitious details. The original, on eight skins of parchment, each twenty-six by thirty-four inches, is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Printed in the private volume prepared in 1870 by the late William Henry Rawle, American counsel for the family,<sup>2</sup> it covers sixty-four pages octavo, in solid array, without the relief of one paragraphic break.

The effect of this settlement was to leave Thomas Penn's property, including the Proprietary estate in Pennsylvania, to (himself) the settler's use for life, with remainder to his eldest son by Lady Juliana, "in tail male," with remainder then to their second son, then to the third and every other son successively, then to his first and other sons successively by any other wife, then to his brother Richard Penn, then to his nephew John Penn, 2d, eldest son of Richard, then to the first and every other son successively of John Penn, then to Richard, 2d, son of Richard (brother of John, 2d),

<sup>1</sup> This was David Barclay, another son of Robert of Ury, the "Apolo-gist," and brother to John of Dublin, already mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> "Articles, Wills, and Deeds creating the Entail of Pennsylvania and Three Lower Counties upon Delaware in the Penn Family." Philadelphia, 1870.



then to Richard Penn, 2d's, eldest son, then to Richard, 2d's, second son, then to Richard, 2d's, third and other sons successively,—all these being “in tail male.” Finally, all these failing,—which as a matter of fact they all did by the year 1869, something over a century after this extended entailment in the male line,—the property was to descend to the heirs of Thomas Penn “in tail general.” It is by virtue chiefly of this last clause in the settlement that the present and recent heirs of the Penn property in Pennsylvania, in the line of the Founder's second marriage, are the Stuarts of Bedfordshire (of whom we shall speak later), descendants of Thomas Penn's daughter, Sophia Margaretta.

Some idea of the presents bestowed by the bridegroom at his marriage may be suggested by the bill of James Cox, a London silversmith, which accompanied a letter, September 2, 1751.<sup>1</sup> The list of articles furnished by Mr. Cox includes a brilliant hoop ring, a gold watch chain, a “gold seal for Mr. Hockley,” “an onyx [word illegible] in gold, complete,” a “double coat engraved,” etc., all to the cost of £56 16s. 6d., while, as the letter explains, there was some other article of greater value preparing by artists of the highest skill.

A complimentary letter on his marriage, addressed him by Cossart de St. Aubin, agent in London for the Moravians (from 1746 to 1755), is preserved. It is addressed to Thomas Penn, at Hitcham, near Maidenhead, and proceeds:

“Permit me Sir to congratulate you on your happy marriage. I can assure you it has given me great joy and also to our good Mr. Spangenberg [Moravian bishop], who joynes with me in warmest wish for your happiness. . . . May you live long and happy, to the Comfort of all that are dear to you. I flatter myself our people [the Moravians] are included in the number, and that they desire nothing more but to enjoy your protection, and that of your Descendants to the remotest ages.

“(P.S.) Mr. Spangenberg and Company set out for America the end of the week. He should have been exceeding glad to wait on you. He

<sup>1</sup> The letter apologizes for delay in waiting on T. P., as the writer had been suddenly called to attend “Mr. Whitefield,” on account of his “sudden and unexpected departure,” and could not fail to respond without disobliging him.



goes with Capt. Bryant, who falls down the river today or Monday, bound for N. York."

What changes in his religious connections took place in consequence of Thomas Penn's marriage, and the social position which he now assumed, are not very clearly defined. He had hardly considered himself one of the Friends for a long time, and yet he had not very definitely abandoned association with them.<sup>1</sup> In 1743, when Governor Thomas was contending with the Pennsylvania Assembly, and war with France was impending, Thomas Penn wrote him, "I felt obliged to solicit the ministry against the Quakers, or at least I stated that I did not hold their opinions concerning defence. I no longer continue the little distinction of dress."<sup>2</sup> After his marriage he went regularly to church, but down to 1771 certainly,<sup>3</sup> and probably all his life, he never took the sacrament. A deposition made in 1758 showed that he considered himself a member of the Established Church from about that time. His son John, born 1760, was baptized at the church of St. Martin's in the Fields. In a letter to Governor James Hamilton, 1760, alluding to the visit to England of William Logan (son of James Logan), Thomas said, "You may be assured I shall treat him with regard, and shew him I have no disregard to those of his profession [the Friends], except on their levelling republican System of Government so much adopted by them."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His brother John, as already stated, was buried in the old ground of the Friends, at Jordans, with his father and mother. In 1736 Margaret (Freame), writing from Philadelphia to John, says, "Your appearance among Friends was, I hear taken very kindly, and your behaviour just like yourself." John not only appeared among the Friends, however, about that time, but elsewhere as well, for in the same letter Margaret says, "I am glad to find you had so kind a reception at Court, and if you were to go often now the ice is broken I believe it would be of sarvis."

<sup>2</sup> "Letter-Book of Thomas Penn," Vol. II., in Historical Society of Pennsylvania collections.

<sup>3</sup> See statement made for him, May, 1771, *post*.

<sup>4</sup> He might have done well, when in this frame of mind concerning systems of government, to read some of his father's writings on the subject, of the period 1680 to 1690.



Before his marriage Thomas Penn had settled in a town house. Letters in 1747, and perhaps earlier, were addressed to him "at his house in the New Street, Spring Gardens, near Charing Cross." This continued to be his city residence until his death. In 1750 letters were addressed to him "at Hitcham, near Maidenhead Bridge, Bucks." Nine years after his marriage (1760) he acquired the handsome and valuable estate of Stoke Poges, in Bucks, where for over eighty years the family home remained, and where the name of Penn, through himself, his sons, and grandchildren, acquired new and honorable distinction. October 18, 1760, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, at Philadelphia, he wrote,—

"You will be pleased to hear the others [children] with their mother, [are] well at Stoke, to which we are removed, I having bought it: it is a very large old house, that we passed when I went with you to see the Duke of Marlborough's, and was then my Lady Cobham's."

Stoke Poges is most famous as having the church-yard which Gray's immortal "Elegy" describes; in this yard the poet's remains are buried. The residence, Stoke, belonged to Sir Edward Coke in Queen Elizabeth's time, and here he entertained that difficult female but vigorous monarch, his royal mistress, in 1601. Later it became the property of Anne, Viscountess Cobham, and at her death it was sold to Thomas Penn. The old manor-house furnished the place and, in part, the subject for Gray's humorous poem, "The Long Story," whose descriptions may interest us in this connection if not in any other.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The estate having been seized by the Crown for a debt, James I. granted the manor in fee to the celebrated lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who in 1601 (being then Attorney-General) entertained Queen Elizabeth here very sumptuously. Upon the death of Sir E. Coke, at Stoke Poges, in 1634, the manor came to his son-in-law, Baron Villiers of Stoke Poges and Viscount Purbeck. Stoke House was in 1647, for a short time, the residence of King Charles I., when he was a prisoner in the power of the army. Lord Purbeck died in 1656, and about 1720 the manor was sold by his heirs to the family of Gayer. In 1724 it was purchased by Edward Halsey, Esq., whose daughter and heir married



At Stoke Thomas Penn, with his family, continued to live, except when in the city, and there he is buried. The alterations and new erections made by his son John have materially changed the appearance of the place since 1775; but then, as now, it was a costly and elegant residence.

The children of Thomas Penn and Lady Juliana seem to have been eight in number, of whom four died in infancy or youth, while four grew up, and three of these married. The first child was named William. He was born June 21, 1752, and died February 14, 1753. He was buried at Penn, in Bucks. A daughter, Juliana, was born May 19, 1753, and lived to grow up and marry. A second son, Thomas, was born July 17, 1754, but died September 5, 1757, and was buried at Penn. Twin children, William and Louisa Hannah, were born July 22, 1756, and both died young, the former April 24, 1760, and the latter June 10, 1766. Both are buried at Penn.

In the parish church at Penn, under the northeast corner of the nave, there is a large vault, made in the last century, in which there are six small coffins. Four of these contain the remains of the children who are named above as dying young,—William, Thomas, William, and Louisa Hannah,—one contains those of a son of Richard Penn, and the other, simply marked "P," is not identified.

The grief of the parents at the loss of all but one of their first five children is expressed in letters from Thomas Penn. The death of William, the third son, who lived to be nearly four years old, especially affected him. In a letter to Richard Peters, at Philadelphia, March 8, 1760, he had mentioned the birth of "a fine boy" (John) "this day fortnight," and quickly following, in other letters, appear the following paragraphs :

Sir R. Temple, afterwards Lord Cobham. This lady (then a widow) died here in 1760, when this estate was conveyed to the son of William Penn, Esq., founder of Pennsylvania. In 1848 the manor was purchased from the Penn family by the Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, who was created Baron Taunton in 1859."—*Sheahan's History of Bucks.* London, 1862.



To Governor Hamilton, April 10, 1760: "I am in a very anxious state. My son William was attacked with a slow fever about two months ago; at first it was thought intermitting, but has since been almost always upon him, and affected his Breathing, so that his situation is very doubtful."

To Richard Peters, April 11: "[He] has slow fever, and some appearance of knots and obstructions in his flesh, which are said to be the cause of it. . . . His mother having taken him to Marybon, for the benefit of the Air, and not to be without the reach of advice, makes my journeys to and from that place several times in the day absolutely necessary."

Another letter to Governor Hamilton, May 10, announces the death of the little boy on the 24th of April, and adds, "[it is] an irreparable loss to me, as I had, from the opinion of my friends, as well as from what I myself observed in the Child, great reason to believe that both his Capacity and Disposition were such as would have rendered him a valuable and useful man." Writing to Peters the same day, he said the boy was a good scholar and had a "disposition sweet, though very lively." "My hopes now," he added, "are on a child not three months old, who very providentially came before this dreadful time, or his Mother might have suffered greatly under it." And writing also to Richard Hockley the same day, he said the death "leaves my only hope [as to a son] in one less than three months old, a very slight dependence, and yet many such have succeeded."

This child (John) lived to grow up and to attain ripe years. Two other children—Granville, born in December, 1761, and Sophia, born in December, 1764—also grew up and died at an advanced age.

Thomas Penn was in declining health for some years preceding his death. In December, 1769, his brother Richard writes to him at "Westgate Buildings, Bath," saying he hears he is in better health than he had been. In May Thomas was again at Bath, returning to Stoke Park June 9. On July 4 Richard, writing to him, refers to "the Doctor's orders for you to proceed immediately to Tunbridge Wells." To that place Thomas went, and a little later (August) tried the coast air at Margate.



A statement filed among the Penn papers, under date of May 17, 1771, a memorandum, apparently, submitted for a legal opinion, presents a number of interesting biographical data at this point. Thomas Penn, it seems, had been nominated by the Lord Mayor of London "to be a Sheriff of the City of London and County of Middlesex." The statement thereupon says,—

"Mr. Penn was 40 years ago admitted a freeman of the City of London, and has twice voted for a Member [of Parliament], once for Sir John Barnard, and lately for Mr. Trecothick. Mr. Penn has no property whatever within the City of London, and never lived within the city, is near, if not quite 70 years old, has had a stroke of the Palsy, and cannot walk without help. Mr. Penn was originally bred a Quaker. Since his marriage, which is many years ago, he has gone to church regularly, but he has never received the Sacrament. However, having gone regularly to church, I don't think he can be looked upon as a Protestant Dissenter. Mr. Penn desires to be advised what he can do to prevent serving this disagreeable office, or being fined for not serving the same."

The opinion of "Ja: Eyre, Lincoln's Inn Fields,"—evidently the counsel consulted,—is placed upon the same sheet as the foregoing. His opinion is that nothing can be done at present. Mr. Penn will have to await the election,—he may not be elected; then, if seventy years old or over, he might resist a suit for the fine on the ground that he is not physically a "fit and able person," as required by the law.<sup>1</sup>

By the opening of 1775 Thomas Penn's strength was evidently far spent. His wife was now conducting the Pennsylvania correspondence. She writes from Stoke to Governor John Penn, January 7 of that year, "Mr. Penn is going to London for the winter." Then follow, in successive letters, same to the same, the following passages:

<sup>1</sup> "Pricking" influential persons for high sheriff appears to have been a device of politics in that day. The Duke of Newcastle, in his vast electioneering schemes, practised it, obtaining the favor of the person who desired to escape the office by securing for him the King's "gracious permission" to be excused. *Cf.* "English Historical Review," Vol. XII. p. 455.



Stoke, January 10: "Mr. Penn has no particular complaint, but I think the winter does not agree with him, and that he is weaker, though he goes out every day."

London, February 21: "I am sure that he rather loses than gains strength. As I know your affection for him, I cannot write without giving you some account of his health."

London, March 1: "I think Mr. Penn is visibly worse the last two months, tho' he still looks well at times, and goes out in the Coach as usual."

Finally there comes this announcement,—

"I know the news I have to communicate will affect you, But the consideration that poor Dr Mr. Penn had long since been no Comfort to himself will I hope make the hearing it is at an end less painful to you. It pleased God to release him yesterday, March 21, in the evening. . . .

"SPRING GABDENS, March 22."

He was taken to the country for burial. In the church at Stoke Poges is a tablet with the following inscription:

In a Vault  
In this Church are  
deposited the Remains of  
Thomas Penn,  
of Stoke Park in this Parish  
(Son of William Penn  
Founder of Pennsylvania),  
Born 1701. Married 1751. Died 1775.  
And of his wife the R<sup>t</sup> Hon. Lady Juliana Penn,  
Born 1729. Married 1751. Died 1801.  
Also the remains of their Sons  
John Penn of Stoke Park. Born 1760. Died 1834.  
And Granville Penn of Stoke Park.  
Born 1761. Married 1791. Died 1844.  
Also Isabella, wife of the above Granville Penn,  
eldest daughter of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gordon Forbes, Col. 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment.  
Born 1771. Married 1791. Died 1847.  
And of their Sons  
Granville John, late of Stoke Park. Born 1802. Died 1867.  
Thomas Gordon, in Holy Orders. Born 1803. Died 1869.  
William, Born 1811. Died 1843.  
Also their Daughters  
Sophia, 1<sup>st</sup> wife of F. M. Sir W<sup>m</sup> Gomm G.C.B. Col. Coldstream Guards.



The character of Thomas Penn has perhaps been sufficiently suggested. It is not easy to conclude that, on the whole, he was other than a just man, according to his light. He was undoubtedly kind and considerate to many different members of his family who desired his assistance or favor. He was guardian for William Penn, 3d's, son, Springett, the last male Penn in the elder line; he interested himself energetically to save some of her estate to the widow of his spendthrift cousin, Walter Clement; he educated and assisted his nephew John, the Governor; and from the day when we found him a lad in London, doing errands for his mother at Ruscombe, he certainly was honestly serviceable to many persons. Much severity has been bestowed upon him; these approaches to praise are no more than his due.

Thomas Penn's portrait, in the possession of the Earl of Ranfurly, painted at the time of his marriage (a copy of which was added, March, 1896, to the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society), is "a small full-length of a perfectly dressed and somewhat precise gentleman, in the costume of the middle of the eighteenth century. He wears an embroidered grayish lilac silk coat and breeches, and a long white satin waistcoat. He stands at the open door of a wainscoted room, with uncarpeted wooden floor. Through the doorway an antechamber can be seen, with a window opening upon a pleasant country view."<sup>1</sup>

A painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1764, shows the four children of Thomas and Lady Juliana Penn, then living: Juliana, a girl of eleven; Louisa Hannah, eight; John, four; and Granville, three. It is a fine example of Sir Joshua's work; a criticism which might be suggested is that the two girls appear too mature for their years. This painting was in possession of Colonel Stuart, at Tempsford Hall, Beds, in 1884. A "splendid mezzotint," made by Charles Turner in 1819, dedicated to John Penn (one of those in the picture), and probably executed by his order,

<sup>1</sup> Article by W. M. Conway, *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. VIII. p. 357. See it also for details as to other portraits of Thomas Penn.



is described by Mr. Conway as then (1884) in the possession of the Earl of Ranfurly.

SUMMARY: CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND LADY JULIANA PENN.

1. William, born June 21, 1752; died February 14, 1753; buried in the vault at the parish church at Penn, in Bucks.

2. Juliana, born May 19, 1753. She married, May 23, 1771, William Baker, Esq., of Bayfordbury, Herts, and died April 23, 1772, and was buried at Stoke Poges. She left one child, a daughter, Juliana (surname *Baker*), who married, January 18, 1803, John Fawset Herbert Rawlins, Esq., and died *s. p.*, September 11, 1849, at Gunters Grove, Stoke Courcy, Somerset.

3. Thomas, born (*Gentleman's Magazine*) July 17, 1754; died (plate on coffin at Penn) September 5, 1757. The coffin-plate says his age was "2 years and 1 month," and apparently there is an error here; probably the figure 2 should be 3.

4. William, born July 22, 1756, and died April 24, 1760; buried at Penn. Details concerning him, in letters of his father, have been given.

5. Louisa Hannah (twin with William), born July 22, 1756; died June 10, 1766; buried at Penn.

6. John, born February 23, 1760; baptized March 21, 1760, at the church of St. Martin's in the Fields; died unmarried June 21, 1834. Details will be given of him later.

7. Granville, born at the city residence, New Street, Spring Gardens, December 9, 1761; married, June 24, 1791, Isabella Forbes; died September 28, 1844, leaving issue. See later.

8. Sophia Margaretta, born December 25 (? 21), 1764; married Archbishop William Stuart; died April 29, 1847; buried at Luton, Beds, leaving issue. See later.

(To be continued.)



## THE "FRIENDLY INSTITUTION" OF BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.<sup>1</sup>

BY AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

In 1796, when Jenner was making his first vaccinations, and dandies were introducing the chimney-pot hat, the philanthropists of a small town in New Jersey were founding one of the earliest charitable organizations in the country. Burlington has seen its days of peace and plenty and its days of glory, even, when the Assembly met there, and the governor and council came on from Amboy with all the pomp then attending the progress of the king's representative through his loyal colonies. It was in the time of the transition from these colonial glories to the monotony of later days that the "Friendly Institution" was founded.

One hundred years ago Burlington still retained some of its earlier interesting features. The fine shade-trees still line its streets; but its old colonial mansions, its box-lined garden walks, its tiny and well-patronized shops, its fire-buckets and its market-baskets, its stage-coach and the doctor's gig,—all are gone.

A shady, unpaved highway, then, as now, called High Street, with two "general stores" interrupted the rows of substantial houses that extended on each side to the river. Many of these houses were adorned by a wide porch or "stoop" before the door, the whole protected by a pent-house extending across the entire front between the first and second stories. Governor Bloomfield's house stood almost in the suburbs, beyond it being only the two old English-brick houses, in one of which Fenimore Cooper was born. The little old library stood near by in an alley

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from an address delivered December 14, 1896, on the centennial of its foundation.



which now runs in to Mr. Birch's factory; the only survival is in its name,—Library Street. Daniel Smith, Jr., one of the founders of the "Friendly Institution," lived in the large mansion built by his father at the corner of High and Broad Streets, where children now wonder at the mysterious letters

<sup>S</sup>  
DM with the date 1733 (a badly restored 1703, by the by), in the gable opposite the station. Nathaniel Coleman, in whose house our interest to-day centres, lived across Smith's Alley, opposite his friend and relative by marriage, Robert Thomas, the second treasurer, whose low, quaint house made way in 1880 for the present Saving Fund building. Between the houses of Daniel Smith, Jr., and Robert Thomas stood the present new meeting-house, then open to the street, with several old frame houses opposite. Farther down, on the corner of Union Street, and on the east side, where 1731 in the gable proclaims its age, stood William Allinson's gambrel-roofed house, where he and his five sisters lived; and the painters were putting the finishing touches to the new market-house, just built in the middle of Union Street, fronting High, between William Allinson's house and the inn opposite named for Washington.

The gardens below Union Street were some of them famous for their products, and Smiths and Morrisises and Hoskineses lived in the houses extending to the river; while on the corner of Pearl and High Streets stood the little old English-brick house, originally the office of Governor Samuel Jennings, and then of Benjamin Franklin for the printing of Continental currency—at the date of which we speak, the dwelling-house of one Hugh Huddy; now, unfortunately, pulled down.

St. Mary's Church—the old church, of course—stood as it stands, we rejoice to think, to-day, though with more space about its ample and picturesque graveyard. Three streets ran east and west and four ran north and south; while Green Bank was a sloping lawn, where stood a few old colonial mansions, surrounded by magnificent trees, and where a beauty and refinement and dignity were possible,



uninvaded by sound of screeching saw-mill or puffing ferry-boat.

Life moved slowly in 1796, and times were hard. The Revolutionary war had recently shaken the town's foundations, and pocket-books were snapped together and sighs were drawn over the state of things in a manner to win sympathy from a financier of to-day. Property had seriously shrunk, but those who chiefly suffered were the people without property,—the respectable poor,—who could obtain the necessities of life in a time of peace, but to whom war meant loss of employment and consequent beggary. The wealthier class of patriotic sympathizers had given much to the cause, and those whose conscientious scruples would not permit them to contribute goods or money had been obliged to stand aside while large quantities of their possessions were confiscated by the government, nearly every Quaker family in town having thus suffered. Prices in 1779-80 for all the necessities of life had been most extravagant; and ten years later, although much improved, they still ruled high, along with the unpaid debt of the war. Elias Boudinot wrote at the former period that in Philadelphia "beef was 15 s., lb., butter 30 s., lb., \$8.00 was the cost of an earthen quart mug, and the gauze for fashionable ladies' caps cost \$3.00 per yard, yet I never saw so much gaiety in dress in this city before. Common dress caps of the ladies take  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards of gauze! Mutton was 10 s., lb., a pair of women's shoes \$25.00 and \$30.00. Boots \$75.00." Mr. Boudinot adds, "I was obliged to hire a clerk the other day, and I gave him eight dollars per day, and he wrote but about seven hours in the day, and yet he grumbled and wanted ten." But the war was now at an end. Washington had yet three years to live before his death on the anniversary of the "Friendly Institution's" birth; and patriotic Burlington set itself to right the damage done.

On the evening of Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1796, a number of "select Friends," to quote the earliest minute, met to organize what proved to be one of the first charitable institutions in the State. The "New Jersey



Association for helping the Indians" had drawn up a constitution, with a membership limited to the Society of Friends, in 1757, and possibly one or two similar associations may have existed in the northern part of the State. A "Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery" was formed at Trenton in 1786. Its constitution was altered and adopted at Burlington, Joseph Bloomfield, president, in 1793, and the last form of this document was printed and is still accessible.<sup>1</sup> We must not forget that a large slave population had made the work of New Jersey philanthropists even more necessary than if this class had not existed. In 1800 there were twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two slaves in New Jersey.<sup>2</sup> The State had the largest slave population in the United States, north of Maryland, except New York; a saving clause, however, being the fact that Burlington, Gloucester, and Salem Counties,<sup>3</sup> containing twenty-three per cent. of the total State population, comprised less than three per cent. of slave population. As these negroes, owing to the anti-slavery efforts of such people as the Boudinots, Bloomfields, and the Quakers, were liberated, these societies had plenty to do in caring for them.

The "Newark Female Charitable Society" is but seven years the junior of the "Friendly Institution," having been founded by some charitably disposed ladies, in the parlor of Elisha Boudinot's hospitable mansion at Newark, in January, 1803. The home of Elias Boudinot, Elisha's distinguished elder brother, was known to modern Burlington as the "Bradford Mansion," until within a few years it has fallen from grace and gracefulness. Eye-witnesses have told us of the state-coach of Mrs. Bradford, the last to drive in old-fashioned splendor through Burlington, with its two footmen behind in silver lace and powder. Mr. Boudinot died in 1821, and his daughter for many years preserved the

<sup>1</sup> New Jersey Historical Society pamphlets, Vol. VI. Quoted by H. S. Cooley, "A Study of Slavery in New Jersey." Johns Hopkins Historical Series.

<sup>2</sup> United States Census Reports for 1800.

<sup>3</sup> The three great Quaker counties of New Jersey.



formalities that had been observed by the first President of Congress. Both there and in Governor Bloomfield's large house the "Friendly Institution" held many meetings; and a friend has told me of the awe with which, when a child, she peered through the high fence at the dignified ladies, in high head-dress and flowing sleeves, who passed along the box-lined garden walks of those days.

There were present upon the occasion of which we speak ten women and four men, besides their host and hostess, the Quaker silversmith Nathaniel Coleman and his wife. The large brick house in which they lived has now become a drug-store. All of the company were Friends. There were Elizabeth Coleman; Daniel Smith, Jr., and Hannah his wife; Martha Barker; Mercy Wetherill, wife of Joseph; and Theodosia Craig, wife of Andrew, who was a wealthy woman at the time of her removal from Burlington, in 1807, and who lived where now stands Mr. Dubell's establishment. She owned much of the land where is now East Union Street, and left provision in her will for the purchase of books for use in the public schools, or, failing that, for blankets for the poor. There were also Amy Rogers, wife of Samuel, who was a "Public Friend;" Mary Newbold; Rachel Hoskins, daughter of John; Mary D. Smith, who remained a member for thirty years; Sarah Smith, wife of Solomon; and Margaret Smith, who lived on High Street, where now stands Mr. Shaw's store. The three other favored men in addition to Daniel Smith, Jr., just named, were William Allinson, Robert Smith, Jr., and John Griscom.<sup>1</sup> The latter was the young teacher in the brand-new

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Smith, Jr. (fourth of the name), was the son of the third Daniel, of Burlington, who always signed himself "Jr." also. The mother of Daniel fourth was Sarah, daughter of Joshua Rapier (or Raper), son of Hon. Thomas Rapier, member of the New Jersey Assembly.

William Allinson was the son of Samuel Allinson (author of "Fragmentary History of New Jersey Indians," etc.), whose wife Elizabeth was a sister of Robert Smith, Jr. Their father, Hon. Robert Smith, was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1737-1769, and Recorder of the city of Burlington. He died in 1781.



school-house at the corner of York and Penn Streets, the centennial of whose opening passed unobserved in 1894.

We know the house exactly as it stood in that day, and can picture the candles in the bright silver sconces that added their soft light to the wood fire upon the hearth,—the candlesticks wrought by the host, the candles dipped by the hostess. The men are in large skirt coats and small clothes, with hats wider but a degree less fiercely cocked than those of the "world's people;" for although some of them do not even know it, the Quakers have followed the fashions in spite of themselves, and the Quaker of the Revolution and the period immediately following is a far different figure from the Quaker of to-day, and far more picturesque. The snuff-boxes, long canes, and silver shoe-buckles that attended the early meetings of the "Friendly Institution" still exist. The women wore gowns of plain colors, with a tendency in the less severely plain to higher stays, a larger circumference in the skirt, and a more jaunty touch to the cap, copied from their English cousins, and perched at a high angle on the top of the head, with a decidedly perky effect when seen from behind. The gowns were full and straight and cleared the ground well; were cut low in the neck and worn with a kerchief of fine muslin or lawn, with sleeves extending only to the elbow, there being joined by silk gauntlets or mitts for protection to the arm. The pointed waist descended upon the petticoat, which was of quilted silk, satin, or wool, and over which the gown opened for its better display. The sister of one of the early members was in England about this time, and wrote that people were giving up the green and blue silk

Dr. Griscom, the well-known educator, founded our present public school system, and was the first man in this country to give popular lectures in chemistry. Fitz-Greene Halleck, in "Fanny," thus refers to him:

"It remains

To bless the hour the Corporation took it  
Into their heads to give the rich in brains  
The worn-out mansion of the poor in pocket,  
Once 'the old almshouse,' now a school of wisdom,  
Sacred to Scudder's shells and Dr. Griscom."

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and expansion. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress.

The history of the United States is a history of the struggle for the rights of these ten principles. It is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles, and it is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles. It is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles, and it is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles. It is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles, and it is a history of the struggle for the rights of these principles.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES  
 BY  
 JOHN P. HARRIS  
 VOL. I  
 NEW YORK  
 1887

aprons that had been so much worn, and that the fashionable were adopting white; also that the skimming-dish hat prevailed! On this particular night they probably wore their calashes, since the occasion was informal. We know they were discreet and dignified, though some of them were young.

The hour was the early one of seven, and the knocking of snow from shoes and warming of hands and tapping of snuff-boxes and much theeing and thouing were soon followed by the suggestion that "we get to business," and to John Griscom, the school-master, naturally fell the office of temporary clerk. The fifteen—to quote now from the first minute—took into consideration "the expediency of forming a society for the relief and assistance of poor and needy persons within this city and neighborhood, which after deliberating thereon, was unanimously agreed upon and they accordingly have associated themselves under the denomination of the 'Friendly Institution.' An essay of Rules and Regulations for the government of the Society being previously prepared, was produced and read, the general purport whereof was approved of, but some amendments and additions being suggested as necessary to be made, the following persons are appointed to take the said Rules and Regulations into consideration and produce the same with the alterations proposed, together with such other matters as may appear to them proper, at the next meeting of the Society; to wit: Margaret Smith, Mary Newbold, Elizabeth Coleman, Mary Smith, Theodosia Craig, William Allinson and Robert Smith, Jr.

"Adjourned to meet at the house of Robert Smith, Jr., next Seventh Day Evening at six o'clock."

This second meeting was the first, but far from the last, occasion when the "Friendly Institution" went out to tea. After proceeding to business, the revised constitution was read and adopted, and John Griscom requested to transcribe said instrument in a suitable book to be procured for the purpose. They then elected for their first officers: William Allinson, Treasurer; Theodosia Craig, Steward;







There have been in the history of this institution but three treasurers, the first, William Allinson, serving in that capacity for forty-four years. Upon his resignation in 1841, the books show the following assets of the "Friendly Institution," viz.:

Bond and warrant, Bishop Doane, \$600.00 to F. I. (dated Twelfth month 14, 1838) . . . . .	\$600.00
Two certificates of Loan B. Aqueduct Co., \$100.00 . . . . .	200.00
Ten shares of stock in do., \$20.00 each . . . . .	200.00
Eight shares of stock in do., \$20.00 each . . . . .	160.00
Balance in cash . . . . .	79.00
	<u>\$1239.00</u>

Thirty-eight years later, the second treasurer, Robert Thomas, upon his death in January, 1879, left to the care of his successor a largely increased property, as will be seen by the following inventory:

Bond and mortgage, A. Perkins, Beverly . . . . .	\$600.00	\$600.00	\$600.00
One certificate Lehigh Navigation Loan . . . . .	1000.00	880.00	940.00
One certificate Lehigh Navigation Loan . . . . .	500.00	460.75	470.00
One certificate Lehigh stock, 8 shares . . . . .	400.00	431.25	125.00
One certificate C. & A. R. R. bond, '83 . . . . .	1000.00	860.00	1060.00
One certificate C. & A. R. R. 1st mtg., '89 . . . . .	100.00	100.00	110.00
One certificate C. & A. R. R. stock, 9 shares . . . . .	900.00	1185.75	1228.50
One Mechanics' Nat. Bank stock, 8 shares . . . . .	400.00	200.00	480.00
One U. S. registered bond, 4 per cent. . . . .	500.00	496.25	496.25
	<u>\$5400.00</u>	<u>\$5214.00</u>	<u>\$5509.75</u>

The present faithful and appreciated treasurer is Rowland J. Dutton, whose services have now lasted for seventeen years. His report is an evidence of the care with which the funds have been invested and of the growing influence of the Society in this community. The investments now amount at their par value to \$8950, and at their market value to \$9780.

The first donation to the new institution occurred Tenth month 7, 1797, when the following minute states that a "person having a sum of money in his hands which is a legacy to be applied in the tuition of poor black children—



at his request this meeting agrees to take the charge of finding worthy objects of said charity. The Committee of Distribution is requested to use the necessary care and report to next meeting."

This is the first of many generous donations, subscriptions, and legacies placed in the hands of this Society, which has for so long been a faithful almoner.

The average monthly expenditure for a long time by the early Committees of Distribution was from twelve to twenty shillings; but their work was not to be represented by any equivalent in pounds or dollars. The Society's labors included the collection and disposal of clothing partly worn and the making up of new (at certain afternoon meetings held for the purpose), the securing of work for the unemployed, the disposal of children at school or elsewhere, besides the distribution of various sums of money, large and small.

The original committee of five, including one man, was soon found unnecessarily large, and since 1800 two women have been appointed monthly, with power to act, the one man eventually disappearing in silence after 1801. The store-room was kept liberally supplied, as was necessary in the days of our grandmothers, when what one wanted had to be made from the beginning or gone without. Early committees bought the flax in bulk, which was eventually disposed for loan in the store-room as sheets. This meant the care of the raw material through its entire career. During the war times of 1812, flax cost one shilling and three pence the pound. A minute dated First month 7, 1828, reads: "The committee appointed in the 1st mo. last, for that purpose, purchased 100 weight of flax, @ 9c. = \$9.00. The whole expense, including hatcheling, spinning, cleaning the thread and weaving 90 yds. sheeting at 12½c. and making, \$42.28½." This record is of value, as showing the cost of such items compared with to-day. Several small spinning-wheels were kept for loan to those who could spin and who desired the employment, and a great deal of spinning was given out in the early quarter of this century.



Bedding and blankets were loaned in cold weather, and an easy chair was left the Society in 1805 by Mary Cox. Cupping and leeching were in the province of the committee; and in Twelfth month, 1801, Milcah Martha Moore made a donation of some "very valuable medicines," many of them, no doubt, home-made, "which Doctor Nathaniel W. Cole agrees to dispense." Dr. Cole was early made a member of the Society, and signed its constitution in 1802; and the physicians of the town for many years occupied a semi-official position on the board.

The membership in 1798, Eleventh month 8, was enlarged from twelve women and four men to eighteen women and four men, and so continued until Sixth month 3, 1805, when it was again increased to twenty-four women; nothing whatever said this time about the men! In 1870, Twelfth month 5, the limit of membership was again increased from twenty-four to thirty, which is the present number. Seven men, besides the three treasurers, have been active members, and have signed the constitution.

The last meeting in the eighteenth century saw a fine imposed of " $\frac{1}{8}$  of a dollar" for each absence from meetings, in addition to the monthly due of the same sum; and thirteen cents remains the inconvenient sum to pay, as was shown by Caroline Watson, in 1838, when the careful secretary reports that she paid two and one-half cents over,—i.e., fifteen cents! The thirteen cents has now become a sufficiently historic sum to remain unaltered for a century longer. In the early days of the civil war it is noted that members paid for several meetings in advance when they had the cash, "on account of the scarcity of silver."

The century closed with a good resolution, dated Eighth month, 4, 1800:

"To avoid the inconvenience arising from private conversation during the deliberations of the company—

"*Resolved*, That in future, no members be admitted to enter into private conversation with one another, either on subjects relating to the concerns of the Institution or any other, until after the minute of adjournment is read."



Eighth month 3, 1818, a gift of twenty dollars is reported from "two benevolent strangers to the southward," probably Philadelphia. Many people had their summer residences in Burlington at this time, and so late as 1850 there are annual subscribers on the list "whose half-yearly residence is Burlington."

On Fifth month 7, 1827, a note in the minute-book records a resignation as follows: "Mary D. Smith's health not permitting her performance of the services of this Society, she requests a releasement from membership, which request we accede to with regret, as she has been not only a very useful member, but is the last surviving original female member of this Institution."

In 1838 a mortgage bond for six hundred dollars was assigned to Bishop Doane for the Society, having been made upon property belonging to Charles Fletcher, who had removed. "The Treasurer is ordered to affix to it the seal of the late (and now disbanded) Rancocas Toll Bridge Company, which (being offered to us for the purpose) we now adopt for this occasion as our common seal."

Afterwards—in 1880—it became necessary, upon the acceptance of a legacy, to "adopt a red wafer," and this exigency occasioned the evolution of the present seal, although the "Friendly Institution" had become an incorporated body in 1837, that it might be authorized to receive legacies and bequests.

In Ninth month, 1838, the committee reported no case of suffering or want known to them, although they had inquired of Dr. Cole, and their only expenditure was for medicine,—twenty-five cents. This is a fine record in a town of nearly nineteen hundred population. There were three hundred houses in Burlington in 1834.

The "Friendly Institution" has come closely in touch with the tragedy and occasionally with the comedy of human life. The gratitude felt and expressed by some of the poor folk has gone far to atone for unpleasant experiences with the inevitable cases of fraud that will sometimes force themselves forward. Here is a funny but perfectly sincere



letter sent in 1881 to a member of the Distributing Committee:

"MRS. —, MADHAM:

"I have maid for thee a Tidy that my heart desires, such as should never fade, but prove sweet emblems of my purest love, the standard of my deepest fondness and *Truth*, such as I would have thee wear ever nearest thy heart in remembrance of me: nor shouldst thou e'er lament my faith untrue. If you please, if any body should see this Tidy, tell them that an old English woman maid it, and I have such poor eyesight, and my age is between sixty and seventy. I remain with my duty to you,

"Madham,

"MRS. M. L. ASHTON."

It would be possible, but unpleasant, to wear a tidy next one's heart; but it is something to be asked to do so!

The "Friendly Institution" has in a rare degree the confidence of the people, both high and low, the former of whom make it their almoner. It comes in direct contact with those members of the community who, as individuals, count for so little, and who as a class are making themselves felt as a factor that must be counted upon in our American life, whether we will or not. Altruism of this sort is of the worthiest type; and the good that has been accomplished by unseen hands and in quiet ways through one hundred years of honorable history is sure to tell on those who come after, donor and beneficiary alike.

In these latter days we are losing much of our feeling of personal responsibility towards our poor. The "Friendly Institution," however, still preserves the personal element in its administration, and much of its vitality and energy are due to the true spirit of philanthropy among its devoted members. It has lived to distribute the funds of two moribund charitable organizations that have made it their legatee,—i.e., the "Soup-House Committee," Rowland Jones, treasurer, who in 1844 turned over seventy dollars to the "Friendly Institution," and the "Union Relief Committee," which in 1866 handed over forty-five dollars and twenty-seven cents for distribution.



Although organized by Friends, the Society became most wisely undenominational at its second meeting, when Mary, the wife of Governor Bloomfield, was unanimously elected to membership, and it has remained undenominational ever since; while outside St. Mary's walls lie many of the early members whose activity made this Society one of the first institutions for organized charity in the Middle States.



THE JOURNALS AND PAPERS OF THE CONTI-  
NENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

(Continued from page 184.)

The years 1778 and 1779 having been provided for, and the publications proving satisfactory, no more attention was paid to the subject during that year, beyond adding, on August 26, Houston, Peabody, and Partridge to the printing committee.<sup>1</sup> Early in 1780 the question of printing the Journal again came up, for the year's work had to be looked after. To speak in the words of the original record, on January 18, 1780, "A motion was made by Mr. Gerry seconded by Mr. Sherman, That, in the Journals of Congress for later date than the 31st of December 1779, the yeas and nays, and the names of the members calling them be not printed; but that the same together with the respective propositions on which they are taken, be printed in pamphlets at the end of every three months; and that ten copies thereof as soon as completed, be sent to each state. A division was called for and on the question to agree to the first part, the yeas and nays being required, It was resolved, that in the Journals of Congress of a later date

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress MS. and monthly sheets August 20, 1779. On October 20, November 5, November 29, and December 14 of that year Claypoole was ordered to be paid various sums for printing and binding the Journals, aggregating nearly twenty thousand dollars in the currency of that time. On October 30, 1779, the Commissioners of the Chamber of Accounts reported to Congress that they had examined the account of Claypoole, and that they had found he had overcharged in every article. "They know not how the matter can be remedied unless Congress advertise for proposals for printing" every three months or any other stated time, the preference to be given to the most reasonable. However, as there was no way out of the matter, they recommended that Claypoole be paid twelve thousand dollars on account; this was done on November 5. See Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 35, p. 55.



than December 31st, 1779, the yeas and nays and the names of the members calling for them be not printed." The second part of the resolution was then voted on and defeated, and it was resolved instead "That the Journals of Congress for the current year (1780) be published monthly, and agreeably to the foregoing resolution." Accordingly we find here and there in public libraries and in private collections a few of these monthly parts bound up with a regular title-page and index to the whole, the latter being entitled Index to Volume VI.<sup>1</sup>

Like its predecessor for 1779, this varied greatly from the volume containing the proceedings of 1780, with which we are most familiar, and is also almost, though not quite, as scarce. The variations in the text will be spoken of at length below. We may note in passing that as a result of the resolution just read the yea and nay votes which are recorded in the MS. in profusion have never at any time been printed.

By the middle of the year 1780 the Journal of 1779 had

<sup>1</sup> Journals | of | Congress, | From | January 1st, 1780, | To | January 1st, 1781. | Published by Order of Congress. | *Philadelphia*: Printed by David C. Claypoole, | Printer to the Honorable the Congress. 8vo, pp. 403. Some copies contain, besides the above pages, an index, pp. xxxviii, and appendix, pp. (3). The sheets were issued as printed monthly, with the following sub-titles:

Journals of Congress, | For January, 1780. pp. (3) to 38.

\*\*\* | For February, 1780. pp. (41) to 73.

\*\*\* | For March, 1780. pp. (75) to 106.

\*\*\* | For April, 1780. pp. (106) to 131.

\*\*\* | For May, 1780. pp. (132) to 162.

\*\*\* | For June, 1780. pp. (164) to 198.

\*\*\* | For July, 1780. pp. (199) to 237.

\*\*\* | For August, 1780. pp. (239) to 274.

\*\*\* | For September, 1780. pp. (275) to 314.

\*\*\* | For October, 1780. pp. (315) to 349.

\*\*\* | For November, 1780. pp. (351) to 384.

\*\*\* | For December, 1780. pp. (385) to 403.

Mistakes in pagination occur as follows: pp. 106 and 200 are repeated; p. 236 is printed 256. No account is taken of the blank page between pp. 384 and 385. The sheets were also issued bound, with title as above, and later with the index and appendix.



become scarce, and so on June 20 of that year the committee on printing the Journals were empowered to have the Journal of 1779 immediately reprinted in one volume, omitting the yeas and nays. Claypoole was kept so busy with the work then on hand that he was not able to carry out this resolution till 1783. But the committee, acting under the authority to omit the yeas and nays, went still further, and made omissions in such number that their handiwork, which is the volume for that year ordinarily met with, and has been followed in all subsequent reprints, is but an unsatisfactory abridgment of the whole.<sup>1</sup> Similarly a volume containing a part of the proceedings of 1780, and published by order of Congress by John Dunlap, made its appearance, probably during 1787, bearing the title of "Resolutions, Acts and Orders of Congress." This seems to have been authorized in order to follow in the footsteps of Claypoole's abridgment of the Journal for 1779. It contains little more than its title implies, and, in spite of its imperfections, has been the volume followed in the republications of 1800 and 1824, and is generally known as Volume VI. of the set. Although bearing the authorization of Congress upon its title-page, no resolution ordering such a publication has been met with. As Dunlap had his day again in 1784-85, when Claypoole was superseded, it is safe to assume that it was not printed earlier than that date, and

<sup>1</sup> Sundry matters pertaining to the printing of the Journal came up during 1780, which may be inserted here. On January 13, 1780, Francis Bailey, of Philadelphia, wrote to Congress (received on January 20) that he contemplated printing an edition of the Resolves of Congress, and asked that Congress patronize the work, furnish the paper, etc., without which the cost would be too great for him to undertake it. (See Bulletin of Department of State, No. 3, p. 27.) It was referred to the committee on printing the Journals and by them buried. On February 8, July 25, August 25, and October 21 sums aggregating thirty thousand dollars were ordered to be paid to Claypoole. On November 28 the commander-in-chief of the army and sundry officers were ordered supplied with copies of the Journals for the use of the army. From September 19 on the Journals and other public papers were ordered to be sent to the administrative powers of the States free of postage, and the Secretary was empowered to frank them accordingly.



possibly, as Mr. Ford suggests, under the resolution of September 13, 1786.<sup>1</sup>

We have now reached the year 1781. By that time the pinch of poverty had been sorely felt, and the Congress was unwilling to continue the costly experiments of the preceding two years. Accordingly we have no more weekly or monthly issues. But the seventh and eighth volumes of the Journal were both printed by Claypoole. The first of these contained the whole of the proceedings for 1781 as well as those of 1782 down to and including November 2, 1782.<sup>2</sup> After the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in November, 1781, the Congressional year began with the first Monday in each November, and the title given to Congress was that of the "United States in Congress Assembled." I have seen at the Pennsylvania Historical Society the proceedings from April 21 to May 21, 1782, in signatures and bound, but there is nothing to indicate the date of its appearance. It is, however, quite possible that as parts of the Journal came from the printer they were distributed among the members without waiting for the whole to be completed. Nothing need be said about

<sup>1</sup> Resolutions, | Acts and Orders | of | Congress, | For the Year 1780. | Volume VI. | Published by Order of Congress. | Printed by John Dunlap. [n. d. n. p.] 8vo, pp. 257; index, pp. xliii. Ford's No. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Journals | of | Congress | And of the | United States | In Congress Assembled, | For the Year 1781. | Published by Order of Congress. | Volume VII. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole. | M,DCC,LXXXI. | 8vo, pp. 522; appendix, pp. 4; index, pp. lxxix. Ford's No. 321. This volume contains all the proceedings for 1781 as well as those down to November 2, 1782, inclusive. For this reason the date of publication given in the title-page is false, as it could not have appeared before the end of the year 1782, and probably did not until 1783 or 1784. The appendix contains the rules of Congress adopted May 4, 1781. The index is incorrectly entitled: *General Index | To Volume VIII*. This mistake is corrected in the following volume: Journals | of | Congress | And of the | United States | In Congress Assembled, | For the Year 1781. | Published by Order of Congress. | Volume VII. | *New-York*: | Printed by John Patterson. | MDCCLXXXVII. 8vo, pp. 522; appendix, pp. (4), (13); index, pp. lxxix. The additional appendix contains the report of the Committee on Debts due the United States, dated April 18, 1781. Ford's No. 322.



the eighth volume beyond that it contained the proceedings for the Congressional year 1782-83.<sup>1</sup> Both of the volumes just mentioned were issued under the supervision of Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, for the standing committee was abolished in January, 1782, when the office of Secretary was regulated, and among the duties assigned to him was that of superintending the printing of the Journals and other publications of Congress.<sup>2</sup> It is quite likely that under his orderly supervision the printer was directed to furnish the Journal in signatures as soon as made ready.

In September, 1783, by reason of some indiscreet publication in his paper, the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Claypoole fell under the ban and was dismissed from the position of printer to Congress. His successor was the man who had preceded him, for in October<sup>3</sup> of that year, upon motion of Mr. Mercer, seconded by Mr. Williamson, the Secretary was instructed to employ John Dunlap to print for Congress, and "to inform him, that Congress expect he will keep his office at the place where they may reside." In the spring of 1784 (April) Congress decided to adjourn on the third day of June until the following November, intending to leave the management of the country's affairs during the interval in the hands of the Committee of the States, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the Articles of Confederation. The powers with which they were invested and the directions for their conduct in office were agreed to on May 29, 1784. They were instructed, among other things, to keep a Journal, which was to be published monthly and transmitted to the executives of the several States, and

<sup>1</sup> Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled, | Containing | The Proceedings | From | The First Monday in November 1782, | To | The First Monday in November 1783. | Volume VIII. | Published by Order of Congress. | *Philadelphia*: | Printed by David C. Claypoole. | M,DCC,LXXXIII. | 8vo, pp. 483. Most copies have, in addition, an index, pp. xxxvi, although some were issued in boards without it. Ford's No. 345.

<sup>2</sup> See Journal of Congress, January 28, 1782.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, October 31, 1783.



whenever desired the yeas and nays were to be entered.<sup>1</sup> In keeping with their resolutions, Congress adjourned on the day appointed. The Committee of the States met at Annapolis on the next day,<sup>2</sup> and among their first acts were those granting Secretary Thomson leave to return to Philadelphia, and directing the clerks in the Secretary's office to attend the committee "and make the entries." But Thomson did not lose sight of what was going on during his absence. Letters to the clerks, Bankson and Remsen, were written by him nearly every day of the brief session of the committee, and they for the most part have to do with the printing of the Journal. In a letter<sup>3</sup> to Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson, dated June 18, 1784, he says he incloses "a copy of the Journal of the last session of Congress as far as printed," and in another, written at the same time, he qualifies this statement by adding that the Journal sent to the above came "up to 28 May."

Three days later<sup>4</sup> he says he is sorry to find that there will likely be a delay in printing the Journal, which, in accordance with the resolution of Congress of October 31, 1783, was being printed at Annapolis. Thomson adds that when Dunlap, who is out of town, returns, he will press him to send down another hand to finish the work.

By the 20th July the Journal of the last session is finished, and Thomson hopes that the printer will then take up and print what remains of 1783 and complete it as speedily as possible.<sup>5</sup> He writes at the same time criticising the manner in which the Journal of the Committee of the States has been kept, a copy of which had been sent for his inspection, and makes suggestions for its improvement. Other letters

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, May 29, 1784.

<sup>2</sup> June 4, 1784.

<sup>3</sup> See MS. in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to B. Bankson, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Exactly what Thomson means by "last session" is not clear. It may have meant the session from November, 1782, to November, 1783, or it may have referred to that from November, 1783, to June, 1784. As he speaks of finishing "what remains of 1783" in his letter of 20th July, it is probable that he means the session of 1782-83 when he speaks of "last session."



written during July indicate that Thomson was doing his all to hasten the publication, and on August 10, when the Committee was about disbanding for lack of a quorum, he wrote Bankson, "I am sorry the printer makes no better progress. I wish you would stimulate him and urge his completing the journal of 1783 with all possible expedition."<sup>1</sup>

Before the end of the year 1784 Thomson succeeded in getting out not only all of the Journal of Congress for that year, but the Journal of the Committee of the States as well, both of which bear the imprint of John Dunlap.<sup>2</sup>

In March, 1785, the Secretary's office was further regulated, but the duties of looking after Congressional publications still fell to his lot.<sup>3</sup> From a resolution enacted a month later<sup>4</sup> directing the Secretary to furnish the delegates of each State with six copies of the Journal of Congress, commencing with the session of November, 1784, "in the order in which they are published," it would seem that the Journal must have been issued in signatures or possibly in monthly parts. None of these separates has been traced. In the

<sup>1</sup> From these letters it would appear that while the eighth volume of the Journals bears the date 1783, it was not completed till 1784.

<sup>2</sup> In Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 32, p. 63, is found the following: "Ordered that the Secretary revise the Journals of the States to be printed forthwith," and endorsed, "Passed August 2d 1784 Motion that the Secretary cause the Journal of the Com<sup>o</sup> of the States to be printed." The Journal of the Committee for August 2, 1784, has such a resolution entered upon it.

Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled : | Contain-  
ing | The Proceedings | From | The Third Day of November, 1783, | To  
| The Third Day of June, 1784. | Volume IX. | Published by Order of  
Congress. | Philadelphia : | Printed by John Dunlap, | Printer to the  
United States in | Congress Assembled. [n. d.] 8vo, pp. 317. This was  
issued also in another form with an index, pp. xviii, and bound up with  
the following: Journal | of the | Committee of the States : | Containing  
| The Proceedings | From | The First Friday in June 1784 | To | The  
Second Friday in August 1784. | Published by Order of Congress. |  
Printed by John Dunlap, | Printer to the United States in Congress  
Assembled. | M,DCC,LXXXIV. 8vo, pp. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Congress, March 31, 1785.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., April 29, 1785.



spring of this year (1785) the question of reprinting the Journals came up in Congress on several occasions. The matter was finally referred to a committee,<sup>1</sup> and on June 1, 1785, they reported it as their opinion that the whole of the Journal ought to be reprinted and published, "And that such part of the secret Journals as are marked for that purpose by ye Committee and which have not heretofore been printed and published be incorporated in their order agreeably to their dates." They further recommended that the Secretary advertise for bids for their publication in quarto.<sup>2</sup> This report was taken up on June 21<sup>3</sup> and referred to the Secretary to take order, and on August 29 Thomson inserted the following advertisement in the *New York Packet*:<sup>4</sup>

By November, Thomson had received bids from Dunlap, Oswald, and the Cists, of Philadelphia; from Childs, London, and Kollock, of New York; from Adams, of Wilmington; from Wheeler, of Providence; and from Collins,

<sup>1</sup> They were Houston, Howell, Hindman, Grayson, and Ellery.

<sup>2</sup> Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 23, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Congress, June 21, 1785.

<sup>4</sup> *New York Packet*, August 29, 1785.

"OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF CONGRESS, *August 26, 1785.*

"The United States in Congress assembled intending to have a new, correct and complete edition of their Journals; the Printers in the several States are hereby requested to [send to] this office, on or before the first Monday in November next, the terms on which they will engage to publish the said Journals, and to deliver one thousand copies thereof.

"The person or persons contracting, must engage to have a complete index made for the whole, from the beginning to the first Monday in November, 1785, and inserted in the volume ending at that time.

"The proposal must mention the time when the work can be entered upon, and the quantity which can be composed daily; and be accompanied with specimens of the paper and types.

"The work to be carried on at the place where Congress resides or within such distance thereof as shall be determined by the Secretary of Congress, who is to superintend the printing, and revise the proof sheets.

"CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

"(The Printers in the several states are requested to give the above a place in their papers.)"



of Trenton.<sup>1</sup> Thomson reported the results of his advertisement to Congress, and they referred the matter to a committee, who reported on January 1, 1786.<sup>2</sup> The committee mentioned above recommends obliging the printer, who may be appointed, "entering into Articles to print 500 copies at his risk and cost for sale," and also that the Journal of the Stamp Act Congress be included in the edition. But before their report was given consideration, Dunlap's edition of the Journals for 1784-85 made its appearance, bearing date of 1785.<sup>3</sup>

The question did not come up again until September, 1786,<sup>4</sup> when Mr. Bloodworth moved that the "Secretary have printed and bound, in the usual manner, 300 Vols. of the Journals of Congress for each of the years 1777, 1778, 1780, 1781 & 1782," which motion was carried a week later.<sup>5</sup>

There is no evidence that all of the volumes here authorized were ever printed; or, if they were, they have all been destroyed. As mentioned above, it may be that the "Resolutions, Acts & Orders" of 1780 made their appearance under this act. John Patterson, of New York, published, by order of Congress, Volume III. of the Journal, containing the proceedings for 1777, but it bears no date. He also published in 1787 Volume VII., containing the proceedings of 1781, which is an almost exact copy of Claypoole's volume for that year. Although no bids from him for doing the work authorized by resolution of September 13, 1786, have been found, it is altogether probable that Thomson made an arrangement with him for publishing these two

<sup>1</sup> These proposals are all to be found in Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 46, p. 181 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 23, p. 235, dated January 30, 1786.

<sup>3</sup> Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled : | Containing | The Proceedings | From | The First Monday in November 1784. | Published by order of Congress. | Printed by John Dunlap, | Printer to the United States in | Congress Assembled. | M,DCC,LXXXV. 8vo, pp. 368; index, pp. xxvi. Ford's No. 402.

<sup>4</sup> Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 23, p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Journal of Congress, September 13, 1786.

of the American Medical Association, which is the only organization in the world that represents the medical profession in every country. The association was founded in 1846, and since that time it has been the leading voice of the medical profession in the United States. It has been instrumental in the passage of many laws and resolutions that have benefited the public. It has also been instrumental in the establishment of many medical schools and hospitals. The association is composed of many different branches, each of which represents a different specialty. These branches include the American Association of Physicians and Surgeons, the American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, the American Association of Pediatricians, the American Association of Dermatologists and Syphilologists, the American Association of Urologists, the American Association of Ophthalmologists, the American Association of Otologists and Laryngologists, the American Association of Neurologists and Psychiatrists, the American Association of Pathologists, the American Association of Bacteriologists, the American Association of Hygienists, the American Association of Public Health Officers, the American Association of Sanitary Engineers, the American Association of Medical Jurists, the American Association of Medical Social Workers, the American Association of Medical Women, the American Association of Medical Students, the American Association of Medical Teachers, the American Association of Medical Researchers, the American Association of Medical Writers, the American Association of Medical Artists, the American Association of Medical Photographers, the American Association of Medical Librarians, the American Association of Medical Archivists, the American Association of Medical Museums, the American Association of Medical Gardens, the American Association of Medical Parks, the American Association of Medical Resorts, the American Association of Medical Spas, the American Association of Medical Clinics, the American Association of Medical Hospitals, the American Association of Medical Asylums, the American Association of Medical Prisons, the American Association of Medical Farms, the American Association of Medical Colonies, the American Association of Medical Villages, the American Association of Medical Towns, the American Association of Medical Cities, the American Association of Medical States, the American Association of Medical Nations, the American Association of Medical Worlds.

volumes, and stopped there because signs were pointing too forcibly to the supersession of the old Congress by the new. Dunlap was meantime retained as printer of the later proceedings, and the last three volumes (XI., XII., and XIII.) bear his imprint.<sup>1</sup>

But one more occasion arose whereon a question of printing and publication was discussed by the Continental Congress. This time Varnum, of Rhode Island, is the moving spirit, and his proposition, which had conferred on it the dignity of a Congressional report, and no other, was that, in addition to publishing the Journal and other documents, the United States should publish a bi-weekly paper. It was to be known as *The North American Journal*, was to appear on Tuesdays and Saturdays of each week, was to be published "under the inspection of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs," or such other person or persons as Congress might direct; was to contain foreign and domestic information, "Sentiments, moral, philosophical and elegant; strictures, po-

<sup>1</sup> Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled : | Contain-  
ing the | Proceedings | From | The 3d Day of November, 1785, | To |  
The 3d Day of November, 1786. | Volume XII. | Published by Order of  
Congress. | Printed by John Dunlap. [n. d.] 8vo, pp. 267; index, pp. xvi.  
Ford's No. 435. This volume begins with the proceedings of November  
7 instead of November 3, as the title indicates. The imprint *Volume*  
*XII.* is a mistake for *Volume XI.*, as the next volume is *Volume XII.*

Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled : | Contain-  
ing | The Proceedings | From | The Sixth Day of November, 1786, | To |  
| The Fifth Day of November, 1787. | Volume XII. | Published by  
Order of Congress. | M,DCC,LXXXVII. | 8vo, pp. 220; appendix, pp.  
221-255; index, pp. (9). Ford's No. 436. The last entry in this volume  
is under date of October 30, 1787, and reads, "Four states assembled.  
The remainder of the week no house was formed." The index is erro-  
neously entitled: *Index | For Vol. XIII.*, but all the references are to  
Volume XII.

Journal | of the | United States | In Congress Assembled : | Contain-  
ing The | Proceedings | From | The 5th Day of November, 1787, | To |  
The 3d Day of November, 1788. | Volume XIII. | Published by Order  
of Congress. | Printed by John Dunlap. [n. d.] 8vo, pp. 170; appendix,  
pp. xcvi. Journal of Congress November 3, 1788, to March 2, 1789,  
(1) p.; index, pp. xi. The index is erroneously entitled *Index to Vol.*  
*XIV.*



litical, literary and historical;" and from it were to be excluded "all advertisements not immediately connected with the public interest, and also, whatever may tend to scandal and detraction." Nothing ever came of this suggestion, but we see here but another evidence of the desire on the part of persons elected to office to convey to their constituents a knowledge of the transactions in which they have played a part.<sup>1</sup>

If we may judge by the number of publications of its own Journal that made their appearance, although the power of the Continental Congress dwindled as years wore on to but a shadow of its earlier substance, the interest in its doings never ceased. It is not to be wondered at that the members themselves characterized their own labors with an exaggerated importance. But it is hardly possible that they would have published what were large editions of the Journal for those days unless they were supported by a popular desire to know what was taking place within Congressional walls. And the demand for them ceased not, even after the old Congress went out of existence. It then became the custom to supply incoming members of Congress with complete sets of the Journals, not only of the Congress under the Constitution but of the entire Congress. By the beginning of 1798 the supply became exhausted and, as Mr. Sitgreaves put it, "they had become so scarce that gentlemen elected to serve in Congress, and who were entitled to them, were not able to obtain them."<sup>2</sup> As these volumes contained many ordinances and resolves which were then the laws of the land, he proposed a resolution appointing a committee to report on the expediency of reprinting such volumes of the Journals of the old Congress as were then out of print. The resolution was agreed to, but the matter slumbered until the following June, when the scene is transferred to the Senate. There Mr. Bingham, of Pennsylvania, presents a memorial of Chief-Justice Thomas McKean and others, members of the bench and bar, praying for the

<sup>1</sup> Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 23, pp. 311-312, 315-316.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Congress. Fifth Congress, Vol. I. p. 846.



printing of the Journal.<sup>1</sup> After the usual commitment,<sup>2</sup> on July 14 a resolution was agreed to authorizing the Secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House of Representatives to subscribe for four hundred copies of the Journal of Congress, which it is learned is to be published by Richard Folwell.<sup>3</sup> On the same day the resolution was sent to the House, but consideration of it was postponed till the succeeding session.<sup>4</sup> Rutledge called the matter up at the beginning of the third session of that Congress,<sup>5</sup> stating, among other things, that several printers had made proposals for printing the Journals, but were unwilling to undertake the work without Congressional subvention. He thereupon offered a resolution much like that mentioned above, but giving authority to subscribe for blank copies of the Journals on such terms as might be found suitable.

More than a month later<sup>6</sup> the committee to whom the resolution was referred reported that the reprinting of the Journals was highly desirable, and as Folwell had opened subscriptions in Philadelphia for the work, they recommended, as had the Senate, that four hundred copies of his edition be subscribed for. This was made into an act of Congress by the agreement of the Senate and by Presidential approval, received March 2, 1799,<sup>7</sup> and the well-known Folwell edition which appeared at Philadelphia in 1800-1801 was the result.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> June 20, 1798. *Annals of Congress*. Fifth Congress, Vol. I. pp. 584-585.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 607, 611.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 613.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals of Congress*. Fifth Congress, Vol. II. pp. 2180-2181.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Third Session, Fifth Congress, Vol. III. pp. 2564-2565, January 17, 1799.

<sup>6</sup> February 26, 1799. The committee were Rutledge, Nichols, and D. Fowler. *Loc. cit.*, p. 2572.

<sup>7</sup> *Annals of Congress*. Fifth Congress, Third Session, Vol. III. pp. 3045, 3970. Also *Ibid.*, Vol. II. pp. 2, 239-240.

<sup>8</sup> Journals | of | Congress: | Containing Their | Proceedings | From September 5, 1774, To January 1, 1776. | Published by Authority. | Volume I. | From Folwell's Press. | *Philadelphia*. | 1800. 8vo. Authorization, p. (1), pp. (3)-289; index, pp. (12).



For twenty years nothing more in the way of publication was done, and then, as if to mark the half-century of the government, and mainly through the influence of Jared Sparks and to some extent of Peter Force, a wave of desire for placing before the world the doings of the founders of our government swept over the country. In consequence many volumes of valuable contributions to American history, and consisting for the greater part of what we would call documents, now first began to appear.

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1776, To December 31, 1776. | \*\*\* | Volume II. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (1), (3)-480; index, pp. (22).

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1777, To January 1, 1778. | \*\*\* | Volume III. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (1), (3)-468; index, pp. (16).

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1778, To January 1, 1779. | \*\*\* | Volume IV. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (1), (5)-537; index, pp. (42).

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1779, To January 1, 1780. | \*\*\* | Volume V. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (1), (3)-349; index, pp. (34).

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1780, To January 1, 1781. | \*\*\* | Volume VI. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (1), (3)-176; index, pp. (22).

\*\*\* | From January 1, 1781, To November 2, 1782. | \*\*\* | Volume VII. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-396; index, pp. (36).

\*\*\* | From November 2, 1782, To November 1, 1783. | \*\*\* | Volume VIII. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-337; index, pp. (16).

\*\*\* | From November 3, 1783, To June 3, 1784. | \*\*\* | Volume IX. | \*\*\*. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-227; index, pp. (5).

This is followed by (half-title): Journal | of the | Committee of the States | Containing the Proceedings from the first Friday in June, 1784, to the second Friday in August, 1784. pp. 29.

\*\*\* | From November 1, 1784, To November 4, 1785. | \*\*\* | Volume X. | \*\*\* | 1801. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-256; index, pp. (14).

\*\*\* | From November 4, 1785, To November 3, 1786. | \*\*\* | Volume XI. | \*\*\* | 1801. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-193; index, pp. (10).

\*\*\* | From November 6, 1786, To November 5, 1787. | \*\*\* | Volume XII. | \*\*\* | 1801. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-145; appendix, pp. (147)-169; index, pp. (5). The appendix is entitled: "Powers to the Board of Treasury to Contract for the Sale of | the Western Territory."

\*\*\* | From November 5, 1787, To November 3, 1788. | \*\*\* | Volume XIII. | \*\*\* | 1801. 8vo. pp. (3), (5)-127; appendix, pp. (129)-189, 189-192, 193; index, pp. (5). The first appendix contains matter relating to the Constitutional Convention, the second a contract for a Dutch loan, and the third the votes and proceedings from November 3, 1788, to March 2, 1789.



Preceding all these, however, was the resolution of March 27, 1818, which provided for printing, under the direction of the President of the United States, the Journal of the Constitutional Convention, with its acts and proceedings, and the Secret Journal and the foreign correspondence of the United States down to the date of the ratification of the peace of 1783. This was followed by the passage of the resolution of April 21, 1820, which provided for the publication, under the direction of the President of the United States, of the Secret Journal, "together with all the papers and documents connected with that Journal, and all other Papers and Documents, heretofore considered confidential, of the Old Congress," beginning with the year 1783 to the formation of the present government. Under the provisions of these two Resolutions appeared the two series of diplomatic correspondence, the first under Sparks's supervision in 1829-30, and the Secret Journal of the old Congress, published by Thomas Wait, of Boston, in four volumes, in 1820-21.<sup>1</sup>

Congress has lent its encouragement to but one other publication of the Journal of Congress. As a private enterprise, Messrs. Way and Gideon, of Washington, in 1823, brought out a four-volume edition of the Journal. Failing to receive the public support anticipated, they ap-

<sup>1</sup> Secret Journals | of | The Acts and Proceedings | of | Congress, | From the First Meeting thereof to the Dissolution | of the Confederation, by the Adoption | of the Constitution of the | United States. | Published under the direction of the President of the United States, conformably to | Resolution of Congress of March 27, 1818, and April 21, 1820. | Vol. I. | Boston: | Printed and Published by Thomas B. Wait. | 1821. *Bastard title*: Secret Journals | of the | Congress of the Confederation. | Domestic Affairs. | History of the Confederation. 8vo. Authorization, pp. (v)-vi; advertisement pp. (vii)-viii, pp. (9)-279, (283)-464. Pages (283)-464 contain the History of the Confederation. The half-title on p. (283) is: History | of | The Confederation.

\*\*\* | Vol. II. | \*\*\* | *Bastard title*: Secret Journals | of the | Congress of the Confederation. | Foreign Affairs. | pp. (4), (5)-474. *Half-title*: "Supplement," pp. (475)-587.

[*Ibid.*] Vol. III. | 1821. pp. (6), (7)-614.

[*Ibid.*] Vol. IV. pp. (4), (5)-454.



pealed to Congress to come to their assistance. The matter came up in the Senate in February, 1825,<sup>1</sup> when a motion to purchase six hundred and thirty copies of Way and Gideon's edition was negatived by a substantial majority, and I have not been able to find that it was ever again given consideration by that branch of the government. In the House they had a better fortune, for on the 24th of the same month<sup>2</sup> a resolution was passed authorizing the purchase of three hundred copies for the use of the House, "Provided the price shall not exceed \$2.25 per volume full bound and lettered."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> February 18, 1825, Congressional Debates, I. 624.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 681.

<sup>3</sup> Journals | of | The American Congress : | From 1774-1788. | In Four Volumes. | Volume I : | From September 5, 1774, to December 31, 1776, inclusive. | *Washington* : | Printed and Published by Way and Gideon. | 1823. 8vo, pp. 588; index, pp. xxviii.

[*Ibid.*] Volume II : | From January 1, 1777, to July 31, 1778, inclusive, | \* \* \* | 8vo, pp. 639; index, pp. xxxviii.

[*Ibid.*] Volume III : | From August 1, 1778, to March 30, 1782, inclusive. | \* \* \* | 8vo, pp. 740; index, pp. lviii.

[*Ibid.*] Volume IV : | From April 1, 1782, to November 1, 1788, inclusive. | Also the Journal of the Committee of the States, From the 1st Friday in June, to the 1st Friday in August, 1784. | With An Appendix. | \* \* \* | 8vo, pp. 880; appendix, pp. 62, containing: "Journal of the Committee of the States," pp. 16; "Appendix. | Powers to the Board of Treasury to Contract for the Sale of | the Western Territory," pp. (17)-19; "Contracts for Monies Borrowed in Europe," pp. 19-28; Resolves of Congress, etc., relating to Constitutional Convention, etc., pp. 28-61; Contract for the Dutch loan, pp. 61-62; Journal of Congress, November 1, 1788, to March 2, 1789, p. (63); index, pp. lxvii.

(To be continued.)



## EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from page 256.)

## [LETTER 226.]

“On the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> I moved on alone for this place; the road was good, the horse went tolerable, and I was in a good frame of mind. I had nothing to do, but reflect and meditate on past adventures. In my mind I returned to thee my friend, and passed thro’ all our different amusements. I paid a visit to the lass with the *Golden Hair* in Jersey and took an agreeable round among all my acquaintance there; and could not but regret the happy moments *past*; which in all probability was never to return in the same place. Newark, Elizabethtown, Connecticut Farms—was reviewed over. The Doctor’s agreeable family there, and the only hope of it—my pretty Little Polly Cook Holstead, the happy child of two happy parents. To Shrewsbury among that agreeable circle, and there with my good old friend. Let me never forget the name of *Tole*, who out of pure friendship and regard offer’d to be my treasurer, banker, proprietor and all, if I should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of a cruel and merciless enemy—“Go my friend” said he, “call upon Mr Walton in New York for what money you may want.” A tear of gratitude started in my eye, ’twas followed by one of friendship from each of theirs, from a consciousness of doing good. Happy! happy people! that from a desire to befriend a stranger can enjoy so much of supreme felicity. Sure the satisfaction of doing good, even in this World, richly repays a heart of true sensibility. May the God of good



shower down his blessings upon thee, and thy seed forever and ever! He that puts his trust in him shall not be deceived! And as it is obvious that I have been a child of thy peculiar care, from my cradle to this time, raising up friends for me in the midst of strangers; and truly verifying thy word, that thou wilt be a father to the fatherless, and a friend to those in distress. Oh! Grant me a heart to be truly sensible of the innumerable Blessings received at thy all Bountifull hand; 'tis all the tribute an insolvent Debtor can pay. Amen!

"I then was carried to Reading and ranging thro' the different habitations of my well known acquaintances, I was transported in the full force of imagination, to thee, thou Metropolis of America, fair seat of Commerce, where the collected Wisdom of the American States sits in important deliberation, for the security and honour thereof. Fair City! transported to Friendship and Love, happy hour! After the tribute due to the first, with what eager heart did I hurry from place to place till I found my Dear. The quick motion of my pulse at this instant, the palpitations at heart; the agreeable thrill thro' all my veins, from the bare recollections of the fancy'd scene, can witness the happiness I felt. What unspeakable satisfaction I felt, to see a tear of joy start in the eye, and when I had the fair, lovely maid folded in my arms, and held to me all that was dear! With her head reclined on my shoulder, I felt her little heart, like a bird fluttering in its cage; as if it wanted to beat itself to death, and lisping out with a faltering accent, Oh! My dear, dear Enos! are you once more returned! and held me fast. There is a pleasure in the bare repetition, that is almost painfull. Happy morning ride!—a most agreeable sixteen Miles! that too soon passed away. Delightfull frame of mind! that makes retirement agreeable, and is an over balance for the want of company. Would to Heaven I could always command thee! When I arrived at Colonel Long's, where I put up, about a mile from Halifax, several ladies residing in the town were out on a visit, with whom I spent the afternoon and drank tea. The gen-



tlemen had walk'd to Town. I found them very agreeable company.

"HALIFAX, N. C.

"Jany 7<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 227.]

"In the evening of the sixth Co<sup>l</sup> Long arrived, who is an agreeable gentleman, about the age of 45, of a fine constitution and of good countenance. By him I was introduced to Co<sup>l</sup> Ashe, who commanded one of the regular regiments of this State to the northward, with him I soon made an acquaintance, and with him I breakfasted on the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> Inst. He has a very agreeable, cheerfull young lady for his wife. After breakfast we walk'd to the town, which is near half a mile from his house, and returned to dinner. The town is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Roanoke River; it has one main and some cross streets, and contains about twenty-five dwelling-houses. When the ports were open, it was a good place of Trade; it has at present three stores, but they sell extravagantly dear. Such linens as formerly sold for three shillings, is now sold here for two dollars and a half, hard money per y<sup>d</sup>, Salt three dollars per bushel, and other things in proportion. I supped and spent the evening with Col. Ashe and his lady, at cards and backgammon, and staid all night. Breakfasted at Colonel Long's on the eighth, and set off on my return about 11 o'clock.

"I was treated very genteely at Col. Long's, and had an invitation if I should return. The inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood seem to be a free, sociable, genteel set of people, the ladies of the place dress very gay, and are remark'd for their sociability. I arrived at Colonel Alston's to dinner, and put up for the day. This is a very agreeable family; he is a man of few words but exceeding kind; his lady who has been almost a beauty, is handsome yet; has five children, two of the number twins, and so exact a resemblance they bear to each other, that for my life I could not tell them apart, tho' this was the second night I lodged



in the family. But what most surprised me, was to see their father, once or twice mistaken.

"On the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup>, I set out for a forty-five miles ride; I however got lost before I got into the main road. I took the first path that I supposed led the right way and found myself wound up in such a labyrinth, that I was much afraid I should not be able to extricate myself out of it. In the midst of a thicket I came to a little genteel house belonging to a Scotchman, who came out to meet me; almost insisted on my stopping to take some Brandy and breakfast with him. He had a genteel address, and looked as if he deserved a better *Tenement*. He wanted to send a servant to show me the way, but when I refused, he repeated his directions several times, walked with me a considerable distance and seemed to express so much anxiety for fear I should miss my way, that I found myself greatly attached to him. Here is a specimen of that virtue which costs a man very little *and yet is all*; or as some authors define it—That which makes a man happy in himself and agreeable to others. I mean true Politeness. How much unlike the man who is forever at variance with himself, and quarreling with everything that comes near him; he would have sat in his house 'till I called and then scarcely deign me an answer. His deportment told me at first sight what he was, God has wisely order'd, that every man's countenance should be as a window, through which you may look into his *very soul*. I soon after came into the main road at an Ordinary, which looked so much worse than the one I have lately given you a description of, that I durst not venture in. About three in the afternoon I came to the one before mention'd (to get my horse fed), the only two between Halifax and this place fifty-six miles. What with the delay I met with in having it done, and the time I spent in looking over some Philadelphia newspapers, I had not daylight enough to bring me here, and took up my abode at a Major Bullock's, who I had seen before, and was treated very kindly. I arrived about noon on the tenth, and found the Doctor so uneasy about my stay, that in another day I



should have had an express sent to find out what was the cause. My business to Halifax was to get necessaries for the sick, in which I was entirely disappointed, as the Comisary General was absent. The Doctor was somewhat more fortunate at home, for he came this way, he got an order for a small quantity of sugar and a few gallons of Rum. I however, was not displeased with my ride as I had an opportunity of seeing the country.

"WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

"Jan<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 228.]

"A few days ago I received an invitation to dinner, from Col. Williams, who is Justice of the Peace, Chief Judge of the Court; and Proprietor of this town, from whom it takes its name. He is about 50, has a good constitution, great flow of spirits and can drink and swear with any man of thirty. He served some time as a Member of Congress, and is here in high repute. We had a genteel dinner, and spent the afternoon cheerfully; toward the evening it began to snow and hail severely, which caused me to remain all night. After dark Lieut. Governor Martin, of this State, arrived, with whom I supped and spent the evening. He at present bears the weight of government, and has done so since the unfortunate Governor Burke was made prisoner by a party of Tories and carried to the enemy, who at that time was in possession of Wilmington. He was taken in the heart of the State and convey'd thro' bye ways to the enemy. Indeed the situation and quantity of woods, and the cultivated land in this country, would make it practical for a small party to travel to the farthest extremity of the State and return in safety.

"I found the Governor to be free and easy of Address and exceeding good company. After Breakfast the next morning, I returned home. But the snow had retired before me—the Sun here has such power, that if it shines, the snow is gone immediately.

"WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

"Jan<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 82."



[LETTER 230.<sup>1</sup>]

“Not long since I was introduced to Mr. William King, who I found to be much of the gentleman; from him I received an invitation to accompany him down to Portsmouth and Norfolk in Virginia. I promised myself a great deal of pleasure from the journey and thence was determined to go. Accordingly, after making preparations, I set off on the morning of the 31<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>. I had not got far before it began to snow. I arrived at M<sup>rs</sup> J—— about 10 o'clock, but the company that was to go with me to Brunswick, gave it up (M<sup>r</sup> Geo King and Lady), as the day proved so bad, and M<sup>rs</sup> K—g was very unwell. I had a previous invitation to an Entertainment at Colonel Eaton's, and to Lose no time set out immediately for that place. I had eight miles to ride in the snow and arrived there just before Dinner. The company was collected before I arrived; among them was a number of gentlemen of my acquaintance, and by them I was introduced to the remainder of any note. The company consisted of about twenty ladies of the first Rank, and about three gentlemen; had it not have been for the snow-storm there would have been as many more. We had an elegant dinner, of such things as the country here affords, but no great rarities.

“In the evening the Ball was opened by a Minuet with each lady in the room; which is the custom here; that done we stood up for Country Dances; from that to Reels, and then to Jiggs. In the Minuet the Ladies here excell; Country Dances they don't understand well; Reels they Dance well enough, but Jiggs is their favorites. 'Tis customary for the gentlemen after the Jigg to Kiss their Partners, and nothing but that could have induced me to dance the Jiggs; for you know I'm not fond of them. We continued dancing 'till about 4 o'clock in the morning, when the Ladies retired and the gentlemen set in for drinking and mischief, making a noise that kept the whole house awake, pulling those out of bed who attempted to sleep. Toward

<sup>1</sup> Letter 229 is omitted, as it contains nothing of interest.



day we set in for Cards, and play'd till breakfast time. We by degrees had the whole company at the same sport—and *Lambs-skin*, at another table. During the night it snow'd, hail'd, rain'd, and froze, all at once. We had the Ladies out on the ice sliding, falling and playing, as it is a thing very unusual in this part of the world, to have such a sleet. There remained none of the company now but the particular acquaintances of the family; we set in for Dancing again and danc'd 'till dinner-time, and after dinner till ten o'clock at night, and had much more satisfaction than the day before as now we had plenty of room which before we wanted. And the Ladies being better acquainted, was much more sociable, and less on the reserve. On the third morning of the frolic we again began with drinking and card's, which always hold till breakfast; after which we again danced several Country Dances, and a great number of Reels and Jiggs, Minuets etc., and about twelve o'clock began to prepare to depart. About two, the most of the company set off. I rode in company with Co<sup>l</sup> Barton, and waited on Miss Henderson to Co<sup>l</sup> Williamson's, where we dined, spent the evening and stay'd all night, and breakfasted on the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Instant.

"W<sup>m</sup>BURROUGH N. C.

"Feb<sup>r</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 231.]

"The Late snow and sleet here was very heavy, it laid on the trees, and broke down large limbs with its weight, and young Pines as thick as a man's thigh, were bent to the ground: and during the storm, (which was five days) it was exceeding cold. Tho' it was five or six inches deep, the Sun carried it off in two days. . . .

"But my intended journey to Nanceymound, in Virginia, I am Obliged entirely to lay aside on account of my men's want of provisions. I sent some men for ten Bullocks at my departure, belonging to the public, but they had all died some time before, except two that got a distemper, through the neglect of the keepers.



“On this provision I relied to save them till my return, and I’m like to want, as there is no supply laid in, nor money in the hand of the Commissioners to purchase. ’Tis his place to Impress when occasion requires, but not without a special order from the Executive authority, which is not to be had in time, as the Seat of Government is at a great distance. Matters thus stated, I suppose I shall have to perform the disagreeable task myself. I see no alternative. A disagreeable task indeed! but does it reflect on me? My men cannot, nor shall not starve in a plentiful Country. No, the reflection will fall where it ought, on the mismanagement and broken Policy of the State. But in the meantime Individuals must suffer. It distresses me very much.

“Feb<sup>y</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1782

“W<sup>m</sup>BURROUGH.”

[LETTER 232.]

“On the morning of the sixth instant I set out for Harrisburg, with an intention either to persuade Voss to impress the necessaries for me, or endeavour to quarrel him into the measure. I thought if I could obtain my object in view, I should be a great gainer, as it would be paying a number of quarrels with one.

“As I pass’d M<sup>r</sup> I. Taylor’s in the town, I saw a large retinue, a number of servants, horses, and Dragoons—I had just gone through the persuasive part of the story, without effect:—and was drawing a plan of attack, in the quarrelling part of my embassy, as a Dragoon arrived with the Governor’s Compliments, and an invitation to dine with him immediately—which immediately ended the dispute, as the remedy was at hand. On my arrival I was introduced to the Governor, and all the company severally, by a gentleman in Military Dress, who ended with,—and I am Lieut. Colonel Jack Stewart, of the Maryland Line. I then discover’d who I was and the matter was settled.

“The company consisted of the Governor, Co<sup>l</sup> Stewart, Gener<sup>l</sup> Parsons (of the Militia of this State) Colo<sup>l</sup> Taylor,



Comd<sup>t</sup> of this County of Granville, two Members of Assembly, and two private gentlemen. The above is Governor Burke mentioned in Letter 228,—who has lately made his escape from the enemy, and has taken the reins of Government. He is of middle stature, thin visage, much marked with the smallpox and has lost his right eye; he is an Irishman born, by profession a Lawyer, is quick of apprehension, great presence of mind, and a great speaker. I immediately represented my situation and how I was treated by these understrappers of the Government. He sent for Voss, gave him a reprimand, and a private Order to supply me with the quantity of Provisions I ask'd for.

“L<sup>t</sup> Co<sup>l</sup> Stewart is one of the greatest oddities in Nature, he is six foot high, well made, and a fine presence for an Officer. It would be endless to recount the many extraordinary stories that are told of him. I'll just mention one or two in order to give you an idea of his Character.

“At the taking of Stoney Point he commanded one of the advance Guards; in crossing the Marsh his boot was filled with mud and water, he kicked it off and marched on with only one on. When he got in to the works he came to some pieces of Artillery and ask'd who commanded this artillery, ‘I do,’ said a British officer. ‘No by G—d, I do,’ says he, and stab'd him on the spot.

“At a time when he was challenged to fight a Duel and of course might chuse his weapons, he enter'd the appointed field, with his knapsack on his back, with three days provisions, a Musquet and Bayonet, with 60 rounds of ammunition, and as soon as he came within sight of his antagonist, he began to fire and advance, and so continued, and his opponent was obliged to leave him the field. We dined and set off for Williamsborough just before sundown, I did not intend to return the same night, but as I had more business with the Governor, I rode with him and made one of his Suite for the evening.

“On the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> I got an Order from him for a sufficient quantity of Leather to supply my men, who were in want of shoes.



"One of the Burgesses was very pressing with me to accompany him home to Edenton, on a party of pleasure, but my business would not permit.

"The Leather not being ready I was delay'd some time before I got my man at work, and lucky it was for me, indeed, that I had a shoemaker in my party, or we might have went without them. I wrote to Camp a few days ago by a Doctor Vaughn—who stop'd here on his way thither.

"WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

"Feb 18<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 233.]

"I have been keeping it up for these five Days without intermission; for three at home in Comp<sup>y</sup> with a Cap<sup>t</sup> *Peace*, father-in-law of the Doctor, who is a fine healthy fellow and scorns to be behind hand with the best of us. And two at Co<sup>l</sup> Burton's, but these in a more moderate way, as there were Ladies in the case—Miss Henderson and a Miss Ridley. We likewise had the company of a Cap<sup>t</sup> *Erskine*, of Co<sup>l</sup> *White's* Cavalry, now on his way to join Gen<sup>l</sup> *Greene's* Army, before Charleston. By him I wrote to Camp.

"I wish I could take myself there, for I'm about tired of this place.

"WILLG<sup>h</sup> N. C.

"Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 82."

[LETTER 234.]

"In this Country the tenth day of this month is the day appointed by Law for the Election of the Senate and Commons of the State. This Legislature is composed of two bodies, a House of Commons and a Senate, and the Executive of a Governor and Council, who are chosen by the Assembly, either of the members in or out of the House, as shall be thought most requisite for the good of the Public.

"Doctor King is about to set up as a Candidate for the Senate, at the ensuing Election. For to make interest for that purpose, I took a ride with him among his friends in the upper part of the County, on the first Instant. We was



at what is call'd a Petty Muster, where the whole was in his favour. The Militia here is under no kind of order, they may appear or let it alone, as they think Proper, without any danger of fines or any other Penalty.

"We spent two or three days with Co<sup>l</sup> Dickinson, who is a man of great property. He is a Sportsman, and entertains all kinds of Company: he is without a child in the World, yet is so craveing that he keeps a Tavern in his own house. The first thing I saw on my entrance was a Free Mulatto and a White man seated on the hearth, foot to foot, playing all fours by firelight, at a Dollar a game. We as guests retired into one of the rooms and Laid siege to his Brandy.

"On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, in the morning, there fell a severe snow; on the 4<sup>th</sup> I returned home, and intended to go to Halifax: the water courses proved so high, that I was obliged to wait another opportunity.

"On the 11<sup>th</sup> we went to the Election; the weather proved bad and but few people appeared. We retired to Major Potter's, where the Doctor, Col. Hawkins and Col. Gill, two of the candidates spent the evening. On the 12<sup>th</sup>, there was a large concourse of people: when this Co<sup>l</sup> Gill was Elected for the Senate and Gen. Parsons and Col. Hawkins for the Commons. The Doctor was thrown out by about 20 votes, by reason of Tar River being past ford- ing from the freshets, and his interest lay chiefly on that side.

"We again spent the evening at the same place, with several strangers and Co<sup>l</sup> Hawkins, who I found to be a sensible, clever fellow and much of the Gentleman.

"W<sup>M</sup>SGH N. C.

"March 13<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 235.]

"On the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> instant I set off for Halifax once more, and rode on by myself; I arrived at Co<sup>l</sup> Willis Alston's just in the evening where I was genteely entertained and proceeded on to Halifax on the 15<sup>th</sup>. I put up



at Co<sup>l</sup> Long's, where I was very politely received; and entertained with their accustomed or more than ordinary Civility. In the town I met with a number of the officers of the North Carolina Line, with whom I was formerly acquainted, who were very happy to see me and seem'd to take a particular pleasure in introducing me to the principal families of the place.

"I met with several of the Ladies with whom I made an acquaintance, the last time I was in the Town, and was exceeding genteely entertained. Drank tea with Miss Dudley, dined and breakfasted at Co<sup>l</sup> Long's. Dined the next day with some of the officers, drank Coffee at Mr. Kidd's, sup'd and spent the evening with Co<sup>l</sup> Ashe, in company of several young Ladies. I found the place the most agreeable of any that I have been in in this State, and I believe had I have had the same acquaintance before that I should have spent the most of my spare time here. I likewise met here Lt. Blewer, of the 4 Penna. Regt. and an officer of the Maryland Line, with a party on their way to the Southern Army. They intended to go the Lower Road, but upon a representation of the difficulties they would meet with on the account of the scarcity of provisions that way, changed their purpose and have promis'd to join me at Hillsborough. My men not being properly armed I apply'd to Governor Burke for arms, who denied me, giving as a reason that the arms belonged to the State, therefore he could not give them to Continental Troops, rather letting me and my men run the chance of being captured by some inconsiderable party, than part with a few stand.

"You must know that a Certain Mr. Fanning, an active Tory Chief in the Southern part of this State, has been doing considerable mischief, and the most of my men being in a bad state of health when left behind, had given up their arms that at present I can muster but ten stand to thirty-three men. However, if the aforesaid gentlemen don't again change their mind, we shall be sufficiently strong. I wanted some clothing for my men who are about



naked, and some Camp-Kettels, but was disappointed in all.

"On the 18<sup>th</sup> I returned to *Alston's*, where I spent the evening. On the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup>, I set off for this place. I came by the small house in the road, mentioned in Letter 227, which turned out to be the nearest way I could take. He again pressed me to dismount and take breakfast and a glass of Brandy, and was so much prepossessed in his favour, that I could not refuse. The gentleman is called Colonel Palmer, a most amiable character. I was however, mistaken in his Country, which was very easy, he is an Englishman, educated in Scotland. Every thing in his house appeared genteel; the furniture rich. I breakfasted and spent an hour very agreeably. I found him to be a man of education, and who was almost a universal traveler; and knew the World and had read mankind well. He was easy in address and had a great flow of spirits; he has an agreeable wife and a fine son about ten years old. He lives here retired and has improved the place much.

"I arrived at Doctor King's just after dark, and found that agreeable family well,—with the addition of the company of Capt Pearce.

"WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

"March 20<sup>th</sup> 1782."

[LETTER 236.]

"I took a walk to the town in order to recreate myself, and when I drew near I heard a man crying out 'one hundred pounds! who bids any more?' I drew near the circle, there stood a mulatto slave for sale; he was about forty years of age, of a good presence, but his countenance fallen. One hundred and five pounds, God help thee thought I! 'Are you strong,' says one—he looked down at his legs and thighs—he seemed to have been half starved. His lip quivered; my heart sympathized with him. 'One hundred and ten pounds! What, no body give any more for this slave who may live these twenty years.' God knows, he looked much more likely to die in five. 'Twas not sufficient to sell



him like a brute; he was jeered and insulted in his distress. He seemed to have a feeling for his own situation, the tears ran trickling down his cheeks 'till his rags in front was quite wet. The most of the slaves in this part of the World seem to be clothed in rags, if you can call it clothing. They have but one suit a year given them;—I mean those that are the best clad,—some have not that. It is a shirt-jacket and breeches made out of coarse cotton, Ill spun, badly wove, and worse made. It commonly lasts about a month. Heavens! is this Liberty?—is this the Land of Liberty, I've been fighting for these six years? 'Tis but the name. Where so many thousands are held in perpetual slavery and what is worse no measures taken to alter it—The slaves are kept in total ignorance, they hardly know there is a God, a great sin in a country so enlightened as ours. But I am of the opinion that it would be somewhat difficult to alter it at present.

“I am now in readiness to move; and expect to march in a day or two after a stay of three months and as many weeks. My next packet I expect will be on the road or perhaps not till I arrive at the Southern Army.

“WILLIAMSBOROUGH N. C.

“March 21<sup>st</sup> 1782.”

[LETTER 237.]

“I am once more on my march and should be exceeding happy if I had company. I left Williamsborough and all my friends there on the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, and arrived at Major Potter's. On the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup> bid adieu to that kind family and proceeded to Hillsborough; had some difficulty in getting five days provisions. I myself crossed Tar River and lodged with an honest, plain old gentleman, of the name of Gauze who had three or four awkward daughters. I rode with two of them as far as their church on the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup>, and arrived at Col. Stephen Moore's in the afternoon. I was highly diverted with their coarse simplicity. Col. Moore is a plain man, but one who knows the World, and is a man of business, he is D. Q<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> to the State

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of North Carolina. His house is beautifully situated on a hill, which commands a view of the whole Country round. On the morning of the 25th, I was surprised to find it was snowing very hard, which continued all the day and caused me to halt. The peach-trees were in full blossom, and covered with snow, you could see a blush of red through it, which to me was a lively resemblance of beauty in distress, and in distress they truly were, for a like accident happened them about a week before I marched and killed the most of them. It is a mere accident in this Country to have a good fruit year, on account of the changeable weather, which is some days like Summer, and the next perhaps as cold as Winter—a very hard frost followed in the evening.

“On the 26<sup>th</sup> we marched on, crossed Flat River and Little River, at fording places, and took Hillsborough in my way, according to promise with expectation of meeting with Lieut. Blewer and company according to appointment made at Halifax. This being a day after the time, I began to conclude they had again changed their mind, which had before veered like a weather-cock with every wind. It would not have troubled me in the least had they not deceived me with regard to my arms and ammunition. I spent the evening with Co<sup>l</sup> Few, a member of Congress from Georgia, and several North Carolina officers, and gentlemen of the town. I retired to bed soon, as I had been very unwell for several days and still continued.

“Hillsborough takes its name from its situation, being surrounded with hills on all sides. It is built on the declivity of a hill and contains about 40 houses, some of which are tolerable genteel; there is a good Church and a small Market house, which is stockaded at present and a guard kept in it, to secure the town against one Fanning, an outlaw, horsethief, murderer, and a British Colonel; 'tis such men as these they have employed and commissioned, to carry their favorite scheme of reducing this Country; and not only employed the *Savages*, but do encourage our own slaves to run away from their Masters, and then arm them to cut their throats. I believe no power ever fell upon such



low methods to carry on a war and reduce a Country as England has since the commencement of this. This fellow has a range of forty miles, and the most of the inhabitants within it are his friends, (a poor ignorant set); and he was himself a servant in this neighborhood, and always a noted villian. He can muster upon occasions forty odd men, men who have deserved the gallows, (the most of them), and have joined him and become desperate, knowing if they are taken, they will be hung. Their cruelties exceed anything I have heard of, for where they have a pique, they murder men and women. A few days ago he came to a place where there was a wedding, called a young fellow out, shot him on the spot, and endeavoured to make his horse trample on the dead body, but the horse being less of the brute than his master, could not be prevailed upon to do it. He has the advantage of any party that is sent against him, having stolen the fastest running horse in the country, which he keeps always ready for himself and minions.

(To be continued.)



FORMATION OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS  
TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

[A paper read before the State Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey, February 22, 1897, by Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., First Vice-President of the New Jersey Historical Society.]

The weary and painful struggle of the Revolutionary contest awakened in the heart of Washington the warmest love towards the whole country, and at the close of the war arose deep emotions of patriotic solicitude for the continuance of the gains of victory. These feelings expressed themselves in three special addresses or deliverances.

The first was a circular letter addressed to the Governor of each State, on June 8, 1783. The immediate subject was the difficulties connected with the dissolution of an army of unpaid soldiers. But he proceeded to press upon the consideration of the Governors four points, which he pronounced "The pillars of the Nation." First, an indissoluble union of the States under one federal head of increased energy. Second, a sacred regard to public justice in discharging the obligations assumed by Congress. Third, adoption of a proper peace establishment for the whole country. Fourth, the cultivation of a friendly policy among the people, which should lead to mutual concessions for the general prosperity. This was an admirable preparation for the trying ordeal to which he foresaw they would be subjected.

The second paper was his Farewell Address to the army, when he withdrew from the command thereof, November 2, 1783. This is a paternal farewell to his comrades in arms, full of sympathy, and designed to render them patriotic and patient citizens, even as they had been faithful soldiers amid the privations of many campaigns.

The third notable address is that which is known as "Washington's Farewell Address to the American People,"



and which was put in print September 19, 1796. The intention to issue a patriotic appeal as a farewell was formed in Washington's mind towards the last of his first presidential term; for he desired to retire to private life, and the question had been mooted in political circles whether a President should serve more than one term.

In a long communication, dated May 20, 1792, Washington unbosomed his mind to Madison upon the subject, who was then his trusted friend, one upon whose opinion he placed great reliance. He writes, requesting that, "If the measure in itself should strike you as proper, or likely to produce public good, or private honor, that you would turn your thoughts to a Valedictory Address from me to the public, expressing in plain and honest terms my leave of them as a public man: and I take the liberty at my departure from civil life, as I formerly did at my military exit, to invoke a continuance of the blessings of Providence upon it." Washington then proceeds to outline the thoughts he had embodied, and propounds several queries. He asked Madison to "Consider first, the propriety of such an address. Second, the time when it should appear, and the mode. Third, several matters which should be contained in it, e.g. whether to touch specifically any of the exceptional parts of the Constitution." For the Constitution issued out of confusion and sectionalism, and the swell of the compromise had not yet subsided. This compact did not please the strong Colonies and it did not satisfy the weak Colonies. The best statesmen regarded it with distrust and anxiety. When Washington sent a copy of it to Lafayette, he accompanied it with so timid an endorsement as this: "It is now a child of fortune, to be fostered by some and buffeted by others. What will be the general opinion or reception of it, is not for me to decide, nor shall I say anything for or against it." John Adams wrote, "We have made a Constitution which will keep us from cutting each other's throats for a few years." But of this same Constitution the most eminent statesman of England, Gladstone, has remarked, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work



ever struck off, at a given time, by the brain and purpose of man."

To this communication Madison replied June 20. He hopes that Washington "will reconsider all the circumstances and consequences," and that he will consent to "one more sacrifice, severe as it may be, to the desires and interests of your country." And then Madison states that he will give, as Washington requested, his opinion on the queries propounded. He writes that such an address is "most desirable." He advises that the time be delayed as long as possible, "to the middle of September." Also that the mode of giving it to the public should be "through the Newspapers." He then formulates a draft of a valedictory address. This draft consists mostly of personal matters, in which Washington is made to express himself in a manner not justified by the suggestions which had been laid down by Washington. He makes Washington dwell on the increasing weight of years, as though he might not be competent for the duties required. His language constitutes a covert excuse of the men who were secretly plotting against Washington. It must be remembered that this draft was prepared when the controversy between Hamilton and Jefferson was approaching the irrecoverable conflict it soon assumed, and Madison was veering towards Jefferson. He touches upon important matters in hypothetical outlines, according as Washington might regard certain subjects from this or that stand-point. (For a comparison of Washington's memoranda and the proposed substitutes of Madison, see John C. Hamilton's "History of the Republic," Vol. VI., Chapter CXXXI.)

But the state of the country was so critical during the summer of 1792 that Washington yielded to the entreaties of those eminent and trusted patriots who predicted dire disaster if he withdrew from public life, and he consented to be nominated again. The infant nation needed the father's fostering care yet longer.

Four additional years passed away,—years of vexatious trial, of perilous complications, and of bitter strife, to such



an extent that the survival of the Union was imperilled. Indeed, only the commanding authority of Washington, his discreet and firm management of public matters, his rare forecast, and the unbounded confidence of the people in his wisdom and unselfish patriotism, prevented such a catastrophe. But now a condition had been reached when Washington believed that he could retire to the sweets of private life with safety to his country. So he expressed it, "The step was compatible with patriotism and long cherished personal desire." And the conviction returned with even greater strength than before, that a Farewell Address to the people would be a proper mode of retiring from office.

The paper of Madison and his own memoranda had lain before Washington during those four eventful years, and we may presume that, from time to time, he had noted thoughts which might be appropriate for this Farewell when he should send it forth. It seems to have been his original intention to retain the substance and form of Madison's draft, and to make such an addition as events and circumstances required, because dangers which lurked on the horizon had developed and assumed a perplexing and threatening aspect during his second administration. But Washington was not clear in his own mind to what extent it would be wise to refer to these, and precisely what points to introduce or to amplify.

Again, therefore, he sought a counsellor. Madison was alive and very influential, but the relations between them were not as confidential as aforetime. Madison was sympathizing with Jefferson, and Jefferson's ideas were so inharmonious with those of Washington that he had retired from the cabinet. Naturally, therefore, Washington turned to the wisest and most generally esteemed statesman of the country, Alexander Hamilton. His judgment Washington highly regarded, and their relations were intimate.

About a month before Congress adjourned, which was June 1, 1796, Hamilton was visiting in Philadelphia; and then Washington, in a conversation with him, disclosed his purpose to issue a Farewell Address, and showed Hamilton



a draft in its rough state, asking him to "redress it." On May 10 Hamilton wrote to Washington from New York, "When last in Philadelphia, you mentioned to me your wish that I would redress a certain paper which you had prepared. As it is important that a thing of this kind should be done with great care and much at leisure, touched and re-touched, I submit a wish, that as soon as you have given it the body you mean to have, it may be sent to me." In this correspondence Hamilton always refers to the draft as a "certain paper."

Without waiting to give this a "body," Washington transmitted, May 15, to Hamilton, Madison's draft prepared in the summer of 1792, and with it a series of memoranda of his own. He stated what he proposed to do, and requested Hamilton to prepare a paper based on his own suggestions, with such modifications as he thought desirable. In this letter Washington also gave full permission to Hamilton to "throw the whole into a different form;" but he is anxious it should be known that four years earlier he had begun the preparation of a Farewell Address, and that he had continued in office against his inclination. "If you form one anew, it of course will be predicated upon the sentiments contained in the enclosed paper." The paper thus transmitted consisted of three parts. First, an introduction, in which Washington states his resolution to retire at the close of his first term, and the reason he did not. Second, Madison's draft quoted in full. Third, hints or heads of topics by Washington, which are the same in substance as in the paper to the governors. This document had not a "body" which Hamilton desired, for it was not written out in full; but it contained in substance the sentiments Washington desired to place before the American people. It will be noted that Washington does not ask Hamilton's opinion respecting the issuance of this address, because that was already fixed in Washington's mind.

Hamilton discouraged Washington's idea of incorporating Madison's draft in its explicit form, because the significance had largely passed away in the rush of the eventful years,



and some of the sentiments, in Hamilton's opinion, were "most too personal" to Washington. He, therefore, proposed and sketched two forms, the one on the basis of a combination, and the other an original plan. In the first, which was an attempt to incorporate part of Madison's paper and Washington's heads or hints, Hamilton prepared an abstract of twenty-three points. The first ten of these were derived from Madison's draft; the remainder were points that Washington had made in 1792 in the paper to Madison, and the points presented in 1796 in the request to Hamilton. This combination was unsatisfactory to Washington. It was sent August 10 from New York. In the other paper, which was the original draft by Hamilton, and which, so far as known, is the only paper preserved by Hamilton, he fused in his own mind this abstract of points, leaving out some and modifying others. He embodied the sentiments of Washington with few exceptions, and in the very language of Washington where it could well be employed, and at the same time he raised the tone of the Address.

These points are in substance what Hamilton had written and advocated for years. But this similarity, and almost identity, are not to be construed into proof that Hamilton was the author of the Farewell Address in "body, feature, and spirit," as was the contention by some at the beginning of this century, because these two men had been in complete harmony on national questions for four years. Washington needed not to learn statesmanship from any man. The whole people followed him rather than Congress. Such was the complaint of Jefferson. The noblest in the land were his willing disciples. It is far more probable that Hamilton's ideas were formed by his contact with his chief. He was built up to the lofty ideas of Washington. This paper Washington adopted as his guide. It was sent July 30.

Washington, in a letter to Hamilton dated June 26, expresses his regret that he did not publish his valedictory the day after the adjournment of Congress, which was June 1. He writes that it might have prevented the remark that "I



waited to see that the current was against me." As the election was to be in autumn, his opinion was that his decision not to serve a third term should be made known at an early date. He then asked Hamilton's opinion as to the date, and declared that it should not be delayed later than the middle of September. To this Hamilton replied, July 5, that the question should remain "undecided till the last moment;" and adds, "If a storm gathers how can you retreat? This is a most serious question. The proper period for your declination will be two months before the meeting of the electors. The parties will in the mean time electioneer conditionally, that is, if you decline; for a serious opposition to you will I think hardly be risked." This opinion of Hamilton so far influenced Washington that he postponed issuing the Address later than he intended. Hence each of them proceeded more slowly in its formation.

Washington now had before him the paper prepared by Madison in 1792, his own views contained in memoranda, and the two sketches prepared by Hamilton,—the one in the form of a combination, and the other an original paper. He now proceeded to prepare his Farewell Address, following largely, if not wholly, the original paper of Hamilton. This, when finished, was transmitted to Hamilton, August 25, from Philadelphia, with the request that he should consult John Jay. Hamilton wrote to Jay that he had "received a letter from Washington and with it the draft of a farewell address" which the President had prepared, and "on which he requests our opinion." Hamilton asked for an interview at Jay's house, New York City, and a day was appointed.

When they came together, Hamilton remarked that, "after examination, it appeared to him that the draft (of the President) was susceptible of improvement; that he thought the best way was to leave that draft untouched and to write a new draft, with such amendments, alterations, and corrections as he thought advisable, and that he had done so. He proposed to make it the subject of our council," which they



did. "We proceeded deliberately to discuss amendments; but they were not of much importance. The President's draft remained as delicacy required, and was not obscured by interlineations." Mr. Jay suggested that, as the "paper was of great consequence, a further critical examination should be bestowed upon it; but Mr. Hamilton declined, saying that he was pressed for time and was anxious to return the draft to Washington." "It afterward occurred to me, that a certain proposition was expressed in terms too general and unqualified, and I hinted it in a letter to the President." So wrote Mr. Jay in a letter in 1811, when the discussion waxed warm as to whether Washington or Hamilton prepared the Farewell Address.

This original draft prepared by Hamilton and revised at this interview, together with Washington's manuscript, was sent to the President. These two patriots, Jay and Hamilton, carefully and critically, with the spirit of statesmen, the taste of scholars, and of affection for the man, had gone over the documents paragraph by paragraph; indeed, word by word. This draft, matured so fully, Washington adopted by conforming his own to it; for he took his own manuscript and compared it carefully with this new draft by Hamilton and Jay, and made the alterations and corrections which are so notable a feature of that manuscript, which is in good preservation to-day. Before making this revision, he wrote to Hamilton in a letter dated August 25, 1796, "I prefer it greatly to the other draft [*i.e.*, he preferred that sent by Hamilton], being more copious on material points, more dignified on the whole, and with less egotism. It goes as far as it ought with respect to any personal mention of myself. . . . I shall expunge all that is marked as unimportant in the paper; and, as you perceive some marginal notes written with a pencil, I pray you to give the sentiments so noticed material consideration. After which and in every other part, if change or alteration takes place in the draft, let them be so clearly interlined, erased, or referred to in the margin, as that no mistake may happen in copying it for the press."



A week later, September 1, Washington wrote to Hamilton, "Since revolving on the paper, I have regretted that another subject was not touched upon also, I mean education generally, as one of the surest means of enlightening, and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens; but particularly the establishment of a university." The letter proceeded to give reasons for the establishment of such an institution at the "Federal Capital," and his purpose to contribute towards its endowment. (This letter is marked private.) To this Hamilton replied, on September 4, "The idea of a University is one of those which I think will be most properly reserved for your speech at the opening of the session. A general suggestion respecting education will very fitly come into the Address." This advice was followed. Hamilton also considered carefully the "marginal notes," as requested in the letter of August 25, and returned the manuscript with his suggestions. This was September 5. The correspondence closed September 8 by a letter from Hamilton.

Washington then subjected his Address to another revision, and on the 15th of that month consulted the printer; so that almost to the last day he kept the Farewell Address open to amendments. On Thursday, September 15, Washington, who was then in Philadelphia, sent for Mr. Claypoole to inquire when he could print the document. Mr. Claypoole replied, whenever the President desired. Mr. Claypoole states in a letter respecting the interview, "The following Monday was fixed. He then told me that his secretary would call on me with a copy of the Address on the next morning, Friday." After the proof-sheet was printed and compared with the copy (which Mr. Claypoole himself did), he carried the revision to be examined by the President, who made few alterations except in punctuation. (Claypoole's letter to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, February 22, 1826.) There seems to have been two proof-sheets,—one revised, and the other as it first came from the press. One of these is said to be at Mount Vernon. The Farewell Address appeared on Monday afternoon, Septem-



ber 19, 1796 (which date the manuscript bears), in *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, of Philadelphia.

This original manuscript, entirely in the handwriting of Washington, Mr. Claypoole craved the honor of keeping. This was granted. It was retained as a precious relic in Mr. Claypoole's family until about 1848, when an opportunity enabled Mr. James Lenox, of New York, to purchase the autograph, and it is now one of the treasures of the Lenox Library of that city. It is carefully protected in a glass case. The trustees propose shortly to issue fac-simile copies. The manuscript consists of thirty-two pages, quarto letter-paper, written on both sides and sewed together, and it is in excellent preservation. Pages 10, 11, and 16 are almost wholly expunged. On every page lines are erased and corrections made; yet most of them do not change the meaning, and are verbal.

An examination of this manuscript starts the inquiry, Inasmuch as these alterations and amendments are so numerous, why did not Washington rewrite the draft? We do not know any reason assigned, but we will venture to suggest a cause. Washington was impatient to return to Mount Vernon. He had gone to Philadelphia for the purpose of receiving the ministers from Spain and Holland, and "for the despatching of other business, which could not so well be executed by written communication between himself and heads of departments." He states in the letter of August 25 his intention to hand the Farewell Address to the public before leaving the city; that he expected "to return by or before the tenth of next month, for the purpose of bringing up my family for the winter." He also was convinced that the anxiety of the public mind should be relieved as quickly as possible with reference to the rumor that he would not serve another term, and in those days of slow travel two or three weeks would be required for the Farewell to reach distant parts of the land. He had much business to arrange, and he felt that he could not spare the time to rewrite so long a document; and probably he believed it was not indispensable that he should so burden himself. He left the



city on Monday morning, and the Address came from the press in the afternoon.

The publication of the Address produced a profound sensation. Several of the State Legislatures ordered it to be inserted in their Journals. At once the severe and vituperative invectives that prevailed were hushed. It commanded the highest admiration of the statesmen of Europe. Alison, the eminent historian, declares of it, "He bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving the government, to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison."

The foregoing is a full delineation of a question that for half a century provoked much discussion. Those who may desire to be informed of the arguments will find an exhaustive presentation of the subject in "An Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address," by Horace Binney, Philadelphia, 1859. Edward Everett, whose magnificent oration on Washington was the admiration of the last generation, stated in a letter to James Lenox, "One of the most interesting questions relating to the life of Washington is the authorship of the Farewell Address."

In order to a clearer idea of this question we may trace it thus concisely. The conception of such an Address originated solely with Washington. The idea proceeded out of his fatherly love to the people whom he had led in their struggle for independence. He consulted Madison nine months before the close of his first presidential term as to the advisability of such an Address, and concerning some ideas that should be incorporated in it. These initial ideas Madison expressed a vague opinion of. Four years later Washington entered in earnest upon the preparation of his Farewell, and consulted Hamilton. Between them a protracted correspondence ensued for four months, in which there was a frank interchange of opinion, and towards the end the judgment of John Jay was sought. The sagacity of Jay's statesmanship was exemplified in the treaty with England, which has been called "A Masterpiece of Diplomacy." Meanwhile the ideas of Madison had so faded away that



only a few thoughts of his are retained, which are to be found in the introduction. This document, which was the result of frequent and careful revisions by the three wisest men in the nation, Hamilton, Jay, and Washington, at last went through the final alembic of Washington's supreme consideration. In this process it is manifest that, with the self-sacrificing spirit which from youth was his conspicuous and noble characteristic, he was seeking to secure the best and wisest counsels, expressed in the calmest and most perfect manner. So that the term *authorship* should be broadened into a question of *formation*. Washington was the author in the sense of the originator, and he was the author also in that he adopted and completed the subject-matter. It was the inspiration of Washington passing through the facile pen of Hamilton. As the document lies before us, it is not a joint work to the extent that Hamilton is responsible for some specifications and Washington for other topics. All are the sentiments of Washington as originating in his own mind. Some were omitted at the suggestion of Hamilton, in order to avoid the imputation of affected modesty, as Washington notes over against these; others were modified, not in purport, but in phraseology; while yet others were subjected to slight verbal changes.

Chief-Justice Jay wrote in 1811, when this question of authorship was agitated, "Washington, although always relying ultimately on his own judgement, was most solicitous to obtain light on every question and measure which he had to decide." This is confirmed by the advice of Washington to a friend, "Submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it carry conviction is always accompanied with disgust." And Mr. Binney remarks, "Two men were never better fitted for just such a joint work: fitted by different, and even by contrasting qualities, and by reciprocal trust and respect." Hamilton's constructive and analytical mind and training enabled him to formulate a document out of Washington's ideas; but that document was subjected, in the last analysis, to the accurate survey and searching scrutiny of Washington's singularly discreet



judgment, as that was enlightened by the wisdom of others.

It is very interesting to have these omissions and alterations preserved in the original autograph, because they reveal the spirit of Washington. They touch his pulse, to record the throbs of his heart as aroused by righteous indignation or stirred by patriotic memories. He had been irritated beyond endurance at the base calumnies of his traducers and at the indifference of many of his professed adherents. Hence a resolution had been formed to enter upon a partial defence of himself in an asseveration of the purity of his motives, a recalling of his life-long services, and a declaration of the affection he bore to his native land; but, by the advice of Hamilton, all such references were omitted because there was no call for a vindication. It was an exhibition of rare insight that Hamilton could discern that he who was first in the hearts of his countrymen needed no appeal nor defence. His deeds, his patience, his magnanimity, afforded superabundant evidence.

This Farewell Address is not an official announcement, nor a state paper. It is enthroned on a higher position than any such document. It was a personal matter. As Washington says, "It is to be the closing act in my administration." It was more. It contains his last words to the American people. He lived only three years and three months afterwards. And so it has become a national classic, like Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg, which derived its inspiration and spirit from this Farewell. After an introduction expressing his cordial and thankful retirement from public position, he devotes the remainder to sundry patriotic admonitions and noble sentiments, the like of which are interspersed all through his letters and addresses. The policy he inculcates is founded on the same principles which he had always advocated. Every thought can be traced to special experiences in his connection with public affairs. When he left Mount Vernon to be inaugurated he wrote in his diary that his mind was "oppressed with more anxiety and painful sensations than I have words to express," and



that he had little hope of answering the expectations of the country. But Washington never wavered in his purpose of maintaining the Constitution. With calm fervor he declared, "Union is indispensable. If you have a strong Union the nation will be strong. Do you want a nation? This constitution is the only way to have it. The Union or ruin." Thus bravely did Lincoln take the same position in the dark days of our civil war. "Everything to save the Union."

The Address contains solemn admonitions against sectionalism and against combinations to obstruct the enforcement of the laws of the United States. Insubordination was then rife. There was intense excitement in relation to the judiciary. Two decisions of the Supreme Court were openly declared to be void. The Legislature of Georgia had passed an act subjecting to death any marshal of the United States who should attempt to serve process against that State at the suit of an individual, according to a decision of the Supreme Court. He also points out the perils of fostering a fierce party spirit. And never has that spirit been quite so savage and unscrupulous as it was during that second administration.

A consideration of this Farewell would be incomplete without calling especial attention to Washington's views respecting the education of the people. As has been stated, he was extremely solicitous to insert in the Address a section on the importance of establishing a National University. He was dissuaded from this purpose by the advice of Hamilton, and contented himself with these brief sentences: "Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." The pet scheme of his old age was the founding of a National University. He wrote earnestly in 1794 of establishing such an institution in the "Federal City." His project was to create a distinctively American college, so that young men could be fully educated away from for-



eign influences. He desired to have the sons of the United States imbued with that same love of country which burned in his own breast. He proposed to bequeath to such an institution a large tract of land that had come into his possession. In his last message to Congress he urgently presses on them to consider this scheme; but it has never obtained favor.

This deep appreciation of the importance of education began in Washington's boyhood. His own advantages in this respect were limited, and he realized his deficiency. He was particular about style, and especially in regard to punctuation. Later he studied the best English authors, and was fond of history; hence in this Farewell he relied much on the literary taste of Hamilton to improve his rhetoric. His standard in regard to general education was beyond his time and far in advance of his own State. In Virginia there had not been that love of learning which prevailed in the New England Colonies and in New Jersey. At an early day one Governor of Virginia taxed schoolmasters twenty shillings a year. Others opposed education because it would arouse a spirit of rebellion; but Washington's views were far broader and nobler. He wrote on one occasion, "Fully apprised of the influence which sound learning has on religion and manners, on government, liberty, and law, I shall only lament my want of abilities to make it still more extensive."

Washington bestowed constant care on the education of his own family. His letters to his wife's son and grandson disclose his broad and practical views. Young men whom he knew to be earnest were generously aided by him in obtaining an education. He was especially interested in securing school advantages for children of indigent parents. He wrote in December, 1785, "It has long been my intention to invest at my death, 1000 pounds, the interest of which is to be devoted to educate orphan children." By his will he bequeathed four thousand pounds for such a school in Alexandria, Virginia, the interest of which alone was to be used. Like Alfred the Great, who has well been eulogized as the "Father of the English nation," Washington, the



"Father of *his* country," was the friend and patron of learning. Surely we may claim that he was the first statesman of America who advocated the essential principles of our invaluable system of public schools. His standard for the education of all classes was indeed ahead of his age.<sup>1</sup>

This Farewell Address so breathes the lofty spirit of the last words of those old Hebrew patriots and statesmen, Moses, Joshua, and Samuel, that it is entitled to veneration second only to that which should be rendered to their farewells, recorded on the pages of Holy Writ. And as their solemn counsels were prophetic, so his admonitions and exhortations are prophecy, and have become the national oracle of this century. Indeed, painfully applicable to us are its admonitions. All thoughtful observers of the time are as anxious for our future as was Washington at the close of the last century. Had this Address received as much attention as has been given to the Declaration of Independence, we may reasonably believe that a more conciliatory spirit would have pervaded the differing sections of our country. Far more beneficial would it have been, at each recurring anniversary of our independence, to have read a part or the whole of this Address, and to have made its themes the substance of Fourth of July oratory. His fatherly counsel fused with patriotic speech might have abated angry passions. Indeed, such a course might have prevented the bloody civil war.

We need to revive and quicken to-day those salutary counsels. As King Saul, in the closing hours of his reign, when troubles glowered dark and sore, went back to old Samuel, the wise and faithful but neglected counsellor of his youth, so we may plead with all the powers that patriotism can evoke, Bring us up Washington. Let this Address occupy a place of honor in those buildings which are dedicated as the Head-quarters of Washington, or which are associated with events in his campaigns. Let all our people become familiar with its patriotic sentiments. Let the

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent article on Washington's interest in education, see *New England Magazine*, May, 1890.



children from the thirty nations who study in our public schools hear it read on each recurring celebration of Washington's birthday. Let extracts from its pages be honored as subjects of declamation, as have been the ardent eloquence of Patrick Henry and the glowing paragraphs of Webster. Thus may we vivify Washington's Farewell Address to the American People into a practical existence. The time passed has sufficed for eulogizing the Declaration of Independence. Let us go on from this foundation to the perfecting and embellishing of the Temple of Liberty. As we enter upon a new century, we should give to this Farewell a supreme significance equal to that with which it first thrilled every patriot's heart. The need of it is the prophecy of its coming. In this is the hope of deliverance.

Washington is the brightest star in the galaxy of America's great men, and his lustre is undimmed and is diffused all over the earth. Almost every civilized nation during this century has had its great hero. Poland had its Kosciusko, Italy its Cavour, Hungary its Kossuth, England its Wellington, France its Napoleon, Germany its Bismarck; but Washington alone is the man who has captured the veneration of the world. His name is known in China. In the huts of Greece you may see his portrait. The young patriots of Japan make him their model. Wherever are aspirations for human freedom, wherever a lofty patriotism has shone out, there Washington has been an inspiration. Were we a pagan nation he would have been deified.

Alison, the eminent English historian, in his scholarly eulogy of Washington, declares, "It is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst transatlantic wilds, to such a man."

"Many shall commend his understanding,  
And to eternity he shall not pass away;  
His memorial shall not depart,  
And his name shall live from generation to generation;  
Nations shall show forth his wisdom  
And the congregation shall publish his praise."

ECCLESIASTICUS, Chap. XXXIX. Lange's Commentary.



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## **The Late Dr. Frederick Dawson Stone.**


It becomes our mournful duty to announce to the readers of the Magazine the unexpected death of DR. FREDERICK DAWSON STONE, its chief Editor, and Librarian of the Historical Society, which took place at his home, in Germantown, on the 12th of August last. DR. STONE had been an invalid for some years, and his friends had hoped that his health would be improved by the short vacation which he allowed himself from the exhausting labors of his position; but on his return home from the country he was suddenly snatched from the affection of his friends and from his great usefulness as an official of the Society by an attack of heart disease.

It is hard to say whether DR. STONE was more closely bound to his friends by the strong tie of the love they bore him, or by the implicit trust and confidence with which his administration of the affairs of the Society inspired them. He was elected a member on March 9, 1863, and he soon became marked out as a devoted student of history, and especially for his acquaintance with books relating to American history. His knowledge in this special branch of the work became so conspicuous that he was in 1876 elected with great unanimity Librarian of the Society, an office which he held with increasing reputation to the day of his death. Of the many of our readers who have had occasion to consult him on points connected with their historical inquiries, there is probably not one who has not been




struck by the extent and variety of his information, the ease with which he cleared up obscure points, and the uniform kindness and sweetness of temper with which he imparted his knowledge to those who sought aid from him. We risk nothing in saying that by such persons DR. STONE was always recognized as one of the foremost students of American history, and in Pennsylvania history, without doubt, the very first. His critical knowledge of American history was to the last degree minute and accurate. His researches corrected many popular errors, and he was a most trustworthy guide in a field where so many have been misleading.

DR. STONE was an earnest advocate for the establishment of this Magazine, and he was its chief editor from the beginning. If the Magazine has done anything during the period of its existence to aid historical studies or to maintain and advance the reputation of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it must be said that much of the credit is due to DR. STONE's judgment and skill in conducting it.



*[Faint, illegible text follows]*





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## Death of William Spohn Baker.

As we go to press, the sudden death of MR. WILLIAM SPOHN BAKER, on Wednesday morning, September 8, 1897, is announced. He was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania April 28, 1873, and for many years has served as one of the Vice-Presidents and a member of the Council.

MR. BAKER was widely known through his researches in all that pertained to the life and character of Washington, and his last contribution, "Washington after the Revolution," is concluded in the present number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, to which he was an esteemed and frequent contributor.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

DR. EDMUND PORTER, "PRACTITIONER IN PHYSIC."—Dr. Edmund Porter, the writer of the following letter, was born in Haddam, Connecticut, June 18, 1791, and died at Frenchtown, New Jersey, July 12, 1826. He married Mary Moore, September 28, 1816. Dr. Porter became a resident of Frenchtown in June of 1820. He was one of the founders of the Medical Society of Hunterdon County, and one of its first delegates to the State Medical Society; served as a member of the State Assembly, and was a successful and popular physician and surgeon. He was also a frequent contributor to the medical journals and the press of the State. He was a licentiate in medicine of the Connecticut Medical Society; the Medical Society of St. Bartholomew, W. I.; and the Union Medical Society of Pennsylvania. Dr. Porter's letter is addressed to his cousin, Miss Laura Anderson.

"FRENCHTOWN, N. J., 1st May, 1824.

"A Period of Thirteen years has gone by since I had the happiness of beholding you (I fear for the last time). In that period 3380 days, [?] I have seen much of the follies and vanities of life, I have been goaded by the lash, and flattered by the smiles of *Fortuna*. To recount all the adventures since I saw you last would require a Bibliographer. In the period mentioned, I have been in several parts of North and South America, I resided nearly one year in the West Indies. Dr. Miner informs me that you are still 'In a state of single blessedness' What the 'duce' has become of your standing beau, or the crowd of admirers who once danced attendance to your mandates—Dr. M. speaks of you in most flattering terms, has he any designs upon you? As this letter is not entirely sentimental, I shall communicate only such events in my own career and ask such questions of your self as are only interesting to long separated friends.

"In 1815, May 8th, I arrived at New Haven on my return to the United States; health much better, as that was the chief object of my voyage. I then visited Boston and Salem where I had bills of Exchange on the firm of Own & Co. of the latter town for something like \$2000.—Protested, All lost, no property left. Was engaged in a love affair of long standing. On my way to Haddam, Conn. visited my sister Mrs. Mary Noble, at Springfield, Massachusetts; hospitably treated. Then our uncle James Anderson and family in Hartford, Conn. Then my native town Haddam. Did not marry nor neither was I given in marriage. Visited New York, and my friends and acquaintances there, then shaped my course for the western and southern states; remained two weeks at Newton, Sussex County, New Jersey. Then traveled to Easton about forty-five or fifty miles distant, a thriving Borough situated on the West side of the Delaware River surrounded by mountains and intersected by rivers, containing about 300 well built houses and 2000 inhabitants, principally Germans or of German extraction. At two *outs* and one *in*—*Out* of money, *out* of credit, and *in* debt, if \$12.00 makes a man so after a months board. I then proceeded to Allentown, or as it is sometimes called the Borough of Northampton in Lehigh County, Pa., where I quitted for a time 'pills and boluses,' for to instruct their principal



school, where I realised on an average about \$100. per month, for nearly nine months. I then bought a fine horse rather superior to 'Fiddlesticks,' on which the immortal Goldsmith began his novel tour, and commenced my own to the town of Hummelstadt on the delightful banks of the Swatara Creek in Dauphin County, Penna. where I commenced the practice of medicine and Surgery in the vacancy occasioned by the death of my predecessor Dr. Patton.

"I have long retained the names of many of my scholars at Allentown, among a mass of manuscript which begin to lumber on my hands, therefore as this is merely a detail of events to my cousin, in connection, a catalogue of those whom I instructed may at some future period prove interesting to my own children. Hence I have inserted their names viz:

"*Girls.* Saphrona Smith Hannah Echherdt Eve Clader Sally Schooley Hannah Clader Henerrietta Wagner Eliza Wagoner Julia Ann Miller Abigal Seagraves Mary Ginginger Matilda Phue Lucina Sneider Rebecca Hanse Eliza Eckhardt Amy Sager.

"*Boys.* Thomas Wilson William Wilson Francis Wilson Thomas Savits Abraham Gross William Mince John Miller Peter Young Jacob Stein Thomas Ginginger Peter Huber Jacob Newhard John Newhard George Gross Daniel Wagner David Kiper William Knight Chas. Stein William Horn Mannasa Sneider Edward Sager William Gongware William Sneider Miles Echhardt Thomas Newhardt Augustus Joseph Miller William Saeger Charles Seipes Charles Wagoner Charles Martin Henry Weaver John Dorney Joseph Walman Edward Martin Obediah Weaver James Seagraves Jacob Gross John Haughenbock George Buckman Jesse Oberly Thomas Sager Thomas Worman Charles Keckt John Stein Abraham Stein John Sneider Solomon Raver George Kecht Solomon Kecht Jacob Nagle Joseph Gross James Swander John Gross Geo. Gross Jacob Klader Valentine Klader Charles Fatzinger Samuel Troxel Edward Wise Peter Schooley Ruben Coffman Francis Gross John Gross Charles Gross Thomas Sneider Peter Rhinesmith George Tribal Smith Thomas Gangware Tilghman Wagner Thomas Hopkins Delia Hopkins Nancy Bell James Gongewar Geo. Hoffman Joseph Fatzinger Conrad Koker Eliza Eckhart Samuel Ginginger Augustus Rhine Edward Rhodes Henry Worman Francis Horn Chas. Kickline Jacob Henry Samuel Newhard Thomas Klauder William Echhardt Isaac Sager Daniel Lair (1815 & 1816.)

"The 28th of September 1816 I was married to Miss Mary Moore, a Lady of Easton, Penna., where like Dr. Franklin, (who tells the story of his after wife Mrs. Read) I became acquainted with her under circumstances more unfavorable than Franklin. He had 'two rolls of bread,' I had none. We have had five children. Two first dead. The three last are now living, viz: Edmund Porter, Leonidas Samuel Miner Porter, and Thomas Miner Anderson Porter.

"After I was married I lived in Easton near four years. I dealt in drugs, medicines, paints, millinary &c. &c., and on the 29th of May, 1820 I failed in business, to a small amount comparatively speaking, when you learn that I commenced on a credit of 5 or \$600 and that only \$1000. was lost after doing nearly \$30,000. in trade, persecuted, and bourn down by the rich reptiles, the Worms of accumulation, and Banking speculation, who rioted on the nerves & sinews of the public during our last war with the 'mistress of the ocean.' The redemptioners of continental Europe who had become the inhabitants of the fairest part of North America, seemed desirous to lord it over the sons of those who



nursed the revolutionary cradle. Hessians, Hanoverians, Westphalians, Polanders, Germans, Austrians, Waldechers and all the Northern Hord seemed anxious to bow-down the energies of a youth, at once intent on being serviceable to them and beneficial to his country, whose aim was the privilege which the constitution of that country granted him, 'Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness' But enough, I removed to Frenchtown the 10th June, 1820, and have done as much business in my professional line as any, who call themselves Doctors, for the last four years. Money is scarce. The pay is tolerable. I enjoy myself tolerably well. I am getting old and fleshy. I have not that puny pale look which I had twelve years ago. Next 18th June I shall be (34) years old. Dr. Miner informs me that your father is dead. I feel sensibly your misfortune, and deplore the irreparable loss which you have sustained. I would thank you to inform me of every particular of my old acquaintances, and all that relates to your family. Is uncles Robert and James Anderson alive? Where are your Brothers? What has become of your sister and her family. Is Dr. Smith in Lynne. How comes on the 'Eel skins, and . . . of North Quarter.'

"E. PORTER."

A RAILROAD AND CANAL-BOAT JOURNEY FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NORTHUMBERLAND IN 1835.—A lady in June of 1835 writes,—

"We arrived at Northumberland yesterday about Eight o'clock in the morning, and I never performed the journey with so little fatigue of either body or mind. At the depot in Broad Street, I had the pleasure of meeting cousin Edward. . . . We had the fortitude to ride up the inclined plane, . . . the air absolutely cold when we reached the summit. . . . At intervals we travelled at the rate of twenty miles an hour, the wind ahead, and sparks flying as thick as hailstones—for a time this was frightful, from the apprehension that we should take fire, which sometimes did not seem improbable, for with all our activity it was impossible to prevent the sparks from burning our dresses more or less, indeed they were riddled. . . . Not long had we been disturbed by the lighting of sparks upon us, before we were surprised by the sudden stopping of the cars and upon inquiry found the car immediately before us was on fire; it was fortunately extinguished without injury to any one, save that which fright occasioned. Some time after there was another commotion, from the burning of a coat on the top of the car, by the time this was put out there was another conflagration at the extreme line of cars—this was also adroitly managed, and we again passed on, when we were suddenly stopped by a heavy jolt, this arose from a bolt giving way, and last of all, a switch being out of order in the rails impeded our progress for a short period. . . . arrived at Columbia about four, here we met with excellent accommodations. . . . The next morning we were on board the *General Jackson* at eight o'clock, and passed up the Susquehanna canal as far as Duncan's Island, before night, the scenery, wild, picturesque and magnificent. When we turned into our berths for the night; although they were as comfortable as we could expect, it requires much philosophy not to complain of confined air, narrow beds, and scanty supply of water for morning ablutions, with little or no space to lay down the articles you take off, . . . when up, the next thing to do was to go upon deck, but the morning was too cold and damp to allow us to do this for more than a few minutes at a time, with thick shawls and cloaks wrapped close around, and a return to the cabin was hardly to be borne. . . . In passing under one of the canal bridges, one or two of our party were very near meeting with a serious accident. It was



mentioned before we came up to the bridge, that we had better go down, or more towards the edge of the boat, as the top there was lower than in the centre where we were standing; some of us had the prudence to go below, Mary, Mr. D., and another passenger, not of our company, remained on top to run their chance. . . . Mary, notwithstanding she laid down flat, was so tightly pressed by the beams of the bridge that her arm was scratched and quite sore, Mr. D., more upon the rounding, escaped with a scratched sleeve, the other passenger, finding the space likely to be small, jumped upon the bridge while the boat was passing under, a very adroit manoeuvre, in which had he not succeeded, death would have been the consequence. . . ."

EXCERPTA 1809-1810.—"My feelings were sadly tried yesterday on perusing the Lancaster paper of this week [Dec. 15, 1809], it is there mentioned that Peyton Smith, second son of General John Smith, near Winchester fell in a duel fought with a Mr. Holmes. My poor nephew was but eighteen, and a lad of uncommon promise—so ends human expectation! His beauty, his talents, his fine figure, his wealth, highly as they were prized by the admiring multitude, were insufficient to ward off the shaft of Death. . . ."

" . . . The turnpike to Reading is executed in a masterly style—far superior to the Lancaster . . . if you had one spark of the patriotism that warmed you when you saluted the lips of General Washington, you would come up, were it only to witness the improvements of your country. . . ."

" . . . I arrived at Princeton within four hours after I parted with you. . . . But how I wished for the privilege of our male friends, to make an acquaintance with one of the gentlemen that sat behind me—he chatted to the man, his companion, with the most enchanting vivacity, on a variety of interesting topics, all of which he discussed with the acumen of a scholar, and the ease of a gentleman, frequently varying his discourse, in the hope (I believe) of at length touching on a string that might produce a correspondent vibration in the company—but all in vain; you know the talents of the Hartshornes for silence . . . speaking of our President Washington, he said that when he was a student at Yale College, he heard Dr. Dwight, who, he supposed, was the proudest man in America, say that he never felt himself abashed in mortal presence, but the President's, that tho' his manners were not repellant, he was environed by Dignity, in a species of atmosphere that rendered him intangible; how true that observation was, the multitude bear witness; but I could have told him of Beauty stealing kisses from those lips that he believed to be so awfully inapproachable—perhaps memory can furnish *you* with a case in point."

ABSTRACT OF RECORDS FROM THE BIBLE OF THE BRUNER FAMILY, OF GERMANTOWN.—We are indebted to the courtesy of a valued contributor for a transcript of the family records in the Bible of the Bruner family, of Germantown. The early entries being in German, we have translated them into English, and all duplications of marriages and births have been omitted in our abstracts.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

"Die Bibel hab Ich Heinrich Bruner gekauft den 15ten day Nofember in Jahr unseres Herrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi 1766, vor £2. 15s. 0d."

Frederick Bruner was born in the Canton Basel, Switzerland, September [ ], 1744.

George Bruner was born in the Canton Basel, Switzerland, April [ ], 1749.



Barbara Bruner was born in Philadelphia, September 25, [     ].

Henry Bruner was born in Philadelphia, December [     ], 175[     ].

Elizabeth Bruner was born in Philadelphia, June [     ], 176[     ].

Henry Bruner died August 26, 1768, aged 52 years, 8 months, 15 days.

My mother, Barbara Bruner, died December 20, 1775, aged 57 years, 1 month, 13 days. The text of her funeral sermon was Psalm cxliii. 25.

George Bruner died June 9, 1780, aged 31 years, 1 month, 2 weeks, and 6 days.

Frederick Bruner died May 29, 1794, aged 50 years.

Henry Bruner, son of Henry and Barbara Bruner, and Margaret Keyser, daughter of John and Rebecca Keyser, were married November 16, 1776. Their children were:

Mary, born September 20, 1777. John, born September 26, 1779. Barbara, born May 19, 1781. Margaret, born May 10, 1783. Jacob, born February 8, 1785. Rebekah, born April 9, 1787. Anna, born July 15, 1789. Sarah, born October 7, 1791. Esther, born September 24, 1793. Benjamin George, born January 5, 1796. Hannah, born November 30, 1798.

Note on fly-leaf: "Samuel Sutton, Harford Co. Maryland, uncle of H. B. Bruner," with newspaper cutting giving date of his death, in his eighty-third year, 8th of March, but no year. Volunteer in the war of 1812, served at Fort Severn, joined Captain Street's troop of horse, and took part in the defence of Baltimore. He was a member of the Maryland Legislature twelve consecutive years from 1824, and a member of the Constitutional Convention. Buried at Spesutia Church, Harford County.

Another newspaper cutting mentions Henry Bruner, who died at Germantown, A.D. 1828, aged seventy-three. Served in the Revolutionary war. He was the senior elder in the Presbyterian church in Germantown. "Reared a large family of respectable children (eleven in number) and will leave a numerous progeny of grandchildren and great-grandchildren."

Title-page of Bible (German) wanting.

LETTER OF GENERAL DANIEL CLARKE, 1783.—We are indebted to the courtesy of Alfred S. Eisenhower, Esq., chief of Bureau of City Property, for a copy of the following letter from General Daniel Clarke to the Intendant General of Louisiana, introducing Colonel George Baylor, late of the Continental army. Colonel Baylor, however, did not live to present the letter, as he died in Barbadoes, West Indies, in March of 1784, and his faithful servant, Jerry, brought back his watch, will, papers, and the letter.

"To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Don Martin Navarro, Intendant General of the Province of Louisiana.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to introduce to your acquaintance Col. George Baylor a character entitled to the attention and admiration of every lover of virtue and Patriotism. He is a gentleman of the best connections of Virginia. His great zeal in the Service of the Country, and many brilliant actions performed by him in the course of the late war have rendered him conspicuous in America.

"He was the Genl's first aid-de-camp, and on various occasions has had not only the approbation, but the eulogiums of the Commander in chief. The fatigues of the war, and the effect of wounds, render a voyage to sea absolutely necessary for the recovery of his health. He intends to pay a visit at New Orleans, and to return home via Mississippi and Ohio.



"May I request your friendship and politeness to this American Hero during his stay in your town, and on his departure that you will be pleased to honor him with your letter to the Commandants on his route upwards commending him to their favor and good offices. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of most perfect respect and esteem

"Sir, your most obliged and  
"most humble servant

"DANIEL CLARKE.

"RICHMOND IN VIRGINIA, Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1783."

"FORT ST. DAVID" DESCRIBED.—Mr. John Goodman, the writer of the following letter, was a well-known justice of the peace and notary public of Philadelphia, who died March 23, 1851, aged eighty-eight years. Mr. Milnor was a member of the "State in Schuylkill," whose "castle" was also located on the Schuylkill below "Fort St. David." Many prominent citizens were members of both fishing companies eighty years ago.

Late in March of 1784 the "Fort" was near being swept away by ice, which the rising water of the river had piled up against it twenty feet high, but the white-oak trees which surrounded it saved it. After the freshet had subsided the mud water-mark on the first-floor walls indicated a depth of seven feet six inches.

"DEAR SIR:

"Having frequently visited in my juvenile years the Fish house established near the Falls of Schuylkill, until it was destroyed by the hired mercenaries of the British 'Defender of the Faith' in the Revolutionary War, It is with pleasure I communicate the following account of it—as far as my memory serves me—leaving you to arrange the matter agreeably to your own discretion.

"The House was an oblong square frame building (its dimensions I cannot now recollect) resting on a stone foundation,—fronting as near as may be, the Falls—to the West. It had a flight of wooden steps of considerable width in front, perhaps 10 or 12 in number leading to the door, which was in the centre of the building and of wide dimensions,—opposite to it was the long Rock which ran from east to west to the Falls. The House was built against the Bank. On the Hill some distance from the House, in its rear,—rather to the North, stood the flag staff—The exact number of windows on each side of the door, I do not recollect, but there were at least two, and I think without Sash or Glass. The interior contained a handsome Museum composed of a collection of natural & artificial curiosities—among these at least two paintings—representing an Indian King & a Queen; several Tomahawks—Bows—arrows—Belts of Wampum &c. were hung up against the sides—Several large Bowls of different sizes of Indian workmanship, were also placed in view, A long table stood on the floor.—The Governor of the Institution had his seat at the South end of this table, his seat was elevated above the rest, a light canopy hung suspended over his seat, much in the east indian style, on the top in the centre of the roof was a cupaloe, square in its base, with four openings, at the top, from its Base it came gradually to a point, in a curve. On the Spar or Rod, a short distance above the termination of the Cupaloe, a Ball & vane was fixed. The vane I think was in the shape of a Fish (probably of a Rock fish, as that was the favorite of that day) House, Cupaloe & Flag staff were painted a spanish Brown color. Above the door there was a Pidamont, the width of the door, on the front of which a large Rock fish was painted, on a ground or color different from the Color of the House. I



think Green & White representing breakers—in allusion probably to the falls. There was a Bell hung in the Cupaloe.

"Some fifty or more feet from the steps of the House, stood several large trees forming for some distance a beautiful arbor or Shade; In front of one of these trees, the nearest to the house, stood a large cabouse in which the cooking was done. The tavern known by the name of the Falls tavern, was there, also known by the name of Rock fish tavern, it probably took that name from the sign which had a Rock fish painted on it. The Hessians under General Knyphausen, who were quartered in the vicinity of the Falls, plundered the House, took away the Bell & much injured the building. From Report, I always understood that a number of the articles, such as furniture &c. together with the Bell were found or recovered, but in this instance can only say what I have from report.

"I am respectfully

"Your obedient servt.

"JNO GOODMAN

"March 2. 1830

"WILLIAM MILNOR ESQ"

### *Queries.*

MCDOWELL REED, OR REID.—I am anxious to learn if there are any descendants of Sarah McDowell Reed, or Reid, who know what the maiden name of Margaret McDowell was before her first marriage with Major Charles Lukens. Her second marriage was to Surgeon John McDowell, who was at Fort McIntosh during its occupancy. I have two old profiles,—one of Sarah McDowell, daughter of Surgeon John McDowell and his wife Margaret, the other of one of her two husbands. She was married twice,—once to Captain Reed, or Reid, and afterwards to Judge Reid. Would be pleased to hear from some of the descendants.

MRS. KATHARINE LUKENS POWER.

314 D Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

REEVES.—Information is desired of the parentage and ancestry of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania Line, whose letters are appearing in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE. Mention is made of an aunt residing in this city in 1781, and of relatives in New Jersey and Maryland.

R.

FRY, OR FREY.—Conrad Fry, born 1777, in Reading, Pennsylvania, married, June, 1813, Elizabeth Cook, of Shamokin Dam, Snyder County, Pennsylvania. They had a son, John, born 1820, who married, in 1842, Margaret, daughter of Dr. Isaac Hottenstein. The information desired is, whether Conrad Fry, of Windsor Township, York County, or John Frey, of Reading Township, now Adams County, Pennsylvania, was the father of the aforesaid Conrad Fry, of Reading, Pennsylvania.

EVA J. HAMILTON.

703 North Park Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

WIDENER—WHITEHEAD—BOONE—BIDDLE—TOLMAN—DAVIS—PHILLIPS—DUNSETH—CRAWFORD—WHITEMAN.—Information is desired concerning the following persons, their ancestors and descendants:



*Widener—Whitehead.*—Peter and Susan Widener lived in Reading, Pennsylvania. After his death she married James Whitehead.

*Boone—Biddle—Tolman.*—Sophia Widener married John Boone, and after his death she married John Biddle, whose first wife was Sarah Tolman, of Reading, Pennsylvania.

*Davis—Phillips.*—Owen Davis married Letitia Phillips 5th of March, 1772. Both of their families came from Wales about 1754 and settled at "Little Cove," Pennsylvania.

*Dunseth—Crawford.*—James Dunseth and Margaret Crawford, of Ireland, settled in Western Pennsylvania about 1778.

*Whiteman.*—Benjamin Whiteman was born 12th of March, 1769, at Germantown, Pennsylvania. Who were his parents?

BENJ. W. STRADER.

426 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati.

### Replies.

*FRY, OR FREY.*—There is on file in the Register of Wills' office at York, Pennsylvania, the will of a Conrad Fry, dated February 28, 1811, and proved March 28, 1811. The executors named are William Metzger and Henry Ensminger, wife Barbara, but the names and number of the children are not stated.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

*CALDWELL.*—The family of Teedyuscung, the Delaware chieftain, in 1756 consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, and three sons, Tachgokanhelle, *alias* Amos, who married Pingtis, a Jersey Delaware, and sister of the wife of Christian Frederick Post, the missionary; Kesmitas, and John Jacob. Prior to this date the whole family had become members of the Christian church. Half-brothers of the chief were Joe Evans, Sam Evans, and Young Captain Harris, who also figure during the French and Indian War.

*TALMAN (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 132).*—Job Talman married Sarah Scattergood (license dated February 25), 1736, but they could not have been the parents of Mary Talman who married William Fishbourne, 1749. Besides the conflict of dates, Job Talman, of Burlington County, yeoman, in his will, dated January 6, 1758, proved February 11, 1758, gives to kinsman Gilbert Smith £50, and to kinswoman Catharine Watters £50. Residue of estate to "my two beloved daughters, Sarah Talman and Martha Talman." I suspect that Mary Fishbourne was the daughter of Benjamin Talman, of Mansfield, Burlington Co., N. J., and that the latter was the son of John Talman, of Long Island, and grandson of Peter Talman, of Rhode Island.

GILBERT COPE.

West Chester, Pennsylvania.

### Book Notices.

*GENEALOGY OF THE KOLLOCK FAMILY OF SUSSEX COUNTY, DELAWARE, 1657-1897.* By Edwin Jaquett Sellers. Philadelphia, 1897. Cloth. Price, \$3.00.

Mr. Sellers's third contribution to our local history bears the marks of the same painstaking and exhaustive work as was found in his Jaudon and Jaquett Genealogies. The origin of the Kollocks is not stated,



but the family is traced down from Jacob Kollock, who as early as 1689 was settled in Sussex County, where he became an extensive land-owner. His sons Simon and Jacob both played prominent parts in the political life of their time, and in fact both were members of the "Lower Counties" Assembly, the latter serving "for upwards of forty years," during which he was several times chosen Speaker, besides holding the offices of President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Trustee of the General Loan Office, Register of Wills, Clerk of the Orphans' Court, and Treasurer of the County, as well as being colonel of the Sussex regiment of militia. In fact, about the time of the Revolution there seems to have been but few offices in Sussex County held outside of this family and those allied to it by marriage. This office-holding tendency of the Kollocks has been perpetuated through John Swift, Collector of the Port of Philadelphia, 1762 to 1774; Charles Swift, Register of Wills there, 1800 to 1808; John Swift, mayor of this city, 1832 to 1839; and George Inman Riché, principal of the Philadelphia High School, 1867 to 1886.

The biographical material is full, and its accuracy as well as that of the genealogical details may be tested by examining the authorities cited in the ample foot-notes. The Kollocks after the Revolution have been principally prominent through a number of Presbyterian ministers of that name, of whom the Rev. Henry Kollock, of Savannah, Georgia, was the most distinguished.

Among the descendants in the female lines (which are brought down to the present day) are the Bache, Benmen, Bibby (of New York), Brinckloe, Burton, Butler, Cadwalader, Davies, Dobebauer, Gardiner, Green, Hammond, Jefferson, Johnson, Joyce, Livingston (of New York), McCall, Morris, Newton, Peabody (of New York), Pennewell, De Peyster (of New York), Purnell, Richards, Sellers, Short, Stockley, Stretcher, Swift, Valentine, Washburne, and Wingate families of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The volume has been handsomely printed and substantially bound by J. B. Lippincott Company. The edition is limited to two hundred copies.

**HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS RELATING TO GWYNEDD**, a township of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, settled in 1698 by immigrants from Wales, with some data referring to the adjoining township of Montgomery, also settled by Welsh. By Howard M. Jenkins. Philadelphia, 1897. 8vo, pp. 456. Illustrated. Price, \$4.50. Address the author, 921 Arch Street, Philadelphia.

We have received a copy of the second edition of this valuable contribution to our local history and genealogy. Within a few years after the issue of the first edition, in 1884, it became exhausted, and the author has now responded to the call for another edition, which has long been wanted.

The original text has been retained, except where additional and more exact information made it improper to let it pass uncorrected, and a new chapter containing much new matter has been added.

The ramifications of the families who settled at Gwynedd and vicinity are so extensive that in all probability this second edition will be exhausted as rapidly as the first.

Eight illustrations and etchings embellish the work, which is printed on excellent paper and contains an index.



THE  
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE  
OF  
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

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VOL. XXI.

1897.

No. 4.

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THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM PENN.

BY HOWARD M. JENKINS.

(Continued from page 346.)

X. THE DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS PENN.

At the death of Thomas Penn, three of his children were living,—John, Granville, and Sophia Margareta. John, the “heir,” the baby whose coming just before the affecting death of his brother William seemed providential, and served in some measure to distract the mother’s grief, was a lad of fifteen; Granville was thirteen, and Sophia ten.

Thomas Penn left an extended and carefully drawn will. It was dated November 18, 1771, and had three codicils, the last being of June 23, 1774. It was admitted to probate April 8, 1775. Though the descent of the Proprietary estate had been strictly provided for in the family agreements and settlements, he had a large private estate, real and personal, to dispose of. He appointed his wife, Lady Juliana, and his son-in-law, William Baker, executors for the personal estate, except that in Pennsylvania. He committed to them



also the disposal of real property at Bristol and Gloucester. His nephew, Richard Penn, and Richard Hockley, were appointed executors in America. At Philadelphia, ex-Governor James Hamilton, Rev. Richard Peters, and Richard Hockley were appointed trustees to sell certain private lots and tracts, and remit the proceeds to the executors in England. Stoke Park was devised to the English executors as an entailed trust for five hundred years, the life use of it to his son, John Penn, "without impeachment of waste." The furniture at Stoke went to John. Lady Juliana received the city house, with money, plate, etc. Provision was made for the education of the children. John was to have an allowance of three hundred pounds a year till he was fifteen, and then five hundred pounds a year until twenty-one.

The son-in-law, William Baker, as previously stated, had married Juliana Penn in 1771, and she had died the following year. The widow, Lady Juliana, now found him a valuable aid in the administration of her husband's extensive affairs. She writes, April 25, 1775, to Rev. Mr. Peters, "It has pleased God to raise us up in England a most active and capable friend in Mr. Baker, who is Guardian, with me, to the children, and without whom I should not have known what to have done." Many letters at this period, on the family account, are by Mr. Baker.<sup>1</sup>

A letter to Edmund Physick, agent at Philadelphia, by the two executors, April 5, 1775, says that by his quarterly statement on 29th September, 1774, he had a balance of fourteen thousand pounds, and they have since received, in four remittances, thirteen thousand nine hundred pounds. They hope he will state his later accounts, and remit. "The total stop which will be put to the trade of the five Middle Colonies by the Bill now depending in Parliament, if the Association entered into by the Congress is adhered to, will make the Communication between America and Great Britain, and the opportunity for remitting, more difficult."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baker was sometime member of Parliament for Hertfordshire.



Writing to James Tilghman, the same date (5th), the executors said,—

“There are three great points which require much attention: the settlement of the dispute with Connecticut, the adjustment of the western boundary with Virginia, and the composition of arrears proposed with the settlers in the three lower counties.”

In a letter to Governor John Penn, at Philadelphia, May 29, 1775, Lady Juliana says,—

“I am returned to Stoke with my two little girls.<sup>1</sup> Miss Baker has been inoculated this spring, but is now well, tho’ she was ill enough with it to make me very uneasy for some time, and I have the happiness of finding my boys in perfect health; they dined at home to-day, and desired me to add their compliments,” etc.

The two boys were no doubt receiving their education preparatory to college. John was entered later at Clare Hall, Cambridge. The entry records him as a “nobleman,”—by virtue of his mother’s rank. He received his M.A. degree in 1779. When he came of age, in February, 1781, he was at Brussels, and had been there for some time. “About March” of that year, he says,<sup>2</sup> “I left my family to return to England. I lived between Stoke and London the remainder of the year, and after somewhat preparing myself for understanding the beauties and sights of Italy, and procuring letters . . . set off in the winter for Calais. By the favor of Mr. Schutz, I obtained a permit from the Comte de Vergennes, signed by the F. King, to land at Calais—which the war made necessary.” He went to Lisle, thence to Brussels, had, he says, few acquaintances, read Roman classics, took lessons on the harpsichord (“afterward laid aside”), and attended the Court of the Viceroy of the Austrian Netherlands, the Prince de Saxe Teschen. Then he proceeded to Spa. “I am in lodgings at a painter’s house,” he says. He hired “a little horse,” at half a guinea

<sup>1</sup> These were her daughter Sophia and her granddaughter the little Juliana, who survived Mrs. Baker’s death in 1772. The “boys” were, of course, John and Granville.

<sup>2</sup> MS. “Commonplace Book,” in collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



per week, rode through the forest, and produced an ode—his muse inclined to odes—of fifteen stanzas of six lines each. He praised the

“Elysian views that now once more,  
Ere six revolving years are o’er,  
Entice my voluntary feet.”

Proceeding to Düsseldorf, to Coblenz, and other Rhine cities, he went to Munich and Augsburg, and reached Paris January 31, 1783. “One of my first things was waiting on the American Commissioners at Paris. . . . When I arrived the treaty of peace had been signed three days.”

Lady Juliana Penn died November 20, 1801. A notice in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for November of that year says, “At her house at Ham, Surrey, in her 73d year, [on the 20th] closed a pattern of Christian excellence by a serene and peaceful death, Lady Juliana Penn . . . relict of the late Hon. Thomas Penn,” etc.

The limitations of our present study forbid our giving as much space to John Penn as he deserves. On the whole, he is a curious and interesting personality. He inherited, apparently, traits of his father, the prudent business-man, and others of his grandfather, the idealist and reformer. He was sixteen when the American Revolution caused the collapse of the family’s great colonial proprietorship, but the event does not seem to have soured or seriously shocked him. Like his uncle John, he remained a bachelor to the end of his life. He evidently enjoyed his large possessions, but probably his greatest pleasure was in the expenditure of his money,—much of it on objects which many men would not have cared for. He was an amateur in the arts, something of a poet, something of an architect, a gentle-paced reformer, a chevalier who rode without raising much dust, and an official who did not disdain routine affairs.

The return of peace permitted him to visit Pennsylvania. In June (1783) he sailed from Falmouth for New York. The voyage was long, and closed with a mild experience of shipwreck. “After seven weeks,” his manuscript record



says, "we were awaked at one o'clock in the morning by the noise and motions of the vessel stranded off Egg Harbour, on the Jersey coast. After firing minute guns, and being avoided by one ship in sight, we were taken up by the *Three Friends*, Capt. Anderson, a small sloop from Philadelphia, bound to New York, which carried us there. We got on board [? shore] at 6 o'clock in the morning."

John Penn now took up his residence in Philadelphia, and remained here for five years. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, the single-bodied Legislature established under the Constitution of 1776, had four years before his arrival, in the throes of the Revolution, seized the Proprietary estates. The act is dated November 27, 1779. It is entitled "An Act for vesting the estates of the late Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in this Commonwealth," and this title presents the substance of what follows. A clause of the preamble declares that "the claims heretofore made by the late Proprietaries to the whole of the soil [etc.] cannot longer consist with the safety, liberty, and happiness of the good people of this Commonwealth," and section 5 enacts "that all and every the estate, right, title, [etc.] of the heirs and devisees, grantees, or others claiming as Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, whereof they or either of them stood seised, or to which they or any of them were entitled," on the 4th of July, 1776, "except as hereinafter excepted, . . . shall be, and they are hereby vested in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the use and benefit of the citizens thereof."

The property excepted was the private lands and the Proprietary tenths, or manors. Quit-rents due the Proprietaries on the public lands were to cease and determine. One hundred and thirty thousand pounds, "sterling money," was appropriated "to the devisees and legatees of Thomas Penn and Richard Penn," and "to the widow and relict of the said Thomas Penn," in such proportions as the Legislature should thereafter direct. No part of the money was to be paid until at least one year after the making of peace between England and the United States, and then not more



than twenty thousand pounds, nor less than fifteen thousand, in any one year.

The estate thus appropriated by the State John Penn valued, according to an elaborate statement in his "Commonplace Book," at £1,536,545 4s. 3d. This money loss was composed of three items: (1) the arrears of current quit-rent payments; (2) the quit-rent right, capitalized (at twelve years' purchase); (3) the value of the unsold lands. As to the last, he computed that 21,592,128 acres of land were taken. There had been 552,784 acres assigned in manors and family grants, and 4,132,976 acres had been sold on quit-rent. The unsold area, "at the lowest valuation," he estimated as worth £1,295,527 12s. 4½d. "The loss then suffered is that of the [right of] government; three-fifths of royal, one-fifth of other mines; and of lands and money to the value of" the sum above stated.<sup>1</sup>

John Penn addressed himself to the care of the remaining property. He and the other heirs petitioned the Assembly, without result, in relation to the sequestration. He felt some inclination to make his home here. His cousin John, who had been Governor when the catastrophe of 1776 occurred, had remained, and on the whole was well liked and cordially treated. John (our present subject) says, "I felt indeed the accustomed *amor patriæ* and admiration of England, but sometimes a republican enthusiasm which attached me to America, and almost wholly tempted me to stay."<sup>2</sup> I may date my becoming wholly an Englishman

<sup>1</sup> The amount of money received by the State of Pennsylvania from the sale of the Proprietary lands, after the divestment, up to 1789, is stated at £824,094 0s. 7d. The amount of the claim made upon the British government by the heirs was £944,817 8s. 6d. Cf. Janney's "Penn," p. 535, foot-note.

<sup>2</sup> He records in his "Commonplace Book" the names of the members of "the Convention for improving the American Government," 1787. He called promptly on Dr. Franklin when the latter returned from France. The diary of General Washington, during his attendance upon the Federal Convention, contains this entry: "Thursday 19 [July, 1787] Dined at Mr. John Penn's (the younger) drank tea, and spent the evening there." The diary of John Penn, in April, 1788, of a trip on horseback from Philadelphia to Reading, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Lancaster,



from the breaking up of that Assembly [1784] and publication of its minutes relative to the treatment of our memorial." He bought fifteen acres on the west bank of the Schuylkill, for six hundred pounds sterling, in 1784,—“a dear purchase,” he calls it,—and began the erection upon it of the small mansion which still stands there in the Zoological Garden, now a part of Fairmount Park.<sup>1</sup> This he named “The Solitude,”—from the Duke of Württemberg’s, he explains. His city house appears to have been “at the corner of Market and 6th streets;” at any rate, it was there, Monday, May 26, 1788, “at 9 a.m.,” that his plate, furniture, etc., were sold at auction, preparatory to his return to England.<sup>2</sup>

Returning to England, probably in 1788, he entered upon a busy and indeed active career. A pension—four thousand pounds a year—was voted by the Parliament to the Penns in compensation for their American losses,<sup>3</sup> and the instalments of the allowance by the State of Pennsylvania began to be paid in 1785. John Penn, therefore, felt himself a fairly rich man, and he began in 1789 the erection of a large and handsome residence at Stoke. The early plans for it were by Nasmith, but they were completed by Wyatt.<sup>4</sup>

appears in the “Commonplace Book,” and is printed in the PENNA. MAG., Vol. III.

<sup>1</sup> It continued to be a part of the Penn estate until it was taken by the city for the Park.

<sup>2</sup> The gross proceeds were £564 4*d.* Taxes and commissions off, it realized £539 11*s.* 10*d.*—PENNA. MAG., Vol. XV. p. 373.

<sup>3</sup> The Penn annuity was voted by the House of Commons May 14, 1790. The petition of Lady Juliana Penn for compensation had been presented in that House February 8, 1788, by the Right Hon. Frederick Montagu, who spoke of the services of Admiral Penn in adding to the domain of England by the capture of Jamaica. Mr. Pitt consented, “on the part of the King,” that the petition be received.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

<sup>4</sup> Britton and Brayley’s “History of Buckinghamshire” (London, 1801) describes Stoke as it appeared at the beginning of the present century, and calls it “one of the most charming and magnificent residences in this part of the country.” The account proceeds:

“It is built chiefly with brick, and covered with stucco, and consists



The old manor-house with its historic memories, which had been the family residence for thirty years, was partly taken down.<sup>1</sup> In 1798 John Penn was sheriff of Buckinghamshire. In 1802 he was member of Parliament for the borough of Helston, Cornwall. In 1805 he was appointed royal governor of the Isle of Portland, in Dorsetshire, on the Channel coast, and this place—practically a sinecure, it may be presumed—he retained for many years. He acquired here about 1815, from the crown, “the ruins of Rufus Castle, and a few acres ’round it,” paying one hundred and fifty pounds therefor, and began, upon plans by Wyatt, the erection of another costly and handsome place, known since as Pennsylvania Castle.<sup>2</sup>

of a large, square centre, with two wings. The north or entrance front is ornamented with a colonnade, consisting of ten Doric columns, and approached by a flight of steps, leading to the Marble Hall. The south front, 196 feet in length, is also adorned with a colonnade, consisting of twelve fluted columns of the old Doric order. Above this ascends a projecting portico, of four Ionic columns, sustaining an ornamental pediment. The Marble Hall is oval, and contains four fine marble busts, supported on scagliola pedestals. . . .

“The park, though rather flat, commands some very fine views, particularly to the south, where the eye is directed over a large sheet of water to the majestic Castle of Windsor, beyond which Cooper’s Hill and the Forest Woods close the prospect. A large lake winds round the east side of the house, with a neat stone bridge thrown over it. The lake was originally formed by Richmond, but it has been considerably altered by Repton, who also directed the laying out of the Park.”

<sup>1</sup> A portion of it, however, was preserved, and is still (1897) in use. It is of brick, ivy covered, and has decided architectural interest. Over the front door-way is the date of the original erection, 1555. The interior, among other attractions, has a beautiful old fireplace. Rooms in the second story were fitted up by the Penns “as pleasure-rooms, or resting-places, and furnished with portraits, hangings, and other decorations in keeping with the age of the erection.” In this old house Sir Edward Coke wrote his famous “Institutes.”

<sup>2</sup> November 11, 1815, writing from Portland to William Rawle, Jr., of Philadelphia, John Penn said, “I see this place is called ‘Pennsylvania Castle’ in the new Weymouth guide, though only christened so in joke by the late Duch<sup>a</sup> of Bolton and Sir J. Hipplesey. This therefore seems destined to be its name.”

John Jay Smith, in his address before the Historical Society of Penn-



At Stoke, besides building the new house, John Penn erected in 1799 a cenotaph to the poet Gray. This is after a design by Wyatt, and stands in the grounds of Stoke Park, but near the church-yard, where the remains of Gray are interred with those of his mother.<sup>1</sup> On three sides of it are selections from the Ode to Eton and the Elegy, and on the fourth the inscription:

THIS MONUMENT  
IN HONOUR OF THOMAS GRAY  
WAS ERECTED IN 1799, AMONG  
THE SCENES CELEBRATED BY THAT  
GREAT LYRIC AND ELEGIAC POET.  
HE DIED JULY 30TH 1771 AND  
LIES UNNOTICED IN THE CHURCHYARD  
ADJOINING, UNDER THE TOMBSTONE  
ON WHICH HE PIOUSLY AND PATHETICALLY  
RECORDED THE INTERMENT OF HIS  
AUNT AND LAMENTED MOTHER.

John Penn also erected a memorial to Sir Edward Coke. It stands in the park, about three hundred yards from the north front of the house. It is a fluted column sixty-eight feet high, and is surmounted by a statue, heroic size, of the famous old jurist. The column was designed by Wyatt; the statue is by Rossi.

Like many another builder of great houses, John Penn found them costly. His letters to his correspondents in Philadelphia contain at times serious complaints of poverty.

sylvania, November, 1867, described this place as he saw it in 1865. It was, he said, "though castellated, a modern residence, calculated for a large family, and abounding in every comfort. On a small, mounted brass cannon on the front lawn, with its muzzle pointed seaward, is inscribed that it was presented by an intimate friend, a nobleman, to John Penn, 'member of Parliament.' . . . By careful shelter and artistic planting, John Penn succeeded in surrounding the castle with belts of beautiful trees."

<sup>1</sup> John Penn paid much attention to the fame of Gray. Besides erecting the cenotaph, he formed a splendid collection of Gray's works. In the library of Stoke was the original manuscript of the Elegy and a copy of every edition then published of it and Gray's other poems.



Writing to Thomas Cadwalader,<sup>1</sup> from London, August 13, 1824, he says,—

“I am really, by the failure of remittances, obliged to make a great and heroic effort at economy. I have had no party as usual, this year, and do [not] accept invitations, as I cannot give them, besides reducing my dinners, when alone, to one or two dishes. This is to enable me to pay off a debt of between four and 5000 pounds, incurred in a great measure in consequence of my dependence on remittances, by putting in complete repair, which was found necessary, the north or entrance colonnade of Stoke.”

Again, to the same, from the same place, January 26, 1825,—

“I have been at length so far irritated by this tendency of my expenses to exceed my income as to have resolved to put on to the world an appearance of economy, rather singular; as for full half a year I have confined my dinners to a single joint; though it is little in character with the great houses I have built myself.”

In 1822, July 24, he writes that he has bought a farm adjoining Stoke for five thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. Burke (“General Armory”) says, under his notice of Granville Penn, that the family owned in Bucks the manors of Stoke Poges and Eton, “the latter purchased by the late John Penn, Esq.”

Of the city house, which had been his father’s residence, he writes, January 1, 1816, to Thomas Cadwalader,—

“This part of the town, which as a garden is represented in the elegant ‘Mémoires de Grammont,’ a scene of the revelry of some of Charles the Second’s courtiers, and in ‘The Spectator’ a promenade invited by Sir R. de Coverley’s water party, was built over [*i.e.*, built upon] sixty years ago, when my father fixed himself in this house; the best in the street, and opening into St. James’ Park.”

Not only as a civil-life governor, but also as an avowed defender of England, John Penn appears. He was lieutenant-colonel of the First (Eton) Troop of the First (South) Regiment of the Royal Bucks Yeomanry. Two portraits

<sup>1</sup> General Thomas Cadwalader received the power-of-attorney of John Penn in 1815, and of Richard Penn (son of the first Richard) in 1817, then tenants in tail male, to make sale of their lands in Pennsylvania.



of him hung in the picture-gallery at Pennsylvania Castle, one in "full court-dress," and another "in full military array, sword in hand, at the head of the Portland troop of horse, which he had organized for the defence of the English coast against the expected invasion of Napoleon."<sup>1</sup>

Besides his labors of authorship, one other undertaking of John Penn's requires particular notice. This was his philanthropic enterprise, begun about 1817, and named in 1818 the "Outinian Society." Its original object was to promote matrimony, and it was called at first the Matrimonial Society; later its scope was broadened and the other name adopted.<sup>2</sup> The announced object was to aid social reforms which were liable to be neglected, but the marriage concern was chiefly kept in mind.<sup>3</sup> The Society held meetings monthly, in the season at Mr. Penn's town house, and at other times in the country, at Leamington, Cheltenham, Bristol, etc., where a lecturer, who was the secretary of the Society, delivered a lecture to the audience of genteel persons who assembled. The scheme may have been thought amusing, but at any rate considerable companies gathered to enjoy it, whose names are preserved to us in the official reports of the Society. These were printed in the best style of the art, and, as we may presume, at Mr. Penn's expense.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Jay Smith's Address.—This portrait is by Sir William Beechey, P.R.A., and was engraved by R. Dunkeston, and published 1809. A drawing by Tendi, from a bust of John Penn, by Deare, engraved by L. Schiavonetti, was published 1801.—"Dictionary of National Biography."

<sup>2</sup> The name is from a line in the Odyssey, which, freely rendered, means, "*No one* is my name, *Nobody* is what my father, my mother, and my friends call me."

<sup>3</sup> The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1834, says, "Some years ago Mr. Penn raised many a smile by his employing more than one lecturer gravely to persuade youth of both sexes to enter into the holy bonds of matrimony."

<sup>4</sup> The list of those who attended within the first two or three years appears to make about fifteen hundred names, many of them "*passim*,"—attending more than once. There were marchionesses, countesses, viscountesses and baronesses, and other ladies, besides many gentlemen of rank and distinction.



For a time it must have been quite a fashionable function. To give it a start,—which was somewhat difficult apparently,—the Marchioness of Salisbury lent her patronage, and thus encouraged others of quality to attend. In the intervals of the lecture at Mr. Penn's town house the company walked in the gardens, giving the affair something the character of a Greek philosophical academy. The frontispiece to the principal volume of the Society's Reports is a picture:

"The Portico, Spring Gardens, No. 10 New Street (the only Portico) belonging to J. Penn, Esq., with the Company assembled, as it appears during the delivery of the Outinian Lectures, every Saturday throughout the Season."

The Society was recorded as "Founded in the hundredth year after the death of the benevolent WILLIAM PENN, and in the year of the second peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. For securing the advantage of benevolence and justice, with the aid of monitory suggestions, in Critical and Ethical lectures, where NO OTHER provision can easily be made for that purpose: or particularly proposing to lessen those evils incident to the pursuit of Happiness by Marriage, or otherwise, from which the complaint has sprung that 'the business of Everybody is that of Nobody.'"

A medal of the Society had, obverse, the bust of William Penn with the Charter of Pennsylvania in his arms, and the legend: "Outinian Society Founded 1818. William Penn deceased 1718." Reverse, Ulysses assailed by Polyphemus.

The Report announced that a "mediatrix," a "confidential female," would serve the Society in the matrimonial movement, but to allay possible fears of the too extended scope of her enterprising labors it was stated that she was not to promote marriages "of young or inexperienced heirs or heiresses of fortune;" in these cases the persuasive effort would be to restrain their ardor until they had full opportunity to secure "suitable matches." The copy of a blank appears in a report; this was to be sent out by the Society,



to be filled up with the description of eligible parties, under no less than fifty-one different headings. It was called "The True Friend, or a Table shewing the Exact Situation in Life and Personal Qualities of known Marriageable Ladies."

The Society continued in some form of activity for several years; by 1825 it appears to have been concerned with befriending new inventions,—an improved breakfast-waiter, a lamp-label bearing street names, etc.,—and to have relaxed its matrimonial zeal.

Apparently, John Penn regarded himself as following in the footsteps of his grandfather the Founder; at what distance he does not make plain. In one letter he says his Society is simply carrying on the "useful business of the form of humanity established by William Penn." Writing to Francis Hopkinson, at Philadelphia, from Stoke, August 14, 1820, he says,—

"If I can be said to differ observably in opinion from a grandfather with whom I conceive that I essentially agree more than with any other man of either past or present times, it is in the circumstance that I would allow them [the fine arts, to which he had just previously alluded] within the bounds of morality a larger scope than may suit the provisions of a Lycurgus. This would be, however, for the same end of a true liberty, of which William Penn made so good a use."

His literary labors are represented in a number of works, all of the amateur order. In 1796 he printed a tragedy, "The Battle of Edington, or British Liberty," derived from the history of King Alfred. This was privately produced at the Haymarket Theatre, the critics cut it up, and the author answered the critics. In 1798 he issued his "Critical, Poetical, and Dramatic Works," in two volumes, octavo. In 1811 Cambridge University encouraged him with the degree of LL.D.

Besides the portraits of John Penn already mentioned, there is one by Pine, painted in 1787, and presented by him, December 18 of that year, to his friend Edmund Physick, of Philadelphia. The portrait was supposed later to be that of his cousin John Penn the Governor, and a copy was



placed, under this supposition, in the capitol at Harrisburg.<sup>1</sup>

At the death of John Penn, June 21, 1834, his brother Granville succeeded. He was born at the city house, New Street, Spring Gardens, December 9, 1761. He had matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, November 11, 1780, but did not take a degree. He entered the civil service, and became an assistant chief clerk in the War Department, for which, upon retiring, he received a pension of five hundred and fifty pounds a year. June 24, 1791, he married Isabella, eldest daughter of General Gordon Forbes, Colonel of the Twenty-ninth Regiment of Foot. General Forbes was "of the family of Forbes of Skillater, in Aberdeenshire;" his wife Mary was the "eldest daughter of Benjamin Sullivan, Esq., of Cork, Ireland."

At his marriage, Granville Penn "settled in London."<sup>2</sup> He occupied his leisure with literary labors, the results of which remain to us in numerous substantial volumes, two of which, the "Memorials" of his great-grandfather, Sir William Penn, are of value and form one of the chief sources of knowledge concerning the Admiral. The other works are largely theological; some, however, being classical commentary and criticism. Mr. Penn's first book, "Critical Remarks on Isaiah," appeared in 1799; the *Life of Admiral Penn* was published 1833.

Granville Penn was a justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire, presumably after his succession and residence at Stoke. He died at Stoke, September 28, 1844, and it has been observed that this was almost precisely two centuries after the birth of his grandfather, William Penn the Founder,—a remarkably long period to be covered by three succeeding generations.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* PENNA. MAG., Vol. I. p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> In a house in Hertford Street, Mayfair, it would appear from an allusion in John Jay Smith's Address. In 1801, the notice of his mother's death states, he lived at Petersham.

<sup>3</sup> William Penn was fifty-eight years old when his son Thomas was born, and Thomas Penn was sixty-one when his son Granville was born.



The children of Granville and Isabella Penn were nine in number, four sons and five daughters, as follows:

1. John William, died in infancy; buried at Stoke Poges, December 18, 1802.

2. Granville John, born November, 1803; died at Stoke, unmarried, March 29, 1867. See below.

3. Thomas Gordon, died unmarried, September 10, 1869. See below.

4. William, died unmarried, at Brighton, January 7, 1848. He was M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford.

5. Juliana Margaret, died in infancy; buried at Stoke Poges, March 21, 1804.

6. Sophia, married (first wife of) Sir William Maynard Gomm, field-marshal, K.C.B., and died without issue, 1827. (Her husband was an officer of high distinction in the English military service. His father was killed at the storming of La Pointe-à-Pitre, in Guadeloupe, 1794, and he—the son—was gazetted an ensign before he was ten years old. His most notable service was in the Peninsular war. After the death of his first wife, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Kerr, but died childless. Upon his return from service in India, he purchased the Penn mansion in London, in Spring Gardens, and made it his residence.)

7. Louisa Emily, died unmarried, May 27, 1841.

8. Isabella Mary, died unmarried, at Brompton, January 28, 1856.

9. Henrietta Anne, died unmarried, at Brompton, June 13, 1855.

Granville Penn's will is referred to at some length in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1845. It was proved January 16 of that year, and was dated February 9, 1836. It left to Granville John Penn, his eldest living son, substantially the whole of the disposable estate, including three thousand pounds a year of the Parliamentary annuity (charged, however, with some annuities and legacies), the premises in New Street, Spring Gardens, and the estate at West End, Stoke Poges, Bucks (the same, probably, purchased by John in 1822). The entailed property passed to Granville John



Penn, as tenant in tail male, by the provisions of previous wills and settlements.<sup>1</sup>

Of the nine children of Granville Penn, it will be seen above that only one married, and she left no issue. In the line of Thomas Penn, therefore, this branch of the family ends here, and our account of it will be completed when we speak of Granville John and his brother Thomas Gordon. Referring first to the latter, it may be said, briefly, that he was M.A. of Christ Church College, Oxford, took orders in the English Church, and at his death, September 10, 1869, was the last male descendant of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, bearing the name of Penn. With him the male entail of the Proprietary estate ended, and it passed to the heirs of his aunt Sophia, the wife of Archbishop Stuart. He was a man "of most extensive reading and research," but he was declared by a commission of lunacy incapable of managing his estates, which were consequently in Chancery until his death.

Granville John Penn maintained the ancient usage of the family by twice visiting Pennsylvania. His first visit was in 1851, his second in 1857. He presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the large Indian wampum belt which is preserved among its collections, and which has come to be affectionately regarded by many as a present made by the Indian chiefs to the Founder at the "Great Treaty" of 1683. He was cordially received in Philadelphia on both visits, and in 1857 was entertained at supper in the Letitia House, since removed to and now standing in Fairmount Park.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "Dictionary of National Biography," in its article on Granville Penn, states that Pennsylvania Castle, with all its historical contents, was subsequently, in 1887, purchased by J. Merrick Head, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> See Horatio Gates Jones's account of the supper at the Letitia House, in *PENNA. MAG.*, Vol. IV. p. 412. "The chief dishes were baked and boiled shad. [It was the 29th of April.] Mr. Penn appeared to enjoy the whole affair very much. . . . Among the many jokes . . . I remember one which seemed to amuse Mr. Penn not a little. Some one said that the shad was a remarkable fish, because it always returned to the same river where it was hatched. 'Is that the case?' asked Mr



This, however, was only one among many attentions paid him. "He was the recipient of a public dinner; the Mayor and Councils of Philadelphia gave him a public reception, and his speeches on both occasions were remarkable for classical taste and dignified delivery. These attentions he returned by a very elegant collation under tents at 'Solitude.' He afterwards visited many parts of this State, and extended his tour to Washington, Ohio, etc., expressing himself everywhere delighted with our scenery and people, and highly gratified to witness so much that was beautiful, and such great prosperity. His name was a passport to many kindnesses and civilities."<sup>1</sup>

Granville John Penn studied at Christ Church College, Oxford, and received there his degree of M.A. Dr. Langley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was tutor to him and his brother. He was educated for, and became, a barrister-at-law. His early education, as well as that of his brother, was conducted by their father; they had never gone to school previous to their entering college.<sup>2</sup> His early years were passed at his father's house, or "with Lord and Lady Cremorne, or at Stoke Park, whither the family, at the period of the Weymouth season, regularly migrated, during their uncle John's residence at the Portland Castle."<sup>3</sup>

Granville John Penn was a deputy lieutenant and magistrate for Bucks. Succeeding to his father at Stoke, in 1844, the family home was kept there until the sale of the property

Penn. 'O, yes,' was the reply, 'and there is no doubt, Mr. Penn, that you are to-night eating part of a lineal descendant of one of the shad of which your great ancestor partook when he lived at Pennsbury Manor!'"

<sup>1</sup> John Jay Smith's Address.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.—From the same: "While at college he acted as one of the pages at the coronation of George the Fourth—a position much sought for by young men of family. He was fond of relating that on this great occasion, the young pages, unaccustomed to waiting on others, forgot to bring in the hot dishes; the royal company was consequently obliged to be contented with the cold collation set out for show during the ceremony; after which the newly-fledged servitors had the satisfaction of consuming the turtle soups, the game, and other delicacies intended for royalty!"

<sup>3</sup> John Jay Smith.



a few years later.<sup>1</sup> A picturesque and interesting description of the place as it appeared in 1845, before the breaking up, is given in John Jay Smith's Address, from which we are now freely citing. He says,—

"The family at Stoke Park then [1845] consisted of the widow of Granville Penn—her husband being then very recently deceased—a very old lady, Granville John, three unmarried sisters, and the youngest brother, William, who was educated for the Bar. The mother, the three daughters, and the three sons are now [1867] all deceased, but a more happy and united family than they formed twenty-five years ago it would be difficult to describe. Their surroundings were all of the very first class, as regards a truly noble residence, an extensive and perfectly kept park, abounding in deer and other game, a library of great size and value, liveried servants, fine horses and coaches, with everything that could make life desirable. The picturesque park that has seen so many successive generations come and go, as we rambled among its beautiful and ancient trees, was as silent as any scene amid our own native forests. The servants had mowed the extensive lawns, the hot-house gardeners had set out the Italian portico with newly flowered plants, covering the pots with lycopodiums and mosses, and the attendants had all disappeared before breakfast was announced: every sound was stilled and the place was all one's own. The deer silently wandered among the ferns half as tall as themselves; the librarian, himself a learned man and an author of merit, was at his post to hand the guests any book they required.

"One felt assured, on passing into the great entrance-hall, beneath a funeral hatchment in memory of the late proprietor, that he was not entering a house of consistent Quakers, for one of the first objects was a pair of small brass cannon, taken by Admiral Penn in his Dutch wars, elegantly mounted and polished; and near by, opening on the left, was a fine billiard-room. Family prayers were not neglected: the numerous servants were regularly assembled, as is a usual custom in England: the service of the day is reverently read, and all, from the head of the house to the humblest individual, on their knees give thanks for mercies received. The house was not wanting in memorials of Pennsylvania, a large portion of the Treaty Tree, sent by some members of the Historical Society, with a silver label on it, ornamenting the grand drawing-room of the second story, which was reached by a superb, long, and rather fatiguing marble staircase. The birds of Pennsylvania, too, were repre-

<sup>1</sup> It has already been quoted from Sheahan's "History of Bucks" that the manor was purchased by Mr. Labouchere (later Baron Taunton) in 1848. Sheahan also says that Stoke Court, the residence (1862) of Abraham Darby, Esq., was purchased of the Penns in 1850.



sented in elegant glass cases, together with Indian relics, and a finely preserved beaver, which animal was once the annual tribute of the Penns to the Crown."

Granville John Penn died rather suddenly, March 29, 1867, no one but his man-servant being with him. He had, it is said, "an unsigned will" in his hand. His estate passed to his brother, Rev. Thomas Gordon Penn, already mentioned.

We return now to the last of the children of Thomas and Lady Juliana Penn, Sophia Margaretta. From her two family branches are in existence,—that of the Stuarts, present representatives of the Penn inheritance in Pennsylvania, under the entail, and that of the Earl of Ranfurly. Sophia was born in December, 1764. She married, in April (? or May), 1796, William Stuart, who subsequently became Archbishop of Armagh, in the Established Church, and consequently "Primate" of Ireland.

The father of Mr. Stuart was a famous figure in English politics,—John, third Earl of Bute,—who was the early associate and adviser of George III., and for several years his Prime Minister, the shining mark for the shafts of Wilkes and "Junius." The wife of the Earl of Bute was the only daughter of that even more famous person, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. The children of the Earl included five sons, of whom William was the youngest, and was "designed for the church." He was prepared at Winchester School, studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, received his M.A. in 1774, obtained a fellowship, and later received the vicarage of Luton, Bedfordshire.<sup>1</sup> This place he held over fourteen years, faithfully performing his parish duties, when he became, 1793, Canon of Windsor. Later he was appointed Bishop of St. David's, and in 1800 made Archbishop of Armagh.<sup>2</sup> He took the degree of D.D. in 1789.

<sup>1</sup> A thin living, "G. P." (Granville Penn, no doubt) says in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1822, "with only two hundred pounds a year, although the duty was very laborious."

<sup>2</sup> "G. P." earnestly refutes the idea that his elevation came from his father, or was due to his father's influence, and points out that the Earl



Boswell, in his "Life of Johnson," mentions him as having been introduced to the Doctor "at his house in Bolt Court," and as "being, with all the advantage of high-birth, learning, travel, and elegant manners, an exemplary parish priest, in every respect."<sup>1</sup>

As Archbishop for twenty-two years he filled a conspicuous place in the affairs of the Irish Church. Extended allusion is made to him in Rev. John Stuart's "History of Armagh."<sup>2</sup> He died May 6, 1822. The peculiar and distressing circumstances of his death have passed into the chronicle of the time, and may be given here from the obituary article (May, 1822) in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The Archbishop was ill at his house in London. Sir Henry Hallford, an eminent physician, was called in, and prescribed a "draught," which was ordered at an apothecary's near by.

"His Lordship having expressed some impatience that the draught had not arrived, Mrs. Stuart inquired of the servants if it had come; and being answered in the affirmative, she desired that it might be brought to her immediately. The under butler went to the porter, and demanded the draught for his master. The man had just before received it, together with a small vial of laudanum and camphorated spirits, which he occasionally used himself as an external embrocation. Most unluckily, in the hurry of the moment, instead of giving the draught intended for the Archbishop, he accidentally substituted the bottle which contained the embrocation. The under butler instantly carried it to Mrs. Stuart, without examination, and that lady, not having a doubt

of Bute died March 10, 1792, and that Mr. Stuart's promotion from his parish work to the deanery did not come until next year.

<sup>1</sup> Maria Edgeworth says of Archbishop Stuart (in a letter to her aunt, Mrs. Ruxton, of Black Castle, April 28, 1809), "The Primate was very agreeable during the two days he spent here [Edgeworthstown]. My father traveled with him from Dublin to Ardraccan, and this reputed silent man never ceased talking and telling entertaining anecdotes till the carriage stopped at the steps at Ardraccan. This I could hardly credit till I myself heard his Grace burst forth in conversation. The truth of his character gives such value to everything he says, even to his humorous stories. He has two things in his character which I think seldom meet—a strong taste for humor, and strong feelings of indignation. . . . He is a man of the warmest feelings, with the coldest exterior I ever saw."

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from this are given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XLI.



that it was the medicine which had been recommended by Sir H. Halford, poured it into a glass and gave it to her husband! In a few minutes, however, the dreadful mistake was discovered, upon which Mrs. Stuart rushed from the presence of the Archbishop into the street, with the phial in her hand, and in a state of speechless distraction. Mr. Jones, the Apothecary, having procured the usual antidote, lost not a moment in accompanying Mrs. Stuart back to Hill street, where he administered to his Lordship, now almost in a state of stupor, the strongest emetics, and used every means which his skill and ingenuity could suggest to remove the poison from his stomach, all, however, without effect. Sir Henry Halford and Dr. Baillie were sent for. These physicians added their efforts to those of Mr. Jones, but with as little success."<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Stuart, widow of the Archbishop, survived her husband twenty-five years, and died April 29, 1847. She was buried at Luton, in Bedfordshire, in the Stuart family vault. Her and the Archbishop's children were:

1. Mary Juliana, born May, 1797; married, February 28, 1815, Thomas Knox, Viscount Northland, who, succeeding his father, became second Earl of Ranfurly, of Dungannon Park, County Tyrone, Ireland. The Earl of Ranfurly was born April 19, 1786, and died March 21, 1858. His widow survived him, and died July 11, 1866. They had eight children,—three sons and five daughters.<sup>2</sup> The eldest son, Thomas, who became third Earl of Ranfurly, will be mentioned below. The second son, Major William Stuart Knox, was member of Parliament for Dungannon 1851 to 1874. The third son, Granville Henry John Knox, born 1829, died 1845.

2. William, born October 31, 1798; married, August 8, 1821, Henrietta Maria Sarah, eldest daughter of Admiral

<sup>1</sup> Writing from London to her step-mother, in Ireland, May 10, 1822, Maria Edgeworth says, "The sudden death of the Primate, and the horrible circumstances attending it, have incapacitated me from any more home-writing at this moment. Mrs. Stuart gave him the medicine; he had twice asked for his draught, and when she saw the servant come in, she ran down, seized the bottle, and poured it out without looking at the label, which was most distinct 'for external application.' When dying, and when struggling under the power of the opium, he called for a pencil and wrote these words for a comfort to his wife: 'I could not have lived long, my dear love, at all events.'"

<sup>2</sup> List in Burke's "Peerage."



Sir Charles Morrice Pole, Bart., K.C.B., etc. (Mrs. Stuart died July 26, 1853, and he remarried 1854.) William Stuart was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he received his M.A., 1820. He was a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for Bedfordshire, and high sheriff 1846. He was member of Parliament for Armagh 1820-26, and for Bedfordshire 1830-34. His seat was Aldenham Abbey, near Watford, Herts. He died July 7, 1874. He had five children—three sons and two daughters—by his first marriage.<sup>1</sup> The eldest son, Colonel William Stuart, will be mentioned below.

3. Henry, born 1804; died 1854; sometime member of Parliament for Bedford.

4. Louisa, died unmarried September 29, 1823. Buried at Luton.

The third Earl of Ranfurly, Thomas, son of the second Earl, and grandson of Archbishop Stuart, was born November 13, 1816; married, October 10, 1848, Harriet, daughter of James Rimington, of Broomhead Hall, County York; and died May 20, 1858. His three children included his eldest son, Thomas Granville Henry Stuart Knox, fourth Earl of Ranfurly, who was killed in 1875 while on a shooting expedition in Abyssinia, and his second son (brother to the last named), Uchter John Mark Knox, fifth Earl, who was born August 14, 1856, and succeeded to the title on the death of his brother, just mentioned. He is married and has children.<sup>2</sup> An article in the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE*, by W. M. Conway, describing some of the numerous Penn portraits and relics in his possession at Dungannon Park, 1884, has been heretofore referred to. The Knox family, of which he is representative, forms, it will be seen, one of the two existing lines descended from William Penn through Thomas Penn.

William Stuart, mentioned above, who died 1874, became, on the death of Rev. Thomas Gordon Penn, unmarried, without issue, 1869, the "tenant in tail general" to all the

<sup>1</sup> List in Burke's "Commoners."

<sup>2</sup> Burke's "Peerage," 1891.



property which remained of that which John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn had entailed in Pennsylvania. By the failure of the male line in every branch descended from William Penn's second marriage, it now came to him as the oldest son of the only daughter of Thomas Penn who had left issue, living at the time. Mr. Stuart thus received not only the John Penn two-fourths, but the Thomas Penn one-fourth and the Richard Penn one-fourth of the Pennsylvania property. By two indentures, dated August 5 and September 2, 1870, respectively, he "barred the entail," and by another indenture, dated November 11, 1870, he confirmed all the Penn conveyances previously made.<sup>1</sup>

By his will, William Stuart devised all his real estate to his son, Colonel William Stuart. The latter was born in London (at the house of his grandmother, widow of the Primate, Hill Street) March 7, 1825. He was member of Parliament for Bedfordshire 1854-57 and 1859-68, and magistrate and deputy lieutenant. He married, September 13, 1859, Katharine, eldest daughter of John Armitage Nicholson, Esq., of Belrath, County Meath. She died October 16, 1881. Colonel Stuart died December 21, 1893. They had issue:

1. William Dugald. See below.
2. Mary Charlotte Florence, born at Kempstone, Beds, May 2, 1863.
3. Henry Esme, born at Kempstone July 15, 1865.
4. Elizabeth Francis Sybil, born at Kempstone May 20, 1867.

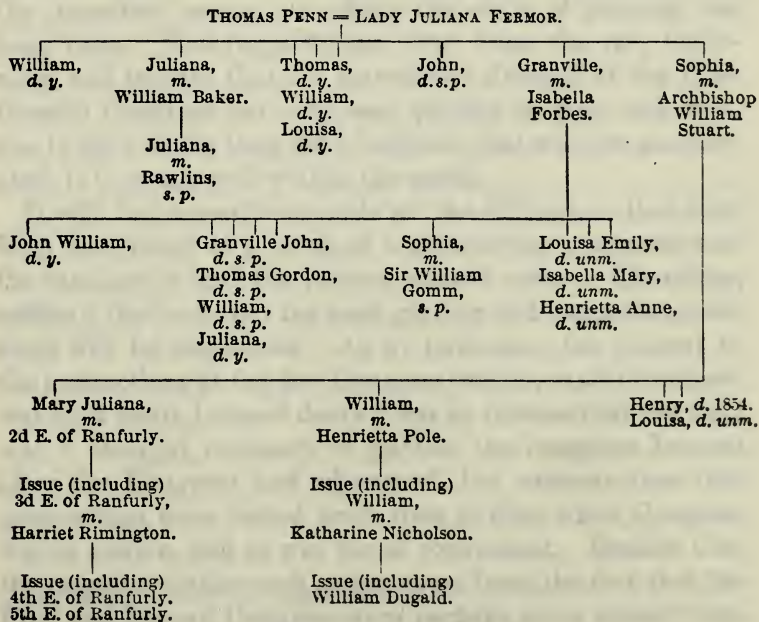
William Dugald Stuart thus represents now (1897) this branch of the Penn family, descended from Thomas Penn. He was born at Southsea, Portsmouth, October 18, 1860, and was educated at Eton and St. John's College, Cambridge. He is a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple. He entered the army and passed several years in active service in the field as an officer of the King's Royal Rifle Corps. His

<sup>1</sup> This action is highly commended by Hon. Eli K. Price, in his pamphlet "The Proprietary Title of the Penns," as making a perfect title for holders of land derived from the family.



principal residence is at Tempsford Hall, Bedfordshire, where he has in his possession the famous "portrait in armor" of William Penn the Founder, a replica of which is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the beautiful "Group of Four Children" (Thomas Penn's), by Sir Joshua Reynolds, a replica of the Lely portrait of Admiral Penn in the gallery of Greenwich Hospital, and other interesting family relics. Attention has been given by him, in recent years, to the remnants of the manor estates of the Penns in Pennsylvania.

TABLE: DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS PENN.



(To be continued.)



THE JOURNALS AND PAPERS OF THE CONTI-  
NENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

(Continued from page 375.)

PART III.

We have now heard what the Journals are and what steps have been taken for their publication; let us next describe the imperfect manner in which the work of printing has been done. The imperfections start from the very beginning, and to state that the manuscript Journal of the Continental Congress has only been printed in part, and that, too, in spite of the long list of editions that we have enumerated, is to speak well within the mark.

It will be impossible to note all the differences that have been discovered as a result of a painstaking comparison of the manuscript with the various printed copies. Therefore, suffice it that none but the most glaring and important omissions will be mentioned. As we have seen, the interest in the transactions of the first Congress (which, as all the others, was held behind closed doors<sup>1</sup>) was so intense that not only was it thought necessary to publish the complete Journal after the Congress had adjourned, but extracts from the proceedings were issued from time to time while Congress was in session, and as was found convenient. Besides this, the impulse to take such action came from the fact that the First and Second Congress were perhaps more directly rep-

<sup>1</sup> To keep legislative proceedings secret was the order of the day. It is therefore interesting to find that on April 21, 1779, R. H. Lee, seconded by Carmichael, was instrumental in having a committee appointed to consider the advisability of opening the doors of Congress to the public, except when matters of a secret nature were under consideration. The committee selected was composed of R. H. Lee, Laurens, Ellery, S. Adams, and Lowell, but no record of their report has been found.



representative assemblies than the later ones, for at least half of the delegates to each of these two Congresses were the choice of popular conventions. Soon, however, it became a settled custom to elect the delegates through the different Legislatures.

But to the Journal. Charles Thomson, as is well known, was elected Secretary upon the first day of the meeting of the Congress of 1774, and he retained his office until the end. But, although this was the case, the original Journal, covering the first five days of the Congress, is not in his hand. For some reason he seems not to have taken up the duties of his office until the 10th of September. Then he examined what had been recorded during his absence, and made sundry additions, corrections, and erasures. The entry of his own election read originally simply, "Charles Thomson, Secretary." This he changed to read, as we find it in the printed Journal, "Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously elected Secretary," and the hand is unmistakable. But other alterations of more moment are worthy of our attention. Heretofore we have been dependent for our knowledge of the discussion over the method of voting in Congress upon the notes taken by John Adams and recorded in his diary.<sup>1</sup> There is no entry in the Journal as printed that would indicate anything in the nature of a contest over this question. But the manuscript tells a different story. There we find the notes of John Adams substantiated, however briefly, but in every essential detail. Under date of September 5, 1774, and crossed out, we find it recorded that a motion was made to appoint a committee on rules for the House, but that, after debate, consideration was postponed till next day. Under September 6, also crossed out, we find it stated that after "a good deal of debate" the question on committing the matter of rules for the conduct of the House was passed in the negative, as was also that to appoint a committee "to fix the mode of voting by allowing each person one or more votes so as to establish an equitable representation according to the respective impor-

<sup>1</sup> Works, Vol. II. pp. 365-368.



tance of each Colony." The manner in which the question was settled is familiar, but it is exceedingly gratifying to find John Adams's statements thus corroborated, although we must still have recourse to him for the details. For some unknown reason a sentence telling that on this same day Thomas McKean took his seat in Congress is similarly crossed out.

Under October 14, 1774, we find incorporated in the Declaration of Rights, agreed to on that day, the resolution providing for the non-importation of goods, wares, and merchandise after December 1, 1774. But it is stricken out in the manuscript, and six days later<sup>1</sup> the exact words are found forming the first half of the first of the Articles of Association, as we know it.

Under October 20, we learn from the manuscript that the Articles of Association were ordered committed to the press that a hundred and twenty copies might be stricken off; and a similar order was next day issued in regard to the address to the people of Great Britain and the memorial to the inhabitants of the British Colonies. That same day (October 21) the committee, consisting of Galloway, McKean, J. Adams, and Hooper, were appointed "to revise the minutes of the Congress." We find no mention of these facts on the Journal as printed; but the latter, at least, is of importance, for it was doubtless under the directions of this committee that Thomson made the erasures which we have noted above, and sundry minor alterations which we would now incorporate in a new edition of the Journal, but which need not detain us here.

But the manuscript terminates quite differently from that familiar to us. The edition of 1774<sup>2</sup> ends with the words, "A true copy, Charles Thomson, Secretary," and this is followed by the letter of General Gage to Peyton Randolph of October 20 and by the petition to the king. To this Aitken, in his edition of 1777, added the sentence, after

<sup>1</sup> October 20, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> There is, however, one edition without the letter of Gage and the petition to the king.



Thomson's signature, "The Congress then dissolved itself," and this has been followed in all subsequent editions. But, unless Bradford and Aitken printed from a manuscript unknown to us, there is no warrant for these additions. The words "A true copy," and the attestation by Thomson, may indicate one of two things: they may stand for his certification to the correctness of the printed copy, or that a copy of the original was made for the printer, and this Thomson attests as a true copy. This is probably the case, and the changes from the original were probably made by Thomson acting under instructions from the committee on revision. There is no Transcript of this Journal of 1774 among the archives of the Continental Congress, but this is not surprising in that practically no papers of that period are to be found there other than the Journal. This would indicate that, having finished its work, the Congress dispersed, half hoping there would not again be occasion for a reconvention, although it made provision for such a contingency. It is altogether probable that when the new edition of the Journal was to appear in 1777, Thomson or the committee on publication noticed that there was no record of an adjournment of the First Congress, and they therefore added the sentence about Congress dissolving itself in order to give the appearance of a more seemly close to the proceedings. In place of the attestation of Thomson on the manuscript Journal, we find sundry additions made by him after the Congress had adjourned, and which have not been printed in any of the editions. They are as follows:

"Agents to whom the address of the King is to be sent.

For N. H. Paul Wentworth, Esq.

Mass. Wm. Bollan, Esq.

Dr. Franklin,

Dr. Arthur Lee

R. I. None.

Conn. Thos. Life, Esq.

N. J. Dr. B. Franklin

Penna. Dr. B. Franklin



N. Y. Edmund Burke

Del. & Md. None

Va. & N. C. None.

S. C. Charles Garth, Esq."

Then follows: "Wednesday sent an address to the King p<sup>r</sup> under cover to Doctor Franklin directed to the above agents—/ 27—Thursday sent p<sup>r</sup> Mr. H. Middleton 2 letters to Georgia one directed to Glen the other / to Lyman Hall and others—/ also one to East Florida and one to West Florida—/ Sunday sent p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> S. Adams a letter to Nova Scotia and one to St. Johns—/ 6 Nov. sent copy of address to his Majesty by Captain Falconer / The address to the people of Quebec being translated by / Mr. Simitier, 2000 were struck off, of which 800 were sent to Boston by Captain Wier, 16th of Nov." We may note in passing that the great size of this edition of the address to the people of Quebec indicates how strong was the desire to have the Canadians join with their fellow-colonists in the struggle.

These marked differences indicate that either there was another copy of the Journal made out which the printer used or that the committee of revision and publication exercised their powers to the full. At all events, we have no exact copy in print of the manuscript for 1774, as it now exists, whatever may have been the early history of its publication.

The verbal differences that occur throughout the Journal of 1775 need not detain us. More important is the omission in all the printed Journals of the letter of November 29, 1775, to the Congressional agents, Penn and Arthur Lee, at London, telling of the progress of the war, and aiming at putting an end to the military preparations in England, it being of the nature of a reply to the king's proclamation declaring the Colonies in rebellion. This letter, for which we must have recourse to Force's Archives, is entered in full in the original Journal. Nor is it entered on the Transcript. The entry there reads that this letter with the other letters to the agents is to be found in Mr. Hancock's, the President's, letter-book, and this statement, being marked



as secret by Thomson's usual marks, was omitted from the regular, and appears in due course on the Secret Journal.<sup>1</sup> But Hancock's letter-book is not among the archives of the Continental Congress. Those of the other Presidents, containing copies of their official letters, are to be found there; but Hancock failed to comply with the resolution<sup>2</sup> requesting that the Presidents deposit their letter-books in the Secretary's office, for he carried his off with him when he retired, and it is to be found among the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which body it and others of his papers were presented in 1817.

With the mere mention of the fact that other minor variations occur at odd times in the record for December, 1775, we may pass on to the next year's proceedings. There is no one year in American history to which so much time and space have been devoted as to the year 1776. Chiefest of all the events of that year was the Declaration of Independence, and the interest in the history of its adoption does not wane a jot with the advance of time. Yet the sad fact remains that, in the only official publication covering the transactions of July 4, 1776, the account is manifestly false, and was made so not by design, but from the lack of foresight of the committee in whose hands were intrusted the publication of the Journal. The members of this committee little thought that by their inadvertence they would render it impossible for future investigators to determine absolutely whether the Declaration of Independence was signed on July 4 or not. Yet such has been the case, and for seventy-five years the dispute over this point has waged, until now, while the weight of evidence is certainly against the supposition that it was, yet there is just that link in the chain lacking which makes all the difference between certainty and conjecture. It was not until the inquiring mind of Judge Mellen Chamberlain ranged alongside of each other the accounts in the printed Journal and those in the two manuscripts that the falseness of the printed record

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Congress, November 8, 1779.



was made manifest.<sup>1</sup> He proved that no such sentence is to be found in either of the manuscripts as appears in the printed record stating that the declaration, as it is printed in the proceedings of July 4, 1776, was engrossed and signed by order of Congress by the members whose names are subjoined, a number of whom were not then in Congress, and two of whom signed it some years later. Even Judge Chamberlain, who was at such pains to gather together all material bearing on the subject, did not get quite all, for he failed to make a personal examination of the manuscripts, or else at least one misstatement in his article would not have been made, and two additional illustrations of the point he was making might have been drawn into requisition. The fruit of his labors will be, it is hoped, to prove to our investigators and our statesmen that, before it is possible to say that all the information to be derived from the Journals is at hand, there must be a new edition, with all the variations in the texts carefully collated. Although the differences appertaining to the Declaration of Independence are assuredly the most important, and those in which the public is most interested, there are yet others in the Journal for this year of considerable account. Omitting those which are merely verbal, our sum of omissions foots up a round dozen and more, but three months—April, October, and November—escaping without a serious blemish. It will hardly profit us to recount them all at this time. They have to do with the affairs of the army and the navy, from which we may gather some new facts relating to the conduct of the naval establishment, and especially concerning the case of Commodore Hopkins, who was dismissed from office, unjustly as John Adams always maintained; with the details of the history of the adoption of the resolutions permitting and controlling the fitting out of privateers; with the appointment of a committee, probably the first of its character, to recommend a regulation of

<sup>1</sup> See his article "The Authentication of the Declaration of Independence," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, November, 1884.



prices; with a proposed conference with Washington which never took place; and with sundry details of the instructions to the commissioners who were to negotiate a treaty of alliance with France. Not the least important item is a resolution which gives some insight into the way in which popular opinion made itself felt within the walls of Congress. In the dark days of December, 1776, when one of the numerous crises was at hand, rumor was rife in the taverns that the members of Congress, afraid for their safety, were about to take to flight. A resolution was therefore passed on December 11 directing Washington to contradict the scandalous report in general orders, for the Congress, the resolution said, has a better opinion of the spirit and vigor of the army and of the people than to suppose it can be necessary to disperse. They add, in conclusion, that they will not even adjourn until "the last necessity shall direct it." The amusing part of this is that "the last necessity" must have appeared to their minds the very next day, for they then decided to adjourn to Baltimore, leaving Washington in full charge of the affairs of the army, with Robert Morris at the head of a committee remaining in Philadelphia to look after matters there. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the above resolution is crossed out in the original record, and that the bravery of Congress has not been till now questioned.<sup>1</sup>

But passing comment need be bestowed upon the manuscripts for 1777 and 1778. The same general statement as made concerning the imperfections of the printed Journal for 1776 holds good for the next two years. We, of course, have no Declaration of Independence, but we have the discussion over the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, and in the case of the latter some detailed information is obtainable from the manuscript Journal which is not found either in the printed Journal or in the history of the Articles

<sup>1</sup> The dates upon which the omissions mentioned herein are recorded are as follows: January 16, 26; February 9; March 19; May 8, 18; June 25; July 19, 20; September 2, 3, 17, 24, 26, 28, 30; December 11,—all in the year 1776.



of Confederation contained in Volume I. of the published Secret Journal.

Besides, in the early days of 1777<sup>1</sup> a resolution was passed, but never published, requiring the Secretary to note upon the Journal what States were represented in Congress later than ten o'clock, the regular time of meeting of Congress. This was ordered with a view to transmitting an account to the State Legislatures of the tardiness in attendance of the delegates to Congress. The Secretary performed his duty well, but the committees on preparing the Journal for publication never incorporated these notes in any of the editions, and they, therefore, exist in manuscript only. They are of importance to us, although they seem of a trivial nature, because they all occur before August, 1777, when the yeas and nays first began to be recorded; and they enable us in many instances to fix the number of States in attendance when important legislation was under consideration.

The omissions during 1778, some ten or a dozen in number, are of lesser moment, but yet of sufficient importance to make the historian of the time feel that he has not said the final word until he has compared the printed Journal with the manuscript, or else has had access to a new and carefully edited reprint. Whatever may be the safety in using the printed Journal for 1778, it is when we come to the Journals of the next two years that we find the greatest divergence between the printed Journals and the manuscript. So great are the differences that we are safe in stating that not much more than half of the Journals for these two years has been printed in such a manner as to be accessible to the student generally.

We have already seen that the Journal for 1779 was printed in two editions: first in monthly and weekly parts in 1779, and again in 1782. Regarded from the point of view of present day investigation, the monthly and weekly sheets of 1779, which are a more or less exact reprint of the

<sup>1</sup> February 14, 1777, manuscript Journal of Congress.



Rough Manuscript Journal, might almost as well not have been published. But two or three complete copies of it exist, and they are hardly known and never quoted; and at least one of them was, until the past few months, in the same condition as when it issued from the press. To all intents and purposes, then, this edition, in the point of usefulness, is as if it had never been issued, and, while its value in other respects cannot be overestimated, we may here practically disregard it.

As to the other (the 1782 edition), it, and not the contemporaneous issue, has been followed in all subsequent editions; so it is well to emphasize the differences existing between the two, or, to be more exact, between the abridged Journal for 1779 and the manuscript.

To sum up the omissions in general terms, it may be said that the committee on publication left out what seemed to them unimportant details, printing only what bore the undoubted stamp of public interest. We have had too many examples in the past of imperfect editing that savored only too frequently of garbling. The demand nowadays is for the publication of everything, with many clamoring even for literal exactness. It has become plain, therefore, that what in 1782 was considered relatively unimportant has come in 1897 to have a greatly enhanced value and interest. The editors of 1782 were, no doubt, hampered by the ever-present Congressional bugbear, lack of funds, and this must be held responsible for some of their transactions. Be that as it may, the omissions can be accounted for upon no apparent system except as respects the exclusion of all statements referring to the receipt of letters and petitions, and to reports of committees and the like.

To the statesman of that day the mere record of letters and petitions received, and of the appointment and report of committees, was an unimportant detail which might readily be omitted; but to us such matters wear a different face. We know from the letters of Washington how instrumental he was in shaping the legislation of the time.



His suggestions were not always adopted, but ordinarily, when other than mere routine accounts, were dignified by reference to a special committee. The same statement is true, but in a lesser degree, of course, in regard to the other letters received, and their value to us cannot be overestimated. Similarly, from committee reports we learn what men were responsible for legislation recommended, in how far their ideas were embodied in the acts of Congress, and what were the steps leading up to the adoption of the resolutions as they now exist. All this we miss if we have not the key by which can be unlocked the secrets of the incentives to legislation. For, ordinarily, the course of events was in this fashion. A letter is received or a motion is made containing a proposition for new legislation or suggesting a remedy for defects in the old, concerning, say, the army, or one of its departments. A discussion arises, which is cut short by a motion for commitment; this being carried, the members of the committee are balloted for and elected, for we must remember that committees were chosen not by appointment of the chair, but by election. The members thus selected were probably upon half a dozen other committees at the same time, and this latest matter must await its regular turn. If of very great importance it may be reported upon within a week; otherwise it may drag its slow length along indefinitely. At last reported to Congress, it takes its place on the calendar, unless requiring immediate consideration, in which event it is discussed in committee of the whole House, amended, perhaps recommitted, after which it is again reported, discussed, and amended, and finally takes the shape of a resolution. The latter,—the resolution,—in the case of the abridged printed Journals of 1779 and 1780, is all we know of the matter, for the intermediate stages, deemed unimportant by the committee on publication, have all been omitted. It is therefore impossible to determine from them why it was that Congress passed many resolutions which now appear upon the pages of the printed Journal with no connection with what precedes or comes after. Worse still, many resolutions are



entirely omitted, and the orders on the treasury to pay claims are passed by without notice.<sup>1</sup>

The printed Journal of 1779, bad as it is, offends less in this respect than does that of 1780. For at least in the former the editors had sufficient respect for subsequent investigators to retain the detailed yea and nay votes. But not so with the published Journal for 1780. Possibly afraid to show their constituents how they voted, or perhaps suffering from an acute attack of economy, we have seen how Elbridge Gerry was instrumental in having the monthly issues printed without the yea and nay votes. It goes almost without saying that in the volume known as the "Resolutions, Acts & Orders" for 1780, published probably in 1787, and which forms Volume VI. of the set of Journals as we know them, nothing omitted in 1780 was later incorporated. The committee in charge, or mayhap Thomson, included nothing but what might be fairly considered as coming under the title given to the volume. Thus, while the printed Journal of 1780 is hopelessly brief, it is doubly exasperating in that we find the yeas and nays printed at various times from August, 1777, to the end, always excepting the year 1780 alone, on the printed pages of which Journal not a single yea and nay vote is to be found. They are not omitted because they do not exist, for the manuscript for 1780 has yea and nay votes entered upon it in profusion, their number all the more increased, perhaps, because of the knowledge that they were not to be divulged to the public. The absence of yea and nay votes on the printed Journal has been emphasized, because from them we are able to state who were responsible for certain resolutions and who were their supporters and their opposers, and all readers of history appreciate how it puts life into a narration and relieves it of the dry tedium of a bare record of events if we can thus embellish it. Besides, such details often lead to the discovery of material bearing on the reasons for support

<sup>1</sup> To members of the Revolutionary hereditary societies these latter are of great importance, for no end of names are given.



and opposition, for they indicate in what direction the search for facts may be rewarded.

Not satisfied with such a mutilation, the editors went further, and the proceedings of whole days even are omitted entirely, leaving the impression that Congress was in session only a part of the time. The fact is that the Congress met daily except on Sunday, Good Friday, the Fourth of July, and Christmas Day. It met on the Fourth of July, but there was no session, as adjournment was immediate.

It is thus seen that the Journals for 1779 and 1780, even though we include the rare and inaccessible monthly and weekly issues, have never been fully published.

The same story of editorial excision is to be told about the Journal for the years that yet remain. The year 1781, of all later years, suffers particularly at the hands of the editors. We find the same omissions of committee appointments and reports, of motions made, and of letters received; mere notes of these, set down in the briefest possible manner, fill ninety-two letter-sheet pages. Besides this, other matters omitted from the printed Journal, including resolutions and the like, cover, in addition, some fifteen folio typewritten pages. Nor has there ever been a full contemporary edition published for this year (1781), as in the case of the Journal for the two years immediately preceding. The year 1781 is, of all the years after 1776, perhaps the most interesting and important to historians. The first of March of that year witnessed the Articles of Confederation, which had been the object of discussion for five years, put into actual operation, only in time to prove their inefficiency. From that month dates the "United States in Congress Assembled." This year saw an almost complete reorganization of the manner of conducting governmental affairs. It saw the appointment of a Secretary for Foreign Affairs, of a Secretary of War, and of a Secretary of Marine, with each provided with rules for carrying on his office. It saw a reorganization of army and naval affairs and of the departments closely related to them; and, finally, it saw the appointment of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Fi-



nance, and the establishment of the Bank of North America. Greater than all, it saw the battle of Yorktown, with the practical end of the great struggle for home rule and liberty. Upon all these matters, and upon all the great matters that engrossed the attention of Congress during this year, the parts of the Journal yet in manuscript throw much new light.

Another point worthy of note is that the Congress, out of respect for the month of November, in which, in 1777, the Articles of Confederation were first adopted, agreed to date the official Congressional year from the first Monday in each November. As if to emphasize the change in the method of conducting affairs, Secretary Thomson then began to keep the Journal in a different way.

Any one who has carefully examined the Journal after November, 1781, must have been struck by the business-like nature of the record as contrasted, say, with that for 1778, the only previous one that has been fairly accurately printed. No letter or motion or petition or report of a committee is mentioned without it bears some relation to the resolutions immediately following. The minute details with which the earlier volumes are so replete we look for in vain, for they are so valuable. Nor is the manuscript much fuller than that published from November, 1781, to October, 1788. Some differences there are, to be sure, amounting in notes to some thirty folio type-written sheets, for it seems to have been an impossibility to get anything approaching to an exact copy published; but the change for the better in the way of publication is marked. The explanation is not far to seek. After January, 1782,<sup>1</sup> the matter of publication was taken out of the hands of inefficient committees and put in those of careful Secretary Thomson. He attended to this, as to everything, well, and we have him to thank for his pains. But why should he make so great a change in the manner of keeping the record? He doubtless thought he could improve its usefulness by omitting from the pages of the Journal such matter as was not immediately connected

<sup>1</sup> Journal of Congress, January 28, 1782.



with the proceedings of each day. But it occurred to me that Thomson would never completely obliterate all trace of facts that to us are invaluable and that to him seemed in the earlier years to be of the first importance. A search among the archives was rewarded by the discovery of several volumes containing important information, and carefully preserved in one of the most inaccessible of the Department of State's cases, where they have probably slumbered ever since their removal from the old quarters of the Department to the new. They are recorded, as one would expect, in the official published catalogue<sup>1</sup> of the Papers of the Continental Congress, but are nowhere else referred to. It is safe to say that their existence has until now scarcely been known. Although these are not included in the series of volumes containing the Journals, they are none the less part and parcel of them, in that they contain material that in the earlier days was entered on their pages.

Before describing their contents, we might say that Thomson seemingly thought of making these special entries in separate volumes at least two years before he put his scheme into entire operation. He began by experimenting, no doubt for his own convenience and to facilitate the finding of letters when wanted, as early as January, 1779, by keeping a list of letters received by the Congress; this he continued from time to time until the end in 1789. These notes are contained in four volumes,<sup>2</sup> and they record in parallel columns,—(1) the dates of receipt of the letters; (2) the dates of the letters; (3) from whom they came; (4) what disposition was made of them; (5) the names of the men composing the committee to which they were referred, often with a brief note indicating what instructions were given by Congress to these committees. At the end of the first volume of these manuscripts is the schedule of "Expenditures for the year 1779," usually

<sup>1</sup> Bulletin of the Department of State, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 185.



found as an appendix to the printed volume of the Journal for 1779.

Next to these, and not less important, we have memoranda and lists and minutes of reports of committees covering the years 1781 to 1788, and contained in five folio volumes. Included in two of the volumes<sup>1</sup> are long lists of the names of persons nominated by members of Congress for offices within the gift of Congress between September, 1780, and May, 1786. The data recorded in these volumes are arranged in parallel columns, and inform us (1) of the names of the persons appointed to the committees, (2) the dates of their appointment and (3) report, and (4) the subject-matter of the report stated in briefest terms. Besides, ten pages of one of the volumes<sup>2</sup> are given over to a sort of *résumé* of reports that have been made to Congress, which have never been given any, but are still deemed worthy of consideration. It is thus seen that this material forms a sort of supplement to the Journals, and that it was a great oversight not to have drawn upon it when they were published.

The remarks embodied in the past few pages cover all that it is necessary to say about the remainder of the Journal, and it is confidently held that the case against the earlier methods of publication has been made out. By way of summary it may, however, be added that the omissions concern a variety of miscellaneous subjects, extending all the way from important financial and military affairs to a Congressional banquet on a Fourth of July, including, by the way, details of the many land controversies, of regulations for a national post-office, of the establishment of a court of appeals in admiralty cases, and no end of appointments and reports of committees, all in all covering much of the sort of matter to which possibly the major part of the time of the Congress was devoted.

This important and valued information that has now lain hidden from the inquiring search of our investigators for so many years should no longer be left there, for never in

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 186 and 190.

<sup>2</sup> No. 191, pp. 56-65.



this century has the scientific and popular interest in history in general and particularly in that of our own country been greater.

A few words, therefore, as to the methods of publication that might be pursued. The first and the least expensive, and at the same time the least satisfactory, would be to print the Journals exactly as they stand. But this should not mean a mere following of one or other of the manuscripts, for they often vary, as we have seen in the case of the record for July 4, 1776; but a careful collation of the texts should be made, the variations whenever found should be incorporated, and always with due reference, by footnote, to their source. This would mean the supplementing of the Rough Journal by the differences to be gathered from the Transcripts until they end in the beginning of 1779. But a new edition should do more than this.

Such a collation of texts should be supplemented by the incorporation of references to letters received from 1779 on, and entered in the volumes just spoken of, but not in the Journals.

The records of the appointments and reports of committees and the names of the members acting on them, which formed part of the Journal up to 1781, should, in addition, be extracted from their places in the volumes in which they are entered and mentioned above, and should be made part of the Journal to which they rightfully belong. But that is not all: the distinction which till now has been made between the Secret Journals and the regular Journals should no longer be retained. Each item of information to be derived from the manuscript Secret Journals, the texts of which in turn should all be carefully compared and collated, should be arranged in its proper place under the dates when the acts and resolutions were agreed upon. To this many might not agree, particularly in regard to the Secret Journal of Foreign Affairs, the objection being based on the advantages to be derived from having all the material on foreign affairs in separate volumes. At this none could cavil had such a distinction ever been made. But



the fact remains that perhaps half of the matter relating to foreign affairs is entered upon the regular Journal and has never formed a part of the Secret Journal. Besides which, the regular Journal usually indicates in brief manner that some matters relating to foreign affairs were considered, and these are then found at length in the Secret Journal. To have all these data, then, arranged in their proper places under the dates upon which they occurred would obviate the inconvenience of using two sets of volumes, and would insure a great saving of time. Any other objections could be removed by having, if it is thought necessary, a special index made for foreign affairs. Lastly, but most important of all, an index to the whole body of material, which every one who has had occasion to use the printed Journals knows has never existed, should be compiled in the most painstaking manner.

Another method of publication would be to add by foot-notes to the Journal, arranged as above indicated, references to the volumes in which letters or petitions or memorials or reports or motions and the like, and which are mentioned in the Journal, are to be found. Foot-notes of this character would greatly enhance the value of the Journal as a work of reference, and would be of the greatest possible use; but they could be made only as the result of a most careful examination of the archives.

We have yet to consider the ideal method of publication, always excepting, of course, the impossible publication in *fac-simile*,—impossible only because of the great cost. This would be to insert in the Journal, and make part of the record, as they properly should, all the documents that are referred to in each day's proceedings. Wherever a report or a letter or a motion or any other document is mentioned, it should follow in regular order, printed in smaller type than the body of the Journal, bracketed to indicate that it forms no part of the Journal proper, and with foot-notes indicating where the originals are to be found. I can speak from experience of the value of such an arrangement. The notes taken in the course of my investigations, extending



over many months, were made in just this manner. Whenever a document was found, a copy of it, if of importance, was made and inserted in its proper place. Arranged in such a manner, the course of the legislation of the Continental Congress can be made to appear with something of the living force it had a hundred and more years ago. From the present point of view these documents are as much a part of the Journal as the bare record itself, and as the vast majority of them have never been published, no better way of doing so can be conceived than by printing them in the places where they so properly belong. This method of arrangement by incorporating documents in smaller type is not the mere idle figment of the imagination only, for it has the worthy precedent of the edition of 1824 to give it import. The editors of these volumes often inserted the later acts and ordinances of Congress in just this way in their endeavor to reduce the size of the last volume. Finally, an adequate index to such a collection would be in itself one of the most important contributions to American history that has ever been made.

Sundry other matters have yet to be considered. Upon the Journals are to be found words and pages which have been crossed out, but which are quite legible. These should be printed as they stand, using perhaps cancelled type or some other means to indicate their state upon the manuscript. Besides, Thomson made numerous marginal notes, very brief, but often of great value in indicating the course of legislation. These, too, should not be omitted, and the office of the editor should be restricted to printing the Journal and the accompanying documents with literal exactness, without critical or historical comment, except where absolutely necessary to elucidate the texts. What is wanted is an edition of these documents as they are, not an editor's notion of what they stand for, nor his opinion upon their historical importance, or their relation to the events then current. He should simply edit, leaving the rest to the commentators. A publication such as has been described above would provide for all but a very small number of



documents of a miscellaneous character. These might be incorporated in one or two supplementary volumes. Lastly, *fac-similes* of important papers that are much interlined and erased, and cannot possibly be reproduced by the printer's art, should occasionally be inserted, for this could be done at no great cost.

If, for any reason, it were found that such a combination of the documents and the Journals would not prove practicable or desirable, yet one other plan may be availed of. After the Journals have been arranged as indicated above, the other manuscripts could be put together in chronological order. This is the only feasible plan if the other, and to my mind far better, is not pursued. A topical classification is quite out of the question, for the ideas of no one editor or historian will ever agree in this respect with those of any other. It was to a certain extent followed by the men who originally put the manuscripts in order for binding, but of its utter inadequacy and hopeless confusion all who have consulted them will sadly bear witness; and yet their present order was doubtless considered a good one in its day. But two ways of printing the manuscripts, then, will prove practicable and efficient: either join the documents to the Journals, as they are there mentioned, or separate the Journals from the documents and print the latter in chronological order.

The chances that Congress will make proper provision for carrying out the work of editing and publishing these documents are by no means so remote as they were a few years since. Each session finds the attention of more and more members drawn to the patriotic duty that awaits them. An estimate of the probable cost of publication was made by direction of Congress in 1895 by the Secretary of State. The cost of printing, as estimated in that report, was put at a trifle over a hundred thousand dollars, but this failed to take into account the necessary expense of transcription and arrangement, which would amount to a few thousand more. The whole publication could be comprised within about fifty volumes of the usual octavo public document size.



If, for any reason, their publication is impossible, the precious nature of their contents requires that they at least be transcribed in duplicate or triplicate, the copies to be deposited in different places. Not only do such copies go far to replace the originals in case of destruction, but they prevent the injury and defacement resulting from frequent handling. The fading and decaying processes of time have already left too many marks, and each year decreases the legibility of these documents and increases the work of destruction that has already made considerable progress. The type-written copies of the Franklin papers, which were purchased at the same time as the papers, have been of infinite value in preserving the originals from injury by handling; as they are now arranged, the originals need be consulted only in exceptional cases. The same would be the case were the records and papers of the Continental Congress thus transcribed.

Moreover, it is worthy of remark, in conclusion, that in no portion of our history is so much interest taken, and to none do our public men make such frequent reference as to that of the Revolution. It is the constant theme, and will ever be, for orations and apt historical citations; and yet all who have studied know that the material, except for the purely military history of the period, is inaccessible,—that while much has been said, much is still unwritten.



EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTER-BOOKS OF LIEUTENANT ENOS REEVES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN B. REEVES, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

(Continued from page 391.)

[LETTER 238.]

"March 27, cross the Eno, a branch of the Neuse River, which with Flat river united, forms Cape Fear River. I arrived at M<sup>r</sup> Maybanes, a Commissioner, where I met my men.

"On 28th we were detained for a wagon. I spent the evening with several of the Country girls, who were here spinning, having sung a song or two in order to get one of the girls to sing. I was obliged to sing as many to get her to stop; for she began a song with sixty-two verses and had proceeded as far as thirty, when I was so tired with it, that I beg'd her to stop and I would sing as many songs as she pleased, for it was a horrid, disagreeable tune. Any man that would make a song to contain sixty-two verses ought to be well whip'd for his folly. I am sure persons that would sing it, could not be possessed of much politeness, as they would engross the singing of a whole evening to themselves.

"On the 29th I was detained the most of the day, and did but little else than curse the Wagon Master for letting Gen<sup>l</sup> Butler have a wagon he had got for me, when I would have scarcely let any person under Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington have it at such a time.

"But as the Wagon Master was the sole cause of it, I expect it will all be charged to his account. I, however, moved about seven miles and crossed Haw river in a boat, as this river is not fordable on this road; and lodged at Lieut. Col. O'Neil's, of the Militia of this County, who is much of the



gentleman and a very active officer; especially against the Tory Fanning. He is now raising a small volunteer corps for six weeks, who are to be mounted on some of the first running horses of this County, which are to be borrowed or impressed for that purpose. If he don't take him with them, the Devil may take him!

"I stayed to breakfast at Col. O'Neil's where arrived Mr. Penn and another gentleman from Salisbury, where they had been pleading in favor of some of the most notorious Tories and villians in the Country, which suited but ill with the character of a gentleman who had been a member of Congress for four years. On the evening of the 30th I arrived at a Colonel Peasley's, who lived on the borders of an Irish Presbyterian settlement. The family speak very broad. The Colonel lives with his father, who is very old, has lost his teeth and can scarcely be understood; he is very infirm and appears to be a little childish, yet does he continue to perform the religious duties of the family, which he does in a cold formal manner. He begins with a short prayer, then reads a chapter, (either in the Old or New Testament as it happens, for he begins with Genesis and follows chapter after chapter 'till he ends with the Revelations), after that a Psalm is sung or attempted. The old fellow raised it, it awakened the son's wife who had slept soundly during the chapter, and lull'd a little wench to the same business. I with all my attention endeavored to find out something like a tune, but to no purpose, and I felt myself unhappy during the Psalms, for it seemed to be a burlesque on singing or rather on religion. That done they all kneeled for the prayer. The little negro who had been nodding all the time kept her seat, but the old lady (while on her knees) sent her a stroke on the side of her head which laid her sprawling. She then gathered herself up and kneeled with her head on the floor, and her body elevated. In this manner the old lady, in a few minutes the young man's wife, five children and the little wench slept the prayer out, and left the Colonel the old gentleman and myself to enjoy the whole of it. The ceremony lasted about



an hour and a quarter, and on the morning of the 31st, it was repeated much in the same manner, the sleeping excepted.

"We passed Guilford Court House about the middle of the day, where there is nothing to be seen but ruins, graves, and devastation. This is the place where the Battle of Guilford was fought between Major Gen. Greene and Earl Cornwallis with the British Army, which was vastly superior. The battle was uncertain for a long time; Col. Washington made a charge on the King's Guard and broke them, and had the Militia of North Carolina stood any way tolerably, the victory would have been on our side, but they giving way, Gen. Greene was obliged to retreat two miles.

"When the account of the prisoners was taken, it was found there was at least four British killed for one American—nay some say eight or nine. Certain it is, that the enemy was so worsted that they did not wish to renew the engagement, but turned a different course, and crossed Deep River, where Gen. Greene left following them and returned back to South Carolina, and laid siege to Camden.

"GUILFORD COURT HOUSE, N. C.

"March 31st, '82."

[LETTER 239.]

"From Hillsborough to Guilford Court House is fifty miles. On the night of 31st ult., I lodged at a Mr. Archer's, in New Garden, a Quaker settlement, and most of them, as well as the inhabitants of other professions are from Pennsylvania; and that day crossed the North and South Buffalo and a branch of Reedy fork all which are small and easily forded.

"April 1, forded Deep River, and came into a settlement of Germans from Pennsylvania likewise, who were very busy in keeping Easter Monday, which is a noted time for frolicing among them. I lodged at a Mr. Hinkle's.

"April 2, crossed Smearing Creek and the Beaver Dam, two branches of the Yadkin, on which is some of as good land as ever I saw in my life, known by the name of Mc-



Culloch's land. On the 3rd crossed Yadkin River in a boat, which is about one hundred and thirty yds across, and about seven miles from Salisbury, where I arrived about 12 oclock. Salisbury is built upon a hill and contains about forty houses, none of them any way elegant. The inhabitants are descendants from the Irish and no-ways genteel; their women coarse and awkward, and their dresses quite *tawdry*, neither fashionable nor plain, but they are complicated pieces, neither Robes, Gowns nor dresses of the Brunswicks, the polonaise or any thing that I had ever saw before.

"On the 4th I halted to exchange a wagon and get provisions. I dined with a Colonel, where I had a good honest dinner and some whiskey, with which this country abounds. I lodged in the town at Mr Gamble's, A. D. Q. M. at this post. The 5<sup>th</sup> day of this month was appointed for the execution of a Mr. Bryon, who at the time the enemy was in this Country raised and carried to them six hundred men from the forks of the Yadkin, who were mostly killed and taken by our people at King's Mountain, some time after. He remained with the enemy at Wilmington 'till the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army at York, in Virginia, where he left them and came hiding about near home, where he was taken with three others, tried and condemned and was to be hanged this day, but the Governor thought proper to postpone his execution for one week. The people was so enraged that I expected they would hang him themselves, and I believe would, had they not kept a guard over the prison to prevent them.

"My men marched in the forenoon, and toward evening I rode as far as General Lock's, of the Militia. The General, his wife, four daughters and two sons, are all rough children of nature. I was not a little surprised to see the General's lady soon after my arrival measuring whiskey out by the gill to any person who would please to call for it, and was told they kept no tavern either. The families here, in one respect, resemble the low Dutch in their way of eating—that is the whole family sup their Mush and Milk



out of one large dish for that purpose. No tea or coffee was to be had here. The girls had a *spark* each (as they term their lovers). . . . It was here that I witnessed that practice, vulgarly called bundling. . . . Please to excuse me, for I cannot speak of it with any degree of patience.

"On the sixth I arrived at Squire Kern's, Commissioner for Rowan County, where I was supplied with five days' provisions for my party. He is a man who has seen the world; is much of a gentleman, and treats strangers with the greatest hospitality; and his wife is so well accomplished that I would not have supposed her to be a native of this Country—he is a Pennsylvanian.

"On the 7th rode on to a Mr. McClure's, a plain family where I was treated very kindly; his daughter was dressed in the style of these parts.—Figure to yourself a slender girl, about six feet high, of swarthy complexion, dark hair, the fore part over a little roll and the hind part hanging loose on her neck, without shoes or stockings, a linsey petticoat, and a kind of a dress on something like the polonaise but instead of being short it reached to the ground, with short sleeves and it is cut with lappels to pin across the breast, and the neck covered with a coarse handkerchief. Upon the whole, to me they made a very ridiculous appearance.

"I arrived at this place this day about 11 o'clock. It takes the name of Charlotte from the present Queen of England, and the County, Mecklenburg, from the place she came from in Germany. The town is small with a Court-House in the centre, and contains about twenty-five houses, none of them very good. The jail was destroyed by the enemy when the place was in their possession.

"CHARLOTTE, N. C.

"April 8, 1782."

[LETTER 240.]

"The evening of the 8th I spent very agreeably with Dr. — and Lady, who belong to the Hospital at this place. I marched off on the morning of the 9th, crossed McCop-



ping's Creek and passed through the land belonging to the Catawba Nation of Indians. They have a tract of land laid out here fifteen miles square, on the Catawba river, which takes its name from the Nation; they have been very strong but at present they cannot muster more than one hundred Warriors. I crossed the Twelve Mile creek in the rain; put up at a Mr. Crockett's, just over it. It continued raining all night and all day the 11<sup>th</sup>; the men halted between his Mill and Mc'Copping's Creek.

"I rode on to Mr. Crawford's through the rain, where the Quarter Master's store is kept by a Mr. Galbraith. I was invited by Mr. Galbraith in the evening to accompany him to a dance, at a house about a mile off,—their next neighbors. Mr. Crawford and two of his daughters rode with us; tho' it rained exceedingly hard. The eldest of his daughters is the only genteel girl that I have seen in three hundred miles. Galbraith had one girl, and I the other behind me; we had to ford a creek, that was very deep at this time, and when we got within a quarter of a mile of the house, we heard the company dancing. We arrived tolerably wet. The house was small and the floor was loose boarded, and they much warped with the heat of the fire. The company consisted of about seven awkward country girls and three or four young married women, and about six or seven men, who were much worse than the girls, and the most of them nearly drunk. The fiddle and fiddler was much alike for neither of them, nor both together could play; he, however, when he could not play a tune, would always sing it or attempt it. Their dancing was a continued scene of labor and confusion. We attempted a country dance or two, and except about three couples, the rest were intolerably awkward, as they hobbled through the figures without minding the tune. We had a tolerable supper of meat and bread, with a little buttermilk and drank some very bad whiskey. We left the company about 12 o'clock, the men mostly drunk and some of the girls lively. 'Twas with the greatest difficulty we got home through the rain, the creek, the woods and the darkness of the night,—the



latter was so great that for my life I could not see my horse's head. The first misfortune was my lady's hat was pulled off by the limb of a tree, and my horse came near running into a ditch and must have broken his neck, as well as ours. Second the freshet had run so high we were nearly carried down the stream. Third we got lost in the wood; fourth I lost my hat and got my face scratched, (I found my hat again), and last, we got confoundedly wet. Take it all together, it was a horrible kind of a frolic.

"On the 11th, though rain ceased, yet such a quantity had fell, that the Waxaw Creek continued to rise, and in the afternoon was higher than it had been known for two years. On the evening of the 12th my men came up and got the baggage wet in crossing the Twelve Mile Creek. They were obliged to halt here as the Waxaw still continued so high, that neither man or horse could cross it, with any degree of safety. This day I have been detained for a wagon.—I with much difficulty got as much provision here as would last my men to Camden.

"WAXAW, SOUTH CAROLINA.

"April 13 1782."

[LETTER 241.]

"I entered South Carolina near M<sup>c</sup>Copping's Creek, where I passed through the Indian land; and the road all through the Waxaw settlement is the line.

"On the 14<sup>th</sup> inst. I left Mr. Crawford's where I was treated with a great deal of civility; much more than I had experienced in any part of North Carolina (Squire Kern's excepted)—I mean the back parts of it. They in general appear to be so interested in the affairs of the world, that it is death to them to part with anything, without a prospect of an immediate advantage, which you know ruins them at once on the score of hospitality. I crossed the Waxaw Creek and several small ones and put up that night at a vacant house on the road belonging to one Glass Cartee, being the first time on my march I was obliged to lie out of a bed. On the 15<sup>th</sup> passed the Hanging Rocks, where



a number of Tories going to join Lieut. Col: Tarlton, of the British, was met here by Co<sup>l</sup> Lee's cavalry, and not being acquainted, mistook him for Tarlton, who rode among them and as they were expressing their joy at arriving safe (as they thought), Lee's men cut away among them and the whole was either killed or captured. In the afternoon I arrived at a house formerly belonging to M<sup>r</sup> J. Rugely, an elegant building which never was finished, and now is vacant and all the buildings dependent on it going to ruin,—an elegant mill among others of less note. When the enemy came into these parts he took an active part, and while this place was in possession of the British, he was commissioned as Colonel among the Tories; and had his barn piqueted and abettee'd round, where he and eighty of his men was taken by Lieut. Colonel Washington's cavalry by stratagem. Finding they were secure by their piquets from a charge, he mounted a pine log on a pair of old wagon-wheels, having sawed off the end, which made a bright appearance, and blackened the center the size of the calibre of a Cannon, and was drawn on with men and mane'd as a field piece, they planted it on an eminence and then sent in a demand for the place to surrender immediately or they would fire at them. It had the desired effect, they surrendered on the demand. They were much mortified to be so simply taken in. Col. Washington burnt the barn, and abettees and some of the pallisadoes still remain. On the 16<sup>th</sup> I happened over the ground where Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates was defeated—he was on his march to surprise them and they were on their march at the same time for the same purpose. The advance of the two armies met and had some firing, when our Army formed and lay on their arms as did the enemy. At daylight the battle began, the North Carolina Militia retreated immediately and left the Maryland, Delaware, and a South Carolina regiment to finish the battle. They fought bravely, charged and repulsed the enemy where they fought, who were soon reinforced and came on again; they were at last overpowered by numbers, and nearly surrounded, when they retreated and then had



to charge their way through part of the enemy who were in the rear. There was a great number of valuable officers and men lost that day and among others the brave and experienced officer Major General the Baron De Kalb; the whole of the baggage and six pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the enemy with a number of Officers and men prisoners. Gen. Gates with his Aid de Camp retreated to Guilford Court House where he wrote to Head Quarters. The men that escaped, joined him some time after at Hillsborough. Within sight of Camden I crossed the ground where Lord Rawdon attempted to surprise Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene when he came against this place then garrisoned by the enemy. He however, was ready to receive him, tho' taken at some disadvantage, Co<sup>l</sup> Washington's horse did wonders, charged through the enemy, got in their rear and took a number of prisoners, the most of which they brought off. General Greene was obliged to retreat a small distance, and his Lordship was so much drubbed he did not choose to follow. After this little action the General left Camden, crossed the Wateree River and laid siege to Ninety-six, which was in possession of the enemy and detached small parties who took possession of the enemies small posts between Camden and Charleston, which caused them to evacuate this place. Camden is a small place near the Wateree River, and contains at present about fourteen houses and the ruins of several large buildings,—the jail and Court-house were among the latter. Indeed the whole Country between this and the Waxaw is entirely destitute of inhabitants and laid waste. The British destroyed the Whigs, and the Whigs retaliated on the Tories, thus none escaped the devastation. The war has been carried on in a cruel, savage manner in this part of America, 'tis almost impossible to believe, without being an eye witness to the destruction, and at best it is a country that will not easily recover the ravages of War. While this Country was in the possession of the enemy the Whig and Tory inhabitants shot at each other, wherever they happened to meet, as all parties rode with their rifles, and numbers of Whigs were murdered



in their beds, and their houses destroyed. The country here is low and poor, except on the Rivers, and the pine is of a different specimen from the common, having long leaves which spread like a brush. I am here entertained by the Officers of the Pennsylvania Artillery, who introduced me to Colonel Cashaw, who is the Proprietor of Camden, and his son. The enemy has destroyed five mills for him and several other buildings of great value; he is much of the Gentleman and treated me very genteelly.

"CAMDEN, S. C.

"April 16<sup>th</sup> '82."

[LETTER 242.]

"On the 17<sup>th</sup> I left Camden and crossed the Wateree River, which is about sixty yards across, and is the same River that I have followed down for near a hundred miles, for when I was in Rowan County N. C., at Squire Kern's, I was within a few miles of it, which is there called the Catawba, which name it retains until it comes within about eight miles of this place, where a small Creek called the Wateree changes its name and holds it, till it joins the Congaree. I was accompanied the most of this route by Co<sup>l</sup> Cashaw and his son, who has lately arrived from Europe, having been there for his education. I found him a young gentleman of understanding, free and sociable, but unexperienced in the world. We parted with a promise from him to come and spend some time with me in camp. On the 18<sup>th</sup> I arrived at McCord's Ferry on the Congaree River. Yesterday and to day I have halted to let my men refresh themselves. I am now within seventy-five miles of Head-Quarters, where I expect to arrive in five days from the time I leave this place. I find the face of the country more changed within fifty miles than I have for three hundred before. My course from Charlotte to Camden was near South-West but since I crossed the Wateree I have nearly steered a due North course. Here is the first place that I have come across the Palmetto tree or rather species of it



called the Palmetto Royal and Parrots or rather Parroquets, and I am told, that Alligators are to be found in this River. I at present stay at a Mr. Brown's, who is A. D. Q. M. at this post, or assistant to Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Cord who the place belongs to. You may expect my next from Camp.

"CONGAREE, S. C.

"April 20<sup>th</sup> 1782."



SOME LETTERS OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, 1774-1775.

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. THEODORE M. ETTING.

[These letters were written to the great-great-grandfather of the contributor, and have been preserved as mementos of an old family friendship. Although yellow with age, the writing is still clear and legible. We copy them because they serve to throw a side light on a period anterior to the Revolution; not that side with which we most sympathize, but the other, the Tory side. Joseph Galloway was loyal to the mother country, and sought to stem the tide which was rising and sweeping all before it; but finding his efforts of no avail to prevent a separation from Great Britain, retired to his estate, "Trevoze," in Bucks County, where he remained until after the indemnity proclamation of Lord Howe; he then entered the British lines, and subsequently went to England, where he died. "Trevoze," one of the most considerable estates in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, was confiscated after Mr. Galloway was attainted of high treason by the Pennsylvania Assembly.]

"TREVOZE, Jan. ye 14 1774.

"DEAR SIR;

"I had wrote all but the last Page of the letter on Public Affairs, on the Day of the Date, intending to finish it the next morning, when I was prevented by an accident which entirely disabled me from using my right Thumb, otherwise you sh<sup>d</sup> have heard from me sooner.

"You say, 'you do not altogether acquiesce with . . . explicit approbation our Assembly have given to the Proceedings of the Congress.' In this you do not much differ in opinion from me, as I totally disagree with them in all, and think they have not taken one foot of that ground which they should have taken. When I went to the Assembly and found they had approved of the measures of the Congress so fully, and had appointed me one of the Delegates at the next, I very explicitly told them, that I entirely disapproved of them. I did so in Congress and continued yet of ye same opinion and that I might not appear to undertake the Execution of measures which my judgement and conscience disapproved I could not serve them as a



Delegate at the ensuing Congress. And yet I could not prevail in persuading them to a new appointment in my stead.

"The conduct of this Assembly in this Respect has given great uneasiness to many. The men of Property begin to think & speak their Sentiments, and I hope will in a little time take that Lead which their Consequence entitle them to. But I conclude this will not be the case until the measures of Parliament are known, and they can hope to be protected in their upright conduct.

"A Committee has been appointed for this County by a few warm People of neither Property or significance among us. But I think they have found it so contrary to the sense of the County that they will not attend the Provincial Congress. The design of their Meeting to prevail on the People to Appoint in the several Townships Military officers, raise companies, and prepare for opposing with Arms the British Forces.

"Mrs & Miss Galloway unite with me in our best Compliments to Mrs. Verplanck. Mrs. Galloway enjoins me not to forget as I did in my last to request Mrs. Verplanck to propose her compliments to Mrs. Ludlow, and return her grateful thanks for the very acceptable and plentiful present of Roots. Miss Galloway has received the gloves, with which she is extremely pleased, particularly with ye work on the Back, for which she is much obliged to Mrs. Verplanck. The china is arrived safe.

"I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir with great Truth & Esteem

"Your obliged & Obed<sup>t</sup> Sev<sup>t</sup>

"J. GALLOWAY.

"P. S.

"What are your Assembly about!

"I hope they will not follow the mad President of Pennsl<sup>a</sup>."

"BUCKS, TREVOSE Dec. 7<sup>th</sup> 1774.

"DEAR SIR;

"I have no doubt but it will be agreeable to you to hear of our safe arrival at Trevose. We left Amboy on Monday and dined at Home yesterday, where we had the satisfaction to find Mrs. Galloway and my Family in Health. The Time



since my arrival has not admitted of my hearing from the City, and little news circulates at this Season of the year in the country. Nothing has offered which could give you either Pleasure or concern, tho' indeed in these perilous Times, was it not for the suspense and uncertainty attending them, no news perhaps would be most agreeable. Should any thing worthy of your Perusal hereafter occur I shall take the Liberty of communicating it, as I hope to hear from thence occasionally, on account of your Health, which I very sincerely wish may increase & continue to a good old age.

"I well know the generous mind neither wishes nor expects to receive acknowledgement of Favors conferred and yet the same disposition in Persons receiving them, sit easy under the omission of such acknowledgements. Permit me then on my own account to thank you for the many proofs you have given me of your Regard & Friendship, and to assure you they have given birth to the warmest Impressions of the same kind on my part.

"I live in Expectation that you will fulfil your intention of coming in the Spring to this part of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Galloway unites with me in renewing our earnest Solicitations, should that be ye case, that you and Mrs. Verplanck will make Trevoise the Place of your Residence during your stay, and will not think of taking Lodgings at Bristol. You may here have the benefit of the waters without the Injury which may be derived from the heat or air of that place. The air of Trevoise is acknowledged to be pure & healthful. The Alterative from salt to pure fresh air, assisted by the use of the waters, which may be obtained any day, and a moderate share of exercise, may and will in all probability restore your constitution. I wish I had other motives to add, but I have none save, that nothing shall be wanting in our Power, to render your Situation agreeable & happy, and to convince you, with how much Truth and Sincerity I am

"Your obliged &

"Most obedient Servant,

"JOS. GALLOWAY.



"Mrs. Galloway joins me in best compliments to Mrs. Verplanck, and gives her many Thanks for her great Goodness and civilities to her daughter.

"My compliments to Mr. & Mrs. McIvers, Duane, Hoffman and Low, and all other enquiring Friends, as well in Long Island, the Yonkers & N. York."

"TREVOSE, BUCKS, Feb. 14 1775.

"DEAR SIR;

"A variety of engagements has prevented my answering your very obliging Favor of the 24<sup>th</sup> Ist. I should be greatly defective in that Friendship which I entertain for you, should I omit to inform you in Confidence, that you will see my sentiments more at Large in a Pamphlet now in the Press in New York. When I began it, I was in a low state of Health, and by the Time I had finished it, so much unwell with a fever and colic, as to be altogether unable to correct or copy my first thoughts. This induced me at Times, to think of delaying the Publication, But the Necessity that called for it, and a Belief that it will be of use, has induced me to run the risk of critical censures for the Public Good, being confident that the Principles and Doctrines are sound and irrefragable.

"I thank you for the Pamphlets. They are well wrote, and will be of great service. They have produced a happy effect in this Province. I wish more of them had been for sale in Philadelp<sup>a</sup> and advertised in our Papers. Many complain they cannot procure them, and yet I think they all have capital Defects. They assert the necessity of a Supreme Legislative Authority, but do not prove it to the comprehension of common Readers. They do not show the rights of the American Subject or even acknowledge that we have any. They do not own that we have any Grievance and consequently nothing is pointed out as a Constitutional Remedy, and therefore they all leave the mind of the inquisitive Reader totally unsatisfied, which perceiving something very essential to their Freedom & Happiness wanting, in their present situation, become bewildered on



the subject and are thence led to condemn the Performance.

"I must applaud the Intention of your Legislature to pass a Militia Bill. It being in my opinion absolutely necessary not to defend you against the Parent State, but against the oblivious Danes & Saxons, 'From whom; good Lord deliver us.'

"It is with great pleasure I assure you that Moderation is taking place of the violence in this Province, in a more rapid Progress than my most sanguine expectations ever suggested. We only want, what you fortunately have, a free Press, to recall the deluded people to their senses, and that I hope will be supplied in a very short time.

"Mrs. & Miss Galloway join in most respectful compliments to yourself and the worthy Mrs. Verplanck.

"Believe me,

"Dear Sir, with great Truth & Sincerity,

"Your very affectionate

"humble servant,

"JOS. GALLOWAY."

"TREVÖSE, April 1 1775.

"DEAR SIR;

"It gave me real Pleasure to hear thro' Mr. Rivington by the last Post that your Health still continued unimpaired. I have not been without some uneasy apprehension of the contrary—as I know by experience how difficult a task it is for invalids to avoid exposing themselves to the inclement & hostile seasons of the Winter. I suspect you have been more prudent in this respect than myself, as I have by several acts of Indiscretion, a good deal diminished that Health, which the air of New York, Long Island, and the Yonkers generously bestowed upon me.

"As the Commendation of those we esteem ever affords the highest Satisfaction to the well meaning Mind, your approbation, with that of my other friends in New York, of the 'Candid Examination,' could not fail to produce that effect.



"It has not wanted friends to support it in this Province. I find it decried by none but Independents, or such as are determined to bring about a total separation of the two countries at all events, and they are, you may be assured but one fourth Part of our People. The late news from London partly fabricated in Philad<sup>a</sup> and published by the high Flyers in London, who know nothing of the secrets of the cabinet, have elated the spirits of the Whigs to the highest Degree,—notwithstanding the accounts are contradicted by every authentic & solid Intelligence, and thus I imagine they will remain until the Resolutions of Parliament are known, when I have not the least Doubt, but they will fall as much below Par, as they are now above.

"You have no doubt seen the answer to ye 'Candid Examination.' It is the Production of a fortnight Labour of the Pennsylvania Farmer and his old Assistant Charles Thompson. From the little approbation it met with here, I should not have thought it worthy of a Reply, But it gave me an opportunity of explaining some Principles of the Pamphlet more fully—And besides I thought that the vanity and Ignorance of the Authors ought to be exposed. I have therefore sent to Mr. Rivington a reply, which I hope he will publish with all convenient Speed. Should this meet with your approbation I shall be happy. Perhaps there is in it too much acrimony, and yet I think they deserve it.

"I hope you, and our other very good Friend Mrs. Verplanck have not given over your intention of visiting this Part of our Province, and that you will not forget that our house and the best accommodations it affords will be entirely yours, and that you will make us very happy in accepting of them.

"Mrs. & Miss Galloway join in compliments & best wishes to you and Mrs. Verplanck, with

"Dear Sir

"Your affectionate &

"Most obedient servant,

"JOS. GALLOWAY.

"MR. SAMUEL VERPLANCK."



"TREVOSE, June 24 1775.

"DEAR SIR;

"It gave me real Pleasure to find by Mrs. Bard that your Health continued so well restored, as to make you engage in the busy Scene of Politics. I know you have been led into it by the laudable desire of Assisting in the Preservation of the Peace & good order of your Country in these Times of general confusion. I sincerely wish your Health may keep pace with your Desires, and that by the one you may be able to fulfil the other. As to myself I have I hope retired in Time from the distressing and ungrateful Drudgery of Public Life. The want of Health was one great motive, but I had many others, which united to become too powerful to resist. I am convinced by experience the first was a good one, and whether the others may be ranked in the same class, a little time will discover.

"I hear with anxiety the distress which has more than once threatened your City. I feel for the Inhabitants, and sincerely wish them a Speedy & happy relief from their Fears. We have often wished for you and the worthy Mrs. Verplanck and your good little Boy with us here, where I believe order & calmness of conduct prevail, as yet more than any other Part whatever.

"Should you find it necessary or agreeable to leave your City either on account of your Health or any other, the Assylum of my House shall always be yours, Mrs. Verplanck and your little Boy, and by making it so you will greatly contribute to ye Pleasure of Mrs. & Miss Galloway & myself. They join me in best wishes & compliments to yourself & Mrs. Verplanck with

"Dear Sir

"Your faithful & affectionate

"humble serv<sup>t</sup>,

"J. GALLOWAY."

"TREVOSE Aug. 17 1775.

"DEAR SIR.

"I am happy in hearing by Mr. Croake that your Health continues. May it long continue in Defiance of the Fatigue



which must necessarily follow your constant attention to the Peace & Safety of your Country. As to myself I grow fat & more hearty than I have been during the last ten years. Retirement to a like scene to that in which you are now engaged in, and a consciousness of having acted my Part in it with Firmness & Integrity towards both countries, whose interest is inseparable, as long as there remained the least Prospect of my doing service and my own Safety would permit, have greatly contributed to restore my health beyond my most sanguine Expectations. And however I may differ with many respecting the mode of redress, and the means of accommodating the unhappy Differences between them, and preventing the Effusion of Human Blood, of which the prospect daily grows more distressing, yet I shall be happy to find in the unforeseen events of things that I have been mistaken and others in the Right. Hitherto in this Respect, I own I have been unfortunate, as any important incident tends to prove, that we are on the brink of a Precipice 'big with the fate of America.'

"I entertained some time since more than a wish to have spent the Winter in New York, & had prepared to put my Resolution into Execution, but it is difficult in these perilous Times, to know where is the place of most Safety for a Family, and believing none more safe than the country I live in, it will induce me to continue here until the contrary shall appear.

"We are extremely concerned at hearing of the extreme illness of Mrs. M'Ivers. But no further news than what Mr. Croake brought of it, having arrived at Bristol, for some time, we are in hopes, she is ere this recovered, which we most sincerely wish.

"Mrs. & Miss Galloway unite in affectionate wishes for the safety & Happiness of yourself Mrs. Verplanck and your promising little Boy.

"With Dr. Sir

"Your faithful & affectionate humble servant

"JOS. GALLOWAY."



OBSTRUCTIONS TO IRISH IMMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA, 1736.

[The following letter is of interest as showing some of the obstructions put in the way of immigration from Ireland to Pennsylvania early in the last century. The original, in the "Penn Manuscripts" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is addressed: "To | S<sup>r</sup> | Penn, Knight | Proprietor of Pensilvania | now In London;" and is endorsed, "Letter from an Irish Capt<sup>a</sup> about Ships being stop'd going to Pensilv<sup>a</sup>."]

"DUBLIN, May 3, 1736.

"HON<sup>d</sup> SR.

"As you are the proprietior of pensilvania & being informed of your being in London I would beg Liberty to inform your Worship of some of the Deficulyt w<sup>h</sup> poor people that are flying from the oppresion of Landlords & tyeths (as they term it) to severall parts of America Viz: When Last our Irish parlement was sitting there was a Bill brought in respecting the Transportation to America which made it next to a prohibition said Bill greatly allarmed the people perticularly in the north of Ireland and least a second should suckceed greater num<sup>a</sup> than usuall made ready but when said Landlords found it so the fell on with other means by destresing the Owners & Masters of the Ships there being now ten in the harbour of Belfast the methoud they fell in with first was that when anny of said Ships Advertised that they were Bound for such a Port & when they would be in redeness to seal & thire willingness to agree with the passengers for which & no other Reasons they Esued out thire Warrants and had severall of said Owners & masters apprehended & likewise the printers of said Advertisement<sup>t</sup> & Bound in bonds of a thousand pounds to apear att Carrickfergus assizes or be thrown into a Lowthsome Geol and for no other reson than Encuraging his Majesty's subjects as they were pleased to cale thire Indectment from on plantation to another But even after all this when the assizes came on they were affread of thire Enlargement and beged verry earnestly of ye Judges to heave them continued upon thire Recognize<sup>t</sup>—the consequence of which may easey be seen most of said Ships being strangers would heave effectually Ruined them But the



Judge was pleased to Discharge them nay one of the Justices gott up in Court & swore By G—d if anny came to Lisburn the town in w<sup>h</sup> he lived to puplise an advertizement he would Whipe him throw the Town To w<sup>h</sup> the Judge verry mildly replied To consider if they Deserved it & if he whiped anny person to do it according to Law Money has beeing offerd by some of them to Swere against some of said Ships & Rewards actually given But yett a more Hellish contrivances has been thought of & is put in practice by the Coll<sup>r</sup> Geo. Macartney of Belfast he will not now when said ships and passingers was just redy to seal so much as allow the poor people to carry thire old Bed Cloaths with them allthow ever so old under prentence of An Act of the British parlement made in the tenth & Eleventh Years of the Rean of King William & Repealed in ye year 1732 and said Ships being obliged to lay this affair before the Com<sup>rs</sup> of Dublin has appointed one Mr John Mean who has likewise stated the whole affair before one Francis Wilks Esq in London whom I refair said Mr Mean & I & likewise most of the mer<sup>ts</sup> in this Town are affraid of success even with the Com<sup>rs</sup> will be obliged to lay it before the Lord Leu<sup>t</sup> of this Kingdom & if that should feal than nothing less than his Majesty's Gracious Interpotion cane effect (it affords us some dawening hopes of our Greveances being removed) His Majestys encurege<sup>t</sup> & liberaty but a loss what does that in the meantime when no less than ten Ships has been these 18 or 20 days and no aperance of getting away and advanst charge the seson passing and which is yett much more moveing 17 or 18 hun<sup>d</sup> souls maney of which are in most deplorable circumstances not being so much as able to pay thire passage and all of them destitute of howses to put thire heads into or of means wherewith to suport themselves maney of which has depended on their Friends in America from home they yearly have Acct<sup>s</sup> and one [torn] they only depend for thire information But our Landlords here affirms that those Acct<sup>s</sup> are all of them Forgerys & Lyes the Contrivances of the proprietors Trustees & Masters of the American Ships.

"If you think fitt to make anny further use of these Acct<sup>s</sup> I do promise to make all of them appear matter of fact I am affraid I heave been tow Tediuous thefore beg leave subcri<sup>e</sup> my self your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Most Hum<sup>bl</sup> & Most ob<sup>t</sup> Ser

"JOHN STEWART.



"*post*—if your Hon<sup>r</sup> will please to Ans<sup>r</sup> derect to the care of Mr. Hugh White mer<sup>t</sup> in Dublin.

"N. B. I did not think proper in the body of the Letter to acquaint Your Hon<sup>r</sup> y<sup>t</sup> of those ten Ships there is eight bound for Dalour [Delaware?] & verry counciderable with them for to my knowledge there will be in a vessall that I bought last year in Margos Huckle [Marcus Hook] near Chister in or about seven hund<sup>d</sup> pounds Ster<sup>t</sup> mostly in Speece if this does not prevent them from getting over altogether. But with respect to y<sup>r</sup> warr<sup>s</sup> I heave mentioned its matter of Fact.

"I am &c.

"JOHN STEWART."



LETTERS OF GENERALS DANIEL MORGAN AND  
PETER MUHLENBERG.

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE W. SCHMUCKER.

[The following interesting letters, addressed to Colonel Taverner Beale, of Virginia, were found among his papers by our contributor. Prior to his service in the militia, under General Daniel Morgan, Colonel Beale had been an officer in the Eighth Virginia Line, and resigned in March of 1777.]

"WINCHESTER 7th of June, 1781.

"DR SIR,

"I am directed by the Legislature of Virginia to raise a Brigade of Volunteers for the term of three months for the immediate defence of this state which is threatened with immediate destruction except we can make head and stop the progress of the enemy. They have given me ample powers to appoint officers for that purpose and have sent me a number of commissions to fill up as I think proper. Colo. Triplett I have appointed to raise a Brigade below the Ridge in Fauquier and Loudon, Colo. Darke in Berkeley and Hampshire, Colo. Smith in Frederick and Shendoe, will you undertake to raise what men you can in your County and join Colo. Smith. The matter is just this, if we do not make head and oppose the enemy they will destroy us.—

"My dear sir, delay no time on this occasion our all depends on our exertions, please communicate success in this matter to Colo. Smith from time to time, all this must be performed in a few days, I have now taken the field.

"I am sir your

"obed't servt

"DAN MORGAN.

"COLO. TAVERNER BEALE."



"CAMP BEFORE YORK, Octob'r 2d, 1781.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"Capt. Ludemann wrote you some time ago by my direction, informing you of the arrival of the French fleet. I expected we should have had you down among us to enjoy a sight both interesting and entertaining. We are now encamped within sight of York and our works are carrying on within 900 yards of their works. The cannon are roaring continually and in about four days more we shall have 120 cannon and 20 mortars playing upon them; in short by the 13th I hope Lord Cornwallis and his army will be in our possession.—Now, sir, let me turn back a little to the time when you left us—As soon as we had certain intelligence that the French fleet was off the Coast, it was apprehended that the enemy would attempt to escape by crossing James River, I was therefore sent with full powers to collect Militia, destroy Bridges, Mills, &c. in short to throw every impediment into his Lordship's way I possibly could.—When I returned I was ordered to the command on the Lines with 400 Regulars 400 Riflemen and 1400 Militia. There I remained until we marched to this place. During the time I was in the Lines we took about twenty of Tarleton's men and confined him so closely to the town, that he was compelled to give over dashing. The Commander in Chief expressed his entire approbation of my conduct and in terms that flattered my ambition. The army is at present arranged in the following manner. The first Brigade of Light Infantry, with the Riflemen and Cavalry on the right—Commanded by Gen. Muhlenberg. The 2 Brigade of Light Infantry by Gen'l Hazen. The Pennsylvania Line and Gaskin's Regiment by Wayne. Marylanders next by G'l Gist. Jersey, New York and Rhode Island next by Gen'l Clinton. The French Army comprise the left wing. In our March from Williamsburg to this place I had the advance with my Brigade, the Cavalry and Riflemen. As I know it will give you pleasure I shall just tell you that there never was more Harmony subsisted in any Corps than in mine at present and that I am established in the Command, not only by the



Order of the Commander in Chief, but with the best wishes and congratulations of every officer in it. The reasons of some Manceuvres you shall know when I see you.

"I am, Dr Sir,

"Yours Affectionately,

"P. MUHLENBERG.

"P. S. By a letter just rec'd from Gen. Greene we are informed that a most obstinate and bloody action has been fought to the Southward. The Enemy had 700 killed and wounded and we took 400 prisoners. Colo. Washington is wounded and taken, and report says that our Friend Campbell is killed."

"MONTGOMERY, Feb'y 4th, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"I have accidentally met with Mr. Jordan in the City, who handed me your favor of the 29th of December last. I am sorry to inform you, that it was not in my power to render any service, or to assist Mr. Jordan in prosecuting his claim.<sup>1</sup> The truth of the matter is—When an Old Claim is presented especially for Military Services, obstacles without number arise on every side; & Congress is so much engag'd in Creating New Debts, that they have no leisure to Contemplating the payment of old ones.

"You may easily conceive that not having heard from you for a considerable length of time, the sight of a letter from you would give me pleasure, but this pleasure is doubled when I read your description of Situation &c. Shadd—Rock—Pike—Trout—Deer—Cyder & Brandy—'tis very well. But have you somebody—or anybody to assist you in catching the fish—or tapping the Cyder! as to Deer, I remember you could hardly kill one in Shennandoa when you were young, & spry, & therefore I conjecture they are in no great Danger from you at the present time. This accounts for your wishing to have me alongside of you. You know (though you would never own it) that I am a

<sup>1</sup> Captain John Jordan, formerly of Colonel Benjamin Flower's Artillery Artificers, Continental Line.



better marksman than you are, and as to fishing you never disputed the pre-eminence with me. Your plan therefore certainly is that I shall head the Hunting & Fishing Department and leave the Government of the Cellar to you.

"What an Idea! What an excellent Group in prospective! Can it be realized? I believe not—for I just now call to mind that the Pike in the Ohio are much larger than those with you—and tho' the Pike in Jackson's River are larger than those in Perkiomen, still they are not so sweet.

"But before I fill my paper let me say a word or two relative to Family affairs. I am not in the present Congress, but a Member of Congress Elect. Next October the time of Governor Mifflin expires, and a new Governor is to be chosen. I am strongly solicited by the Republican, as well as German party, to declare myself a Candidate. But I can not get my own consent, and I would rather resign my seat in Congress, than step one inch further in the way of promotion. Perhaps I am growing old—perhaps my nerves are weak. But I think I can without a Spirit of Divination foresee troublesome times when 'The Post of Honor is a private Station.'

"With regard to politics I shall say nothing—not that I am afraid anything should slip from my pen, that would subject me to the penalties of The Sedition Laws. But because it would require volumes to make only an abridgement. I shall only say the Old Tories are singing Hallelujah, and the old Proverb is fast verifying, Every Dog has his day.

"I still live at the Trapp in the house my father lived when you were here. Mr. Swaine lives in the first house below me where Colo. Patton lived. He keeps store and is a Magistrate. He and his Wife are both very well. But they have had the misfortune to lose all their Children and no probability of retrieving the loss.

"My family consists of my Wife and myself, Harry, Hetty, Peter, Mary Ann, and Frank.

"Harry is still one of the Senior Lieutenants in the Corps



of Artillery, and for the present stationed at West Point. Hetty has for six years past been, and still remains with her Grandmother in Philada. The other three are with me. As to my future prospects I have already hinted, that I am heartily tired of Politics. I have 10,000 acres of most excellent land on the Sciota. I have been there twice, & there I wish to spend the remainder of my days, only a few considerations prevent my moving this Spring. My mother is still living and protests. My mother in law is also living and as my wife is the only remaining child she has, she joins the protest agt the separation, tho' neither want my assistance; my mother in law particularly, as she has the whole estate in hand, and adds to it considerably every year. My wife joins in affectionate & respectful compliments to Mrs. Beale & the family.

"I am, Dear Sir

"Yours Sincerely,

"P. MUHLENBERG."



# THE BATTLE OF THE WOODEN SWORD.

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D.

On January 22, 1798, while Congress was in session in Congress Hall, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, two of its members, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, and Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, had a personal altercation which attracted wide attention and led to the production of both verse and caricature. The details may be found in my monograph upon Congress Hall, page 16. They are vividly and accurately depicted in the hitherto unknown ballad given below, which appeared in the "Seat of the Muses" of a magazine published in 1798 at Fredericksburg, Maryland, called *The Key*. The magazine lived through but one year, and contained an unusual amount of Revolutionary anecdote and incident. It was edited by John D. Carey and printed by Matthias Bartgis. The only copy I have ever seen or heard of belonged to the printer.

## THE BATTLE OF THE WOODEN SWORD! OR, THE MODERN PUGILISTS.

A NEW SONG IN TWO PARTS.

*"An hundred men with each a pen,  
Or more, upon my word, sir,  
It is most true, would be too few,  
Their valour to record, sir."*

### FIRST PART.

*Tune*—Yankee Doodle.

In any age, or any page  
Of fam'd old mother Clio,  
We cannot say, so vile a fray,  
Rais'd such a hue and cry, O.

### Chorus.

Sing Yankee doodle, bow, wow,  
wow,  
Yankee doodle dandy,  
Let us record the wooden sword,  
And with the glass be handy.



We all must blush, and cry out  
hush!

At what has pass'd so recent,  
Within the wall of Congress Hall,  
O la! 'twas too indecent.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

But still to sing a funny thing,  
At night when we are quaffing,  
Which to record the wooden sword,  
I'm sure will keep us laughing.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Therefore draw near, and you shall  
hear

A tale fit for derision,  
That I do ken 'bout Congress men,  
And claim'd mature decision.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

But to proceed with quickest speed,  
And not prolong my ditty,  
If I can tell my story well  
You'll laugh, or it's a pity.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some Congress folks must pass their  
jokes

Upon one Matthew Lyon,  
Insulting Pat, the democrat,  
Whilst some look'd snigg'ring sly  
on.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

The speaker then, and Congress men,  
Were standing out of place, sir,  
When Lyon spit, a little bit,  
In Roger Griswold's face, sir.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

It was, they say, a silly fray,  
Caus'd by some silly word, sir,  
That chanc'd to slip from Griswold's  
lip,  
About a wooden sword, sir.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

At which he roar'd, and damn'd the  
sword,

And did not storm a little,  
His feelings hurt, which made him  
squirt

In Roger's face his spittle.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Like with a blast, they stood aghast,  
The men of this great forum,  
Who loud did prate, and execrate  
This breach of their decorum.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some rose to blame, O fy, for shame,  
Cry'd out each one and all, sir.  
From north to south, in ev'ry mouth,  
'Twas heard round Congress Hall,  
sir.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now round the world, I'm sure 'tis  
hurl'd,  
How Griswold spoke provoking,  
In frantic fit, how Lyon spit,  
And sad has prov'd their joking.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Some members rose, for fear that  
blows  
Would speedy follow after,  
Some seem'd confus'd, some rail'd,  
abus'd,  
And some burst out in laughter.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Yet some confess'd, that in arrest,  
And that without denial,  
Lyon be plac'd, and be disgrac'd,  
At least to stand a trial.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

In torrents pour, in ev'ry door,  
The folks of every station,  
Wide staring all, to see a brawl  
'Midst rulers of a Nation.  
Sing Yankee doodle, &c.



Indeed the case had brought disgrace  
On any in this City :

As soon 'twas heard, the house re-  
ferr'd

Itself in a Committee.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

While some were mute, some in dis-  
pute,

And all in sad convulsion,

Some said in fact, so vile an act

Deserv'd direct expulsion.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

One member said, I'm not afraid

To speak in fire and thunder !

While men & boys, who heard the  
noise,

Stood gaping, mute with wonder.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now Lyon thought that he had  
brought

His pigs to a bad market.

The wooden sword he heard encor'd

And ev'ry dog would bark it.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So he began a long harangue,

How much he had been wear'ed,

Which made at least, him act the  
beast,

Because he'd been cashier'd.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

He then cried out, at length no  
doubt,

If I should be compliant,

The time will come, they'll kick my  
b—m,

Yet still, I'm to be silent.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

What's that was said, cries one quite  
red,

With blushes much confounded,

Another breach, by filthy speech ;

His rudeness is unbounded.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Then much did they his vice pour-  
tray,

By many days' debating,

And strange to tell, did not expel

The man we are narrating.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

This cost U. S., if right I guess,

Twelve thousand dollars rhino,

Which, bye the bye, will make us  
sigh,

Instead of laughing, I know.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Yet, lest I'm long, let's end this song,

And none his laughter smother,

I've sung one truth, and now for-  
sooth,

I'll briefly sing another.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

SECOND PART.

Against his will, when Roger still

Saw Matthew was not outed,

And from his seat did not retreat,

He swore he should be routed.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So next he went, with bad intent,

And enter'd Congress Hall in ;

He took his cane to crack the brain,

And lay old Matthew sprawling.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

So in a trice, he struck him thrice,

Most soundly on the head, sir,

And beat him fore, all o'er and o'er,

Till Lyon sadly bled, sir.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

He seized the tongs, to ease his  
wrongs,

And Griswold then assail'd,

By heinous drubs, from heinous  
clubs,

Disorder now prevailed.

Sing Yankee doodle, &c.



Some members mad, some very glad,  
 Some still as any mouse, sir,  
 Some rais'd a roar, shew them the  
 door,  
 Or they'll pollute the house, sir.  
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

If there's no rule, we'll keep men cool,  
 Whilst in this house we're sitting,  
 With broken heads, we'll keep our  
 beds,  
 And scandal crown the meeting.  
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Now both assuage their cruel rage,  
 Possess'd of melancholy,  
 And to accede, they both agreed  
 No more to shew their folly.  
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.

Thus ends the song, tho' very long,  
 About the Wooden Sword, sir,  
 When next in spite, they spit and  
 fight,  
 The deed we will record, sir.  
 Sing Yankee doodle, &c.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTER OF DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN, SENIOR, 1777.

"Jany 4<sup>th</sup> 1777.

"MY DEAR BROTHER

"Your favor of 31 Dec<sup>r</sup> just now came safe to hand w<sup>th</sup> the little bag directed to Benj. Chew Esq markt £20.13.9 which I shall take care to deliver & take his receipt for it & send to you per first opportunity—but shall not be able to send the Receipt I had from Mr. J. J. C. for you may know that when we were threatened with the entering of How's Army into the City I thought it prudent to move all my Deeds & Papers into the Country among which is your Receipt above mentioned and as my Daughter Sukey had been driven out of Princeton with her children &c It was proper for me to see what was become of her & therefore in my Tour to ye different Hospitals at Bethlehem Eastown & Allentown I proceeded to Oxford Furnace in the Jerseys & there I found them in a Tory Country yet out of the road of the Enemy—I left her on Christmas Day & the Day after rode to Eastown through a very heavy Snow storm to Bethlehem when I came there the Doctor's wife told me that Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington had sent to D<sup>r</sup> Shippen that night to come to him as soon as possible & bring with him several of his Surgeons for that he should have an action by the time he could come to him to Newtown. I therefore set off next morning after him not knowing how many might be wounded that I might assist them & when I came to Newtown I found the General returned with 1000 Hessians 1200 Stand of Arms &c. & scarce anybody wounded—The next day I set off with Will to 4 Lanes End to fix up another Hospital for the sick, leaving the General preparing for another expedition in ye Jerseys, where he has been busily engaged ever since fighting & I hear harassing the Enemy & 'tis said today that he has drove all How's Army from Trenton through Princeton taken 8 of his field pieces killed many of his Troops Hessians, Highlanders & Britons the particulars we are impatiently waiting to hear. Old Gen. Putnam is preparing to march today 2000 of the Militia to assist if needful. Our Tory Gentry look blank & hang their chins for fear we shall conquer. I was when from home within a few miles of the place where Gen. Lee was taken prisoner & when I heard it thought it might be providentially designed to prevent our placing to great a dependence upon an Arm of flesh & direct us to look up to him who has the command of Armies, Generals as well as men and I trust it has had that happy effect.

"While I was at Bethlehem we had Generals Gates Sulyvan, Arnold, Stirling and St. Clair all in good spirits w<sup>th</sup> Heath expected every minute. I have now my hands full with the sick at the different Hospitals in and about the City, but as soon as I hear the fate of our present important engagement I will find time to write you again. My Love to your Lady, Sally Burd, Yeates & children & to Polly Gray.

"I am your Loving Brother,

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



"John, Andrew & Billy Allen are gone over to How & 'tis said they took cousin Neddy Shippen with them. I have not asked his Daddy about him yet.

"It is reported that R<sup>d</sup> Stockton was taken prisoner at Monmouth used very ill & is since dead & that they have destroyed our fine Ororry & burnt the College w<sup>h</sup> I hope is not true.

"Our General Washington at present our Dictator till June is as cool & calm as he is Brave & prudent."

SCOTS PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH CEMETERY.—A deposition before me, dated Philadelphia, February 24, 1780, gives the following interesting data: "That several weeks after the British Army entered this City, 1777, I saw a man taking down the North West corner of the Burying ground fence belonging to the Scots Presbyterian Church on Spruce Street. . . . That I remember often saying that it was a shame to rob the dead to bury the dead . . . and I saw several times Coffins carried from C——'s shop to various places and they were made of fence boards for they were rough and weather beaten, and were made of that fence. . . ."

F. C. G.

PENNYPACKER'S MILL.—The Montgomery County Historical Society, one of the most enterprising of our county societies, has begun the marking of prominent points of local historic interest. The stone which marks the site of Washington's camp in the vicinity of Pennypacker's Mill is of native granite and weighs about four tons. It is erected at the intersection of the Harleysville and Skippack roads, and near the old mansion and mill of Samuel Pennypacker. The mansion was occupied by Washington as his head-quarters, and in what is now the parlor was prepared the orders issued from "Pennypacker's Mill," one of which, addressed to William Henry, at Lancaster, is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On the side of the stone towards the mill is the following inscription:

This Stone Marks the  
Camp of Washington's  
Army, Pennypacker's  
Mill, Sept. 26-29 and  
Oct. 5-8, 1777.

Historical Society  
of  
Montgomery Co., Pa.,  
Oct. 8, 1897.

On the opposite side is the following inscription:

Washington's Headquarters  
at the house of  
Samuel Pennypacker  
377 yards northeast  
of this stone.

The Society has also erected a memorial stone at the Barren Hill Camp site,—a large block of marble in the shape of an A tent.

ROTHROCK.—Philip Rothrock, born August 14, 1714, at Beiselhein, in the Palatinate. Came to Pennsylvania in 1733, and settled on the



Skippack, in Philadelphia County, and later removed to York County. He married, first, Catherine Kuntz, March 22, 1740, who died November 10, 1777, aged fifty-seven years and six months, and had issue:

1. *Jacob*, born May 25, 1741.
  2. *Anna Maria*, born September 25, 1742; died —.
  3. *John*, born February 18, 1744.
  4. *Catherine*, born September 30, 1745; died —.
  5. *Philip*, } born October 22, 1746. Settled in North Carolina.
  6. *Peter*, }
  7. *George*, born October 29, 1748. Resided in Baltimore, Maryland.
  8. *Valentine*, born August 31, 1750; died —.
  9. *Valentine*, born October 17, 1751. Settled in North Carolina.
  10. *Benjamin*, born November 9, 1753.
  11. *Joseph*, born May 11, 1755.
  12. *Catherine*, born May 18, 1757.
  13. *Anna Maria*, born March 1, 1759.
  14. *Frederick*, born September 30, 1760. He married, second, September 21, 1781, Eleonora (maiden name Maquinet), widow of — Galatin, born August 14, 1724, in Schwarzenau, Witgenstein. No issue.
- JACOB ROTHROCK, son of Philip and Catherine Rothrock, was born May 25, 1741, in Skippack, Philadelphia County. He married, April 21, 1765, Barbara Weller, born April 16, 1747, in York County, Pennsylvania, and had issue:

1. *Eva Elizabeth*, born March 1, 1766.
2. *Catherine*, born December 12, 1767; died 1768.
3. *Eva*, born August 5, 1769.
4. *George*, born April 23, 1771.
5. *Catherine*, born November 17, 1772.
6. *Jacob*, born September 21, 1774.
7. *Susanna*, born November 24, 1776; died December, 1776.
8. *John*, born April 27, 1778.
9. *Maria*, born July 31, 1781.

In December of 1782 the family removed to Baltimore, Maryland.

JOHN ROTHROCK, son of Philip and Catherine Rothrock, born February 18, 1744, married, first, May 1, 1767, Dorothy Gump, born October 11, 1749, died December 18, 1775, and had issue:

1. *George*, born January 27, 1768; died 1768.
2. *John*, born June 13, 1769.
3. *Daniel*, born August 27, 1771.
4. *Catherine*, born February 13, 1774; died —.

He married, second, Charity Worley, November 5, 1776, and had issue:

1. *Elizabeth*, born September 16, 1778.
2. *Anna Maria*, born February 17, 1780.
3. *George*, born May 24, 1781.
4. *James*, born May 22, 1782.
5. *Charity*, born September 17, 1783.
6. *Susanna*, born April 20, 1785.
7. *William*, born September 23, 1786.

MOORE.—“On Friday July 15th, 1785, departed this life, in the 76th year of his age, Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, a native of this city [Philadelphia], and for a number of years, Provincial Treasurer, and a Trustee of the General Land Office. On Sunday his remains were interred in the Friends’ burial ground, attended by a respectable company of his fellow citizens.”



CORELL.—Jacob Corell, born December 3, 1713, at Meshfeld, in the Palatinate, married, December 14, 1749, Magdalena Schwartz, born February 28, 1723, at Giffengen, Switzerland, and came to York County in 1744. Issue:

1. *Mary Magdalen*, born January 24, 1751.
2. *John Philip*, born June 17, 1752; died 1758.
3. *John Jacob*, born September 12, 1755; died 1758.
4. *Maria Elizabeth*, born November 14, —.
5. *Ann Catherine*, born August 11, 1757.
6. *John Jacob*, born July 5, 1759.
7. *Susanna*, born February 19, 1761.
8. *Anna Maria*, born April 21, 1764.

MORRIS—WALTON. (From a MS. book written about the year 1835.)  
—“Catherine Morris Daughter of Samuel Castner and mother of Elizebeth Walton Was born the 5<sup>th</sup> of August In the Year of our Lord 1734. The 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the week. Departed this life the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 1816.

“Age 82 Years 3 months and 20 days.

“Elizebeth Morris Daughter of Reese Morris and Catherine his wife was born the 20<sup>th</sup> of June In the year of our Lord 1752.

“Elizabeth Morris was Married to Samuel Walton November the 7<sup>th</sup> In the year of our Lord 1776.”

Dates of birth of her children from same book are

- |                                  |                     |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. 24 <sup>th</sup> October 1777 | 5. 29 October 1786  |
| 2. 29 November 1779              | 6. 15 October 1790  |
| 3. 1 May 1782                    | 7. 26 February 1794 |
| 4. 14 November 1784              | 8. 20 June 1796     |

In back of book, among other entries of like nature, is “Elizabeth Walton will be 91 years old if she should live till the 20<sup>th</sup> of June next 1843.”

T. S.

COLONEL JONATHAN B. SMITH'S BATTALION OF PHILADELPHIA MILITIA, 1777.—Among the Philadelphia troops ordered to participate in the Brandywine campaign was the battalion of foot, third class of militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Bayard Smith. It consisted of five companies, commanded by Captains William Smith, Philip Pancake, Conrad Rush, Adam Foulk, and Anthony Lechler, and, when mustered at Wilmington, Delaware, on September 3, 1777, numbered upwards of three hundred men, about one-half being substitutes. The following orders were issued prior to the battalion leaving the city:

“The Battalion to meet this Afternoon at Two o'clock near the Centre House. The Captains who have not returned a State of their company to do it this day on the Parade. A return from each Captain of the names of his Officers and the date of their Election, without which no Commission can be had. The Captains to prepare as soon as they can muster Rolls of their Companies for the Muster Master General.

“JONA. B SMITH Lt. Col.

“August 21, 1777.”

“The Battalion to be on the Centre Ground on Saturday @ 1 o'clock Roll to be called at 2 on the Parade. The Captains to get Muster Rolls from Col. Henry ready to fill up.

“JONA. B SMITH Lt. Col.

“August 22, 1777.”

“August 23, 1777.

“Orders for the march of the 3d Class on Sunday morning are countermanded till further Orders. As orders for marching may be expected



every hour the Captains will direct the men to hold themselves in readiness.

JONA. B. SMITH, *Lt. Col.*"

"The Battalion to Parade tomorrow morning @ 4 o'clock on ye vacant Lott on Callowhill and to proceed from thence to Chester. The Captains to have their men equipt this afternoon. As little Baggage as possible to be carried.

JONA. B. SMITH *Lt. Col.*"

EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—In Chapter XV., the first of the supplementary chapters to Dr. George B. Wood's "History of the University of Pennsylvania," by the late Dr. Frederick D. Stone, he gives the difference between the origin of the "Charity School" ("New Building") and the "Academy," and in this connection an entry in the diary of the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia will be read with interest. Before quoting it, it is but proper to state that of the eleven trustees of the "New Building" named on page 211, six of them were connected with the Moravian Church,—viz., John Coates, John Stephen Benezet, Thomas Noble (an importing merchant of the city of New York), James Read, Edward Evans, and Charles Brockden.

"January 2, 1748. Abraham Reineke and George Neisser, [ministers of the congregation] visited Bro. Brockden at his request, when he communicated to them his defense, which he had wrote to the Assembly against Mr. Woolly and John Coats petition to the same, wherein he insists upon the first intention of the *New Building*, viz. its being intended for a Charity School and a public place for Preaching for any true Minister of Christ of what persuasion soever; showing forth that the debts complained of by Mr. Woolly and Coats were only contracted since the present possessors had intruded themselves, who were also the only persons of whom it could be required to pay off such debts, that had been contracted by them. This defense he will give to the Assembly, although he has grounds to believe that they will take no more notice of it. But then he thought he had done his duty, being one of the Trustees of the *New Building*."

There is frequent mention in the diary of the arrival of Thomas Noble from New York to attend the meetings of the "Trustees of the New Building," and some reference to the business transacted, and also of members of the "New Building" attending the Moravian services.

By the will of William Parsons, of Easton, Pennsylvania, ex-Surveyor-General of the Province, December, 1757, he bequeaths two hundred pounds for the "benefit of the Poor Scholars of the Academy of Philadelphia," one of the first bequests to that institution.—ED. PENNA. MAG.

LETTER OF THOMAS NELSON, JR., TO THE HON. JOHN PAGE, Williamsburg, Virginia; original in the collection of J. T. S. West, Esq.—

"PHILADA July 16<sup>th</sup> 1776.

"DEAR PAGE

"I was disappointed in not receiving a line from you by yesterdays post, but I suppose your hurry of business in your new department, prevented your taking notice of me. We expected to have heard something from New York yesterday, but I fear the Enemy have taken such possession of the River as to prevent any intelligence being convey'd to us. Two of the Ships of War & two Tenders pass'd our Forts on the North River in defiance of our Batteries. This we imagin'd was done as an experiment, whether any others of them, or any Transports have follow'd we are not informed, not having heard from the General since the 12 Instant at night & then the express cross'd under a strong escort. It



is thought that they design to surround our Army & pen them up in the City of N. York, but the General no doubt is aware of this & will counter plot them, for should such a thing happen there must be a surrender on our side in a few Men tho, as they would cut off all supplies. Our Men are in high spirits & wish ardently for an attack that they [may] distinguish themselves from Men fighting for the hire of 4d per day.

"I do not think you will have any thing to apprehend in Virginia this Campaign, but from Dunmore & him you may prevent doing any thing except in the praedatory way. Could you not then spare a few thousand Militia to come hither to augment the flying Camp that is to be established between this Colony & Maryland: they would be of infinite service. I have enclosed several of Dr. Price's [excellent] Pamphlets to you, which you will [dispose?] of as they are directed & oblige

"Your sincere [friend] & hble Servt

"THOS NELSON JR."

AMERICAN TYPE.—The *Pennsylvania Journal* of February 1, 1775, contains the following:

"The Provincial Convention which met in Philadelphia January 23, 1775, among other things, 'Resolved that as PRINTING TYPES are now made to a considerable degree of perfection by an ingenious Artist in Germantown, it is recommended to the Printers to use such Types in preference to any which may be hereafter imported.'"

THE SO-CALLED "FRANKLIN PRAYER-BOOK."—The July issue of your magazine contains an article on the "Franklin Prayer-Book." I have in my possession Dr. Franklin's *original* copy, from which was printed the prayer-book referred to. It is an 18mo edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, printed by Thomas Baskett, at Oxford, 1745. This the doctor used when compiling his edition. The alterations and emendations are all in his own hand throughout, and a recent comparison with Dr. Bache's copy shows that both the original and copy agree. The book now in my possession formerly belonged to "a Bishop of Sarum," and has his *ex libris*, also the following statement in his own writing:

"The copy from which I inserted the proposed alterations of Dr. Franklyn, was lent to me as a great curiosity by the Rev. Dr. Lort, March 11<sup>th</sup> 1783.

S. Sarum."

It has also this inscription: "From Dr. Benjamin Franklyn to Mrs. Baldwin."

HOWARD EDWARDS.

Philadelphia.

THE "DRYLANDS" OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY.—On early maps of Northampton County, Pennsylvania, there is a district located between the Moravian tracts of Bethlehem and Nazareth, marked "Drylands," which was supposed to be deficient in watercourses, and hence neglected by purchasers for many years. Richard Peters, on behalf of the Proprietaries, tried on several occasions to dispose of this district to the Moravians; but they declined to purchase it, owing to the prejudice which prevailed. This was a mistake, as the district was developed to be one of the most fertile in the county. The following extracts from a letter of Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, dated May 3, 1753, treats of this tract:

"I have directed Mr. Parsons to go over the Drylands Land in the Forks, and to consider well all its conveniences, and to lay down in a general plot, the places and quantities of land that may be thought



proper to be reserved for the Proprietaries, or granted to the Moravians, or laid out in farms for leases. After this shall be done, and the mind of the Moravians known as to the offer you are pleased to make them of the two thousand acres, we shall then proceed to make leases.

"Mr. Spangenberg and others of the Moravians have been in Carolina, and think of buying there a tract of 100,000 acres, which they cry up to the skies for water and goodness of soil. You will better know Mr. Spangenberg who is gone to England to treat about these Carolina lands, whether the Moravians will choose to take a lease of 2000 acres or no, and whether they will bind themselves to employ it in the silk manufactory, and come under proper covenants."

The Moravians declined Mr. Peters's offer, and in August of 1753, John, Earl of Granville, conveyed to them a tract of 98,985 acres in what was then Rowan County, North Carolina, which, by dividing and subdividing, has been successively in Rowan, Surry, Stokes, and, since 1848, in Forsyth County.

Robert Edward Fell, writing to his uncle, Thomas Penn, from Philadelphia, in May of 1770, in relation to the "Drylands," says,—

"Upon talking with Mr. Hockley he seems to be of opinion that the lands mentioned in yours are worth much more than they were valued at twenty years ago; and indeed from what I could learn from Mr. James Allen, with whom I went through a part of the *Drylands*, I think they would sell for at least 20 shillings per acre even at vendue; but I am of opinion they would fetch more by private sale, provided the purchasers were not immediately pressed to pay down the whole sum. I can hardly imagine that a few persons would buy them at a single sale in trust for others, but of this I cannot be positive till further inquiry."

A few days prior to the writing of this letter Mr. Fell visited Bethlehem, where he purchased four pocket-books, "one for Lady Juliana, another for Miss Penn, one for Miss Freame, and a small one for Sophia."

#### ROLL OF CAPTAIN JAMES HINDMAN'S COMPANY OF MARYLAND INDEPENDENT REGULAR TROOPS, SEPTEMBER, 1776.—

James Hindman, *Captain*;  
Archibald Anderson, *First Lieutenant*;  
Edward Hindman, *Second Lieutenant*;  
William Frazier, *Third Lieutenant*.

#### *Sergeants.*

Thomas Hall, deserted 28th July,	Peter Hardcastle,
James Morgan,	John Millet.
William Martindale,	

#### *Corporals.*

Perdue Martindale,	Levin Frazier,
James Orrell,	Clement Cannon.

#### *Drum and Fife.*

James Mead,	John Williams.
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*Privates.*

Bryan Sinnett,	John Garrott,
John Emory,	William All,
David Thatcher,	Richard Snook,
Nathan Harrington,	James Cobarn,
Perry Evans,	Edward Welch,
Laurence Connerley,	Benjamin Crisp,
John Fleming,	Jonathan Valiant,
Joshua Chippey,	John Hopkins,
Humphrey Spencer,	Nathan Madding,
Henry Stapleford,	John Ryan,
Solomon Harris,	Nathan Duling,
John Millington,	Daniel Richardson,
Robert Ferguson,	Lambert Robinson,
Thomas Brown,	Job Barnes,
James Burgess,	Thomas Colvert,
Henry Higgins, discharged 28	William Smith,
July,	James Watts,
Richard Caton,	David Priestley,
William Blanck,	William Pitts,
Stephen Bryan,	William Tarr,
Hambleton Warren,	Delehay Duling,
Reuben Jeffers,	Joseph Merchant, missing 27 Aug.
James Devereux,	Long Island,
James Todd,	Thomas Davis,
John Hughes, missing 27 Aug. on	Russel Armstrong,
Long Island,	Henry Gates,
Thomas Camper,	John Foster Leverton,
Jacob Jeffers,	Joseph Jackson,
James Robinson,	Thomas Lamley,
John Humbey,	Philemon Porter,
Charles Moore, deserted 3 <sup>d</sup> Aug.,	John Smith,
Henry Martin,	William Beauver,
Peter Bromwell,	William Bratchee,
James Ray,	Ben. Worthington,
Robert Ellis,	Thomas Buckley,
Francis Hazledine,	Thomas Start,
Samuel Giles,	Richard Sampson,
Daniel Higgins,	William Jenkins,
Gilbert Burgess,	James Jones,
Andrew Hughes,	John O'Bryan,
Richard McDaniel,	William Woods,
Richard Besswick,	George McNamara, deserted 3 Aug.,
Peter Jeffers,	William Kenney,
Thomas Barker, left on Long	Nicholas Farewell,
Island 29 Aug.,	Thomas Burgess,
Thomas —	Charles Cooper,
John Buckley,	Ezekiel Abbott, deserted 3 Aug.
John Masterson,	taken again 5 Aug.
True Copy.	JAMES HINDMAN, Captain.

PENINGTON.—In the small burying-ground at the foot of Church Street, on the bluff of Black's Creek, in Bordentown, New Jersey, commonly called the Hopkinson Burying-ground, there are interred many



persons who were not of that well-known family. Among the stones will be found the following inscriptions:

## I.

"Isaac Penington born at Philadelphia October 30th 1756. Died near Bordentown April 28th 1803."

## II.

"In memory of Sarah wife of Isaac Penington Esqr. who departed this life January 6th, 1807 in the 53 year of her age."

## III.

"William son of Isaac & Sarah Penington born April 8th 1781, died March 20th 1797."

## IV.

"In memory of Ann daughter of Isaac & Sarah Penington, who departed this life October 28th 1806, in the 22nd year of her age."

This Isaac Penington, who was eldest son of Edward and Sarah Shoemaker Penington, eldest son of Isaac and Ann Biles Penington, only son of Edward the emigrant and Sarah Jennings Pennington, is set down in Foster's "History and Pedigree of the Pennington Family" and Keith's "Provincial Councillors" as though he died unmarried and without issue. He married Sarah Biles, widow of Thomas Harvey, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married John Wister, of Germantown. Their daughter, Ann Penington, is the "Nancy Penington" whose charming portrait, painted for her elder step-sister, has one of the two known signatures of the painter, "Gilbert Stuart Bordentown 1805."

Isaac Penington, whose portrait is one of those handed down by St. Memin, was a sugar refiner who amassed a fortune and retired to the neighborhood of Bordentown, where he married, lived, and died.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

## ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR JOHN PENN AT PHILADELPHIA, 1763.—

"PHILAD. 11<sup>mo</sup> 16 1763

## "LOVING FRID"

"... Our new Governor John Penn arrived here on the 30<sup>th</sup> ulto. & landed at the wharff with little previous notice; and his introduction among us was attended with no ceremony, tho' a remarkable event! happened about two hours after, which will be likely to impress the remembrance of that day on the minds of the people, our City being shaken by an Earthquake, which broke up most of ye places of worship & some received hurts by the terror they were seized with, and ye confusion of ye flight. We do not find it reached far or was felt in the neighboring Provinces, except part of the Jerseys. The noise attending it was remarkably loud, like the explosion of Gunpowder or the roaring of many Cannon. It happened about twenty minutes past four o'clk p.m. Our meeting had ended a little before. . . .

"ISRAEL PEMBERTON."



## Queries.

PEARSON DATA.—The following manuscript, endorsed "[Cert]ificate from Joseph Kippin Bristoll," I found among the Taylor papers (Miscellaneous, No. 3294) at the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Locust Street, Philadelphia:

"BRISTOLL the 24<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>th</sup> 1675

"to all people to whome this presents Shall Com this I Signifie & Certyfe: that The: Bearer hereof: Tho: Peirson: hath Served me the full terme of seven years according to his Indenture recorded in the [fol 2 iv (?)] of this [bil (?)] in witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand the day & year above written

"JOSEPH KIPPIN"

That which follows, I presume, is in the neat handwriting of Thomas Peirson himself:

"on y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> month in y<sup>e</sup> yeare 1675 I had served my Apprenticeship

"on y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> month in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare Afores<sup>d</sup> I went from Bristoll for London

"on y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> month in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare 1676 I sailed from the Downes intending for Maryland in Company w<sup>th</sup>: Wm Dixon

"on y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> month in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare 1676 I arrived in Great Wicka Comma Coe River in y<sup>e</sup> Ship Called the Joseph & Benjamin Mathew Pain Commander of y<sup>e</sup> Same / T: P

"on y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> month in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare 1681 I sailed from without y<sup>e</sup> Capes of Cheseopeak bay in Maryland for England in the Ship Called the Comfort of Bristol Thomas Whitop Master

"on or about y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> day of March 1682 I arrived in Kingroad

"on y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> day of July in y<sup>e</sup> Yeare 1683 I set Saile from Kingroad in y<sup>e</sup> Comfort John Reed Master and Arrived at Upland in Pennsylvania y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> of September 1683"

Henry Graham Ashmead, in his "Historical Sketch of Chester," Pennsylvania (Chester, 1883), pp. 18, 19, presents evidence that seems to disprove the tradition that Thomas Pearson came over in the "Welcome" with Penn in 1682, and was the means of changing the name of Upland to Chester. He suggests that the Thomas Peirson of this manuscript was the early settler of Marple and the grandfather of Benjamin West, the artist. It seems to me, however, from the manuscript, that Thomas Peirson was a young unmarried man when he came over in the "Comfort" in 1683, and I presume it was he who married Rachel Sharply, of New Castle County, in 1686. The ancestors of Benjamin West were probably Thomas Pierson and Margaret (Margery?), his wife, who came in the "Endeavor," of London, in 1683. The records of Chester Monthly Meeting give the birth of Robert, son of Thomas and Margery Person (Pearson), as "about ye 3d or 4th of ye 12th m<sup>o</sup> 1683."

Thomas Pierson and Margaret, his wife, arrived at Philadelphia, Seventh month 29, 1683, in the ship "Endeavor," of London, George Thorp, master.—PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. p. 323.

Thomas Pearson and Grace, his wife, emigrated from Lancashire, England, bringing a certificate, dated Twelfth month 16, 1698, to Middletown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.—PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 117.

The marriage of Thomas Pierson and Rachel Sharply was authorized by Newark or Kennet Monthly Meeting at New Castle, now Delaware,

The first of these is the fact that the  
 system is not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, involving many factors  
 which are not yet fully understood.  
 The second is the fact that the  
 system is not a static one, but a  
 dynamic one, which changes with  
 time and circumstances.  
 The third is the fact that the  
 system is not a uniform one, but a  
 heterogeneous one, with different  
 parts having different functions.  
 The fourth is the fact that the  
 system is not a closed one, but an  
 open one, which interacts with its  
 environment.  
 The fifth is the fact that the  
 system is not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, involving many factors  
 which are not yet fully understood.  
 The sixth is the fact that the  
 system is not a static one, but a  
 dynamic one, which changes with  
 time and circumstances.  
 The seventh is the fact that the  
 system is not a uniform one, but a  
 heterogeneous one, with different  
 parts having different functions.  
 The eighth is the fact that the  
 system is not a closed one, but an  
 open one, which interacts with its  
 environment.  
 The ninth is the fact that the  
 system is not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, involving many factors  
 which are not yet fully understood.  
 The tenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a static one, but a  
 dynamic one, which changes with  
 time and circumstances.  
 The eleventh is the fact that the  
 system is not a uniform one, but a  
 heterogeneous one, with different  
 parts having different functions.  
 The twelfth is the fact that the  
 system is not a closed one, but an  
 open one, which interacts with its  
 environment.  
 The thirteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, involving many factors  
 which are not yet fully understood.  
 The fourteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a static one, but a  
 dynamic one, which changes with  
 time and circumstances.  
 The fifteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a uniform one, but a  
 heterogeneous one, with different  
 parts having different functions.  
 The sixteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a closed one, but an  
 open one, which interacts with its  
 environment.  
 The seventeenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a simple one, but a  
 complex one, involving many factors  
 which are not yet fully understood.  
 The eighteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a static one, but a  
 dynamic one, which changes with  
 time and circumstances.  
 The nineteenth is the fact that the  
 system is not a uniform one, but a  
 heterogeneous one, with different  
 parts having different functions.  
 The twentieth is the fact that the  
 system is not a closed one, but an  
 open one, which interacts with its  
 environment.

Eighth month, 1686. Rachel Peirson, wife of Thomas, died "y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> mth 1687 and was buried at newark burying place," Brandywine Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware.—"Records of Newark or Kennet Monthly Meeting."

First month 1, 1689-10, Newark Monthly Meeting gave its consent to the marriage of Thomas Pierson and Rose Dixon. He appears to have been an active member of the meeting from its rise in 1686 until 1709. On Fifth month 2 of the latter year, "Thomas Peirson appearing at this meeting doth request a Certificate both as to himself & his Childrens life and Conversation & Clearness in Relation to Marriage." The certificate was signed Sixth month 1. To what meeting was it presented? I find only two other later references to him in Newark minutes. Fourth month 3, 1710, "Thomas Hellingsworth is desired to Spake to Thomas Peirson and Cornelius Empson to see if they have none of y<sup>e</sup> wrightings belonging to this meeting." Again, on Second month 5, 1712, a committee "Return a Survey of y<sup>e</sup> meeting house land laid out by Thomas Peirson to this meeting."

Enoch Pearson, of Pennsylvania, had a number of children. Of these Enoch died young; William married and remained in Pennsylvania; Samuel and Benjamin went to South Carolina; Thomas, born 1728, was a harness-maker and shoemaker. He worked at his trade for some time in Philadelphia, then went to Virginia, and finally to Carolina. What were the names of the parents of Enoch Pearson? He was not a son of Thomas, of Bucks County.

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

BEALL.—In the Presbyterian graveyard at Georgetown, District of Columbia, are buried the founder of Georgetown, his wife, and one of their sons, George. The inscriptions are as follows:

"Here lieth Colonel George Beall who departed this Life March 15th 1780 Aged 85 years."

"Here lieth the Body of Elizabeth Beall the wife of Colonel George Beall who departed this Life October the 2nd: 1748 Aged about 49 years."

"Sacred to the Memory of Colonel George Beall. He was born in George Town on the 26th day of February 1729. He died October 15th 1807 in the 79th Year of his Age. He lived respected and died lamented."

Originally they were interred in their own burying-ground alongside of their house, which still stands upon the present N Street, near Thirty-first Street; the bodies were removed to the present site more than twenty-five years ago. My father copied the inscriptions before the tombs were removed from the family burying-ground. To-day the tomb of the first Colonel George Beall is broken and but little of the inscription remains; the other two inscriptions are perfectly legible. The wife of the first Colonel George Beall, a son of Colonel Ninian Beall, was Elizabeth Brooke; and the wife of their son, the second Colonel George Beall, was Elizabeth Magruder (originally McGregor). I should much like to know something more about these two Elizabeths.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH.

GRIFFITH JONES'S BIBLE.—Information is desired of the present resting-place of the Bible which once belonged to Griffith Jones. He died in Philadelphia in 1712, and by his will bequeathed his "Great Bible" to his granddaughter Ann Jones. This granddaughter married Matthew Ingram, and *d. s. p.* about 1783, leaving her estate, after



the decease of her husband, to the heirs of her sister Elizabeth. Matthew Ingram afterwards married Elizabeth —, but had no children, lived till 1793, was buried in the graveyard of Trinity Church, Oxford, and the ground-rents, etc., duly passed to Ann Ingram's great-nieces and nephews. But what was done with the Bible? is the question that Elizabeth Jones's descendants of this generation would like to have answered, as it probably contained family records that would be valuable to them. Is it possessed by some relative of Matthew Ingram? or did the second wife—whose original surname is unknown—pass it on to her own people?

The idea of the writer is not to claim the Bible, only to examine it.  
H.

MEREDITH.—I am very desirous of ascertaining the date of birth, or baptism, of Martha Meredith, daughter of Samuel and Margaret (Cadwalader) Meredith, who, June 25, 1796, married John Read, son of George Read, signer of the Declaration of Independence; also the date of birth, or baptism, of Elizabeth Meredith, daughter of Reese and Martha (Carpenter) Meredith, who, March 18, 1765, married George Clymer, signer of the Declaration of Independence. Any one having knowledge of either one of these dates will greatly gratify the undersigned by sending the same to him at the address given below.

FRANK WILLING LEACH.

254 South Twenty-third Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

RUSH.—Crafford and Mary Rush lived in Culpeper County, Virginia, at the time of their son Benjamin's birth, April, 1752. In 1772 Benjamin married Dorcas Vickery, in Guilford County, North Carolina, where he spent the remainder of his life. Their sons were Noah, Zebedee, Michael, and two or three others. I would like to have data to trace Crafford Rush's ancestry back to their separation from the Pennsylvania branch.

C. C. RUSH.

Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

LESTER family descendants and the allied names of Lister, Lyster, Leister, Leicester, or any name resembling these, whose ancestors settled in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the West. Write to George V. Leicester, 1120 Cathedral Street, Baltimore, Maryland, who is compiling the Lester genealogy of England and America.

WITHROW.—About 1750 John Withrow was a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania from York County. Can any one tell me whether this John Withrow had a son, William, who married Miss Morton? If so, whose daughter was this Miss Morton?

JOHN A. M. PASSMORE.

318 South Forty-second Street, Philadelphia.

TAN-GÓ-RU-A.—Who was the author of "Tan-gó-ru-a: An Historical Drama, in Prose," published by T. B. Peterson, Philadelphia, 1856?

J. M. L.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.—In W. S. Baker's "Engravers and their Works" he describes a mezzotinto of General Anthony Wayne, by George Graham, as follows: "Half length standing in full uniform,



the Order of the Cincinnati on his left breast. Henry Elouis pinxt. Large folio." Who has a copy of this mezzotinto? J. W.

FENWICK.—Persons interested in the Fenwick family are requested to communicate with the undersigned. The date of the birth and the grave of Thomas Fenwick, of Lewes, Sussex County, Delaware, who died 1709, are specially desired.

E. J. SELLERS.

805 Betz Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

THE JANNEY FAMILY.—All persons possessing information in regard to the descendants of Thomas and Margery Janney, who settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1683 (and particularly in regard to the descendants of their sons Thomas and Abel), are requested to communicate with the undersigned, who is collecting genealogical data of the family.

MILES WHITE, JR.

Baltimore, Maryland.

NORTH—WHITE.—Colonel Joshua North resided about 1740 on Race Street, opposite the old Moravian Church. Elizabeth White was his wife, whose parents are supposed to have come to America with William Penn.

Any information concerning these people will be gratefully acknowledged by

SAMUEL SMALL.

York, Pennsylvania.

### Replies.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.—A copy of the mezzotinto of General Anthony Wayne, by Graham, will be found in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

L. E. W., NEWVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA.—The officers of the Pennsylvania Battalion of Loyalists in 1780 were: William Allen, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant; Captains Francis Kearney, Thomas Stephens, Thomas Colden, Joseph Swift; Lieutenants Benjamin Baynton, Ross Currie, Moses Holt; Ensigns George Harden, Cortland Todd, William McMichael; Surgeon John Chrystal. Ross Currie was acting adjutant, and Moses Holt quartermaster. The Bucks County Light Dragoons' officers were: Captain Thomas Sandford Watson, Lieutenant Walker Willett, Cornet George Geran. John Foxcroft and Hugh Finley were Deputy Postmasters-General for North America.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

### Book Notices.

THE MORRIS FAMILY OF PHILADELPHIA. By Robert C. Moon, M.D.

It will gratify many of our readers to learn that this work, which has been many years in preparation, will soon be published. Anthony Morris, the founder of the Philadelphia family, was born August 23, 1654, at Stepney, London, England, and died in Philadelphia October 23, 1721, and his descendants are very numerous.

Dr. Moon has gathered a complete genealogy of the family and its allied branches in America and Europe, which he has supplemented with copies of wills, deeds, ancient family portraits and mansions, marriage certificates, diplomas, autographs, and highly prized historic relics. The work will be published in two volumes, extra cloth, bevelled edges, at \$20.00.



**THE GERMAN EXODUS TO ENGLAND IN 1709.** (Massen auswanderung der Pfälzer). By Frank Ried Diffenderfer. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1897. 8vo, 157 pp.

This interesting and valuable historical monograph treats of the remarkable emigration of Germans to London in the spring and summer of 1709, mainly from the Palatinate, which had been the scene for many years of invasion and spoliation. The causes which led to this exodus, the hope of bettering their condition, of securing religious toleration and domestic tranquillity in England, where their deplorable condition obtained for them government and private aid, and the various projects for their settlement, are set forth in detail. Much of the data has been drawn from original sources, and much of it is new or hitherto practically unavailable to the student. Numerous notes throw a flood of light on many obscure points; ample references are given to authorities, and a great deal of valuable material which could not be used in the text has been carefully arranged in appendices. One of the admirable features of the book is the illustrations, many of them being reproductions of rare engravings and title-pages. Mr. Diffenderfer was well qualified to undertake this work and we heartily commend it to our readers. The edition is limited to one hundred copies.

**THE ENGLISH ANCESTRY OF THE FAMILIES OF BATT AND BILEY.**  
By J. Henry Lee. Boston, 1897. 8vo, 26 pp.

We are indebted to the compiler for a copy of the English ancestry of these cognate families, reprinted from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

**THE FATHERLAND:** Showing the Part it bore in the Discovery, Exploration, and Development of the Western Continent, with Special Reference to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. By Julius F. Sachse. Philadelphia, 1897. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society. 8vo, 234 pp. Price, \$3.50.

This impressive work was prepared at the request of the Pennsylvania German Society, as an introduction to a narrative and critical history now being published under the general title, "Pennsylvania: The German Influence on its Settlement and Development," covering the period between 1450 and 1700. It is the outgrowth of the author's indefatigable researches here and abroad, and has been compiled with great care.

Some of the most valuable chapters, in which new and important data are given, treat of the social condition and effect of the early discoveries in Germany: the earliest attempt at German colonization; the story of Welslerland, with the names of the German adventurers; the grants to the German bankers Anton and Hieronymus Fugger; religious causes inducive to German emigration; Dutch and Swedish attempts at colonization by Mey, Minuet, and others; the French wars of conquest; German emigration to America; and a list of the works published to promote emigration. The data brought together will be much read and discussed by students of the history of our Commonwealth.

The volume is lavishly illustrated with elaborate and well-executed maps, photogravures, and engravings, besides ornamental borders, head-pieces, and tail-pieces; but they are more than decorative, for they aid to appreciate the text; and, furthermore, the reproduction of sixty-four fac-simile title-pages of books and pamphlets that influenced emigration to Pennsylvania is another feature which greatly enhances its value. The book itself is an excellent example of the art of bookmaking. The edition is limited to one hundred and fifty copies.



MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF  
PENNSYLVANIA, 1897.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 11, Vice-President William Spohn Baker presiding.

Vice-President Charlemagne Tower, Jr., read a paper entitled "Sir William Howe, General and Commander-in-Chief in America, 1775-1778," on the conclusion of which a vote of thanks was returned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on March 8, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald read a paper on "New Light on the Old Congress," and Librarian Frederick D. Stone made some brief remarks explanatory of the position of the armies at the battle of Brandywine, as introductory to the reading of letters relating to the conduct of General Sullivan in the battle.

Votes of thanks were returned to Dr. Friedenwald and Dr. Stone.

The announcement was made of the following gifts to the Society:

Garrett C. Neagle presented the silver snuff-box of Gilbert Stuart, and the original study by John Neagle for a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Bethune.

A. Cuthbert Thomas presented a painting of "Crazy Nora," and one of the "Pie Man," by Winner.

On motion of Richardson L. Wright, the thanks of the Society were returned to the donors.

Nominations for officers of the Society, to be voted for at the annual meeting, being in order, Benjamin H. Smith placed in nomination the following names:

*President.*

Charles J. Stillé.

*Honorary Vice-Presidents.*

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

*Vice-Presidents (to serve three years).*

James T. Mitchell,

Charlemagne Tower, Jr.

*Recording Secretary.*

Hampton L. Carson.



*Corresponding Secretary.*  
Gregory B. Keen.

*Treasurer.*  
J. Edward Carpenter.

*Auditor.*  
Francis H. Williams.

*Members of Council* (to serve four years).  
James T. Mitchell, William S. Baker,  
Charles Hare Hutchinson.

There being no other nominations, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 10.

A special meeting of the Society was held on April 12, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

A paper was read by William S. Baker, entitled "Washington in Philadelphia, 1790-1797."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Baker for his instructive paper.

The Secretary read a letter written by Dr. Benjamin Rush to a lady, dated 16 July, 1782, giving an account of the French Fête in Philadelphia in honor of the Dauphin's birthday.

Mr. John T. Morris presented a portrait of his great-grandfather, Samuel Morris, captain of the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse, and on motion the thanks of the Society were directed to be given to Mr. Morris for his gift.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on May 10, President Charles J. Stillé in the chair.

Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, read a paper, "The End of the Quaker Control of the Assembly of Pennsylvania." On motion of Charles Roberts, the thanks of the Society were tendered to President Sharpless.

Announcement was made of the following gifts: the papers of James Buchanan, presented by his nieces, an original invitation to dinner addressed to Benjamin Franklin, and a piece of the armor-plating of the Confederate ram "Merrimac."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were directed to be given to the donors.

Professor Gregory B. Keen read the annual report of the Council.

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 8, President Charles J. Stillé presiding.

After the deaths of Vice-President William S. Baker and Librarian Frederick D. Stone had been announced by the President, Hampton L. Carson, Esq., read an interesting memoir of Dr. Stone. For a full account of this meeting, see pp. i-xxxi.



OFFICERS  
OF  
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

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CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.  
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The President, the Recording Secretary, the Corresponding Secretary,  
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# STATED MEETINGS.

January 10, 1898.

May 9, 1898.

March 14, 1898.

November 14, 1898.

January 9, 1899.

---

Annual membership . . . . .	\$5.00
Life membership . . . . .	50.00
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## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

*Statement of Finances, December 31, 1896.*

### DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

To Real Estate . . . . .	\$126,201 41
To Investments . . . . .	113,559 28
To Library Fund . . . . .	18 07
To Gilpin Fund . . . . .	60 00
To Cash . . . . .	8,298 30

### CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

General Fund, Investments . . . . .	\$5,500 00
"    "    Real Estate Loan . . . . .	5,500 00
"    "    Cash . . . . .	117 73
Binding Fund, Investments . . . . .	5,300 00
"    "    Cash . . . . .	127 84
Library Fund, Investments . . . . .	20,505 00
Endowment Fund, Investments . . . . .	39,000 00
"    "    Cash . . . . .	440 03
Publication Fund, Investments . . . . .	37,254 28
"    "    Cash Uninvested . . . . .	535 47
"    "    Cash . . . . .	2,564 78
Smedley Fund, Investments . . . . .	6,000 00
Real Estate, Investments . . . . .	120,701 41
"    "    Cash . . . . .	193 42
Church Records Fund . . . . .	100 00
John Clement Fund . . . . .	140 00
English Records Copying Fund . . . . .	3,593 49
Sundries . . . . .	563 61

<u>\$248,137 06</u>	<u>\$248,137 06</u>
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*General Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1896 . . . . .	\$40 96
Annual Dues, 1896 . . . . .	7,220 00
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	750 05
Trustees of Endowment Fund . . . . .	1,819 00
Donation . . . . .	10 00
	<hr/>
	\$9,840 01
Disbursements: General Expenses and Taxes for 1896 . . . . .	9,722 28
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	\$117 73

*Library Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1896 . . . . .	\$29 13
Interest, Dividends, and Sales . . . . .	1,027 05
	<hr/>
	\$1,056 18
Disbursements: Books purchased in 1896 . . . . .	1,074 25
	<hr/>
Balance due General Fund . . . . .	\$18 07

*Binding Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1896 . . . . .	\$57 29
Interest and Dividends . . . . .	337 00
	<hr/>
	\$394 29
Disbursements: Binding Books, 1896 . . . . .	266 45
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	\$127 84

*Endowment Fund.*

Receipts: Interest on Investments . . . . .	\$1,819 00
Disbursements: Paid to Treasurer of General Fund . . . . .	1,819 00

*Publication Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1896 . . . . .	\$2,347 85
Interest and Rents . . . . .	2,171 10
Subscriptions to Magazine, Sales, etc. . . . .	619 00
	<hr/>
	\$5,137 95
Disbursements for 1896 . . . . .	2,573 17
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$2,564 78



ANNUAL STATEMENT  
OF THE  
TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN LIBRARY  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR  
THE YEAR 1894.

*Capital.**DR.*

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1894 . . .	\$1,411 65
Cash received, Philadelphia City Loan paid off . \$5,100 00	
Cash received, borrowed temporarily from C. H. Hutchinson . . . . .	2,000 00
	<u>7,100 00</u>

*CR.*

Cash paid for Bond and Mortgage . . . . .	\$8,511 65
	<u>8,000 00</u>
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1895 . . .	<u>\$511 65</u>

*Assets.*

Philadelphia City Loan . . . . .	\$27,100 00
Mortgages . . . . .	33,000 00
Cash . . . . .	511 65
	<u>\$60,611 65</u>
Less Temporary Loan from C. H. Hutchinson . . . . .	2,000 00
	<u>\$58,611 65</u>

*Income.**DR.*

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1894. . . . .	\$1,363 34
Cash received, Sales of Duplicates . . . . .	\$725 00
Cash received, Interest on City Loan . . . . .	813 00
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages . . . . .	1,275 69
Cash received, Interest on Deposits . . . . .	82 87
	<u>2,896 56</u>

*CR.*

	<u>\$4,259 90</u>
Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers . . . . .	2,523 65
Cash paid for Binding . . . . .	423 94
Cash paid for Salaries . . . . .	625 00
Cash paid for Repairs . . . . .	78 45
Cash paid for Accrued Interest on Purchased Mortgage . . . . .	32 00
	<u>3,683 04</u>
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1895 . . .	<u>\$571 86</u>



ANNUAL STATEMENT  
OF THE  
TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN LIBRARY  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR  
THE YEAR 1895.

*Capital.***DR.**

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1895 . . .	\$511 65
Cash received, Philadelphia City Loan paid off .	6,000 00
Cash due Income Account (over-invested) . . .	288 35
	<u>\$6,800 00</u>

**CR.**

Cash paid C. H. Hutchinson, repayment Temporary Loan . . . . .	\$2,000 00
Cash paid for Bond and Mortgage . . . . .	4,800 00
	<u>\$6,800 00</u>

*Assets.*

Philadelphia City Loan . . . . .	\$21,100 00
Bonds and Mortgages . . . . .	37,800 00
	<u>\$58,900 00</u>
Less amount due Income Account . . . . .	288 35
	<u>\$58,611 65</u>

*Income.***DR.**

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1895 . . .	\$571 86
Cash received, Sales of Duplicates . . . . .	\$90 00
Cash received, Laurel Hill Lot Account . . . . .	52 00
Cash received, Interest on City Loan . . . . .	1,446 00
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages . . . . .	1,385 00
Cash received, Interest on Deposits . . . . .	125 93
	<u>3,098 93</u>
	<u>\$3,670 79</u>

**CR.**

Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers	\$1,887 10
Cash paid for Binding . . . . .	106 05
Cash paid for Salaries . . . . .	685 00
Cash paid for Repairs . . . . .	110 65
	<u>2,788 80</u>
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1896 . . .	<u>\$881 99</u>



ANNUAL STATEMENT  
OF THE  
TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN LIBRARY  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR  
THE YEAR 1896.

*Capital.*

[No change.]

*Assets.*

Philadelphia City Loan . . . . .	\$21,100 00
Bonds and Mortgages . . . . .	37,800 00
	<hr/>
	\$58,900 00
Less amount due Income Account . . . . .	288 35
	<hr/>
	\$58,611 65

*Income.*

DR.

Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1896 . . . . .	\$881 99
Cash received, Sales of Duplicates . . . . .	\$20 00
Cash received, Interest on City Loan . . . . .	1,899 00
Cash received, Interest on Mortgages . . . . .	1,625 00
Cash received, Interest on Deposits . . . . .	8 85
	<hr/>
	3,552 85
	<hr/>
	\$4,434 84

CR.

Cash paid for Books, Pamphlets, and Newspapers \$2,551 82	
Cash paid for Binding . . . . .	165 00
Cash paid for Salaries . . . . .	685 00
	<hr/>
	3,401 82
Cash Balance on hand, January 1, 1897 . . . . .	<hr/>
	\$1,033 02



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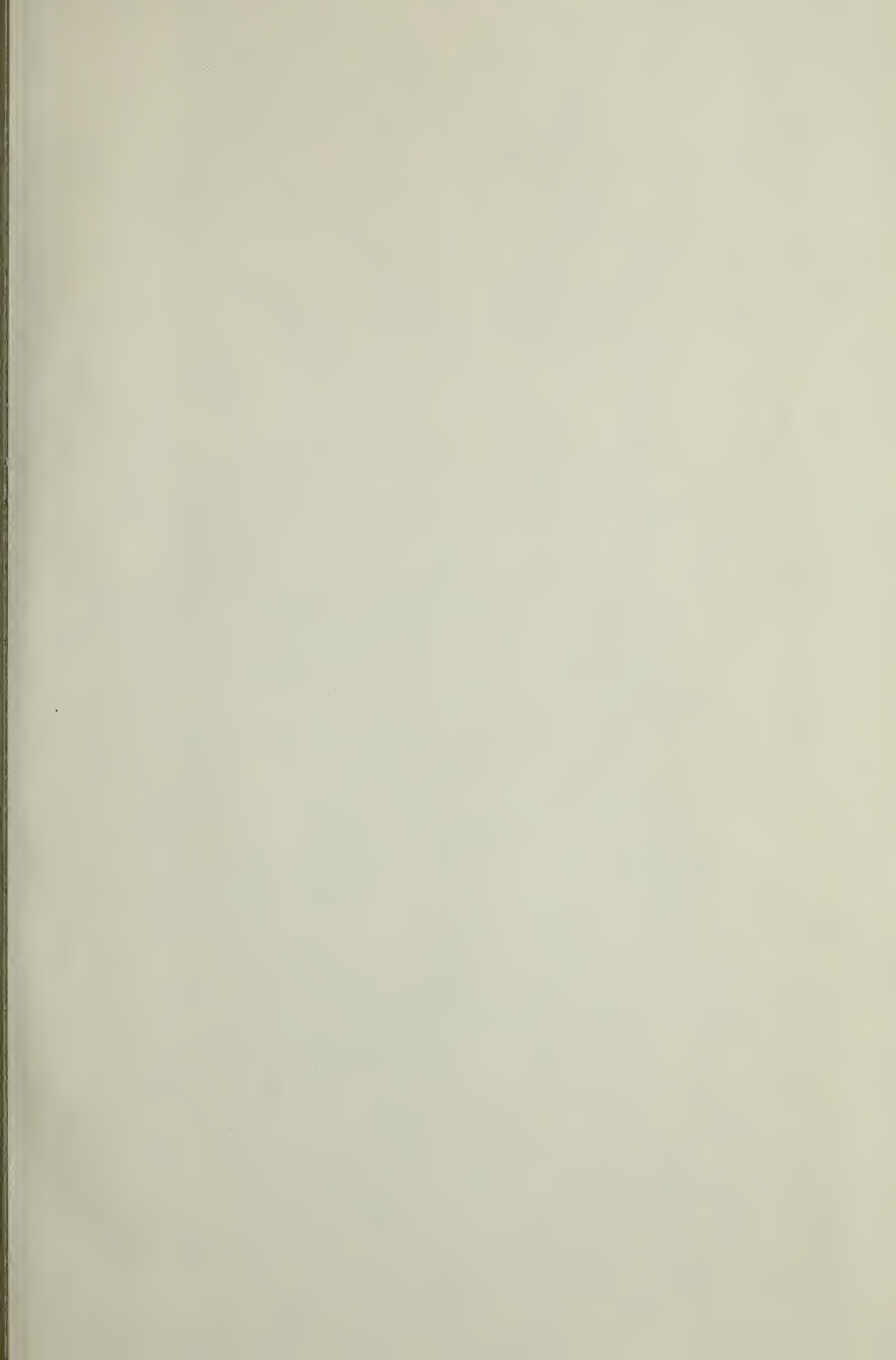


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