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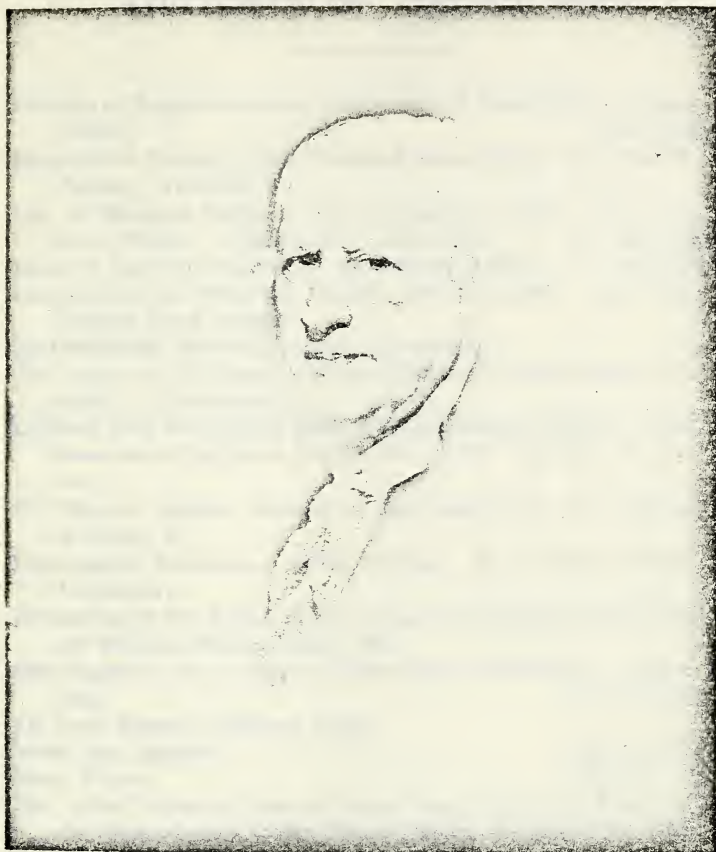
The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OR

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VOL. XXV.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1901.



Ernst Schuppen
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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXV.

1901.

No. 1.

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN LACEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[Transcribed from the original manuscript in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, entitled "Memmores of John Lacey Esq^r a Brigadier General in the Pennsylvania Militia during the Revolutionary War with Great Britain, with Copies and Extracts of letters from and to General Washington & others, relative to the occurrences of the War, and other Documents: with a Biographical sketch of his Life &c. Written by himself."]

I was born in Bucks County in the Province of Pennsylvania the 4th. Day of February in the year 1755, of very reputable parents, John and Jane Lacey. My father was the son of John and Rachel Lacey. My Great Grandfather was among first settlers under W^m Penn & emigrated from the Isle of Wight in England. My Grand Mother was a Heston, her Family came from New England & settled in Bucks County, were reputable Farmers and owned considerable Landed property. My Grandfather possessed two Plantations and a share in a Grist Mill—one of which at his Death descended to my Father with his part of the G[r]ist M[ill], the other part was purchased by my Father & to which he added a Saw Mill on the same stream running through the

Plantation. My Mother was the Daughter of Abraham & Susan Chapman, they were both born in America. Abraham's Father came from England in the early part of the settlement of Pennsylvania—he was of a wealthy Family there and contracted for the lands he held in Bucks County before he left England with W^m Penn—he possessed several Valuable Plantations in Bucks County—had five sons and at his Death left each a Plantation. Was in his lifetime a Man of note in the Province; he acted in various Public offices, as Justice of the Peace, Member of the Assembly for the County of Bucks &c. My Grandmother was of an older Family resided in New Jersey, all reputable.

It will not avail me to brag of high origin, but I can estimate my Ancestors among the first and most enterprising Settlers of North America, who regardless of [torn] expanded and boisterous Ocean, 3000 miles to seek in the wilds of North America among savage Indians an assalum where they might worship that Omnipotent being who rules [torn] according to the dictates of their own Contiences, which were forbidden them in their native Country. They were all of the society of Quakers, at that time sorely persecuted on that account in England. They were all freemen, and at least independent in their resources, if not Rich or of Noble Blood. They were the Companions of William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania, who was of the same Religious profession. To encounter the Perils of such an undertaking at so early a period of the settlement of this Country, at once bespeaks them to be a People not easily daunted at trifles, and by the Conflicting elliments, or of limitted enterprise. Their progress in aggraculture & mackanism, at the date of which I am speaking, can be no better testafyed, than the proof exhibitted by the appearance of their well cultivated Farms. Elligant and convenient Houses, Mills and Manufacturies, all of which are in proof of their Industry and Aconemy. I believe their are few Men among the Settlers of this Country who can boast of much higher Ancestors, at least among the first Emigration

in Pennsylvania or New Jersey. I am proud to Own and acknowledge mine to be Farmers.

The greatest defect in the Society of Quakers had hitherto been, the almost total omission to eddicate their Children, very few indeed at least in the Country gave their sons what might be called more than a limited common education [torn] It was my Misfortune to be of this Class. I neither knew nor foresaw the deplorable condition of my uncultivated Mind untill it was too late to repara it. My Father as a Farmer or rather a Miller, had no better learning himself, did not see or feal the want of a more liberal one, he knew as much as other Farmers or Mecanicks, wrote a tolerable plain hand, understood Common arethmatic and kept his own Books of Accompt. I was early sent to school, such as it was, the Master himself could neither read or write correctly, as he knew nothing of Grammer, it was not to be expected he could teach it to others, Grammer never was taught at any school I went to—no book of this kind or the most remote rudiments of it was, that I remember, talked of at any of the Country Schools I was acquainted with. None but Quaker Families resided in the neighbourhood where I was brought up, among whom the Bible & Testament with Dilworth's spelling-book were the only books suffered to be used in the Quaker Country Schools, from which circumstances no one will hesitate to acknowledge the extreme limited education & acquirements of literal knowledge by youth so circumscribed, nor can the want of this knowledge be known, or felt, untill the practical use of it be required. Young men ariving to the state of Manhood, are called by the sufferages of their fellow Citizens into Public employments, to act as representatives of the People or in some office of the Goverment of their Country—then will the defects of the want of a liberal Education become conspicuous, then will the want of it be fealt and known, then will those whose natural intelect be ever so good, for want of those liberal acquirements which cultivate the mind, expands the Ideas, and fits them for active and

useful employment—finding themselves inadequate to meet their cotemporaries on equal ground—shrink from the Field of Honourable or active employments, are found inactive, behind the Curtin, or sleeping on the back ground, fearful of exposing their incapacities for want of better liberal acquirements. From what little experience I have had of others, and of my own defects on that score, I am persuaded this is verified in many if not all who fall under this predicament. Among whome I trust may be reckened some of our best and ablest Citizens, who for this cause alone never appear in public, or on the great Theatre of Public afares.

With a laudable intent on the part of my Father I was, however, kept at this hum Drum School until I reached my 13th or 14th year, when I was placed in my Father's Grist & Merchant Mill, sometimes on the Farm, Cooper's Shop & Saw Mill, my time was spent in the various occurrences produced in the different branches of carrying on & conducting these several concerns in active employment & business, without any occurrence worth relating untill the year 1773. In the month of July I have to date the commencement of my wandering carrere. Hitherto I had been confined to business as above related, the only relaxation from which was a few days in a season I stole from the Cooper's shop or the Mill on a Fox hunt. My Parents being in full and strict Membership in the Society of Quakers, and of course by berth I was also in Unity. Our Family were strict attenders as well of the Meetings of Business, as for divine Worship. It was at the Monthly Meeting held at Wrightstown Meeting-house, Zebulin Heston brother to my Grandmother Lacey, and a Public Preacher in the Society, applied to the Meeting for a recommendation to the Meeting of Sufference of Friends in the City of Philadelphia, he having a Call as he expressed it, to visit the Delaware Nation of Indians settled on the Waters of the Ohio River. This tribe of Aborigines were the original natives inhabiting the Waters of the Delaware River, from whom it de-

rived the Name. They were in the time of my Uncles juvenile years still in great numbers inhabitants in Bucks County, and with many of their young men he had been in habits of strict and friendly intercourse—he was now grown old, upwards of 70 years of age—and these unhappy Wanderers of the Wilderness long since removed to a great distance, driven by the Europien immigrants and settlers far into new desarts to seek a retched existance. My Uncle still retained the attachment imbibed in his youth to this tribe of Indians, and he expressed to this Meeting his desire to pay them a religis visit before his Death, that he was growing old, and that while he was able to travel, he conceived it to be duty religiously enjoined on him and that he was now prepared to comply with the call of Heaven as he conceived it enjoined on him. His request was cordially granted, and the Clerk ordered to make him a pasport or Certificate of recommendation to the Meeting of Sufference of Friends in Philad^a. Being present at this transaction, it occured to me that this would be a good oppertunity of seeing the Country and acquiring a better knowledge of the World, than I had in my present occupation. I waited untill the close of the Meeting, when I called on my Uncle, and asked him if he would accept of a Companion, that he was old and might want assistance on so long a Road, his going alone might be attended with many unforeseen difficulties, and that if he would accept my Company, I would attend him all the way throughout his intended Journey. He appeared much pleased at my offer & said he would next day call & see my Parents, & if they had no objection he would gladly accept my Company—and in the meantime directed the Cleark to delay making out his Certificate untill he had adjusted that matter—so that my name might be inserted in the Certificate—all which being fixed to my satisfaction we set off on our rout on the 7th Day of July A.D. 1773, and came to the City of Philad^a the same day.

My Uncle next day accomplished his business; we were the day after joined by John Parrish, a very pious Friend,

when we all started on our way to Pittsburg. The Meeting of Sufference having placed in Friend Parrish's hands a sum of Money to bear our expenses, and to make some presents to the Indians at our discession. On the evening of the 18th we reached Pittsburg—nothing material occurred on the way. A great part of our Rout however, being little cultivated, the Roads in many parts almost impassible—we passed over monstrous Mountains, having never before been so far from Home or in so rough & broken a Country. The scenes were new and afforded me much matter for contemplation. We met many Travellers who were all on Horseback, the Roads being so bad, no loaded Waggon was able to pass them. Altho a very considerable trade was carried on, all the goods, or nearly so, were transported to and from Lancaster, Carlisle & Pittsburg on Pack Horses, great Drovers of which we met and passed on their way to & from these places, with Dry Goods, Furs, Deer, Bear & other skins.

On the Twentyeth of July we left Pittsburg crossed the Alligany in Canoes swiming our Horses by their sides holding them by the Bridles, pursued our journey through the Wilderness. Our object was a Delaware town called New Commers Town—were accompanied by John Gibson, an Indian Trader, who had an Indian wife & several children at this Town, and Captain White Eyes, an Indian Chief and also a Trader, who resided a few miles below New Commers Town on the Muscingum River called White Eyes Town. Altho Gibson kept his wife who was a Delaware at Newcommers Town his trade was carryed on much beyond that place, with Indians further down the Ohio & on the Sioto & Miamées River. I discovered him to be a man of note among them, he speaks the Delaware and Mingo languages as fluent as the Natives themselves, and appeared to be a man of respectability and good sense.

On the twenty fifth we reached New Commers Town, having been five days passing through the Wilderness. On our arrival were rec^d very Cordially by King Netowhelemon, who called his Council of the Chiefs or seachams at his

House or Pallase, which was indeed much the best House in the Town. As to furnature he had none or very little & not a Chair or stool in it, every one siting on the floor or small blocks of wood. After the seremony of reception was over, we were conducted to an empty Log House, which we were told was to be our Quarters. John Gibson had hitherto been our Interpature, but left us to follow his goods gone on to the junction of the Sioto with the Ohio Rivers. A messenger was sent to the Upper Moravian Indian Town about eighteen or twenty miles above Newcommers Town on the Muskingum River. Samuel Moor an Indian, the interpreter having arived, our first audiance or meeting was held on the twenty eight of July, at the great Council House of the Nation, a building erected for that purpose, about sixty feet in length and twenty wide, the sides formed of uprite pallasades, covered with bark. Our Credentials from the Monthly Meeting of Wrightstown, and Meeting of Sufference in Philad^a were read and interpreted, my Uncle made a Prayer and spoke for some time. The Interpreter explaining every sentence as he went on to the Indians in the Delaware language. After which Cap^t White Eyes made a speach & delivered us a Belt of Wampum in token of Friendship. We had several meetings of worship, in all of them the Indians behaved with proper decorum, but when my Uncle was not speaking they appeared uneasy & seme to express much solicitude and uneasiness untill he began again, exhibiting a total dereliction to Silent Meetings. When my Uncle was done speaking they would leave the Assembly in crowds remaining outside of the great Hall, and on his again speaking crowd into the appartement all siting on the ground or little billits of wood, a few even of such seats were found in the Council House, and they appropriated for the use of the Chiefs only. Having kept a Journal at the time of this toor I refer my friends to that, for the further particulars of the expidition, noting only that I reached my Fathers again on the fourteenth of September, having per-

formed a journey into the Wilderness of about five Hundred miles out, and considering the round through Virginia on the whole upwards of one thousand miles in two months and seven days.

Before I finally dismiss this subject I shall take notice of a custom among the Indians at this Town, the Capital of the Delaware Nation, because I have not seen [torn] is prevalent in any other place or among the Aborigines of any other Tribe I cannot say. After we had been presented to the King and Council, we were conducted to an empty log house or cabin, such as are made by the Colyers at the Iron Works, covered with palacadoes & bark, there were three berths erected in it, raised on croches set in the ground, on each was spread or laid a corse of split plank or palacadoes wide enough for two persons to lay on—on these planks were spread one or more Deer or bear skins for beds—no florre but the earth was in this house, and many more in the Town, indeed few only had floors—these were I believe confined to the nobility alone, none others that I saw had any boards in them. The Kings and Killbuck were tollerably well finished, and their bed rooms up stairs. The skins however, made comfortable beds, and we could not complain of our lodgings. Between sunset and dark, our habitation was surrounded by a large number, from twenty to thirty young Indian girls, dressed in their best apperal, who kept up an almost incessant serenade on juseharps. Altho Quakers my friends & myself shew no signs of disagreement—if we had, we were compelled to let them play on. They would approach the door, but ventured no farther. We all supposed their design was a mear Compliment and an Honour confered on us as Friends and strangers, took no further notice than apparently to be plesed with their music, which continued night after night for nearly the whole of the first week of our residence. Two whitemen Traders, John Freeman & James Forbs had a store of goods in this Town, with whome I made an early acquaintance, and was often invited to Dine & Sup with them. On the

second or third day of our residence, while at dinner, Freeman asked me if I did not observe the Indian girls playing the Juseharps at our lodging, and if I knew their meaning. I answered in the affirmative, and that I supposed it was out of compliment; he said it was a custom, when a stranger came to reside at the Town ever so short a time, the girls or single women, presented themselves in that way, in token of their willingness to enter into a contract for such time as his business required his stay there, during which time they acted as housekeeper and performed every necessary act in the care of your baggage or goods, cooked, washed and conducted herself in all things with punctuallity, honesty and care, as well of your goods as person, that if you were in danger of insult, they would give you the earliest notice, and in that respect they were sometimes peculiarly useful. No part of their contract would be neglected, but in all things do and perform their duty as good Housewife ought to do. You must pay for all these services in money or clothing according to your agreement as shall have been previously contracted. Being thus master of this secret of which I knew my companions to be ignorant, I could not refrain from lafter, at the simple credulity of my Uncle & Friend Parrish, who seemed to be tickled and allevated at the young Squaws musick—as they crowded the threshold of our habitation, altho., they would crowd and jossel each other for the possession of the door, they omitted to enter our appartment. After some time finding their musick to have made no impression upon us and we not inclined to accept their services, disappeared, at which my companions seemed really to regret sorrofully saying, they believed the girls had got tired of them, which I have no doubt was really the case. I believe this custom to be not only lisened but approved and encouraged by the Chiefs of the Nation, as I observed Cap^t Killbucks daughter with her harp among the crowd, and one of the foremost to approach the door. She had a spritely and innosent countenance & fine person. My acquaintance Freeman & Forbs, had each of them a

young female Indian who did all the manual services of their family, both living in one house, in a leanto, attached to which they kept their goods, and seem to enjoy all the social blessings of life, so far as I was capable of judging of their situation. The number of inhabitants according to Cap^t Killbuck's account amounted to upwards of three hundred at this Town, and their young men, of which they counted Waryers, upwards of one hundred.

After my return I again betook myself to my former occupation, but my engagements were principally in the Mill in manufacturing Flour for market, of which I had the principal care and management, my Father taking care of the Farm. Nothing material happened during the next year 1774. In '75 the contest between Great Britain and her Colonies in America began to assume a more formable appearance, in which all seemed to take a part, on one side or the other, altho, on the first onset, very few appeared to espouse the cause of the Mother Country, but there were some who secretly clung to her, and afterwards became open and bitter enemies to the Union and independence of the United States, among whom were some of my nearest relations. On reading the publications and occurrences of the times, I was lead to consider the claims of Great Britain to be unjust, tyrannical and oppressive. Under these impressions I united with her oponents and joined the Standard of the Revolutionists, throwing off my passive and non-resisting principles, of which I had hitherto been in the practice of believing (from the prejudice of Education) to be right, but seeing now in a very different light, considering it a duty all ow'd their Country, themselves and posterity—I without hesitation inroled myself under the banner of my Country, being young and full of fire; Patriotism beat high in my breast. Every where the Citizens were flying to Arms, vying with each other, who should be the best perficient in the Military exercise. I was chosen Captain of an Association of young men from the Townships of Buckingham and Wrightstown, several of whom were of the Society of

Friends, as well as myself, but whose patriotism was not genion, and who all fell off on the first onset of opposition. I alone stood the Ordeal of the Quaker Society of which I was then a member. My Patriotism was pure and irristable, including all the principles of social and Public virtue, imbracing an Enerjective devotion to support the liberty, the Independence, and political safety of my native Country against the strong arm of British oppression, invasion and tyroney, offering up on the Altar of Public weal, the sacrifice of my private interest and social Felicity, looking on the land which gave me birth as my Parent, and on her Children as my brethren, my carreer was not to be controled, the recital of dangers only increased my arder, thus wound up in the Political inthusiasm of the times, to be inactive was to me an intolerable burthen, which at that time I could not brook, and thus my arder led me to accept a Captains Commission in the troops to be raised to oppose the British Armeey then in possession of Boston.

The Functions of the General Assembly of Pennsy^a being superseded by that of a Committee of Safety chosen by the People, who under a recommendation of Congress, ordered several Regiments of Troops as her quota to be raised, to defend the Country against the invading Brittish & Hessen Armeey, who in the spring were expected to attack New York. My Commission was dated Jan^r 5th 1776, but I did not receive recruiting Orders untill the 20th. Such was my diligence and good fortune, however, that by the 12th of Feb^r, only 22 days, I inlested my compliment of men, Consisting of 85 non-commissioned officers and privates. On the 12th by order of Colo^l Wayn Commanding the Regiment to which I was attached, the 4th in the Pennsy^a line, I marched from Bucks County for Chester, a little Town on the River Deleware about 15 miles below Philada. We reached Darby on the 14th, eight miles from Chester, where we were stoped by Major Houseker, the Major of our Regiment, here he ordered the Men to be quartered on the Inhabitants—Chester being full of troops—expecting to stay

here but a few days. No agreement was made with the People where the men were quartered, they very early informed me they should not be satisfied with the Allowance Congress had ordered to be paid, and that they should look to me for the payment of the men's board, which they said would be six shillings more than the sum stipulated by act of Congress. I mentioned this to the Colo^l and begged we might be removed to Chester, as I foresaw an approaching altercation with the People of Darby. The Colo^l ordered me to take no notice of their demands saying, he would take upon himself the settlement of their accounts.

On the 21st of March the Company was ordered on to Chester, and on the 22nd. drew our Arms. The Regiment being ordered to New York, we being the first ready, were ordered on board Shallops to go by water to Trenttown, and from thence by land to New York. I left Chester with Major Houseker, rec^d pay for the men, and on the 23^d the Company arived off the City. Houseker hurried me on board and next day arived at Trenton, and on the 28th at New York almost weryed to Death in keeping the Company in order. An officer commanding young recruits, ought to have the patience, and fortitude of an old Commander. We were all young, and in a manner unacquainted with human nature, quite Novices in Military matters, had every thing to learn, and no one to instruct us who knew any better than ourselves.

On my return through Darby to Philad^a I again called on some of the People & informed them Colo^l Wayn had assured me he would settle with them for the men's board, that my Company had gone to New York, and that I was on my way there also, that I had drawn no money, neither for the pay or retained rations of the men, and that it was impossible, if I was ever so desirable to pay them, and as it was not my orders, but sorely against my will that the men were quartered on them. I had forebodings even then, that this affair might be productive of evil, but it was out of my power to controle or alter it. As soon as we became sta-

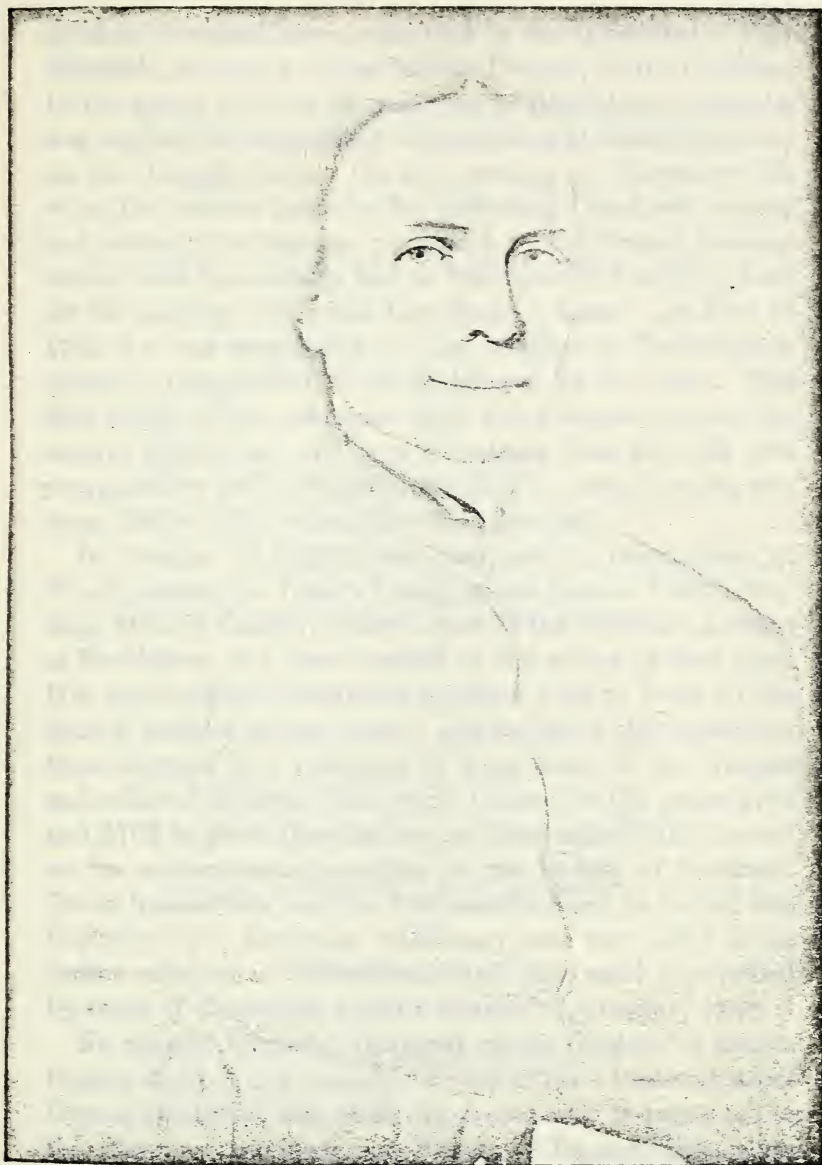
tionary at Darby, I used every effort to procure clothing for the men, by purchasing Cloth myself, setting such of the men who were Taylors to work, and employed others in Darby to assist in making Uniform Coats &c., by which means my Company were clad several weeks before any other Company in the Regiment, and of course the first ready to march, were ordered to New York, the others were to follow immediately on their being equipped.

(To be continued.)

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF REV. BERNHARD
ADAM GRUBE.

Bernhard Adam Grube, born June 1, 1715, at Walschleben, a village near Erfurth, in Thuringia, was educated in the parish schools and at Jena. He entered the ministry of the Moravian Church in 1740, and for several years had charge of congregations in Holland, and subsequently became one of the professors in the seminary at Lindheim, near Frankfort-on-the-Main. In the spring of 1748 he was dispatched to Pennsylvania, where he was first employed in the schools at Bethlehem, and as private tutor to the sons of Thomas Noble, of New York, one of the original trustees of the Academy erected for Whitefield in Philadelphia. He entered the Indian mission service in January of 1752, and was stationed at Meniolágoméka, a village located west of the Wind Gap, in what is now Eldred Township, Monroe County, Pennsylvania. While here, he tells us, his awkwardness at handling an axe almost cost him a limb, and confined him for weeks in a cold hut, where he lay on a board, with a wooden bowl for a pillow. He, in the mean time, studied the Delaware dialect and daily held meetings for the Indians. Six months later he was relieved, and then sent to the mission at Shamokin, which had been commenced in 1747 at the request of Chief Shikellimy, the representative of the Five Nations in business affairs with the Proprietary government. In the summer of 1753 he visited the Indian villages on the west branch of the Susquehanna and in the Wyoming Valley, where in the wigwam of Chief Paxanosa he baptized a Mohican woman,—the first Moravian baptism performed in that valley.

In the autumn of 1754 Grube was temporarily withdrawn from the Indian mission to take charge of a colony of single men selected to begin a settlement on the tract of one



B. A. Grube.

hundred thousand acres purchased by the Moravians of Earl Granville, in what was then Rowan County, North Carolina. In the spring of 1755 he returned to Bethlehem, where he was married, and appointed to the mission at Gnadenhuetten, on the Lehigh River. On the evening of November 24, when the mission house on the Mahoning Creek was burned and eleven of its inmates murdered by the French-Indians, Grube with his converts fled to Bethlehem for safety, where for the ensuing two years they found a home. In June of 1758 he was transferred to the mission at Pachgatgoch (Kent) in Connecticut, where he labored for two years. The first winter of his residence there was a severe one, and for several nights the cold was so intense that his wife was compelled to put their little daughter to sleep between two large Indian dogs to keep her from freezing.

In October of 1760 Grube was sent to the mission at Wechquetanc, on Head's Creek, in the present Polk Township, Monroe County, where a part of the Christian Indians at Bethlehem had been located in the spring of that year. His knowledge of Delaware qualified him to keep all the church services in that dialect, and he began the translation from German into Delaware of a harmony of the Gospels and selected hymns, which were printed in the years 1762 and 1763 by John Brandmiller, at Friedensthal Mill, located on the easternmost plantation of the Barony of Nazareth. These translations are the first contributions to Indian bibliography by a Moravian missionary, and were used in the Indian missions in Pennsylvania and Ohio until superseded by those of Zeisberger about a quarter of a century later.

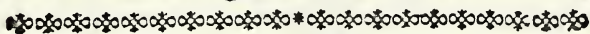
No copy of Grube's "Harmony of the Gospels" is known to exist, and but one incomplete copy of his "Dellawærishes Gesang-Büchlein" has been discovered and is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a facsimile of the first page of which is here reproduced.

In the library of Harvard University two of his manuscripts are to be found: "Einige Dellawaerische Redensarten und Worte," and "Einige Kleine Anreden an Indianer,"

and also a number in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.



DELLAWÆRISCHES Gefang-Büchlein.



Wenn ich des Morgens früh aufstehe &c.

Translat.

E

I.

Nda wopanachinaane
Woaktsch n'gauwin wulaqvinaane
Lamm guntschi neschginggunk newullen.
A'hakkey güwinggi guntanggelen.

2.

Melod. Die Seele Christlicher &c.

Lam Gottes guwinuwammel
n'Tehenk gattosomowöälöll
Achgoonē gischquēwi wullanggomil
Elim m'fchakkanian pennundëllil.

3.

Morgen - Gefang.

Melod. Hörsus Aeltster &c.

Jesus Christ wulapanachemineen
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n'Te

On the outbreak of the Pontiac war, in 1763, the borders of Pennsylvania were overrun with bands of marauding Indians. A large number of the settlers in the neigh-

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borhood of Wechquetanc considered the presence of the Indian converts a better protection than soldiers, but there were others who accused them of participating in the forays in the vicinity, and threatened that unless they were removed "blood would flow." "As we are in constant danger," wrote Grube, "as well from the white people as from Indians," it was decided to abandon the mission and claim the protection of the provincial government. On October 11 the chapel and huts were boarded up and the converts transported to Nazareth, and later to Bethlehem, from whence, on November 8, they departed for Philadelphia, and were first taken to the barracks. Writing from Province Island, November 11, Grube states, "The rage of the people in Philadelphia is indescribable, and we had to stand five hours before the barracks and be insulted. Thousands followed us through the city. . . . We were taken to a landing, embarked on boats, and taken to this island, which we reached at night, and took possession of our lodgings in two roomy houses. Our people are very thankful that the hard journey is ended. . . . The island is a large one, and the two houses we occupy contain twenty rooms, in which a year ago lived the Arcadians."

From a letter of Frederick W. von Marschall, dated January 5, 1764, we quote: "It having been ascertained that the rioters were bent on killing our Indians, the Governor resolved to send them under escort of a company of Highlanders to New York, and thence to Albany to Sir William Johnson. In view of this the Indians were kept busy the whole night packing, and at two o'clock took boats. The sick and blind were taken in wagons and the well on foot, before daylight, to the city, to the church [on Race Street] where in the chapel they were given breakfast and thirty blankets distributed among them. Scarcely a soul knew they were in the city."

Amboy was reached on January 11, and just as the first detachment was about to embark, Grube was informed by Captain Robinson, of the Highlanders, that, as permission to

land in New York had not been given, it would be dangerous to proceed. There was no other alternative but to return to Philadelphia, where they arrived January 24, escorted by the company of Captain Schlosser, and were quartered in the barracks. The return of the Indian converts renewed and increased the opposition to their protection by the Province, and not many days later it was reported that the "Paxton Boys" were on the march to the city, on murder bent. "At midnight February 6," writes Grube, "a general alarm was sounded and all rushed to arms. The bells in the city were rung. The citizens were awakened and summoned to the State House, for word had been received that the insurgents would be on hand at day-break. . . . The day passed amid the utmost confusion. Two companies of citizens, among whom were many Quakers in arms, came to the barracks." Three days later he also wrote, "We have seen on this occasion that we have many hundred friends in this city, who are not willing that our converts should be put to death. . . . Messrs. Hamilton and Chew had so much influence in their efforts to arouse the citizens against the insurgents, that about five hundred men were formed into companies for our protection." The attitude of the government and the determination of the citizens that the Indian converts should be protected at all hazards deterred the "Paxton Boys" from executing their designs. The days of restraint were now relaxed, and it was not long before the Indian women were allowed to attend the markets to dispose of the brooms, baskets, and other wares they manufactured. During the trying experiences of Grube in Philadelphia he approved himself true to duty and brave in the face of danger.

With the return of peace, in December, arrangements were made for the removal of the Indian converts to Wyalusing, on the north branch of the Susquehanna, which had been selected by the government for their new home. About the middle of March, 1765, they set out for Bethlehem, where they were to prepare for their long jour-

ney, and on April 3 Grube bid them a tender farewell. On this date Grube's connection with the Indian mission of his church terminated.

After a few weeks of needed rest, Grube was sent to the congregation at Lititz, in Lancaster County, where he remained for twenty years. Here his wife died in 1776, and two years later he again entered the bonds of matrimony. After a short service near Nazareth, he was for one year pastor of the congregation at Philadelphia. His last appointments were at Hope, on Paulin's Kill, in Warren County, New Jersey, and at Emaus, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. The evening of his long life was spent at Bethlehem, and on his ninety-first birthday the hale old man, with staff in hand, walked on one lovely June day ten miles to Nazareth, there once more to talk over with his friends the incidents of his life among the Indians. He died at Bethlehem, March 20, 1808.

The portrait of Grube, presented in January last to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. William H. Jordan, is copied from the original in the possession of the artist J. Augustus Beck, a great-grandson of the missionary. The Hon. James M. Beck, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, is a great-great-grandson.

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. page 429.)

ANIMOSITIES IN PHILADELPHIA DURING THE REVOLUTION.

It is difficult for the ordinary reader to realize the situation of Philadelphia during the Revolution. According to a census taken in 1777, by order of General Howe, the inhabitants then in the city were 15,847.¹ The directory of 1784 gave the names of 3570 householders.² A map prefixed to the directory of 1794 shows that the greatest portion of the buildings in the city were then east of Third Street, and there was only one built-up square in that part of the city lying south of Market Street and West of Eighth Street; the directory itself contains somewhere between 6500 and 7000 names, showing a population of about 30,000.

The following paragraph from Watson's Annals (Vol. I. p. 335) will give some idea of the appearance of one street, viz.:

"A singular case of duel occurred in 1778 or 1779 between Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and John Penn, member of Congress from North Carolina. The parties were fellow boarders, and breakfasted together the same morning. They started to go out Chestnut Street to the vacant lot vis-à-vis, present Masonic Hall. In crossing at Fifth Street, where there was a deep slough, Mr. Penn kindly offered his hand to aid Mr. Laurens, who was much the older, and when it was accepted he suggested to him that their meeting (solicited by Laurens) was a foolish affair, &c.—to which Mr. Laurens assenting, it was made up on the spot."

Think of the morass at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut, and the retired situation of the vacant lot on the south side

¹ Watson, Vol. III. p. 237.

² Ibid., Vol. II. p. 99.

of Chestnut, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, which caused it to be selected as a fit place for a duel!

The change of so many producers to soldiers, the ravaging the country by hostile armies, and the total cessation of commerce combined to render all sorts of commodities very scarce, and consequently prices very high. Added to this was another great evil,—viz., the successive emissions of great amounts of paper notes, which began immediately to depreciate and steadily sank in value until they became worthless. Prices rose with such frightful rapidity that everywhere distress was occasioned and business was wholly demoralized. When we read of a pound of tea costing twenty pounds and a pound of loaf sugar fifty shillings, and hear that a pair of leather breeches sold for one thousand dollars, we will be apt to think that the poor had reason to complain. To remedy this state of things town meetings were called, and it was resolved to have a committee fix the maximum prices for the necessities of life, which prices were to be reduced every two weeks until the old state of trade was brought back. Nothing could be simpler or more direct than this action, and the committee (no doubt composed of would-be purchasers) fixed the prices to suit themselves. The only thing that interfered with the success of the plan was, that merchants who had paid a certain price for their goods refused to sell them for less, even though these lower prices had been fixed by the committee. This naturally produced more dissatisfaction than ever, and after much bitter feeling had been excited, the plan was abandoned.

Very few events of the Revolution excited a greater degree of public interest in Philadelphia than the trial of two Quakers, in September, 1778, upon the charge of treason.

One of them, John Roberts, a miller of Lower Merion Township, being nearly sixty years of age, had "from his youth up lived not only irreproachably but spent his whole Life in the performance of the Duties of a tender Parent, a

Faithful Friend, kind Neighbour & useful Citizen. To the Poor, the Stranger, and the Orphan his hospitable House was ever open, his liberal Hand most Cheerfully extended." Some of the ultra-Americans suspected him of being a Tory, and threatened his life. He fled to Philadelphia, then occupied by General Howe's army. On May 8, 1778, the Supreme Executive Council issued a proclamation, requiring John Roberts (among a great many more) to surrender himself under pain of being attainted of high treason. John Roberts left Philadelphia and surrendered himself, took and subscribed an affirmation of allegiance, and entered bail for his appearance for trial. He was tried upon the charge that he "did falsly and traiterously prepare, order, wage and levy a public and cruel war against this Commonwealth, then and there committing and perpetrating a miserable and Cruel slaughter of and amongst the faithful and Liege subjects and inhabitants thereof;" etc.

The evidence against him was slight, and it is said that *ten* of the jury were in favor of acquittal, but yielded to the argument that it was necessary for the State to secure a conviction, but that the jury would all join in a petition for a pardon so that his life would be spared.¹ Accordingly the jury did petition as follows, viz.:

"That it appears to us that the said John Roberts was under the influence of fear, when he took the imprudent step of leaving his family and coming to reside among the enemy, while they had possession of this City. That, altho. by the oath we have taken, we found ourselves obliged to *pronounce him Guilty*, yet knowing that *Juries* are but *fallible Men*, and reflecting that the evidence before us was of a very complicated nature, and some parts of it not reconcileable with his general conduct, and other evidence of his good offices to many persons who were prisoners among the enemy, or had leave to come to the city on business.

"That, altho' general Laws cannot be framed with an eye of compassion to guilt, yet it is the glory of every wise State, that the doors of mercy should be kept open, and ours has made ample provision in this case. In compassion, therefore, to the unhappy object of this petition and his distressed family, and relying on the humanity lodged in the

¹ See "Life of Joseph Reed," Vol. II. p. 35, note, etc.

breasts of your honors, as manifested to us in the charge you gave us on the trial, we most earnestly pray,

“That your honors would be pleased to join us, and recommend this our petition, to the Supreme Executive Council, that the penal part of the said John Roberts’s sentence may be suspended till the Assembly can take his Case into consideration, for the exercise of that mercy which the Constitution hath lodged in their power.”

Judge McKean recommended a reprieve, and Joseph Reed, one of the prosecuting attorneys, also wrote to the same effect to the Vice-President of the Executive Council.

The notes of the trial are not accessible, but the following extract from the sentence of Judge McKean, as published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of November 7, 1778, states some of the facts urged as extenuating circumstances, viz. :

“It is in vain to plead, that you have not personally acted in this wicked business ; for all who countenance and assist are partakers in the guilt. Your junction gave encouragement to the invaders of your country ; your example occasioned the defection of others ; and you exerted yourself in forwarding their arbitrary designs. It is in vain to plead, that you fled to the enemy for protection against some of your neighbours, who threatened your life, because they thought you a Tory ; for you might have applied for, and obtained protection from the civil magistrate, or from the army of your Country. . . . It is true, and I mention it with pleasure, that your interest with the Commander-in-Chief of the British army was frequently employed in acts of humanity, charity, and benevolence.”

The ministers of Philadelphia (William White, afterwards Bishop, among them) presented a petition, saying that they,—

“Deeply sympathizing with their distressed wives, children and relatives ; earnestly desiring that the Mercy and Forgiveness which we preach, through Christ, may be accepted and copied among men ; and hoping that, if possible, the Foundation of our civil Liberty may be firmly established without the Blood of Fellow-citizens, Do, therefore, Pray that the lives of the said Abraham Carlisle and John Roberts, who are now far advanced in years, may be spared, & such measure of mercy and forgiveness extended to them as may be thought consistent with the public safety.”

Petitions from some American soldiers set forth that they had been taken prisoners and that their lives had been saved by the kindness of John Roberts, when they were confined in the British jail, and that he had procured the release of some and had gone bail for others.

Finally, petitions from over one thousand of the best men of the State, forty-two military officers among them, prayed for a reprieve until the Assembly, which alone had the power to pardon, could take these cases into consideration.

The petitions were presented to the Supreme Executive Council on November 2, a reprieve was refused on November 3, and John Roberts and Abraham Carlisle were executed on November 4.

What mattered it that the counsel who prosecuted, the judge who tried, and the jury who convicted asked for a reprieve? What consideration was given to the names of Lewis Morris and Benjamin Rush (two of the signers of the Declaration of Independence) when they appeared on the petition for pardon? What cared the Council for the mercy and forgiveness of which the ministers prated? What credit was given to the statement of the militiamen, whose lives he had saved, that John Roberts was "a man who has Really done much goods to many Prisoner, so that some even did believe that it was so ordered by Providence that he must be in Town"? What availed it that officers who had seen blood shed in battle asked that his might be spared? The Jacobinism of the mob (who had submitted to the exactions of the British army without a whimper) had grown so intense that nothing but blood, shed without any risk to themselves, could satisfy their fury, and Roberts and Carlisle were the victims, as "an example was necessary."

Among the members of the Continental Congress was James Wilson, a lawyer by profession, who afterwards became one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. For a while he was opposed to the Declaration of Independence, thinking such action premature. He

was, however, soon convinced of the necessity of the measure, and his vote turned the scale and gave Pennsylvania's sanction to liberty and independence.

He was one of the counsel for Roberts and Carlisle, and subsequently obtained acquittals for a number of persons tried for treason, and by thus attending to his professional duties he had given great offence to the mob. Robert Morris had also incurred enmity by refusing to open his warehouse and sell goods for less than cost. On the night of October 3, 1779, placards were posted throughout the city, threatening Robert Morris, James Wilson, and others. Wilson at that time lived in a large stone house on the southwest corner of Third and Walnut Streets, which, from the circumstances about to be related, was afterwards called "Fort Wilson." The occurrences of October 4, 1779, are thus related by Watson:¹

"A mob was formed, who gave out an intention to assault his house and injure his person. His friends gathered around him with arms—soon the conflict was joined—many muskets were fired—some were wounded, and a few died. It was a day of great excitement, and long the name and incidents of 'Fort Wilson' were discussed and remembered.

"Among those in the house were Messrs. Wilson, Morris, Burd, George and Daniel Clymer, John T. Mifflin, Allen McLane, Sharp Delaney, George Campbell, Paul Beck, Thomas Laurence, Andrew Robinson, John Potts, Samuel C. Morris, Captain Campbell, and Generals Mifflin, Nichols and Thompson. They were provided with arms, but their stock of ammunition was very small. While the mob was marching down, General Nichols and Daniel Clymer proceeded hastily to the Arsenal at Carpenters' Hall, and filled their pockets with cartridges: this constituted their whole supply.

"In the mean time the mob and militia (for no regular troops took part in the riot) assembled on the commons, while a meeting of the principal citizens took place at the Coffee House. A deputation was sent to endeavor to prevail on them to disperse, but without effect. The first troop of city cavalry assembled at their stables, a fixed place of rendezvous, and agreed to have their horses saddled, and ready to mount at a moment's warning. Notice was to be given to as many members as could be found, and a part was to assemble in Dock below Second Street,

¹ See Vol. I. p. 425, etc.

and join the party at the stables. For a time a deceitful calm prevailed; at the dinner hour the members of the troop retired to their homes, and the rebels seized the opportunity to march into the city. The armed men amounted to two hundred, headed by low characters. They marched down Chestnut to Second street, down Second to Walnut street, and up Walnut street to Mr. Wilson's house, with drums beating and two pieces of cannon. They immediately commenced firing on the house, which was warmly returned by the garrison. Finding that they could make no impression, the mob proceeded to force the door; at the moment it was yielding, the horse made their appearance.

"After the troop had retired at dinner time, a few of the members, hearing that the mob was marching into town, hastened to the rendezvous: these members were Majors Lennox and the two Nichols, Samuel Morris, Alexander Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe, and Thomas Leiper. On their route to Wilson's they were joined by two troopers from Bristol, and turning suddenly round the corner of Chestnut street, they charged the mob, who, ignorant of their number, at the cry of 'the horse, the horse,' dispersed in every direction, but not before two other detachments of the first troop had reached the scene. Many of them were arrested, and committed to prison; and as the sword was very freely used, a considerable number were severely wounded. A man and a boy were killed in the streets; in the house, Captain Campbell was killed, and Mr. Mifflin and Mr. S. C. Morris wounded. The troop patrolled the streets the greater part of the night. The citizens turned out, and placed a guard at the powder magazine and the arsenal. It was some days before order was restored. Major Lennox was particularly marked out for destruction. He retired to his house at Germantown: the mob followed and surrounded it during the night, and prepared to force an entrance. Anxious to gain time, he pledged his honour, that he would open the door as soon as daylight appeared. In the meantime, he contrived to dispatch an intrepid woman, who lived in his family, to the city for assistance; and a party of the first troop arrived in season to protect their comrade; but he was compelled to return to town for safety. . . . The gentlemen who had comprised the garrison were advised to leave the city, where their lives were endangered. General Mifflin and about thirty others accordingly met at Mr. Gray's house below Gray's Ferry, where it was resolved to return to town without any appearance of intimidation. But it was deemed expedient that Mr. Wilson should absent himself for a time."

In a note it is stated:

"General Arnold came to repress the mob, but he was so unpopular, they stoned him."

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And so James Wilson was forced to leave Philadelphia for having defended his home and his life from the attack of a furious mob, who perpetrated outrages almost within the shadow of Independence Hall! Had it not been for the diversion made by the City Troop, the soil of Philadelphia would have been stained with the blood of three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose patriotism was not sufficiently ardent to satisfy these American Jacobins. Such was the narrow escape of the City of Brotherly Love from horrors similar to those which, known in history as the "Massacres of September," were the disgrace of Paris in 1792.

The defenders of Wilson's house had to give bail, but an obsequious legislature made haste to pass an act of oblivion for the protection of the mob who had caused the riot.

Where can we find another such conclusion, outside of comic opera or stage farce?

A short account of one feature attending the rejoicings over the news of the surrender of Cornwallis will fitly conclude this chapter. The "Journal of Elizabeth Drinker"¹ contains the following, viz. :

"Y^e 17th of this month, October, Genl. Cornwallis was taken, for which we grievously suffered on y^e 24th, by way of rejoicing. A mob assembled about 7 o'clock or before, and continued their insults until near 10, to those whose Houses were not illuminated. Scarcely one Friend's House escaped. We had nearly 70 panes of glass broken; y^e sash lights and two panels of the front Parlor broke in pieces; y^e Door cracked and violently burst open; when they threw stones into y^e House for some time, but did not enter. Some fared better and some worse. Some Houses, after breaking y^e door, they entered, and destroyed the Furniture, &c. Many women and children were frightened into fits, and 'tis a mercy no lives were lost."

From the "Diary of Miss Anna Rawle"² we take the following, viz. :

¹ See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVI. p. 106, note 1.

² Ibid., p. 104, etc.

"I suppose, dear Mammy, thee would not have imagined this house to be illuminated last night, but it was. A mob surrounded it, broke the shutters and the glass of the windows, and were coming in, none but forlorn women here. We for a time listened for their attacks in fear and trembling till, finding them grow more loud and violent, not knowing what to do, we ran into the yard. Warm Whigs of one side, and Hartley's of the other (who were treated even worse than we), rendered it impossible for us to escape that way. We had been there many minutes before we were drove back by the sight of two men climbing the fence. We thought the mob were coming in thro' there, but it proved to be Coburn and Bob. Shewell, who called to us not to be frightened, and fixed lights up at the windows, which pacified the mob, and after three huzzas they moved off. A number of men came in afterwards to see us. French and J. B. nailed boards up at the broken pannels, or it would not have been safe to have gone to bed. Coburn and Shewell were really very kind; had it not been for them I really believe the house would have been pulled down. Even the firm Uncle Fisher was obliged to submit to have his windows illuminated, for they had pickaxes and iron bars with which they had done considerable injury to his house, and would soon have demolished it had not some of the Hodges and other people got in back and acted as they pleased. All Uncles sons were out, but Sammy, and if they had been at home it was in vain to oppose them. In short it was the most alarming scene I ever remember. For two hours we had the disagreeable noise of stones banging about, glass crashing, the tumultuous voices of a large body of men, as they were a long time at the different houses in the neighborhood. At last they were victorious, and it was one general illumination throughout the town. As we had not the pleasure of seeing any of the gentlemen in the house, nor the furniture cut up, and goods stolen, nor been beat, nor pistols pointed at our breasts, we may count our sufferings slight compared to many others. Mr. Gibbs was obliged to make his escape over a fence, and while his wife was endeavoring to shield him from the rage of one of the men, she received a violent bruise in the breast, and a blow in the face which made her nose bleed. Ben. Shoemaker was here this morning; tho' exceedingly threatened he says they came off with the loss of four panes of glass. Some Whig friends put candles in the windows which made his peace with the mob, and they retired. John Drinker has lost half the goods out of his shop and been beat by them; in short the sufferings of those they pleased to style Tories would fill a volume and shake the credulity of those who were not here on that memorable night, and to-day Philadelphia makes an uncommon appearance, which ought to cover the Whigs with eternal confusion. A neighbor of ours had the effrontery to tell Mrs. G. that he was sorry for her furniture, but not for her windows—a ridiculous

distinction that many of them make. J. Head has nothing left whole in his parlour. Uncle Pennington lost a good deal of window-glass. Aunt Burge preserved hers thro' the care of some of her neighbors. The Drinkers and Walns make heavy complaints of the Carolinians in their neighbourhood. Walns' pickles were thrown about the streets and barrells of sugar stolen. . . .

"It seems universally agreed that Philadelphia will no longer be that happy asylum for the Quakers that it once was. Those joyful days when all was prosperity and peace are gone, never to return; and perhaps it is as necessary for our society to ask for terms as it was for Cornwallis. Juliet says all Uncle Pennington's fine pictures are broken; his parlour was full of men, but it was nothing, he said, to Nancy's illness, who was for an hour or two out of her senses and terrified them exceedingly."

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

Margaret Shippen was just entering her seventeenth year when the Declaration of Independence was signed. She developed into a gentle, graceful, and lovely woman, with such beauty that she became celebrated therefor, so that later the British officers declared she was the most beautiful woman in England or America. She was one of the belles of Philadelphia, and attracted the admiration of every beholder. When Major André was a prisoner in the early part of the war, and afterwards during the British occupation of Philadelphia, he visited at her father's house and drew her likeness.

During the time Major Edward Burd was held prisoner by the British his health was impaired by his captivity, so that after his release he was compelled to relinquish the military service and return to his professional duties as a lawyer. On August 12, 1778, he was appointed Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, which position he held until his resignation on January 2, 1806. So satisfactorily and correctly did he discharge his duties that even the Supreme Court judges themselves referred an inquirer to him as to a question of practice which they had not decided.

After the departure of the British army from Philadelphia, in June, 1778, preparations for his marriage with Elizabeth Shippen were made, and, next to the bride and groom,

and a general lack of interest in the part of the public in the matter of the health of the community. The public is not interested in the health of the community, and the public is not interested in the health of the community. The public is not interested in the health of the community, and the public is not interested in the health of the community.

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"Peggy" Shippen was no doubt most deeply interested therein, for this was the sister she most dearly loved, whose confidante she was, and upon whose example she founded her own conduct. It was at this period that she first met General Arnold, who had been appointed to the command of Philadelphia on June 19, 1778. He fell in love with her at first sight, and on September 25, 1778, he wrote as follows:

"DEAR MADAM;—

"Twenty times have I taken up my pen to write to you, and as often has my trembling hand refused to obey the dictates of my heart—a heart which, though calm and serene amidst the clashing of arms and all the din and horrors of war, trembles with diffidence and the fear of giving offence when it attempts to address you on a subject so important to its happiness. Dear madam, your charms have lighted up a flame in my bosom which can never be extinguished your heavenly image is too deeply impressed ever to be effaced.

"My passion is not founded on personal charms only; that sweetness of disposition and goodness of heart, that sentiment and sensibility which so strongly mark the character of the lovely Miss P. Shippen, renders her amiable beyond expression, and will ever retain the heart she has once captivated. On you alone my happiness depends, and will you doom me to languish in despair? Shall I expect no return to the most sincere, ardent and disinterested passion? Do you feel no pity in your gentle bosom for the man who would die to make you happy? May I presume to hope it is not impossible I may make a favourable impression on your heart? Friendship and esteem you acknowledge. Dear Peggy, suffer that heavenly bosom (which cannot know itself the cause of pain without a sympathetic pang) to expand with a sensation more soft, more tender than friendship. A union of hearts is undoubtedly necessary to happiness; but give me leave to observe that true and permanent happiness is seldom the effect of an alliance founded on a romantic passion; where fancy governs more than judgment. Friendship and esteem, founded on the merit of the object, is the most certain basis to build a lasting happiness upon; and where there is a tender and ardent passion on one side, and friendship and esteem on the other, the heart (unlike yours) must be callous to every tender sentiment if the taper of love is not lighted up at the flame.

"I am sensible your prudence and the affection you bear your amiable and tender parents forbids your giving encouragement to the addresses of any one without their approbation. Pardon me, Dear Madame, for dis-

closing a passion I could no longer confine in my tortured bosom. I have presumed to write to your Papa, and have requested his sanction to my addresses. Suffer me to hope for your approbation. Consider before you doom me to misery, which I have not deserved but by loving you too extravagantly. Consult your own happiness, and if incompatible, forget there is so unhappy a wretch ; for may I perish if I would give you one moment's inquietude to purchase the greatest possible felicity to myself. Whatever my fate may be, my most ardent wish is for your happiness, and my latest breath will be to implore the blessing of heaven on the idol and only wish of my soul.

"Adieu, dear Madame, and believe me unalterably, your sincere admirer and devoted humble servant,

"B. ARNOLD.

"Sept. 25, 1778.

"MISS PEGGY SHIPPEN."

When Arnold wrote this letter his reputation was at its best. He was known as one of the bravest and most daring of the American generals. On May 7, 1778, Washington had written to him :

"A gentleman in France having very obligingly sent me three sets of epaulettes and sword-knots, two of which, professedly, to be disposed of to any friends I should choose, I take the liberty of presenting them to you and General Lincoln, as a testimony of my sincere regard and approbation of your conduct."¹

At this time in his thirty-seventh year, even his lameness caused by a wound received in battle lent additional interest to him and pleaded most strongly for him in the heart of this fair maiden, whose sister was just about to wed one who had also been an American officer.

Did not the recital of Æneas's adventures win the heart of Dido of old? And, like Othello, Arnold could say,—

"I spake of most disastrous chances,
Of moving accidents by flood and field,
Of hair-breadth scapes i' the imminent deadly breach,
Of being taken by the insolent foe
.
.
.
She lov'd me for the dangers I had pass'd,
And I lov'd her that she did pity them."

¹ Sparks's Washington, Vol. V. p. 361.

And so he won her affection, though General Greene was his rival, according to Sabine. Her father was opposed to the match for the obvious reasons that Arnold was over twice her age, a widower with three children, and notoriously extravagant; though when he saw that her heart was fixed, and that her health had failed in consequence of his refusal, he reluctantly gave his consent.¹ The earnest courtship of Arnold soon attracted the notice of observers. In November, 1778, Mrs. Morris, writing to her mother, says, "I must tell you that Cupid has given our little General a more mortal wound, than all the host of Britons could, unless his present conduct can expiate for his past—Miss Peggy Shippen is the fair one." And on December 17, 1778, Charles Stewart wrote to Joseph Galloway in England that it was certain Arnold was to marry the daughter of Edward Shippen.

From an unexpected quarter comes a glimpse of the manner of her courtship. Franklin's daughter, writing to her father about this time concerning her daughter, his grandchild, remarks, "You cant think how fond of kissing she is, and she gives such old-fashioned smacks General Arnold says he would give a good deal to have her for a school-mistress to teach the young ladies how to kiss."²

This is an unlooked-for witness to the correct conduct and modesty which always distinguished Margaret Shippen.

On December 21, 1778, Edward Shippen wrote to his father at Lancaster :

"HON'D SIR;

"I received your favour of the 16th inst, acquainting me with the sale of Mr. Galloway's house to Mr. Yeates. I had some desire to make

¹ In after-years Edward Shippen wrote to his brother, whose son's marriage had not been acceptable to his parents, "I sincerely condole with you on a mental Affliction which a Circumstance in your family must necessarily have occasioned; and concerning which I have more than common reason to sympathize with you."

² PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 382.

the first of these was the fact that the United States had no standing army at the time of the Revolution. This was due to the fact that the British had a large standing army, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The second of these was the fact that the British had a large navy, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The third of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The fourth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one.

The fifth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The sixth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The seventh of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The eighth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one.

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The twelfth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The thirteenth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The fourteenth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one. The fifteenth of these was the fact that the British had a large fleet of ships, and the Americans had no money to pay for one.

the purchase on my own account as well as yours, as it is not very unlikely I shall find myself under the necessity of removing from this scene of expense; and I don't know where I could more properly go than to Lancaster. The common articles of life, such as are absolutely necessary for a family, are not much higher here than at Lancaster, but the style of life my fashionable daughters have introduced into my family, and their dress, will, I fear, before long, oblige me to change the scene. The expense of supporting my family here will not fall short of four or five thousand pounds per annum, an expense insupportable without business. I have at last completed my purchase in Chester county, greatly to my satisfaction, and have sold my Jersey estate for nine thousand pounds; so that if I should in Lancaster, I can be supplied with a variety of necessaries from my own farm, which is about twenty-four miles from thence, with a very good road all the way.

"The orchard I must now defer planting till the spring; if you could in the mean time secure me the first choice of the best apple trees in the nursery you mentioned, it would be very well. I gave my daughter Betsy to Neddy Burd last Thursday evening, and all is jollity and mirth. My youngest daughter is much solicited by a certain General, on the same subject; whether this will take place or not, depends upon circumstances. If it should, I think it will not be till spring. What other changes in my family may take place to forward or prevent my removal from Philadelphia, is still uncertain. As to the sale of Shippensburg, I would not advise you to think of it unless you can beforehand meet with something to lay the money out in which would yield you a better income."

As the sentence of this letter relative to household expenses has been used as a proof that the Shippen girls were criminally extravagant, we desire to call the reader's attention to the fact that the Continental currency had become depreciated to less than one-seventh of its nominal value; and, according to the table of depreciation afterwards approved by Congress, five thousand pounds was worth on the day the letter was written only nineteen hundred dollars specie. An expenditure of nineteen hundred dollars specie per annum for the household expenses of one of the leading families of Philadelphia does not impress us as being extravagant, even though the cost of living was less then than now.

the following cases: In the first case, a patient, aged 45, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "acute inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several months, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913. In the second case, a patient, aged 60, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "chronic inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several years, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913.

In the third case, a patient, aged 55, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "acute inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several months, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913. In the fourth case, a patient, aged 70, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "chronic inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several years, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913.

The following cases are also of interest: In the first case, a patient, aged 40, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "acute inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several months, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913. In the second case, a patient, aged 50, was admitted to the hospital with a diagnosis of "chronic inflammation of the prostate gland." The patient had been suffering from this condition for several years, and had been treated with various remedies without success. The patient was admitted to the hospital on May 1, 1913, and was found to have a prostate gland which was enlarged and inflamed. The patient was treated with a course of antibiotics, and was discharged on May 15, 1913.

But we think it no more than fair to give the views of one of the young ladies on the subject of dress, and quote from a letter (original in the possession of C. R. Hildeburn, Esq.) from "Betsy" Shippen to her first cousin, Mrs. Jasper Yeates, dated June 5, 1777:

"You desire to know how the Girls manage about finery? tolerably well I assure you, as we had a pretty good stock, we intend wearing that out and hope by that time we shall be able to purchase more, if we cannot we must be satisfied without it and try if we cannot make ourselves look tolerably smart in home-spun."

"PHILADELPHIA Dec, 22nd, 1778,

"DEAR SIR;

"On Thursday Evening last, I formed the most pleasing Connexion with my most amiable Girl. We had none that lived out of the Family except Aunt Willing, Mr. Tilghman, & the Brides Man & Maids present at the Ceremony. My dear Betsy went thro' it with tolerable Courage considering the very important Change it will make in her Life:—We saw Company for three days & on Friday Evening had a little Hop for our unmarried Acquaintances. This, with Punch Drinking, &c. is all the Entertainment that was given, & even this Expence must have been very considerable. I was disappointed in getting the Cloathes I expected & was obliged to purchase others. Betsy joins me in her kind Love to yourself, Mrs. Yeates & Family. I have a Prospect of getting Mrs. Francis's House with the Use of her Furniture. She intends to spend a few Months in Maryland; In the mean time I can look out for a House & be providing Furniture. I have got some Linnen at my father's both fine & coarse. It will be proper I should use my own Sheeting & Table Linnen. I wish I could get that & my Table Linnen sent down as soon as is convenient. If you have an Opportunity perhaps you could desire my Father to send them to you. There are some Pickles at Gen'l Reed's, of yours which I am to convey to you; but I must get a Joiner or Carpenter to make a Box for them, for fear they should break. In my next, I shall attend to your Commands. I am, with my Love to the Family, Dear Sir,

"Your very affectionate Brother;

"EDW. BURD.

"JASPER YEATES ESQ."

His sister, Mrs. Jasper Yeates, wrote as follows to the bride on December 30, 1778:

"Permit me, my dear Betsy to congratulate you on your Change of Condition. Our new Connection gives me the highest Joy & Satisfaction, and I trust no unfriendly Event will ever interrupt our Affection as Sisters. I beg leave to assure you that I shall think myself exceedingly happy in having it in my Power on any Occasion to demonstrate my Love for you and my Brother.

"We flatter ourselves we shall have the Pleasure of your Company here, whenever the Weather will permit your travelling. I need not, I think, tell you that our House is your Home, where you will always be welcome.

"Pray tell me, will Cousin Peggy follow your Example? Every one tells me so with such Confidence, that I am laughed at for my Unbelief. Does she know her own Mind yet?

"You will greatly oblige me by presenting my Duty to your Papa & Mama & Love to your Sisters & Brothers. That you & Neddy may experience every Felicity the married State is capable of, are the ardent Wishes of, Dear Betsy,

"Your most affectionate Sister ;

It was probably in answer to this letter from his sister that Neddy wrote as follows to Jasper Yeates on January 3, 1779:

"Being now become an old married fellow, I can sit down to Business with more composure than formerly—that is I have relapsed into a reasonable Being, which I had almost lost all pretensions to, by the happy Event which had taken place. The serious Care of providing for a Family will soon employ my Attention and Industry, I am almost frightened when I consider of the amazing Price of every Article and Necessary of Life in this City. Suppose I had an Inclination to purchase 20 or 30 Bushels of Wheat what could I procure it for in or near your City? Mrs. Francis has a neat new House at the Corner of fourth and Walnut Streets, which she intends to let me have the Use of for six or eight Months as well as of her Furniture I paying the House Rent, Maid's Wages, and replacing the Wood, flour and such other Articles as I shall consume when I leave the House. It is such a House as I would chuse. It is large enough, warm, convenient, and not 100 yards from Mr. Shippen's, and rents at £60 per annum. Could any thing happen more fortunately for a young Couple just beginning the World? . . .

" . . . I wrote you as soon after my Marriage as my attention to Company and flutter of Spirits would permit.

"You mention a Report of another Wedding being likely to take place in the family. You may recollect my Suspicions, when I last saw you

notwithstanding the Refusal. My Expectations have been answered: I was almost sure it could not be otherwise. A lame Leg is at present the only Obstacle. But a Lady who makes that the only Objection, and is firmly persuaded it will soon be well can never retract, however expressly conditional an Engagement may have been made. However we have every reason to hope it will be well again, Tho' I am not so sanguine as he is with respect to the time;—but the Leg will be a couple of Inches shorter than the other and disfigured. He appears from the slight Knowledge I have of him to be a well dispositioned Man, and one that will use his best Endeavours to make P—— happy, and I doubt not will succeed. He has acquired something handsome and a Settlement will be previously made.

“I can write you no News but that Mr. McKean has prosecuted General Thompson for a Libel, he was discharged upon ye first Warrant for its Irregularity. . . .

“General Cadwalader, the Town says is to be married to Miss Willy Bond. He has laid a dozen pair of Gloves with Peggy Shippen that there will be 12 Marriages among her Acquaintances before next Christmas, my Wedding and his own inclusive.”

On January 2, 1779, Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, wrote to Colonel Burd, “We understand that General Arnold, a fine gentleman, lays close siege to Peggy,—and if so, there will soon be another match in the family.”

It has been falsely stated that Margaret Shippen's father was not opposed to Arnold, but the letter of Edward Burd, of January 3, 1779, clearly shows that Arnold had been refused, and the uniform tradition of the family is that it was her father's refusal that is here referred to.

It is also insinuated that no inquiries were made concerning Arnold after the charges against him were published on February 3, 1779. But there is a letter from Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, dated February 15, 1779 (in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), inquiring about these very charges, from which we quote as follows:

“I see there are a number of Things laid to the charge of G—l A—d; I wish you would favor me with a few lines concerning that matter.”

The letter of Edward Shippen contains a reference to Arnold, and it seems as if the writer had still indulged the

secret hope that something might yet occur to break off the match to which he had so reluctantly consented.

But a far more interesting letter, in reference to Betsy Shippen's wedding, is the following written to the bride by her first cousin, Elizabeth Tilghman:

"CHESTERTOWN, January 29th 1779.

"well my dear young Matron how is it with your highness now. have you got over all your little palpitations, and settled yourself as a sober discreet wife—oh! heavens, what a mouthful, and is it really possible that you are married, and have received the golden Pledge before the Cassock and Twenty Five. shameless girl, how could you be so naughty as to have so many witnesses of your actions. and then after all to pretend in a squeaking voice to send me trotting all over the house for a shovel. it is well that I had a good Tilly or I should have been frightened to death with your Nonsense. I dare say that you are ashamed of yourself by this time for making such a riot for a trifle. I dare say Miss B[ond] will behave much better,—you ask me whether I was not surprized at hearing of that match. why no my dear, for I had some reason for suspecting that the General [Cadwalader] looked upon her with eyes of kindness, when I was in Town. I dare say it will be a *stout* wedding, an't you sorry that you did not ask the Bride elect to your Ball. Mrs. Dickinson is sitting by me framing a Letter to the fair intended. She laughs and rails at being obliged to write such a formal scrawl, but she cannot avoid it and therefore must puzzle her Brains to write nonsense as she calls it, between friends dont you think that the noble general has made rather a homely choice, but they say she is mighty good, and thats enough for any reasonable Christian. I suppose that Johnny considers that a face is a flower that Blooms and dies, talking of Beauty, the dear Pe[nn] had just darted across my brain alas! he had like never to have called at Polly's door again. I am well informed that she had 10 fits in half a second, when she heard the dreadful affair which I think a favourable sign for Johnny P[enn]. They say that he was determined to die like an Adonis, and of course put on the white damask Jacket and bought a new wig which he neatly flowered, powder you know is rather expensive." [The foregoing refers to the Penn-Laurens duel.]

"Miss T[ilghman] shed a few tears at his disaster, but she is now composed do you think that she has a place still in his heart, Tilly I mean. it is a monstrous Bore to say heart—ah! my dear Eliza those happy six weeks appear like a dream why was I snatched from you so soon, but I keep up my spirits at the thoughts of meeting you in the spring. give my best love to Counsellor Burd you have some slight knowledge of the

youth I presume, but at your perril dont let him peep at this elegant scrawl of mine. tell the girls they have my best wishes for their promotion, but I warn Madam Sarah [Shippen] not to think of young Jo[hn Penn?] as I am determined to dispute the charmer with her—oh! all ye powers of love I had like to have forgot the gentle Arnold, where is he, how does he, and when is he like to convert our little Peggy. they say she intends to surrender soon I thought the fort would not hold out long well after all there is nothing like perseverance, and a regular attack. adieu my dear, supper waits. let me hear from you soon if you wish to give pleasure to your

“affectionate E. T.”

Alas for the dignity of Revolutionary patriots! Where now is that mantle of almost supernatural gravity and wisdom with which the members of the Continental Congress have been invested from the “time whereof our memory runneth not to the contrary”? To think that a “most potent, grave, and reverend” signer of the Declaration of Independence should be termed “Johnny!” But if we are right in supposing that “Madam Sarah” Shippen alludes to the same gentleman in an undated note now before us, a fresh horror overwhelms us, for she says, “I think you have a great deal of assurance to give me *tight-skin* (which by the bye I think an excellent name) for a gallant.” Could irreverence go further than this?

Returning now to Arnold, we find that he had at last obtained her father’s consent, for on February 8, 1779, he writes from the camp at Raritan, as follows:

“MY DEAREST LIFE;—

“Never did I so ardently long to see or hear from you as at this instant. I am all impatience and anxiety to know how you do; six days’ absence, without hearing from my dear Peggy, is intolerable. Heavens! what must I have suffered had I continued my journey—the loss of happiness for a few dirty acres. I can almost bless the villanous roads, and more *villanous men*, who oblige me to return. I am heartily tired with my journey, and almost so with human nature. I daily discover so much baseness and ingratitude among mankind that I almost blush at being of the same species, and could quit the stage without regret was it not for some gentle, generous souls like my dear Peggy, who still retain the lively impression of their Maker’s image, and who, with

smiles of benignity and goodness, make all happy around them. Let me beg of you not to suffer the rude attacks on me to give you one moment's uneasiness; they can do me no injury. I am treated with the greatest politeness by General Washington and the officers of the army, who bitterly execrate Mr. Reed and the Council for their villanous attempt to injure me. they have advised me to proceed on my journey. The badness of the roads will not permit, was it possible to support an absence of four weeks, for in less time I could not accomplish it. The day after to-morrow I leave this, and hope to be made happy by your smiles on Friday evening; 'till then all nature smiles in vain; for you alone, heard, felt and seen, possess my every thought, fill every sense and pant in every vein.

"Clarkson will send an express to meet me at Bristol; make me happy by one line, to tell me you are so; please to present my best respects to your mamma and the family. My prayers and best wishes attend my dear Peggy. Adieu! and believe me sincerely and affectionately thine.

"B. ARNOLD.

"MISS PEGGY SHIPPEN."

On March 13, 1779, Elizabeth Tilghman writes to Mrs. Burd as follows:

"I think all the World are running mad, what Demon has possessed the People with respect to Gen. A——d, he is certainly much abused; ungrateful Monsters, to attack a character that has been looked up to, in more instances than one, since this war commenced; but however I have not a doubt of his not clearing himself with honor: Poor Peggy how I pity her; at any rate her situation must be extremely disagreeable, she has great sensibility and I think it must have been often put to the trial. Will you give my Compts. to the General, I wish him happy because I think he deserves to be so."

On March 22, 1779, Arnold purchased Mount Pleasant, a fine old place on the eastern bank of the Schuylkill, now in Fairmount Park, containing ninety-six acres, and settled it on himself for life with remainder to his wife and children. This was not very far from Edward Shippen's country-seat, and on one of the oldest beeches in Ormiston Glen we remember to have seen in boyhood's days the initials "B. A."

In the *Pennsylvania Packet* of April 15, 1779, the following notice appeared: "Married, Major-General Arnold to

10. [Illegible text]

11. [Illegible text]

12. [Illegible text]

13. [Illegible text]

14. [Illegible text]

Miss Peggy Shippen, youngest daughter of Edward Shippen, Esq."

In Watson's *Annals*, Vol. III., p. 448 (edition of 1891), the following account by Mrs. Ann Willing Morris is given :

"As a petted child she was permitted to be present at the marriage of General Arnold with the daughter of Chief-Justice Shippen. Of the character and exploits of the traitor she in after life spoke in detestation; and for far more serious cause did she then sympathize with her grandmother, the aunt of 'the beautiful bride,' in her sorrow and surprise that so great a sacrifice was permitted to one so much her senior, a widower with children, and who, by herself at least, was not regarded with the confidence and respect necessary to render the connection desirable or agreeable. Owing to a recent wound, received under circumstances which would alone have established a claim to grateful remembrance had not his subsequent extraordinary defection obliterated his name from the roll of his country's heroes, Arnold during the marriage ceremony was supported by a soldier, and when seated his disabled limb was propped upon a camp-stool. These wounds may perhaps have made him more interesting to the lovely but unfortunate bride. At all events, her 'hero' except for his character for extravagance, was *then* regarded with a share of public favor, if not with any feeling of popular affection. He had rendered 'some service to the state,' and was distinguished for gallantry among the bravest of the land."

By way of epilogue to this chapter we quote the following lively letter from Miss Tilghman, who soon after married James Lloyd, the "certain Major" she speaks of:

"CHESTER TOWN April 14th 1779.

"Get married as soon as you can—and so that is really the burden of your song, my dear Eliza, good Lord! what will this world come to? who could have ever Imagined that you would turn Preacher, and that Matrimony should be the Text. perhaps you think that I dont remember the Quakes tremblings and a thousand other Quirks that you had on a certain occasion. if your feelings were affected, you are a monstrous Hypocrite and have a very great sin to answer for in frightening poor Peggy and myself into a solemn Oath, never to change our State, which Oath, Madam P—— most religiously kept, till she was Burgoyned—which, report says was on Thursday last. will you my dear give my best love to Mrs. Arnold. tell her that I wish her every happiness that this world is capable of affording, and that she may long live the delight and comfort of her adoring General—there's a flourish for you.

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dont you think I am a good deal in the Hare stile? I have you all before me this instant, and have even seen in Imagination every joyous scene that the Wedding has produced. Heigh-ho! why did not the fates allow me to make one of the gay throng that surrounded the fair Bride. Apropos; has our Friend Zane exerted her genius on the happy occasion? I dont think that the *United States* can produce her equal. I have a Letter from her which is beyond all description. I thought that her Extempore in the Courts, was a master Piece. but indeed (to use her own expressions) they were poor & lean compared to some flights of fancy in my Letter; to me she is really a treasure; and I would not give up her Correspondence on any account. she will be a constant fund of entertainment to me as she intends writing every thing that passes in Town and her comments are peculiar to Herself. so that you see I shall not be reduced to the Necessity of taking a certain Major, by way of softening the Solitude of Maryland. pray my dear from whence did you get your Intelligence? has my good Friend E. T. been puffing a second time of my making a Confidant of her? my heart is almost broke on N. Chew's leaving us. God knows when we shall meet again, as every scheme is blown away. now my Father has given up all thought of living this Summer at the Falls. we are to spend this summer in Talbot at Uncle William Tilghman's. next to being with you it is the only place that I wish to pass my time. it is an enchanting situation, genteel Neighbourhood, and to crown all, they are a Family that I adore, and will receive us with open arms. you saw Nancy Tilghman in Philadelphia; she is a sweet girl; her manners and conversation often put me in mind of you my dear Betsy, judge then if I have not reason to love her. I had a letter from her yesterday she is in Baltimore, acting Bridesmaid to Miss Hetty Levy who is married to a Doctor Goodwin. so goes the world. who would have thought that child would have been married so soon? I declare it makes me feel quite old. I very well remember her an infant. my *respects* to my tall cousin Burd, you have seen the Gentleman, how dare he call me little? is not my height the Ton. I wonder who would even wish to be higher than the right honourable Mrs. R——d. Farewell my dear, that you may always be as happy as you now are is the wish of your ever affectionate

“E. TILGHMAN.

“MRS. BURD.

“Philadelphia.”

THE JOURNEY TO WEST POINT.

After his marriage, Arnold lived at his house in Philadelphia and at Mount Pleasant in a style of ostentation which he could not afford. Mrs. Arnold probably visited her

cousin at Sunbury, near Bristol, Pennsylvania; for a letter from A. Coxe to Mrs. Burd, dated Sunbury, June 9, 1779, contains this sentence: "Pray give my love to the girls, one of them I hope will come up with Mrs. Arnold who we expect every day."

Mrs. Arnold's first son was born on March 19, 1780; and Washington, writing to Arnold on March 28, 1780, says, "Let me congratulate you on the late happy event. Mrs. Washington joins me in presenting her wishes for Mrs. Arnold on the occasion."¹

On August 3, 1780, Arnold obtained the command of West Point. He had been in communication with the British commander since about April, 1779.²

By August 30, 1780, Arnold's plot only awaited a meeting with the representative of Sir Henry Clinton to have the final details arranged.³

Sir Henry Clinton, in his report to Lord George Germain, says,—

"It became necessary at this instant, that the secret correspondence under feigned names, which had been so long carried on, should be rendered into certainty, both as to the person being General Arnold commanding at West Point, and that in the manner in which he was to surrender himself, the forts, and troops to me, it should be so conducted under a concerted plan between us, as that the King's troops sent upon this expedition should be under no risk of surprise or counterplot; and I was determined not to make the attempt but under such particular security."⁴

At this time Mrs. Arnold was in Philadelphia, and did not leave the city until Thursday, September 6, 1780, probably arriving at West Point on September 12, 1780. The following letter from Hannah Arnold fixes the dates:

"SUNDAY, September 10, 1780.

"I address you, my dear Mrs. Arnold, from the regions of gloom and solitude; but when this splenetic scrawl will reach you, know not, for at present have not the shadow of a conveyance for it.

¹ Sparks's Washington, Vol. VI. p. 494.

² Ibid., Vol. VII. p. 520.

³ Sparks's Arnold, p. 175.

⁴ Ibid., p. 169.

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"This is Monday, the fourth day since your departure, and I have not once in the whole time step'd my foot over the threshold of our own door, and have scarcely been off the bed two hours together; have had the slight but troublesome fever that has so indiscriminately attack'd all orders of people (old maids not exempted.) Mrs. Burd has been in the same situation with myself, so that we have as yet not seen each other. Mr. Burd has kindly called once or twice; if you could conceive how we miss you and the dear little bantling, you would pity us. Harry was inconsolable the whole day you left us, and had, I believe, not less than twenty the most violent bursts of grief; his little brother Edward seems to be the principal theme of the mournful song—not one day has escaped without his shedding tears at his absence; he laments that just as he began to know and love his brother, he must be removed so far from him that he cannot even hear how he does; this day with a falling tear, he observ'd to me that he thought it very hard when he had so few relations, that they should all be at such a distance from him; must own the observation call'd forth a sympathetic drop from my eyes. Am extremely anxious to know how you perform your journey; am very fearful for the poor little sore-headed boy, and am surpriz'd that I have not heard a syllable from you, but comfort myself with the thought that no news is good news, as I cannot imagine but I should have heard it, if any material accident had befallen you. Yesterday got a letter from your anxious husband, who, lover-like, is tormenting himself with a thousand fancied disasters which have happened to you and the family; however hope by the day after to-morrow you will be able to remove all his distressing fears. Heaven guard you safely to him, for in your life and happiness his consists.

"Your papa was in yesterday; the family at the Cottage were all well, and had just heard your mamma was gone down to your aunt Pierce's—my head aches, and as I am sleepy, will close my letter for to-night; sweet repose to you and yours.—

"*Monday Morning.*—Had wrote the above, hoping some opportunity would present for sending it; and left it unsealed to make whatever additions I found proper; but none presenting, had left it in statu quo; was just dressing myself, with an intent to creep out and make Mrs. Huntington a morning visit, when Punch came tripping up stairs (showing his teeth), with a letter in his hand from mistress: I broke the seal with eager solicitude, and am more than happy to find you performed your journey as far as Brunswick with so much ease and pleasure; may they both attend in your train to the end of it;—am rejoiced at the account you give me of Edward; hope the little rogue holds out as well as he began; reckon he will this night finish his first grand tour.—

"Sent just now to see how Mrs. Burd was; have for answer that she

is much better ; if my morning's visiting don't make me sick, design seeing her in the evening.—

"*Thursday.*—Nothing new to-day. Saw Mrs. Burd last night, and we have made an appointment to Mrs. Morris's to-morrow.—family affairs go on smooth ; find I have got a steady, clever, industrious old cook ; she has been out only once to church, and seems to have no inclination for gadding ; your papa keeps Mrs. Allen's house for you, or himself ; which takes it will be determined soon ; he thinks Mrs. Allen's, on some accounts, most convenient for him, and knows the one we are now in, most so for you ; for my part, wish he may find it most convenient to take Mrs. Allen's himself.

"*Friday Evening.*—Am just returned from Mrs. Morris's where I drank tea with Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Cope, two Miss Marshalls, Miss Nellie McCall, Mrs. Harrison, Mrs. Burd, Miss Sally Morris, of New Jersey, and another Miss—name unknown, the two Mr. Coxes, all the beaux we had to help ourselves with. Hear nothing from the little boys at Maryland. Mr. and Mrs. mead are just annonc'd ; adieu for to-night.

"*Saturday Evening.*—The day has passed off without hearing one lisp from you ; I cannot account for it, unless by delays on the road ; promise myself you are now happy with my brother ; hope you have by this reach'd, and Edward quite well of his sore head. Your papa has been unwell for a few days, but is better ; he went from here two hours since ; all well at the cottage. Your mamma is not yet return'd. Harry desires his duty to papa and mamma, his love to Edward and Betsy ; he says he wishes mamma would please to kiss Edward one hundred times for him, and when her hand is in, she may, if she pleases, give him fifty for his aunt ; make my love to my brother, if you please. I shall expect letters the first and all opportunities, and am with sincere esteem and regard. Yours,

"H. ARNOLD.

"I have nothing to say in excuse for this ill pen'd scrawl, but that writing is not my talent.

"H. A."

Mrs. Arnold no doubt pursued the route which had been carefully marked out for her in Arnold's own handwriting, in a paper which was afterwards found at West Point, but is now in the Department of State at Washington. It is as follows :

"Directions for Mrs. Arnold on Her way to Wt. Point

"You must by all means get out of the Carriage in Crossing all Ferries, and going over all large Bridges to prevent accidents.

"1 Your first nights Stage will be at Bristol. Mr. Coxes 20 Miles

"2 The Second at Trenton, Banagers unless you to G. Dickinsons or Col. Caduc's. 10

"3 The third night to Brunswick Wm. Mairiners a good house 28 If the weather is warm and this Stage too long you can lodge at Princeton 12 Miles from Trenton.

"4 the fourth Night at Newark . . . 26 If this Stage is too long you can stop 6 miles Short at Elizabeth Town, or if any danger is Apprehended from the enemy you will be very safe by riding a few miles out of the Common rode.

"5 the fifth Night at Paramus. 12.

"The 6th night Judge Coe's 14 Miles and If not fatigued to Joshua Smith Esqr. 6 Miles further and only three from King's Ferry where you will be hospitably received & well accommodated. you will get tollerable Beds at Coe's, & from thence or Smith's can reach Wt. Point next day with ease as you will go from King's Ferry by Water, so that in Seven days if the Weather is cool, you will perform the Journey with ease. You must not Forget to bring your own Sheets to sleep in on the road, and a Feather Bed to put in the Lt. Waggon which will make an easy Seat, and you will find it cooler, and pleasenter to ride in in smooth roads, than a Close Carriage.—and it will ease your Carriage Horses. At Paramus you will be very politely received by Mrs. Watkins & Mrs. Provost, very Genteel People

"let me beg of you not to make your Stages so long as to fatigue yourself or the Dr. Boy. If you should be much longer in Coming

We call the reader's particular attention to the sentence, "At Paramus you will be very politely received by Mrs. Watkins & Mrs. Provost, very Genteel People." An inspection of the original paper in the State Department at Washington, D. C., shows that Arnold first wrote "*very polite* People," and afterwards struck out the word "*polite*" and interlined the word "*Genteel*." The addition of the three words "*very Genteel People*" shows that Mrs. Arnold was *not* acquainted with Mrs. Provost; for if they had been friends previously, Arnold would not have said Mrs. Provost was "*Genteel*" and would not have mentioned Mrs. Watkins at all. This fact, apparently so trivial, has a most important bearing upon the charges afterwards made against Mrs. Arnold. The point assumed in Burr's story, as we shall see, was that Mrs. Arnold was such a friend of Mrs.

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.

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Provost that she could trust her with a secret on which her life depended.

It is poetic justice, as we shall see, that the husband whom Aaron Burr sought to wrong should have unwittingly furnished proof of the falsehood of Burr's accusation against his wife, Mrs. Arnold.

She reached West Point in safety, and took up her abode in the "Robinson" House, which was finely situated on a knoll on the eastern side of the Hudson overlooking the river.

It seemed now as if heaven had granted to her the fairest blessings of life. She was with her husband, far removed from the calumnies and slanders which had incessantly assailed him in Philadelphia. Her darling child was in her arms, and in one of the most beautiful and romantic situations of America the golden month of September was daily displaying new beauties of the forests to her delighted eyes. It was the last gleam of sunshine in her life, which from this time was passed in trouble and sorrow.

(To be continued.)

INDEX TO AMERICAN PORTRAITS.

BY BUNFORD SAMUEL, OF THE RIDGWAY BRANCH OF THE PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY.

This index is a selection only from one of a general nature in manuscript, covering portraits of all nations. On account of space, even the American ones are selected, and comprise the period from 1732 to 1852, whereas the unpublished manuscript comes down to 1896, and includes popular magazines, such as *Harper*, *Scribner*, and others. Our present selection is from the magazines given below, the dates of which represent the volumes accessible in the principal libraries of Philadelphia,—viz., the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania, the Mercantile Library, and the Philadelphia Free Library.

As negative information is sometimes useful, we may state that the following magazines have been searched without result,—viz., *The American Magazine*, 1757 and 1758; *The New American Magazine*, 1758–60; *The American Magazine*, 1769; and *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1775 and 1776.

Our selection follows the plan necessary to the larger index, whereof it is a part. It does not choose or reject a portrait upon grounds of rarity or authenticity, etc., but indexes anything purporting to represent a subject within its scope at its face value, whether really a “counterfeit presentment” or not; and it gives no further information as to portraits indexed than the name of painter and engraver, afforded by themselves.

The reader is reminded that an index of portraits may, besides its main object, be found of use for others,—*e.g.*, as an assistance to artists seeking the costume of a period, as a clue to biographical text, to fac-simile autographs, etc.

MAGAZINES INDEXED.

London Magazine	1732-1772.
Universal Magazine	1747-1815.
Westminster Magazine	1773-1785.
European Magazine	1782-1826.
Columbian Magazine	1786-1792.
Massachusetts Magazine	1789-1793.
Monthly Mirror	1796-1810.
Port Folio	1801-1827.
Union Magazine	1801-1803.
Polyanthos	1805-1814.
La Belle Assemblée	1806-1823.
Analectic Magazine	1813-1820.
Museum	1822-1851.
Democratic Review	1838-1852.
American Whig Review	1845-1851.

From the following magazines portraits of those persons only have been selected whose portraits also appear in one or more of the above list. A number of books are also included to the same extent, though not specified here.

New Monthly Magazine	1821-1873.
Knickerbocker Magazine	1834-1865.
Bentley's Miscellany	1837-1868.
Harper's Monthly Magazine	1850-1896.
Scribner's Magazine	1870-1896.
Century Magazine	1881-1896.
Cosmopolitan Magazine	1886-1896.

ABERCROMBIE, JAMES, D.D.; Port Folio, frontispiece, November, 1810.

Trott del., Edwin sc.

ADAMS, JOHN; European Magazine, frontispiece, August, 1783.

—, JOHN; American Universal Magazine, vol. i. p. 361, March, 1797.

—, JOHN; Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, July, 1798.

—, JOHN; Literary Magazine and American Register, frontispiece, August, 1804. B. Tanner sc.

—, JOHN; Museum, July, 1827. G. Stuart p., Longacre sc. From portrait in Delaplaine's Gallery.

—, JOHN; National Portrait Gallery, vol. iv., frontispiece, 1836. G. Stuart p., J. B. Longacre sc. From a copy by Otis.

—, JOHN; Jones, A. D., Illust. Am. Biog. N. Y., vol. i. p. 59, 1853. J. W. Orr sc.

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- , JOHN; Harper, p. 289, July, 1876.
- , JOHN; Duyckinck's Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 195, 1877.
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- , JOHN; Oncken, Das Zeitalter Friedrichs des Grossen, Berlin (Oncken, Allg. Ges.), vol. ii. pp. 718, 719, 1882. Trumbull p. (Picture of signing of Declaration of Independence.) Sadd sc.
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- , JOHN; Hopp, Bundesstaat in Nord Amerika. Berlin (Oncken, Allg. Ges.), pp. 274-276, 1886.
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- , JOHN; Scrib., p. 51, January, 1895. G. Stuart. From copy by Jane Stuart.
- , JOHN QUINCY; Casket, frontispiece, June, 1828.
- , JOHN QUINCY; National Portrait Gallery, vol. iv., 1836. Durand p., J. W. Paradise sc.
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- , JOHN QUINCY; Scrib., p. 204, February, 1895. Stuart p.
- , SAML.; Polyanthos, vol. iii. p. 73, September, 1806. S. Harris sc.
- , SAML.; Delaplaine's Repository, vol. ii. part 1, p. 1, 1815. Copley p., Goodman and Piggot sc.
- , SAML.; Casket, September, 1832. Copley p., Goodman and Piggot sc.
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- , JOHN JAMES; Scrib., p. 273, March, 1893. J. W. Audubon p.
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(To be continued.)

INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1801.¹

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. REBECCA LLOYD SHIPPEN.

"The long agony is over," as Governor Morris exclaimed on the decision of an important and warmly debated question. "The long agony is over," might Congress with more emphasis have said when the awful crisis was passed which terminated the conflict between two great political parties, and eventuated in the election of a Democratic President. But let us pass over retrospections which can only serve to awaken feelings which should be laid in an eternal sleep.

On the fourth of March 1801, Mr. Jefferson took the Oath of Office. The vanquished party having no inclination by their presence to add to the solemnities of the scene and the crowd of strangers who had thronged the City during the previous period of anxious suspense satisfied with the result, departed, without waiting to witness the mere ceremony of the Inauguration of the President. At this period the population of the infant metropolis did not exceed that of a small village; it had been taken possession of as the seat of government the preceding winter; the impending change of parties prevented the individuals who were attached to Mr. Adams' administration from locating themselves in a permanent manner. Like a flock of birds of passage they only, as it were, alighted on the ground and with their leader, the ex-President, took flight early on the fourth of March.

Owing to these peculiar circumstances the City on that day lost half of its migratory population, and its wide surface had a desert and solitary appearance. There were no

¹ This account of the inauguration of President Jefferson first appeared in "The Lady's Magazine."

streets, no mass of houses; one wing of the Capitol only was erected, not finished; a temporary room fitted up for the accommodation of the House of Representatives. The Senate Chamber was finished, and it was there in the presence of the Senators, and Judges of the Supreme Court that the Oath of Office was administered to Mr. Jefferson.

During the preceding winter, he being Vice President, had boarded at Canaird's, the largest and most respectable lodging house in the City; it was on the south side of Capitol Hill; about thirty republican members of Congress likewise boarded there, among whom he lived on terms of perfect equality and friendship; or if there was any inequality, his unassuming spirit yielded to them a precedence, at which their stern democracy eagerly caught; as is evinced by a trivial, but characteristic circumstance.

The dinner table was necessarily very long, to accommodate a company of more than thirty persons; the end nearest the fire was appropriated to the ladies who were of the family; Mr. Jefferson was among the latest who entered the room, on the first day of their assembling; the company had taken their seats without waiting for him, and on his entrance the only vacant place was at the bottom of the table, the most remote from the fire, and close to the door that opened in the hall. Mrs. —, the wife of one of the Senators, stimulated by personal regard, as well as by a sense of what was due, not only to a station, but still more to age, urged the gentlemen near her to offer him a seat at the end of the table; they laughed, and answered "he must not be allowed to forget that he is one of the people and that all were equal." "There is however a distinction which nature makes," urged Mrs. —, "and gray hairs should be respected in what ever Condition they are found." But democracy prevailed over any kinder feeling and those very men who would have resigned their lives and fortunes to have elevated him to the Presidency would not compromise their principle of political equality, by yielding him a seat above their own. Mrs. — indignant at what she

called a savage rudeness, rose and offered him her seat which of course he declined.

I said some among these stern republicans would have risked their lives to secure his succession to the Presidency; and this recalls to mind an incident which proves the assertion.

At the time of the election by the House the result depended on a single vote. Mr. Nicholson one of the Representatives from Maryland,¹ had been for some weeks confined to his bed, and was so ill, that his life was considered in danger; ill as he was he insisted on being carried to the Hall of Representatives, in order to give his vote. The physicians absolutely forbid such a proceeding; he insisted and they appealed to his wife, telling her such a removal and the consequent excitement might prove fatal to his life, "Be it so then," she said, "if my husband must die, let it be at the post of duty; no weakness of mine shall oppose his noble resolution." How little did these physicians expect when they appealed to the influence of one of the fondest of wives this more than Spartan courage, and in an American to find a Roman Matron. Of course they withdrew their opposition, the patient was carried in a litter to the Capitol, where a bed was prepared for him, in an Antichamber adjoining the Senate Chamber, followed by his heroic wife, where during the four or five days and nights of balloting she remained by his side, supporting by various restoratives but more by her presence the strength of the feeble and almost expiring invalid, who with difficulty traced the name of Jefferson each time the ballot-box was handed to him. Such was the Spirit of that day—the Spirit of that party.

What a contrast did Capitol Hill and the circumjacent scenery afford, on the fourth of March 1829!

The ardent, the violent, the imbettered, the exulting feel-

¹ Our contributor, Mrs. Rebecca Lloyd Shippen, is a granddaughter of Hon. Joseph H. Nicholson and his wife, Rebecca Lloyd, of "Wye House."—ED. PENNA. MAG.

ing which had been excited during the contest had subsided, the conflicting elements were stilled; the eager crowds that had surrounded the Capitol during the election, the tread of the many feet, and the hum of the many voices that had echoed through its vaulted passages had ceased.

No triumphant multitude with loud acclamations, no vanquished opponents with murmured deprecations were present on that morning (1801)—, the unfinished, and solitary fabric amidst the huge stones and other materials for its construction, scattered over the ground among towering and venerable Oaks, that still shaded their native soil, looked more like a ruin amidst its fallen fragments, and its coeval shades, than a new, and rising edifice. The silence and solitude of the surrounding grounds were calculated to enforce this idea; for the hundred or two individuals collected on the occasion were not sufficient to dissipate solitude, and silence through such an extent of space. Beyond Capitol Hill as far as the eye could reach, the *City* as it was called, lay in a state of nature, covered with forest trees, fields of grain, and verdant plains, with here and there a house. Pennsylvania Avenue, was a new, but as yet unfrequented road, connecting the Capitol to the President's House, which at two miles distance stood in its loneliness in the midst of a plain.

The Sun shone bright on that morning, (March 4th 1801), the Senate was convened, those members of the republican party that remained at the Seat of Government; the Judges of the Supreme Court, some citizens and gentry from the neighboring County, and about a dozen ladies made up the Assembly in the Senate Chamber, who were collected to witness the ceremony of the President's inauguration. Mr. Jefferson had not yet arrived; he was seen walking from his lodgings which were not far distant, attended by five or six gentlemen who were his fellow lodgers.

Soon afterwards he entered, accompanied by a Committee of the Senate and bowing to the Senate, who arose to re-

ceive him, he approached a table on which the Bible lay, and took the Oath, which was administered to him by the Chief Justice.

He was then conducted by the President of the Senate, to his chair, which stood on a platform raised some steps above the floor; after the pause of a moment or two he arose, and delivered that beautiful inaugural address, which has since become so popular and celebrated;—with a clear, distinct voice, in a firm and modest manner. On leaving the chair he was surrounded by friends who pressed forward with cordial and eager congratulations and some, though not many, of the more magnanimous of his opponents, most of whom however silently left the Chamber.

The new President, walked home with two or three of the gentlemen who lodged in the same house. At dinner he took his accustomed place, at the bottom of the table, his new station not eliciting from his democratic friends any new attention, or courtesy. A gentleman from Baltimore, as an invited guest, who accidentally sat next to him, asked permission to wish him joy, "I would advise you," answered Jefferson, smiling, "to follow my example on nuptial occasions, when I always tell the bridegroom, I will wait till the end of the year before offering my congratulations." And this was the only and solitary instance of any notice taken of the event of the morning. His election to the second term of service was so unanimous, so unopposed, that it seemed less like a new election, than a matter of course, a looked for continuity in office—it excited none of the interest and attention new elections create, and passed so quietly as scarcely to be noticed, being marked by little ceremony or display. In the language of that day, he came into office on the full tide of popularity; a tide that never ebbed, during the whole term of office, but which with a swollen flood, and increased force carried him triumphantly back to the peaceful and happy haven of domestic life. Nor even then did it ebb; his popularity did not arise from his possession of power or patronage, but flowing from his

talents, his virtues, his patriotism, of which added proofs were given with every added year, it increased in power, as he increased in length of days.

Those days are finished, his mortal remains are mouldering back into their parent dust, but his talents, his virtues, his patriotism, still live embodied in his works embalmed in history.

The spirit which governed the Councils over which he presided, still governs public opinion, and with augmenting influence will continue to govern Republican America, so long as the maxims of his wisdom shall flow through the channels of a free press, into the minds of free men; and the *full tide* of popularity which brought him into power, with an increasing impetus, shall carry his memory into ages yet unborn.

S

WASHINGTON CITY.

AN INTERESTING HISTORICAL LETTER.

The original of the letter which we give in fac-simile is in the "Buchanan Papers" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This valuable collection, largely composed of the correspondence of the Hon. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was presented by his nieces, the daughters of the late Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, D.D. The letter is in the handwriting of Jefferson Davis, and in the collection of autographs which endorse his recommendation will be recognized many of those who were conspicuous as his councillors in the days of the Southern Confederacy.

WASHINGTON D. C.
Dec. 16. 1857

HON. JNO. B. FLOYD
Sec. of War.

SIR, it gives me pleasure to present to your favorable consideration the name of John Rogers Meigs, for the appointment of cadet "at large."

He is the son of Capt. M. C. Meigs of the Army and therefore belongs to that class not eligible for an appointment from a Congressional District. The young gentleman possesses high mental and physical qualifications for the military service, exhibits a fondness for scientific pursuits and gives promise of a career worthy of his illustrious Grand Father Commodore Rogers, and his distinguished and useful Father Capt. Meigs.

I am sure his appointment would give much satisfaction to the large number of the friends and admirers of Capt. Meigs, & to none more than to your friend & obt sevt.

JEFFER. DAVIS.

I cordially concur with Col Davis in the above recommendation.

S. A. DOUGLAS.

I also concur very cordially in the above.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

I also cordially concur in the above.

WM. M. GWIN.

The undersigned cheerfully concur in the foregoing recommendation.

ALFRED IVERSON,
J. A. BAYARD,
A. G. BROWN,
WM. BIGLER,
Z. CHANDLER,
CHAS E. H. STEWART,
J. M. MASON,
JOHN SLIDELL,
J. P. BENJAMIN.

John Rogers Meigs, a son of Montgomery C. Meigs, of Pennsylvania, Quartermaster-General U. S. A., was appointed by President Buchanan a cadet-at-large to the Military Academy at West Point, September 7, 1859, from which he graduated June 11, 1863, number one in his class. He was appointed first lieutenant of Engineers, and for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Fisher's Creek, in Virginia, was promoted brevet major, September 22, 1864. He was killed by guerillas, near Harrisonburg, Virginia, October 3, 1864, when in the twenty-second year of his age. His remains were buried at Oak Hill Cemetery, near Washington D. C., President Lincoln, Secretary of War Stanton, Secretary of State Seward, General Halleck, and other prominent officials being present.

Secretary of War Stanton made the following official announcement of his death :

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7. 1864.

A despatch from . . . reports an officer of General Sheridan's staff just arrived. General Sheridan was still at Harrisonburg. His supply trains were going on all right, occasionally interrupted by guerilla parties, the only force on the road. This officer brought in the remains of Lieutenant John Rogers Meigs, of the Engineer Corps, and son of Brev't Major General Meigs, Quartermaster General, who was killed by bushwhackers on Monday last, while making a military survey. In the death of this gallant officer the Department has occasion to deplore no ordinary loss. Last year he graduated at the Military Academy, West Point, with the highest honors, at the head of his class, was commissioned as a lieutenant of engineers, and immediately sent into the field. He performed meritorious and dangerous services during the last year on

the fortifications at Baltimore, at Harper's Ferry, and at Cumberland, and was made chief engineer in the Army of the Shenandoah. In the campaigns he accompanied the army under Sigel, Hunter and Sheridan. In every position he gave proof of great professional skill, personal courage, and devoted patriotism. One of the youngest and brightest ornaments of the military profession, he has fallen an early victim to murderous rebel warfare. . . .

EDWIN M. STANTON.

Secretary of War.

General P. H. Sheridan, in his "Personal Memoirs," writes of Lieutenant Meigs,—

At Harper's Ferry sent for Lieut. J. R. Meigs, the Chief Engineer officer of the command, to study with him the map of my geographical division. . . . Meigs was familiar with every important road and stream, and with all points worthy of note west of the Blue Ridge. He was killed by guerillas October 3, 1864. The fact that the murder had been committed inside our lines was evidence that the perpetrators of the crime having their houses in the vicinity, had been clandestinely residing there, and secretly harbored by some of the neighboring residents.

Determining to teach a lesson to these abettors of the foul deed—a lesson they would never forget—I ordered all the houses within an area of five miles to be burned.

THE PENNS AND THE TAXATION OF THEIR ESTATES BY THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. page 494.)

I have now gone through all the restrictions, wherein the proprietaries have restrained their Lieutenant-Governors from consenting to any tax upon their own particular property; and will in the next place state and submit to your consideration the residue of the restrictions contained in their twenty-first instruction, and which relate to every person's estate in the province, viz.—

Land-tax for
one year only.

In case you pass land-title Bills they shall be made to continue for one single year only and no longer.

Agreeable to
the English
act.

They shall be made as agreeable as possible to the general tenor of the Acts for raising the land tax in England.

Especially by laying the tax upon the particular houses or lands in the respective districts by which the rate of it may at any time be seen.

On the annual
value only.

The tax on the real estate shall be laid on the true annual rent or yearly value and not upon the value of the fee simple of the estate.

Not to exceed
four shillings
in the pound.

The land-tax shall not be more than after the rate of one, two, three or at the utmost four shillings in the pound for any one year upon the annual rent or yearly value.

Tenants to pay
and deduct it.

Every such Bill shall contain clauses for the tenants of real estates paying such tax, and deducting the same out of the yearly rent payable to the landlord, provided the yearly rent amounts to twenty shillings and upwards.

And shall contain clauses of distress upon any matters distrainable, being upon the taxed premises.

Clause of distress not of sale.

But no clause or power to distrain or sell the house or land itself or any part thereof for satisfaction of the taxes.

Now the charter provides that all laws to be passed in Pennsylvania shall be consonant to reason and not contrary or repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws, statutes and rights of the mother country England.

The proprietaries conceive that every one of these last mentioned restrictions or prohibitions to their Lieutenant-Governor are strictly agreeable to the laws and statutes of this kingdom.

Acts of Parliament passed here and extending to the plantations, do of themselves bind the Lieutenant-Governor and all others there, notwithstanding which the Crown by its instructions to the proprietaries given upon the approbation of every new lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania and other proprietary governments instructs and orders the proprietors to give directions to and to charge their lieutenant-governors to inform themselves of and strictly to pursue those Acts of Parliament.

So the charter of the province gives power to the proprietors and assembly to pass any laws there but under the forementioned proviso, not to be contrary or repugnant but as near as may agreeable to the laws and statutes of this kingdom. And if they should attempt to pass laws beyond the power given by the charter, such laws might not only be nullities, but besides that it might possibly be an offence.

To guard against anything of that sort the proprietors out of abundant caution have used

their own discretion here and have restrained their Lieutenant-Governor not to pass laws without observing the before mentioned restrictions, and every one of which restrictions as they conceive are not only just and reasonable in themselves, but also tend to bring the Land-Tax Acts in Pennsylvania (if they will pass such) as near as may be to the like Acts passed here in the mother country.

These restrictions it is apprehended are reasonable, just and expedient, as tending to an equal land-tax, and they are lawful as imitating the provisions made by the Parliament in England in the same case. To make the land-tax annual is a restriction which contributes to prevent the burthen from lasting longer than the necessity. To lay it on the annual profits is more easy and equally as expedient for the public service as laying it upon the value of the inheritance, and the rule of assessment is more easy to be settled on the annual profit than upon the whole value of the land. To limit it at four shillings in the pound as a general rule seems not unreasonable and it is conformable to the practice in England. To lay it upon the tenant who may deduct it out of his rent is best for the public and the landlord too. And where the payment is refused, to levy it by distress upon the land, secures the revenue to the public, whilst the other methods empowering those who levy the tax to sell the lands, opens a door to partiality and arbitrary abuse and much injury to the landlord.

The remaining restrictions are not many.

On annual not
gross value of
personal es-
tates.

So much of the land-tax Acts in Pennsylvania as relate to personal estates must lay the same upon the annual interest or profit and not upon the capital gross sum.

That is the constant custom and the practice and positive law here, for when the tax here is four shillings in the pound a man who is taxed for £100 personal estate, is not enacted to pay £20, which is the fifth part of the capital of £100. but twenty shillings only, which is the fifth part of £5. which is a year's interest of that capital £100. And so the land-tax Acts here do precisely express. And if so, this is only another instance of the like sort with the last mentioned restrictions for keeping up to the laws and usages of the mother country.

The Bill must contain specially in itself the whole method of assessing, collecting and paying in of the tax, and not by reference to any other Bill or Act.

To contain
the whole
method of
assessing.

This seems an orderly and reasonable restriction in itself, and is observed in land-tax acts in England also, but there is still a great deal more than that to be said to justify this restriction, for, the land-tax acts which they have passed in Pennsylvania (to tax other persons' estates, excepting thereout the proprietary estates) very shortly enact that there shall be levied upon all the estates real and personal in the province (other than the proprietaries' estates) the sum of six pence for every pound clear value of the estates yearly for the space of four years. This is so ambiguous that it is difficult to fix any certain construction what is meant by these words.

But then they go on and enact further that the sums so to be raised shall be assessed and levied as in and by an Act passed in the eleventh year of the late King George the First, entitled "An Act for raising of County Rates and Levies," and that everything therein contained

shall be put in practice for assessing and levying the tax hereby imposed as if the same were inserted in this Act, except in such cases as are hereinafter ascertained, provided for or altered. This dark sort of explanation leaves the matter just where it found it, and the Governor acquainted them in his speech or message of the eleventh of February 1757, that some of the assessors construe this to be two shillings in the pound according to the gross value of the capital or fee simple and others to be two shillings in the pound only upon the annual value, which must make great inequality and confusion in the province when some assessors compute the tax upon the annual value and others upon the gross value, by which means two men of like estates, one of them may be taxed for one hundred pounds as the annual value, the other for twenty-five hundred pounds as the value of the fee-simple. However with a great deal of difficulty it may be proved that the Assembly meant upon the gross value, for by a Report of their Committee made on February 15th. 1757 in answer to the said message from the Governor, they say that as to the uncertainty of the Act which he complained of, the mode directed by that Act is the same that has ever been used in that province, and is what the commissioners and assessors are accustomed to and well understood. Be it so, but we still remain at a loss to know and to fix what that mode is; whether to compute upon the annual or upon the capital value. But as they tell us that the mode is now the same it ever was we must go further yet to find it out. Now long before that time, viz. on the 12th of June 1709 (when they had like county levy acts in being) the Assembly in an

address or reply to the governor tell him expressly thus; "The taxes in Great Britain are upon the profits or incomes not as here, upon the whole estate itself." So that at length we can fix that the Assembly meant the tax to be computed upon the capital and not upon the annual value of estates.

Besides this doubt, what the quantity of the tax is to be, many other obscurities and insuperable difficulties arise from their not enacting a clear, direct and certain mode in the present acts for assessing, levying and paying the tax, but referring back to a string of other acts to obscure and perplex the matter, that it may not be able to be shown what methods they are to proceed in.

We see that we have already two long Acts to look through, viz. The Act of 1755 and the Act of 1725.¹ But these are not all the Acts referred to, for when you come to that Act of 1725, it recites that by the help and direction of another Act passed in the 4th of King George the First the method of assessing county rates and levies is brought to a competent certainty and regulation. So that now there are three Acts to be referred to. Besides these that Act of 1725 recites that still another Act of the 8th of King George the First, anno 1721, and that Act is said in their statute-book to be supplied and therefore has its title only printed and not the Act itself. Here are four Acts therefore to be referred to (if they can be found out and understood) nor is this all yet, for the Act of 1725 has a supplementary Act added to it and passed in 1732, so that in order to clear up in what mode the tax is to be raised, assessed,

¹ See Chapter CCLXXXIV., Vol. IV. p. 10.

levied and paid, no less than five Acts (some of which are repealed and others out of print) are to be got at and looked into, and when found are far from being clearly intelligible; so that if any case can necessarily require order and clearness this does; and there seems to have been even a necessity to oblige them to put their bills into some clear method, and to insert specially in their land-tax Bills (as the mother country does) from time to time the whole method of assessing, collecting and paying in the tax, and not to refer backwards and forwards to so many different Acts of Assembly.

Effectual
clauses to as-
certain the
values.

Every such Bill in order to be founded in equal justice shall have in it the same effectual clause to ascertain the true and real rent or yearly value of every estate in land or houses in the province.

This is so in land-tax Acts here and surely is consonant to justice.

Substantial
commission-
ers and a suf-
ficient num-
ber.

And shall have a good number of the most considerable inhabitants out of every township inserted in the Bill as commissioners.

Their counties in Pennsylvania are very large and one person only out of each county cannot possibly have any personal knowledge of the several persons' estates in that wide extended county: and the English Acts of Parliament name a very large number of commissioners in each county who subdivide themselves again into several districts to carry the same into execution.

To be sworn.

The commissioners shall be sworn or affirmed to do justice before they act and shall have power to cite and compel tenants and witnesses to appear and be sworn or affirmed in order to discover what rents are really and truly paid in

cases where land or houses are let out at rack-rent.

There is but one other restriction contained in the proprietaries' twenty first instruction, and that is their order to their Lieutenant-Governor to the following effect and substance, viz. Not to pass any land-tax Bills, unless a method shall be enacted in it for ascertaining the true value of real estates which are possessed by the owners and have no certain annual rent in order to bring it to a certain annual value; as to which real estates (and as to personal estates also to be included in the same Acts) the proprietors have directed that the same shall in those cases be reduced to an annual value or income after the following manner, Compute the value of the fee simple of the real estate, as if to be sold, and also ascertain the capital of the personal estate: then, suppose either real or personal estate amounts in value to £1000. compute one year's interest at three per cent. only for such £1000, which shall be the supposed income, and you that have land or houses (not let out at a certain rent but occupied by the owner) and worth £1000 to be sold, or you that have personal estates worth £1000 shall be taxed in proportion as having an estate of £30 per annum.

To this the Assembly have objected. They say interest of money there is five or six per cent. and by a random computation which they make without any just foundation, they first take for granted that all the lands are in this condition (without having any certain annual rent upon any of them) then they suppose how much the quantity of all those lands amounts to, and thirdly they draw a calculation that by putting such a low annual value upon all those

Method of ascertaining value of lands occupied by the owners.

Committee's Report 15th February 1757.

lands, and upon all which as they suppose the whole personal estates in the province may amount to, a tax of four shillings in the pound thereon will not produce above £30.000 per annum, which sum they say may not be sufficient in case of great emergencies for them to raise for the public service in a year.

To this it is answered that such a yearly sum (supposing their calculations were entirely right and just) is much more than they can afford to raise and pay in a year considering how much they are already run in debt, and that their excise duty is mortgaged for ten years and their land-tax is mortgaged for four years to come and considering that the war may unhappily continue for several years yet to come.

If this were not large enough, yet surely it is a tax large enough for the land to bear and all other sort of taxes are open to them to add thereto, as for instance excises of all kinds. The excise which is the only other tax to which the province is liable is a trifling duty of four pence their currency (not two pence half penny sterling) per gallon upon such retailers only of spirits and wine as buy or sell less than seventy gallons at a time. That trifle produces more than £3000 per annum and is hitherto most unjustly and unequally laid only upon the lower part of the people who buy small quantities, from hand to mouth, and the better sort of the people (who consume most and who buy in larger quantities) don't contribute a penny to it. That excise might therefore and in justice ought to be extended further and to take in every person and would produce greatly more than it does. Low as that excise is it has for a great many years passed been the single and

only tax ever laid upon the people in Pennsylvania.

But besides all this the proprietaries by reducing the annual values, upon a computation of three per cent. only on the capital value really intended to ease and lighten the load in favor of land owners, who are the strength and stay of the province and thought they should oblige them by it and are in no sort desirous to continue any such restriction but if they like to have a higher computation made as at four or five or even six per cent in order to bring to a higher yearly value or computation the estates of such persons as possess or improve their own estates (for such only it concerns) the proprietaries are most ready and willing to direct their governor accordingly, for this matter does not affect the proprietaries who have no land in that situation.

By the heads of complaint so as aforesaid delivered to the proprietaries it is intended to aggravate the instructions and restrictions which are complained of; by showing what consequences have arisen from the proprietaries laying the lieutenant-governor under such restrictions; for they say by means of these restraints "sundry sums of money granted by the Assembly for the defence of the province have been by their deputy to the great injury of his Majesty's service in time of war and danger of the loss of the colony," and again, that by these means "the Assembly in time of war are reduced to the necessity of either losing the country to the enemy or giving up the liberties of the people and receiving law from the proprietary and if they should do the latter in the present case it will not prevent the former, the instructions

being such as if complied with it is impossible to raise a sum sufficient to defend the country."

If the Assembly could be content to stick to truth and candor matters might most clearly be brought to points so as to receive a determination, but the greatest difficulty of all is to clear up matters from their fallacies, falsehood and misrepresentation.

To take these supposed consequences into consideration step by step, we say that notwithstanding all these instructions, his Majesty's service has not been at all prevented. But this infant colony has actually raised and given more money to the King's use than its proportion, when compared with any other colony, viz.

£55.000 by the land-tax Act of 27th November 1755.

30.000 by the Excise Act of 9th Sept. 1756.

100.000 by the Land-tax Act of 23d March 1757.

185.000

10.000 in flour &c to General Braddock and for cutting his roads.

10.000 in provisions to General Shirley for the New England and New York forces.

100.000 by the Land-tax Act of October 1758.

100.000 by the Land-tax Act of October 1759, now opposed ; of which the public has received the benefit.

Total £405.000

And all these Acts have passed and all this money has been raised in Pennsylvania which cannot well afford it notwithstanding that other colonies on the eastern part of America, viz. New England, New York and New Jersey have £115.000 sterling and other colonies on the western part of America, viz. South and North

Carolina and Virginia have had £50.000 Sterling given to them by the Parliament here, of which Pennsylvania had no share, but £200.000 has since been given to the colonies in general of which Pennsylvania has a share allotted to it which amounts to £26.000 Sterling.

English appropriating Acts of 1755 and 1756.

But the Assembly can claim no sort of merit in these large pecuniary grants of theirs, they having been all given by them under absolute necessity and to save and cover their practices, and to avoid raising a regular militia in that populous province which had been of greatly more benefit and service than raising even much larger sums than they have done and in order to force the governor to give up to them the executive powers of government.

They have been called upon to raise and pass laws for a militia and to give money. The militia they never will enforce in any reasonable or constitutional way whatever, declaring in their very Acts of Assembly that they are religiously principled against warlike measures. If you will not do that—at least give money. That they had almost as little inclination to do as the other, but yet they must do something or else they would certainly pull down upon them the just resentment of the King and the mother country which was to be avoided. To avoid that say they, we will offer Bills to raise great sums but in an unreasonable and an unjust way and will tax the proprietaries (who never before were taxed) four shillings in the pound on the utmost value that our assessors shall calculate or compute the proprietaries' estate to, and we will call that our grant of money to the King. If the governor does not pass these Acts we save our credit and our money too and will clamour that

we have offered to give, but the governor will not pass our Bills. If the governor should pass those Bills then we call it our grant. But we make our proprietaries pay a most unreasonable and unconscionable share of it. Those Bills therefore being refused they at last offer other Bills to tax themselves only and not the proprietaries (and this to very near as large [an] amount as would have been granted to the King's use by their first mentioned Bills if they had been assented to) but even by this method they were to gain and did gain another favorite point if the governor should pass those last mentioned Bills—For we will turn all the grants into paper money as they have actually done, for whereas they only had £80.000 paper currency two years ago, now they have got £465.000 paper money there: viz.

The original	£80.000 reëmitted and continued.
	55.000 more coined by the Land-tax Act of Nov. 27, 1755.
	30.000 more coined on the Excise Act of Sept. 9, 1756.
	45.000 more coined by the £100.000 Land-tax Act of March 23, 1757.
and the remaining	55.000 of that Act is since coined into paper currency.
	100.000 in 1758, and
	100.000 more in 1759 by the Act now opposed.
<hr/>	
	£465.000

All which is now circulating in Pennsylvania if the Assembly have not sunk and destroyed part of them according to the provisions of the several Acts which you will perceive by the observations on the reëmitting Act they have not always done. But if they have complied

with those Acts yet still there must be £323.000 in paper money circulating there now.

It remains under this head to be proved (as well as said) that the refusal of passing their money Bills has not occasioned the loss of sundry sums for the King's use as is pretended by the heads of complaint, which proof is made as follows:

The Crown has not suffered by the refusal of Bills.

These instructions were given in May 1756 and the governor arrived there in August 1756.

The only money Bills offered to him and by him refused to be passed were two:

September 9th, 1756 they offered him a Bill for striking £60,000 in bills of credit and giving the same to the King's use and charging the same on the Excise to be paid off in twenty years. But there was a clause reserving any surplus money to the application of the Assembly only and the paper money not be redeemable till twenty years which being without interest too it must have depreciated; so he returned and refused to pass that Bill on the 15th of September. Whereupon the 17th of September they sent him another Bill for striking only £30.000 in bills of credit and giving it to the King's use charging it upon the excise and the Bills to be paid in ten years, which the governor passed on the 21st of December 1756. Here indeed is the only instance of any money at all—being not raised for the King's service by means of their instructions. For as the governor would not let them raise £60.000 just as they would, so they have given the King only £30.000 in lieu of it. But please to observe that the King or public lost no more than £5000 currency by this transaction, for if the governor had passed their £60.000 Bill, there was only

£35.000 of it given to the King as a new grant, the remaining £25.000 being given to pay off old debts formerly contracted and formerly provided for by the Assembly.

Jan. 22 1757.

The Assembly sent him another Bill for granting £100.000 to the King's use to be raised in one year by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound on the proprietaries' and all other persons' estates there, with such clauses as have been before mentioned. He on the 25th of January returned it to them with his dissent. They on the 28th of January again sent it to him along with a remonstrance demanding as their right his assent thereto without any alteration or amendment, as he would answer to the Crown for all the consequences of his refusal; and he again refused to pass it. After this in February 1757 they sent him up a new Bill by way of supplement to a former Act passed in 1755, by which new Bill they proposed to raise £100.000 by a land-tax of one shilling in the pound for four years (excepting the proprietaries' estates from that tax) and although there were many injurious clauses therein and that Bill ordered £45.000 part of the said tax to be issued in paper money (and eighty-five thousand pounds new paper money had already been coined) and although this new Bill was so uncertain in raising the tax that the officers in some counties under the former Act (to which this new Act wholly referred) construed it was to be raised on the annual value and others in other counties construed it to be laid on the whole capital value and that the governor represented all those matters to the Assembly yet at length their obstinate persistence was so great and the exigent circumstances so strong that he passed that second Bill

mischievous and uncertain as it was and the public service has that whole £100.000 and by these Bills of 1755 and 1757 two several land-taxes are continued there for four years concurrent which was never yet known or heard of in the mother country.

The next matter of aggravation mentioned in the complaint is that by the proprietaries laying their governor under such restrictions the Assembly must either loose the country to the enemy or give up the liberties of the people and receive law from the proprietary.

This certainly is not a consequence. Pass any other laws (and you may do so to raise taxes of many other kinds exclusive of paper money and land-tax) and these restrictions don't affect the case.

Either the Governor or else the Assembly (one of the two) must judge of the discretion of all laws to be offered. The charter does indeed require the assent of the freemen to the making of every law; but it has in express terms reserved the discretion of all laws in the first place to the proprietor and his deputy and finally to the Crown. For in the words of the charter the King reposing special trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom, justice and provident circumspection of Mr. Penn grants free, full and absolute power to him and his heirs and to his and their deputies or lieutenants for the good and happy government of the country to ordain, make and enact and under his and their seals to publish any laws whatsoever for the raising of money, &c. &c. according to their best discretions with the advice and assent of the freemen. And again a second time lest as it is declared in the charter Mr. Penn or the inhabitants should

Discretion of
the Governor
and not the
Assembly.

by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid, through inadvertancy or design depart from their faith or allegiance by color of any extent or largeness of powers thereby given or pretended to be given or by force of any laws to be made in the said province by virtue of any such powers, the charter commands a duplicate of all laws to be transmitted to the Privy Council within the time therein mentioned for the Crown's approbation or disallowance.

So that although it is the duty of the Assembly to grant or raise the money for defence of the province, yet it is apprehended they beg the most material question in the affair when they contend that they will prescribe the forms and modes of raising it and will also themselves issue and pay it whether by methods equal or unequal, just or unjust, obscure or clear, reasonable or unreasonable. And it is thought the discretion of all Pennsylvania laws is by the charter in the proprietaries and that it is no invasion of the Assembly's or the people's rights for the proprietaries to use their discretion and to lay down restrictions: If you will have paper money—if you will raise money by land-taxes it shall be under such and such restrictions, always provided the restrictions are just and reasonable in themselves, so that the proprietaries use a sound discretion and not an unjust or unreasonable one.

The other aggravation mentioned in the complaint is to this effect that the proprietaries' instructions and restrictions are so very unreasonable that if the Assembly was to yield and comply with all of them it would not be possible to raise a sum sufficient for the defence of the country.

If this was true it might have great weight but it is not so and it is taken for granted upon an arbitrary and ill founded calculation made entirely by guess and fancy in order to square with the assertion itself. But it is indeed a most apparent fallacy and falsehood. To say that a land-tax Act alone would not under these restrictions be sufficient, may or may not be true; but suppose it ever so true are not all other sort of taxes open to them and unrestrained? May not, ought not the excise in justice to the country be extended to all wine and spirits, that the rich man who consumes the most of these liquors and who buys at the cheapest hand and can best afford an excise should pay for his liquor as much in proportion as a poor man who consumes but little, buys at the worst hand and can ill afford to pay at all, would not that add to the land-tax Act and raise sufficient? May not duties and taxes be laid now in time of need on all luxuries? May not poll-taxes be laid? And many other sorts of taxes to make up any deficiency in the land-tax, if that be really deficient. No, say the Assembly, we will use none of those methods, we will raise no money at all by any ways or means whatever but by a land-tax only and that to be raised after our manner and then we will pretend that we cannot consistently with the proprietaries restrictions raise money sufficient for the defence of the country and this they state as a consequence of the proprietary's restrictions as to passing money Bills for raising moneys by a land-tax. Whereas it is a consequence only of their own obstanacy in refusing to use any of the other methods.

Upon the whole we apprehend that the instructions given to the lieutenant-governors re-

specting the private property of the proprietaries are reasonable, just and legal, and that the proprietaries have a right to enforce such instructions by bond.

We also apprehend that the particular instructions given with regard to what concerns the public are also in themselves reasonable, just and legal; tending to preserve the due distinction between the executive and legislative powers, tending to preserve the prerogative of the Crown in general and the just rights of the proprietaries, derived to them from the Crown, from the encroachments of the Assembly from both and tending to preserve and not in the least to encroach on the just rights of the people.

The only objection seems to be, not to the particular instructions given but to instructions in general, because instructions are permanent, by which the governor is bound, which prevents the freedom of debate and renders him under the disability of conviction, making it impossible for him, though ever so convinced by treaty, debate or conference, to vary or soften anything without danger of forfeiting of his bond.

The governors immediately under the direction of the Crown have always instructions, and a law is rejected by the Privy Council at once if passed contrary to his instructions, one of which generally is that he shall pass no law of a new and extraordinary nature without a suspending clause.

An Act was passed at the island of Montserrat against papists have a vote in the election of members for the Assembly; two thirds of the inhabitants there being papists.

This Act was opposed and in 175—, and came on before the Privy Council. There were many

substantial objections to the Act itself and among others that it had no suspending clause. Upon this occasion a case was quoted where an Act of a new and extraordinary nature had been sent over without a suspending clause and though the Act itself was approved in every particular but that. It was rejected for want of the suspending clause, but it was intimated that if the very same Act was sent over again with a suspending clause it should be confirmed.

In the case of the Montserrat Act the present Lord President declared he would reject the Act for want of the suspending clause only and he declared his opinion publicly to the intent (as he said) that the colonies might be given to understand that he would reject any law of a new and extraordinary nature though ever so right in itself for want of a suspending clause.

This is not mentioned to draw any parralel between the right of the Crown and the proprietaries with regard to giving instructions. But it is apprehended that the proprietaries (who themselves receive instructions from the Crown upon the appointment of every new lieutenant-governor directing them to give him instructions with regard to the Acts of Trade and other particulars are well warranted in imitation of the Crown to give instructions to their Governor in regard to public affairs, so long as such instructions are founded in sound discretion, are just and legal, preserving the just rights and prerogatives of the Crown and the liberties of the people.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDERLY-BOOK OF MAJOR
ROBERT CLAYTON, OF THE SEVENTEENTH REGI-
MENT BRITISH FOOT, 1778.

[Robert Clayton, born in 1746, was a son of John Clayton and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Dr. Goodwin, rector of Tankerley, County York, England. He entered the army as ensign of the Seventeenth Foot (Leicestershire regiment), December 9, 1767, which in 1771 was transferred to Ireland. In July of 1771 he was promoted lieutenant, and in September of 1775 embarked with his regiment for Boston, and after that city was evacuated, sailed for Halifax. He was promoted captain May 1, 1775, participated in all the principal battles which took place in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and was taken prisoner at the capture of Stony Point. After being exchanged he was transferred to the army of Earl Cornwallis, in the South, was in the battle of Guilford Court-House, and again made a prisoner on the surrender of Yorktown. From 1784 to 1785 he was stationed in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and was promoted major July 27, 1785. In the summer of 1786 he returned to England, and from 1789 to his death in 1839 was major, on half-pay, of the Eighty-second Foot. He was married in 1786 to Christophora, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, prebend of Carlisle and rector of Aldingham, but left no issue. On the decease of his brother, in April of 1823, he succeeded to the baronetcy as Sir Robert Clayton of Adlington Hall, County Lancaster. The Orderly-Book from which these extracts are taken was captured at Stony Point and presented by Major William Wayne (a great-grandson of General Anthony Wayne) to Mr. John W. Jordan, and by him to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW YORK, Augst. 16, 1778.

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to make the following promotions:

The Hon^{ble} Capt. Charles Cochran of y^e King's Own Reg^t is appointed Major to Col. Lord Cathcart's Legion.

HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK,

October 21, 1778.

Orders.

Lt. Col. Jno. Bayard of the King's Orange Rangers having been tried by the General Court Martial, of which Major

Gen. Vaughan was president, for wounding Lt. Byrd of said regiment, of which wound he died.

The Court are of opinion that the prisoner, Lt. Col. Bayard was not guilty of the murder, but of voluntary manslaughter, in the heat of passion, and therefore judge the prisoner, Lt. Col. Bayard, to be suspended for three months.

But being ordered by Sir William Howe, then Commander in Chief, to revise the proceedings, the Court are of opinion that according to the circumstances this distinction of the law being thoroughly considered they could not have acted otherwise; but laying these distinctions aside and acting entirely as a Military Court, they were of opinion Lt. Col. Bayard was guilty of wounding Lieut. Byrd, of which wounds he died and therefore sentence him to be cashiered as Lt. Col. to the Orange Rangers.

The Judge Advocate General, by order of his Majesty, has signified to his Excellency the Commander in Chief, although the Lt. Col. Bayard was not expressly arraigned upon a charge of murder, yet, as the Court Martial thought the trial to have had [defaced] point particularly in view and has actually declared not guilty of murder, but of manslaughter only, the King considers this declaration of the Court as a complete acquittal of the prisoner of the crime of murder, and his Majesty is pleased to confirm the said acquittal, which seems to be warranted from the evidence. But his Majesty does not think fit to ratify the opinion of the Court by which the prisoner is found guilty of manslaughter, a distinction peculiar to the Common Law of England, nor the judgment of the Court whereby the prisoner is sentenced to be cashiered, but is graciously pleased absolutely to remit the same and to order that the prisoner, Lt. Col. Bayard be released from his arrest.

HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK, 24th Oct. 1778.

Capt. John McKennon of his Majesty's Batt^lⁿ of Roman Catholic Volunteers, tried by the Gen^l Court Martial of

which Lt. Col. Ludlow is President, for ungentlemanly behaviour—

first, Plundering in y^e Jerseys;

secondly, Suffering himself to be kicked by Capt. McAvoy of the same Corps, without properly resenting it, is found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from his Majesty's service.

The Comm^r in Chief confirms the above sentence.

Capt. Martin McAvoy of the Roman Catholic Volunteers tried by y^e above Court Martial for Plundering in y^e Jerseys, in taking a horse and cows, and behaving indecently on the Parade, is found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed from his Majesty's service.

The Comm^r in Chief confirms the above sentence.

Lieut. Bawswill, of the Maryland Loyalists, tried by the above Court Martial for disobedience of orders, in Plundering and marauding, is found not guilty and therefore acquitted with honor.

The Comm^r in Chief confirms y^e above sentence.

William Freeman, an inhabitant of Long Island, tried by y^e above Court Martial, for endeavouring to seduce some soldiers of ye Loyal American Regiment to desert to the Rebels, the Court is of opinion that he is guilty of y^e charge, and that he forfeit the sum of £40. stg., and upon failure of payment of s^d sum within four days of the Comm^r in Chief's approbation of y^e sentence, the Court orders him to receive 1000 Lashes at the Court House, Jamaica.

HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK, Oct. 25, 1778.

The Commander in Chief has been pleased to appoint the Rev. Mr. Batwell, to be Chaplain to the New York Volunteers.

The Rev. Mr. Field to be Chaplain to DeLancey's Second Battalion.

HEAD QUARTERS NEW YORK, 23^d Dec. 1778.

The Commander in Chief has his Majesty's orders to signify to the officers and soldiers of the Army that marched

through the Jerseys from Philadelphia last Campaign His Majesty's Royal Approbation of the intrepidity and perseverance which they displayed during the march, and in the affair of the Rear Guard at Freehold. His Excellency is further directed to express to Lt. Gen. Knyphausen and Earl Cornwallis, Major Gen. Grey and to Brigadier Generals Matthews, Lisle, and Sir William Erskine, and to convey to each of them and particular His Majesty's fullest approbation, which his Excellency the Commander in Chief takes the most publick manner of doing.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEW YORK,
December 28, 1778.

Congress having recalled such British and German officers as are here on Parole, the Commander in Chief in consideration of the long journey, which these gentlemen will be obliged to take, is pleased to order one hundred, sixty five days prize money shall be issued to them on Thursday next. They will please to send their names to the Adjutant General's Office, who will transmit a list of them to Major Brewin, D. Q. M. General.

Capt. Andre, of the 26th Regiment is appointed Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief.

DR. THOMAS WYNNE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM MACLEAN, JR.

The contributor has recently obtained from a London book-store a pamphlet entitled as follows: "AN Antichristian Conspiracy DETECTED, and Satans Champion DEFEATED. Being a Reply to an Envious & Scurrilous Libel, without any Name to it, Called WORK for a COOPER. Being also a *Vindication* of my Book, entitled, *The Antiquity of the Quakers*; From the Base Insinuations, False Doctrine and False Charge therein contain'd against me, my Book, and against God's People called QUAKERS in general. By me Thomas Wynne. Printed in the year 1679" Dr. Wynne quotes various portions from the work of the "Libeller" and then appends his reply. The concluding chapter is of especial interest, as it contains many personal references, and is given below in full.

Of his Reflection on me, calling me COOPER, &c.

In this he spits his Malice at me as much as in any; and indeed his Book savours of little else; and in this he thought to Character to Disgrace, by Reflecting upon my small Original; but I am quite of another mind; for if this would be so to me, it would certainly be of much more to very many that I could name, were it not lest any should think I did reflect on them, who are now Persons of known Repute and Honour in the World, who had smaller Beginnings than myself: I could bring the *Libeller* under this Odium also, if he thinks it be any, if he be the Man he is said to be; but Revenge is none of my Way, therefore will at present reply to him of this Matter.

*He's fitter to Plant Tobacco, or at best to mind his Az
and Saw, the Joynter and the Adz, alias, Nedde, the Criste
and the Head-Knife, &c.*

Libeller,
pag. 20.

Rep. Its known to many now living, in this my Native Country wherein I live, (and it being also near the place where I was Born) that my genious from a Child did lead me to Surgery, insomuch that before I was Ten Years old, I several times over-ran my School and Home when I heard of any ones being wounded or hurt, & used all my endeavours, then to see Fractures and Dislocations reduc'd, and Wounds dressed, and have been so long missing, that my Parents thought they had

lost me, for which I underwent severe Correction, and the troublesome Times being then, my Parents sustained great Plunder, and my Father dyed before I was Eleaven Years old, and my Mother not being then able to produce so great a Sum of Money as to set me to Chyrurgery, I betook my self to this honest & necessary Calling he upbraids me with, with several other things that in those dayes pleased my mind; yet during all this time, I lost no opportunity to inform my self in the Practice of Chyrurgery, and continued thus until I became acquainted with an honest Friend, and good Artist in Chyrurgery, whose Name was *Richard Moore of Salop*, who seeing my forwardness to Chyrurgery, did further me in it, and brought me to Desections in Salop; the Anotomists being men of known worth in that Practice, whose Names are *Dr. Needham* and *Dr. Hollins*, who at this day are doubtless of deserved Repute in their Professions (in *England*) and I being then expert in Drills, and Handy in Knife and Lancet, & other Instruments for that purpose, I set on making a Skellton of a mans Bones, which I only with the assistance of *Richard Moore* performed to their content, at which time they thought me fit to be Licensed the practice of Chyrurgery, and this is near 20. Years ago, and soon after I being taken Prisoner to *Denbigh*, where I remained a Prisoner near six Years for the Testimony of Jesus, I then betook my self wholly to the Practice of Chyrurgery, and God was with me in my undertakings, to him be the Glory forever; and why then did not my envious Adversary to the abovesaid Instruments, have added the Plaister Box and Salvatory, the Trafine and the Head-Saw, the Amputation Saw, and the Catling, the Cautery Sirring and Catheter, with many more which with Gods assistance I have used with good success, for the space of near 20. years last past (which was near thrice as long as I used those he speaks of to the great comfort of many who had some of them, their Limbs gangrened others Fractured, others Dislocated, others desperately Wounded by Gun shots, others pierced thorow with Rapiers, others with Ulcers and Fistula's, and Cancers, which I exterpated, & by Gods assistance Cured, yea, many Scores are living Monuments of Gods Mercy to this day, who were Spectacles of great misery in these respects; And as touching his Reflection and Detraction, enviously seeking to lessen my reputation in my present Calling of Chyrurgery, is no more to me then the barking of a Dog; and though Dogs yelp at the Moon, yet they cannot hinder her Light.

I beleve he is Ignorant in his very Trade of quack Chyrurgery, and cannot so much as Enlighten his credulous and very adven terous Patients with the meaning of the Hipo & Epigastoea, the Medulla, Spinolis, and Piloras, &c.

Libeller,
Pag. 20.

Rep. Its possible that for all his malign Detraction, that to any whom it may concern I shall be able to give them such satisfaction, as becomes

a Practitioner in Chyrurgery to do, having for at least 20. Years of great Industry informed my self in Anatomy, especially that part of it that belongs to a Chyrurgeon (viz.) of knowing the Structure and Scituation of mans Body, and not only so, but have with painful endeavours inform'd my self of the best Authors with the Nature of the Humours, Spirits and Ferments, and of their Co-operation in the Bodies of men, neither have I rested here, but have acquainted my self with both antient and modern Institutions, and the Aphorisms (& Observations) of worthy men; but what my attainments are in these particulars, I think not fit to be mentioned here, nor was it ever in my Heart to have said thus much, had it not been a force put upon me; however this I hope I alwayes shall be ready, while God enables me (as I have been hitherto) when called upon to serve my Country, according to my ability, not only in saying, but doing also, and there is no mark of disgrace which my Adversary would Characterize me by, to disgrace me with but I would as freely serve my Country now therein as ever, were I not able to serve them in a better capacity. I could, if it were needful, bring many Testimonies of famous men in the practise of Chyrurgery, who were first bred up Mechanicks, as *Pereas, Fellix, Worteus, Carramus, Fellopius, Spigellius, Hildanus* and *Aquependente*; nay, *Leonard Phycrebeate*, a very famous Man, sayes, *Its necessary for Youth to be sobred up, his Reason is, it will make them more handy and dexterous in the manuel Operations of Chyrurgery.*

Libeller, in pag. 27, calls me *Lay-Preacher*, and bids me call my self a *Liar and Fool*, for when, said he, *did any true Minister of the Church of England make any fawning Addresses to Richard Cromwell, or bemoane the Death of Oliver.*

Rep. What I said there concerning the Priests is certainly true; for I said some of the Priests bemoaned the Death of *Oliver*, and in their Addresses to *Richard*, compared *Oliver to Moses*, and *Richard to Joshuah*, &c. it therefore had become him to read the Priests Addresses, before he had charged me with *Liar and Fool*, and did it not at this time look too like Revenge, which is none of my way. I have a Sheet in readiness that I could have produced to my defence, which if a force be put upon me may come forth, which will shew them in their Colours, and further clear the point; and for my part I heartily wish we may hear no more of this, except we hear it and see it in the Penetential Confession of the Offenders.

And although I be a *Lay-man*, as he calls me, yet I have a Testimony to bear for God in this day and time; and since he would exclude such, what makes him believe the antient *Quakers*, who were *Lay-men*, *Erod.* 3. 1. *Moses* was a Keeper of Sheep; and was it not this *Lay-man* and *Quaker* that gave record how God created Man in the Beginning, and the World, and all therein? and did not this *Lay-man* give Testimony

of the Flood destroying the old World, and of *Noah's* being saved in the Ark, with much more of the Work of God for the Deliverance of his People, both Patriarchs and Prophets, &c. as may at large be read in his books? And was not *David* a Keeper of Sheep, *2 Sam.* 7. 8. *I took thee from the Sheep-coats, 1 Sam.* 24. 3. *Saul* came to the Sheep-coats after *David, 1 Kings* 19. 19. *Elisha* was a Plow-man. *Amos* 3. 4. *Amos* was a Herds-man. *Mat.* 4. 18. *Simon Peter*, and *Andrew* his Brother, were Fishers. *John* 2. 1. *Simon Peter* said, *I go a Fishing*; they that were with him, said, *We go with thee.* *John* 21. 3. He expressed himself after the same manner.

Now you may see how these Preachers, after they had been preaching to the Nations, *Mat.* 10, they fell to their Nets again; and I hope the *Libeller* dare not say, but that they were rightly ordained to their Ministry; yet we see that their way of Livelihood was their Fishing-trade, and not to usurp Authority over the people; nor were they Incumbants to any Places nor inducted to any Benefice with Right to Tythes of One hundred, or Two Hundred, or Three Hundred a Year, more or less. Now if *Peter* or *John* should have come in their Fishers Coats to preach the Gospel in our days, would not the *Libeller* abuse them, think ye, and bid them mind their Nets and their Fishing-trade, and call them *Lay-Preachers*, and scoff at their Fisher's Coats, especially knowing them to be illiterate men? & did not the great Schollars, (who had the *Hebrew, Greek and Latin* in those days) in Derision call Christ a *Carpenter's Son*, and *Blasphemer*, and *Devil*? thus their Tongues and Languages deceived them; for they knew him not with all these Tongues, *Acts* 18. 3. Were not *Paul*, and *Pricilla* and *Aquilla* Tent-makers? and were not these true Preachers? sure they were. So all people that are spiritually awakened may see, how that God in the time of the Prophets and Apostles made choice of Lay-men (as my Adversary his stile is) to be his Ministers: but it may be the *Libeller* thinks that now the Case is alter'd, and that God hath changed his mind from *Lay-men* to *Schollars* only; if not, why are Lay-men excluded now adays? is not this to limit the Holy One of *Israel*? who will not be limited, but is now risen in his Power in a poor and despised Remnant, to whom he hath made known a heavenly Principle, which is the Spirit and Light of Christ Jesus, God's Anointed, the Second *Adam*, who is made a Quickening Spirit (as saith the Apostle) in man; and this was it I bore Testimony to in my Book, and its not *fe lo de fe* to deny all outward Teaching, (in the days of the Gospel) that springs not from Christ Jesus, the Anointed of God, who is enjoyed within by the true Christians in this Age, as was by such in former Ages. *Glory to the Lord God for the same.* Christ saith, *God is a Spirit, and they who Worship him, they must worship him in the Spirit and in the Truth.*

And this spirit is the true Teacher, which we have believed in, & this

is he whom God hath anointed to preach good Tidings to the Poor, even Christ Jesus in his Children ; this is he whom God has sent to bind up the broken-hearted, and to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and the opening of the Prison to those that are bound, and to proclaim the Acceptable Year of the Lord, and the Day of the Vengeance of our God to all that oppose the Appearance of his Son ; yea, and to comfort all that truly mourn for Sin ; yea, and to appoint to all that mourn in *Sion*, to give to them Beauty for Ashes, and the Oyl of Joy for mourning, and the Garment of Praise for the Spirit of Heaviness, that they may be called Trees of Righteousness, the planting of the Lord.

This chapter is followed by a conclusion in Welsh and an epistle to the Quakers, the latter of which is signed "Thomas Wynne" "Caerwis the 1st day of 11th moneth, 1678." There is in addition to this a postscript.

LITHOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF ALBERT NEWSAM.

BY D. McN. STAUFFER.

(Addenda to Vol. XXIV. page 452.)

SOUVENIR DE HENRY HERZ.

Title to sheet music. A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Philada. Philadelphia, A. Fiot, No. 196 Chesnut Street and | New York, Wm. Dubois, No. 315 Broadway | Entered according to act of Congress 1847, by A. Fiot. Title—Souvenir | de | Henry Herz | Grande Valse brillante | composée par | H. Thorbecke | Size 5.2 x 4.7 ins.

PARLOUR DUETS.

Title to sheet music. A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Phila. Philadelphia, A. Fiot, No. 196 Chesnut Street | New York, W. Dubois, 315 Broadway | Title—The | Parlour Duets | for two performers on one Piano | arranged with fingering | by | J. C. Viereck | in 6 numbers | etc. Size 6.8 x 7 ins.

JAMES MONROE.

Oval, in rectangular ornamental frame. Bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. On stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Philada. Published by C. S. Williams, N. E. Corner of Market and 7th St. Title—James Monroe, 5th. President of the United States. Size about 10.6 x 8.15 ins.

B. FRANK PALMER.

Full bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. On stone by A. Newsam. From a daguerreotype by Root. P. S. Duval & Co., Stm. Lith. Press, Phila. For the Scalpel. Title—As above in autograph. Size 6 x 4 ins.

WILLIAM AND CHARLES STOEVER.

Over half-length, seated towards right; holding letter, addressed—"For Messr's Wm. & Ch's. Stoever, Philada." On stone by A. Newsam. From a daguerreotype by M. A. Root. No title. Size 9 x 12.2 ins.

JOHN TYLER.

Oval, in rectangular frame, ornamented. Bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. On stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Philada. Published by C. S. Williams, N. E. Corner of Market & 7th St. Title—John Tyler, 10th. President of the United States. Size about 10.6 x 8.15 ins.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Oval, in rectangular ornamental frame. Bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. On stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Philada. Published by C. S. Williams, N. E. Corner of Market & 7th. St. Title—Martin Van Buren, 8th. President of the United States. Size about 10.6 x 8.15 ins.¹

HENRY CLAY.

Full bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. This is printed on the same sheet with John Sergeant. Title—Henry Clay. Size 4.8 x 3.12 ins.

MR. & MRS. F. B. CONWAY.

Full bust, portraits facing each other, with Mrs. Conway to the left. On stone by Albert Newsam. Daguerreotype by W. L. Germon. Title—as above. Size 10.8 x 16 ins.

MR. COLLINS.

Full length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left; rectangular frame. On stone by A. Newsam. From a daguerreotype by M. A. Root. Title—Mr. Collins, as McShane, in the Nervous Man; facsimile signature. Size 12.5 x 9.5 ins.

¹ As each of the above Presidents is lettered above the frame, "Portraits of the Presidents," there was probably a full set of them up to the date of their publication.

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

Rectangular, half-length to front, in uniform, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left; arms folded, with sword in left hand. On stone by A. Newsam from a Painting by R. Peale | Lehman & Duval Lith'rs., Philada. | Philadelphia, Published by Lehman & Duval, Lith'rs. | Title—General Harrison; the title and name on either side of a medal containing the words, "Tippecanoe, Fort Meigs, Thames." Size 12.8 x 10.4 ins.

HILL FAMILY.

In the "Hill Family," published in Philadelphia in 1854, are the following lithographs ascribed to Newsam, printed by P. S. Duval & Co., Phila.; these have not been seen by the compiler:—

Henry Hill, oval, size 3.4 x 4.4 ins.

Margaret Hill, rectangular, size 3.4 x 4.4 ins.

Mary Lamar, rectangular, size 3.4 x 4.4 ins.

Harriet Scott and child, rectangular, size 3.4 x 4.4 ins.

Margaret Morris Collins, oval, size 3.4 x 4.4 ins.

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY.

Rectangular, half-length seated towards right, face $\frac{3}{4}$ right; three Indian heads in background. On stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Phila. Title—Faithfully yours | Tho. L. McKenney (auto.). Size 5.14 x 4.11 ins.

J. S. Du SOLLE.

Half-length to front, cloak over shoulders, face front. On stone by A. Newsam. Painted by T. E. Barratt. P. S. Duval, lith. Phila. Title—as above in autograph. Size 4.7 x 4.5 ins.

SIMON MURRAY.

Rectangular, half-length to front, face front. Engraved by A. Newsam. Joseph Kyle, pinxt. P. S. Duval, lith., Phila. Published by Joseph How, Phila. Title—Rev^d Simon Murray | Pastor and Founder of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church of Christ, Hurst St., Philadelphia. Size 12.5 x 10.7 ins.

DANIEL SCOTT.

Rectangular, full bust towards front, face front. Below the rectangle is a vignette, with the Baptism of Christ and one line beneath. Engraved by A. Newsam. Joseph Kyle, pinxt. P. S. Duval, lith., Philada. Published by Josaple How. Title—Rev'd Daniel Scott | Pastor and Founder of the Union Baptist Church of Christ, Philadelphia. Size 12.5 x 10.8 ins.

FRANCIS R. SHUNK.

Full bust towards front, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. Drawn on stone by A. Newsam. From the original painting executed by Thomas Sully, Jr., at Pittsburg, 1844. Published by a Committee of his friends in the City & County of Philadelphia. Title—F. R. Shunk (auto) | Francis R. Shunk. Size 10.12 x 10.6 ins.

OLE BULL.

Three-quarter length, standing with arms folded, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. Drawn on stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval's lith., Philada. Philadelphia, Published by A. Fiot,—New York, Wm. Dubois. Sheet music—Title—Souvenir d'Ole Bull, Fantaise sur Il Carnavale de Venezia, etc. Size 8.10 x 8.8 ins.

CHARLES W. GARDNER.

Rectangular, half-length, seated towards front, face front. From life on stone by A. Newsam. P. S. Duval, lith., Philad^a. Philadelphia, published by Joseph How. Title—Rev^d Charles W. Gardner | Pastor of the first Presbyterian Church | of the People of Colour in Philadelphia. Dec^r 20, 1841. Size 12.13 x 10.13 ins.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Bust turned towards left, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Drawn on stone by A. Newsam. Painted from life by J. H. Beard, Cincinnati. Lithography of J. T. Bowen. Sold at J. T. Bowen's Lithographic & Print Colouring Establishment, 94 Walnut St., Phila. Published by James Akin, Philadelphia (1840). Title—W. H. Harrison (auto.). Size 8.8 x 8 ins.

WILLIAM MACLURE.

Rectangular, half-length, seated towards right, right hand to head, face $\frac{7}{8}$ to right. On stone by A. Newsam. Thos. Sully, pinxt. P. S. Duval, lith., Phila. Title—Wm. Maclure (in auto) | AEtat 60. Size 4.7 x 3.13 ins.

NOTES.—Robert M. Wharton, pp. 447, should be Robert Wharton. Mr. Charles Roberts has an unlettered lithograph by Newsam, marked in pencil—"Mr. Colt, Balt." This portrait does not agree with the "John Colt" in our list. It is—Full bust, face front. Painted by T. Sully, P.A. | Childs & Inman, lith'rs | Size 8.8 x 8.10 ins. Who is it? The portrait of N. Collin, D.D., in Rev. J. C. Clay's "Annals of the Swedes," edition of 1835, is also by Newsam; in the subsequent edition it appears to be a reproduction.

PLUNDERING BY THE BRITISH ARMY DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, ESQ.

[The following is taken from the Common-Place Book of William Rawle (the elder), dated October 12, 1781, and written while he was a student-at-law in the Inner Temple, London. As a boy he had remained in Philadelphia during its occupation by the British forces from September, 1777, to June, 1778. On June 18, prior to the evacuation of the city, he sailed for New York, and remained there until June 15, 1781, when he sailed for Europe for the purpose of pursuing his legal studies and travelling.]

A writer in one of the English newspapers under the signature of Fabricius had the confidence to assert that in the march from the head of the Elk to Philadelphia Sir W. Howe stopped the plunder by one single example.

The fact is that not less than five soldiers were executed before the arrival of the British army at Philadelphia, and that they abstained from plunder at no part of the march. The enemies of Sir W. Howe have unjustly compared his marches thro' the country to the track of a ship thro' the sea, or a bird in the air, which was immediately closed up and left no vestiges behind. It might with more justice be likened to the path of one of those tornados which, between the tropics, traverse the country in dreadful fury, and leave a mournful picture of devastation and destruction.

When the British camp was pitched at Germantown, and was afterwards contracted to Philadelphia, the vicinities of the city and the city itself constantly exhibited a dreary picture of want and desolation; houses empty and abandoned with windows taken out and floors pulled up; en-

closures levelled to the ground; gardens ravaged and destroyed; forests cut down, opening an extensive prospect of a silent and deserted country. Such was the change from what, a few weeks before, were the most beautiful, the best cultivated and the most fertile environs of any city in America.

Of these enormities the Hessian soldiers were chiefly accused.

To mitigate the reluctance with which these people embarked from Germany on being taken into the British service, a report was circulated amongst them that the Americans, having rebelled against their King, had forfeited all the rich and fertile country they held, which was ready to be divided among the soldiery on taking the trifling trouble to drive out the possessors. It is easy to imagine how this persuasion operated amongst them. When they landed on Staten Island in 1776, they were for a time patient and quiet, for they considered their post as a kind of preliminary to the property they were assumed to take possession of; their hopes therefore ensured their obedience, and they remained in the peaceful expectation of unbounded wealth. When it was supposed they were sufficiently recovered from the fatigues of the voyage they were called off to a scene of warfare and of labor. They were led in pursuit of a flying enemy thro' many miles of a hostile country, where they had first to experience, for they were mostly new troops, the dangers, the troubles and the distresses of an American campaign. They soon discovered how much they had been mistaken, and they were disgusted at their disappointment. To remonstrate was ineffectual; to be clamorous was dangerous; the resentment which could not be exerted against those who had deceived them was turned against the country they were in. Stimulated at once by avarice and by anger, they began, not without the connivance of their officers, who in point of knowledge and humanity are few degrees superior to the men, a system of depredation and barbarity which was universally pur-

sued with a savage eagerness and inhumanity the most disgraceful to Great Britain, the most detrimental to her cause. They had then penetrated into the Jerseys and were in possession of New York. In these places no principles, conduct or character, no age, sex or condition were security for property or a protection from insult. The very seats of learning which Genl. Washington had taken pains to preserve were pillaged without remorse. The Library of the College at New York which it had long been the employment and the pleasure of the citizens to encrease and embellish, was plundered, and the books hawked about at low prices. When a purchaser could not be found, as few would purchase what the same licentious hands might soon deprive them of again, they were consigned to the offices of the guard room, of which lighting fires was the most honorable. The philosophical apparatus were destroyed for the sake of the brass. These circumstances deserve more to be remembered because it must be a passion more brutal and degrading than mere avarice that could prompt soldiery to enter the walls of a college, where whatever is valuable is too bulky to be the proper object of a soldier's rapine, and because this conduct of the Hessians bears so great a resemblance to their illustrious predecessors who, under the conduct of Alaric, ravaged Rome in the fifth century. The Hessians too had their Alaric, and the man complained as a hardship that he was not allowed to sell the house in New York of which he had taken possession, and transmit the money to Germany.

In a little time the Hessian soldiers became individually rich and well provided with those little comforts and conveniences that constitute the luxury of a soldier. The British, while they remarked the inferiority of their own condition, were naturally led to imitate the conduct which appeared so beneficial, and, encouraged by the laxity of discipline prevalent in the army, a kind of rivalry ensued between the two nations which should most distress the country, that with a ridiculous inconsistency their masters

affected the strongest desires to reconcile. Whether it was owing to a savage ferocity peculiar to the people, or to longer habits of villainy, it is remarked that the Hessians constantly maintained a superiority in cruelty of treatment and avidity of plunder, that a mixture of generosity, a tinge of compassion sometimes attended the Englishman in his outrages, but that the ravages of a Hessian were always known by his meanness, rapacity and brutality.

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.

(Continued from Vol. XXIV. page 519.)

<i>1760</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
March 28	Brig Marlborough	Edward Dowers	James Pemberton Abel James Thomas Crosby all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
<i>1749/50</i>					
March 13	Ship Ranger	Alexander Katter	Charles Edgar Thomas Penrose Joseph Richardson all of Philadelphia	Taken and condemned as Prize	90
<i>1760</i>					
April 3	Snow Grizie	John Cameron	William Blair of Philadelphia John Glasgow John Dunlope both of Irvine	Philadelphia	50
April 3	Sloop Polly	Clement Conyers	_____	Philadelphia	20
April 16	Brig't Nilson	Thomas Glentworth, Junr	Samuel McCall Archibald McCall both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
April 19	Snow Ann	William Condy	Samuel Hascl of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80

April 30	Ship Boyne	Henry Ash	John Erwin of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	130
May 4	Sloop Two Sisters	William Shields	William Shields of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	16
April 26	Snow Jane	Samuel Sands	Samuel Sands of Lancaster	Philadelphia	40
May 24	Sloop Letherkenny	Charles Bush	Charles Bush James Corrie	Wilmington, New Castle Co., on Delaware	20
June 12	Snow Hibernia	William Child	both of Wilmington Peacock Bigger of Philadelphia	Sussex Co., on Delaware	60
June 6	Ship Catharine	James Child	James Child of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	150
June 12	Sloop Mary	Charles Dingee	Charles Dingee Abraham Wynkoop both of Sussex Co., on Del- aware	Philadelphia	15
June 25	Ship Liverpool	Thomas Stamper	Henry Harrison John Stamper George Okill Sam' Sanson all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90
June 19	Ship Lydia	Peter Reeve	James Pemberton of Philadelphia Elias Bland of London	New York	100

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1760	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
July 9	Sloop Hope	John Lea	James Lea Joshua Little David Farris Abraham Marshall James Eldridge Joseph Newlin all of Wilmington	Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	25
July 11	Brig't Thistle	John Murrey	Charles Sedman George Smith John Murrey all of Philadelphia Samuel Green of New Providence	Philadelphia	40
July 9	Snow Batchelor	George North	George North Thomas Ellis both of Philadelphia Giles Batchelor of Bristol	Philadelphia	100
July 21	Brig Charming Peggy	John Devereux	John Devereux Stephen Bayard William Bayard all of New York	Pennsylvania	60

Aug. 8	Ship Dolphin	Nathaniel Ambler	John Wallace William Hodge Andrew Hodge Joseph Marks all of Philadelphia Richard Smith Jeremiah Smith John Townsend Samuel Townsend Jacob Smith Abner Corson all of Cape May William Atwood of Philadelphia John Durborow of Philadelphia Isaac Smith of Cohansey Alexander Moore Benjamin Mulford Enoch Hobart of Jamaica Paul Bunker Zachens Mee Peter Bunker Caleb Mee all of Nantucket	Philadelphia Cape May, New Jersey Philadelphia Philadelphia Cohansey, N. Jersey Philadelphia Nantucket, New England	50 30 80 50 25 30 20
Aug. 10	Sloop Henry	Richard Smith			
Aug. 22	Snow Warren	John Hinton			
Aug. 25	Brig Addison	John McPherson			
Aug. 27	Sloop Hopewell	Isaac Smith			
Aug. 30	Sloop Minerva	Enoch Hobart			
Sept. 11	Sloop Whalebone	Paul Bunker			

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1760	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Sept. 17	Snow Muggy	John Meas	John Meas of Philadelphia Henry Bonnin of Antigua William Logan of Philadelphia David Blair John Bruce both of Glasgow	Pennsylvania	50
Sept. 25	Schooner Endeavour.	George Smith	Thomas Barton of Chester, Pa.	Indian River, Md.	25
Oct. 3	Snow Derham	David Blair	John Wilcocks of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
Sept. 30	Brig ^t Stadtholder	John Johnston	John Brooks William Dawel Thomas Williams all of Jamaica	—	60
Oct. 16	Brig ^t Charming Sally	Thomas Barton	William Plumsted of Philadelphia Henry Elves Joseph Stout John Parrat all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	40
Oct. 3	Brig ^t Elizabeth	Richyate Cool		Philadelphia	80
Oct. 18	Schooner Savannah La Mar Packet	John Brooks		New England	20
Oct. 20	Ship Warwick	George Davis		Philadelphia	80
Oct. 1	Brig Debby	Joseph Stout		Philadelphia	40

Oct. 30	Sloop Charming Nancy	Alexander Flint	James Burd George Smith both of Philadelphia	New England	40
Oct. 27	Snow Patience	Cornelius Bowne	John Stedman of London Thomas Greenlay of Borrowstoness Thomas Caton Miles Berkit William Thornton all of Lancaster	Philadelphia	80
Nov. 5	Snow Jane	Thomas Caton	William Fisher both of Philadelphia Elias Bland of London James Lund William Eversly John Luke all of Barbados	Philadelphia	70
Nov. 15	Snow Argos	John Peters	Abel James Abel James Samuel Sanson William Fisher Jeremiah Warder all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Nov. 15	Snow White Oak	Charles Lyon		Philadelphia	70

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1750	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built
Nov. 20	Schooner Jane	Cornelius Kolloch	Cornelius Kolloch Aaron Irons	Maryland
Nov. 20	Sloop Cumberland	Philip Stevens	both of Maryland Anthony Nice Mathew Parvin	Cohansy
Nov. 21	Ship Culloden	James Moore	both of Cohansy Redmond Conyngham Theophilus Gardner	Philadelphia
Nov. 25	Brig Endeavour	George Houston	both of Philadelphia Alexander & Francis Knox of Londonderry Townsend White Charles & Alexander Stedman John Hopkins	Philadelphia
Nov. 24	Snow Rachel	Daniel Joy	all of Philadelphia James Pemberton Thomas Crosby	Marcus Hook, Pa.
Nov. 24	Sloop William	Edward Round	both of Philadelphia John Morris of Maryland	New Jersey
Nov. 24	Sloop Mary	John Morris	John Morris of Maryland	Philadelphia
				Tons
				25
				12
				100
				40
				50
				8
				15

Nov. 28	Ship Liberty	James Falls	Arthur Vance William Colwell both of Londonderry	Philadelphia	75
Nov. 30	Brig Salley	William Haselton	Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia Robert Richardson William Haselton	Philadelphia	40
Nov. 30	Sloop Tryall	Reuben Ludlow	Reuben Ludlow Randle Daniel both of Cape May	Morris's River	30
Nov. 17	Sloop Charming Polly	Thomas Read	John Read of Newcastle Co., on Delaware	Marcus Hook, Pa.	20
Dec. 4	Ship White Hill	Joseph Arthur	Robert Field Robert Field, Senr Samuel Hastings all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90
Dec. 7	Schooner Flying Fish	Charles Dingee	Charles Dingee Abram Masson both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	8
Nov. 29	Schooner Mulberry	James Thompson	James Thompson of Lewes	Lewes, on Delaware	10
Dec. 1	Schooner Neptune	Daniel Nunez, Junr	Daniel Nunez, Junr Joseph Shankland both of Lewes	Lewes, on Delaware	12

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1760	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Tons
Dec. 8	Ship Martha	Robert Rait	John Cappes of London	60
Dec. 8	Ship Dursley Galley	William Hamilton	John Rowan of Philadelphia	100
Dec. 12	Sloop Betsy	Benjamin Flower	William Connyngham of Philadelphia	16
Dec. 12	Ship Phila	W ^m Cuzzins	David Franks	105
			Nathan Levy , both of Philadelphia	
			James Woodropp of Maryland	
Dec. 19	Brig ^t Rebecca & Mary	Daniel England	Joseph Oldman James West	70
			Robert Wall	
Jan. 25	Sloop Brunswick	Joshua Townsend	all of Philadelphia	15
			Joshua Townsend	
			Anos Townsend	
			John Ireland	
			all of Cape May	
Feb. 8	Schooner Lady's Delight	John White	William White of Duck Creek, Sussex Co.	8
			Sussex, on Delaware	

Feb. 28	Snow William	Alexander Katter	David McIlvaine W ^m McIlvaine both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90
1750/1					
March 2	Schooner Little Betsey	Alexander Magee			20
March 6	Snow Isabella	Alexander Boyd	Redmond Connyngham of Philadelphia Henry Gamble of Londonderry Theophilus Gardner Alexander Boyd of Philadelphia William Blair William Hodge Andrew Hodge James McCollough all of Philadelphia Joseph Harlan of Wilmington, Newcastle Co.	Philadelphia	60
March 12	Brig Princess Louisa	James McCollough		Cohansy, New Jersey	60
March 20	Sloop Strawberry	James Few		Christiana, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	6
March 19	Ship Charming Polly	Joseph Greenway	Charles Edgar James Polgreen Jonathan Lewis all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1750/1	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
March 25	Ship Polly	Daniel Rees	Thomas Lightfoot of Philadelphia Daniel Smith of Burlington	Philadelphia	50
March 4	Snow Polly	John Troy	John Troy of Philadelphia Hugh Donaldson of Dublin, Ireland	Pennsylvania	60
1751 April 6	Sloop Outlugged Sow	Samuel Green	Samuel Green of New Providence	Philadelphia	5
April 15	Ship Joseph & Jane	William Warsdell	William McIlvaine David McIlvaine both of Philadelphia	Monokin River, Maryland	75
April 15	Snow Europa	Thomas Phillips	William Plumsted John Wilcocks both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
April 27	Brig ^t Addison	John McPherson	Reese Meredith Samuel Hazard William Clamper all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
April 27	Sloop Spence	John Clark	William Lawson of London	Philadelphia	10

May 3	Schooner Betty	Philip Stevens	Robert Ragg of Philadelphia	South Carolina	15
May 6	Sloop May Flower	John Robinson	Robert Parsons of Cape May, N. J. David Welton Ezekiel Eldridge John Wright Charles Garraway Robert Henderson all of Philadelphia Augustine Hicks Robert Stevens both of Philadelphia William Blair Simon Sherlock both of Philadelphia James Pemberton Charles Norris William Griffiths all of Philadelphia William Storey William Storey, Junr both of London Nathan Jolly Robert Stevenson both of Philadelphia	Cape May	25
May 7	Sloop Three Friends	George Achles		North Carolina	20
May 14	Sloop Phoenix	John Stevens		Philadelphia	20
May 17	Ship William & Mary	William Blair		Philadelphia	100
May 18	Brig ^t Richmond	George Rankin		Philadelphia	60
May 21	Ship Queen of Hungary	William Storey		Philadelphia	140
May 23	Schooner Prince of Orange.	Nathan Jolly		Philadelphia	20

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1751	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built
May 31	Ship Sally	Joseph Stillos	William Edgell of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
June 8	Snow Prince George	Benjamin Rawle	Benjamin Rawle Francis Rawle, Junr Rebecca Cooper all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
June 5	Ship Molly	John Meas	John Meas • of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
June 6	Sloop Endeavour	Joseph Piniard	Joseph Piniard Stephen Williams both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
June 6	Brig ^t Fox	Moses Minshall	Robert Richardson John Richardson Moses Minshall all of Christiana Creek	Christiana Creek, on Del- aware
June 11	Ship Elizabeth	William Hamilton	Alexander Hamilton of Philadelphia John Seton of London	Cecil County, Md.
June 4	Ship Parthenope	Charles Whally	David Franks of Philadelphia Mess ^{rs} Smith & Applebee of London	Philadelphia
				95

May 21	Sloop Swallow	John Windall	Anthony Cadman Joseph Jones both of Newport Atwood Shute of Philadelphia Charles Edgar William Morrell both of Philadelphia Abraham Wynkoop of Sussex, on Delaware Solomon Fussell of Philadelphia Henry Harrison of Philadelphia Anthony Bacon of London	Newport, Newcastle Co.	20
June 29	Ship Warren	Joseph Brown		Philadelphia	80
July 3	Brig ^t Charming Nancy	George Nicholson		Taken from the French in 1744	35
July 10	Brig ^t Sally	Charles Dingee		Sussex, on Delaware	40
July 11	Brig ^t Somerset	Will ^m Murrey		Philadelphia	70
July 20	Sloop Sally	James Monke	Thomas Pedrick of Raccoon Creek, N. J. Thomas Beckham of New Jersey	Marcus Hook, Pa.	18

(To be continued.)

The late Howard Williams Lloyd.

We regret to announce the death of Howard Williams Lloyd, corresponding secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which occurred on February 11, 1901, at his residence in Germantown. He was elected a member of the Society December 19, 1887, and its corresponding secretary in May of 1898.

Mr. Lloyd was a son of Henry Paschall and Annabella Williams Lloyd, and was born in this city January 17, 1851. He was educated at the Friends' Central and Philadelphia High Schools, and subsequently for ten years was engaged in commercial pursuits. The last twenty years of his life were devoted to historical and genealogical researches in America and Great Britain, and his knowledge of Quaker and Welsh genealogies caused his advice and aid to be in constant request. His contributions to the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* were always prepared with great care.

Mr. Lloyd was one of the founders and for a time the corresponding secretary of the Genealogical Society, the Registrar of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, a member of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, and other societies.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

DEATH OF WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D., EX-STATE LIBRARIAN.
—William Henry Egle was born September 17, 1830, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and died in that city February 19, 1901. After completing his education in the local schools, he devoted several years to literary work, and in 1854 commenced the study of medicine, and graduated from the medical department of the University of Pennsylvania in March of 1859. To the call of his country he did not fail, for in response to a telegram from General Russell, after the battle of Chantilly, he went to Washington to relieve the wounded, sick, and suffering. In September following he was commissioned assistant surgeon of the Ninety-sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, and in the summer of 1863 surgeon in the Forty-seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Militia. At the close of this service he resumed the practice of his profession, but afterwards accepted the appointment of surgeon of volunteers by President Lincoln, and was assigned to Camp Nelson, Kentucky, to examine the colored troops being raised in that State. He was subsequently detailed with the cavalry battalions commanded by Colonels James Brisbin and James F. Wade, thence ordered to the Department of the James, under General B. F. Butler, as surgeon of the One Hundred and Sixteenth United States Colored Infantry, and later assigned to the Twenty-fourth Corps, as executive medical officer during the Appomattox campaign. Upon his return from that duty, he was ordered to Texas with General Jackson's Division, Twenty-fifth Corps, as chief medical officer. In December of 1865 he resigned from the service and partly resumed his profession at Harrisburg. For a period of four years Dr. Egle served on the board of medical examiners for pensions, and for twenty years as physician to the Dauphin County Prison. In March of 1887 he resigned the latter position to accept the appointment of State librarian, tendered to him by Governor James A. Beaver. So efficiently did he fill this important office that Governor Robert E. Pattison re-commissioned him in 1891, and again in 1894, and Governor Daniel H. Hastings in 1897. He was devoted to the duties of his position and discharged them with diligence, accuracy, and fidelity, and the present effectiveness of the State Library of Pennsylvania is due to his management and energy.

When the National Guard was organized in 1870, Dr. Egle was appointed surgeon-in-chief of the Fifth Division, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and subsequently, in the consolidation of the commands, transferred as surgeon of the Eighth Regiment. In 1885 he was commissioned surgeon-in-chief of the Third Brigade, and when he retired, about a year ago, he was the senior medical officer of the National Guard of Pennsylvania.

As has been stated, Dr. Egle early developed a taste for literary work and historical research, and in 1866 he commenced the preparation of his "History of Pennsylvania," published in 1876, and a second edition in 1883. Among his other historical publications are: "Historical

Register," two volumes (1883-84); "History of the County of Dauphin" (1883); "History of the County of Lebanon" (1883); "Centennial, County of Dauphin and City of Harrisburg" (1886); "Pennsylvania Genealogies, Scotch-Irish and German" (1886, and a second edition 1896); "Harrisburg-on-the-Susquehanna" (1892); "Some Pennsylvania Women of the Revolution" (1898); "Notes and Queries, Historical, Biographical, and Genealogical," eleven volumes (1878-1900). He was co-editor of the "Pennsylvania Archives," second series, Volumes I. to XII., and editor of the same series, Volumes XIII. to XIX., and also of the third series, Volumes I. to XXVI. In 1878 Lafayette College conferred on him the honorary degree of M.A., in appreciation of his services in American history.

Dr. Egle was a member of the American Historical Association, the principal historical societies of the United States, as well as of several learned societies in England and France. He was one of the founders and the first president of the Pennsylvania-German Society, a vice-president of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, a member of the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Grand Army of the Republic, Society of Colonial Wars, and Society of the War of 1812-14. He was also a member of the Dauphin County Medical Society and the Association of Military Surgeons of the United States.

Dr. Egle was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in March of 1856, and his historical and biographical contributions to the *PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE* date from the year 1877.

TWO ANCIENT FOLIOS.—Francis B. Lee, Esq., of Trenton, New Jersey, contributes the following:

In the office of the Secretary of State, at Trenton, New Jersey, is a large folio of one hundred and fifty pages ("Vol. C Gloucester Deeds No. 1'") containing principally deeds of Gloucester County lands, 1677-1689. On the reverse side are the accounts of Richard Floyd, treasurer to the Corporation of New England, which are of interest to both Old and New England. There is also a thin folio ("Vol. C Gloucester Deeds No. 2'"), from page 23 to end being taken up with deeds 1684-1701 and some miscellaneous matter. From page 1 to 23 are the accounts for farm rents of the Mercers' Company, of London, for Woodhouse, Northumberland; the Parish of Hempstead, Middlesex; Manor of Erswell, Suffolk; Bucklers-Bury, London; west end of Paules, London; Trinity Parish, London; Suffolk Place, Kent; all embraced within the period 1652-1664. There is nothing which relates to the American Colonies.

It would be interesting to be able to trace the wanderings of the two folios of these corporations to New Jersey, where they were utilized for provincial records.

ANDREW HAMILTON.—After a search of several years, the marriage record of Andrew Hamilton and his wife Ann Preeson has been discovered in the marriage license bonds of Northampton County, Virginia, according to which it appears that the marriage of Andrew Hamilton and Ann Preeson, widow, took place March 6, 1706. At that time bonds were required, which were filed in packages, and this license was a bond with security by two or more persons that the lady should never become a charge upon the parish. Ann Preeson was the widow of

Joseph Preeson and daughter of Thomas Brown and his wife Susanna Denwood. The will of Thomas Brown, of Northampton County, Virginia, is dated November 2, 1704, in which he leaves certain property to his daughter Ann "during her single life," and Andrew Hamilton appears as one of the witnesses to this will. From this, two facts become evident,—viz., that Andrew Hamilton, at the time of the date of this will, was already known under the name of Andrew Hamilton, and was residing on the eastern shore of Virginia, and that Ann Brown had not yet married Joseph Preeson, November 2, 1704. The will was presented in court and proved May 29, 1705, by the widow and children of Thomas Brown, and the daughter then appears as "Mrs. Anne Preeson," indicating that she had been married meantime.¹ It has been argued by a genealogist in Virginia that the daughter Ann may have been married to Joseph Preeson before November 2, 1704, and was a widow at the time her father made his will, but this does not appear to me likely, as Thomas Brown mentions that his daughter Anne is to have certain property "during her single life," which he would scarcely have done if she were a widow, without distinctly mentioning her as such. Periods of mourning were not allowed to last long in those days, as she became the bride of Andrew Hamilton March 6, 1706.

The will of Susanna Brown is dated February 4, 1714, in which she mentions, among others, her grandchildren Andrew Hamilton the younger and Margaret Hamilton, to both of whom she leaves small bequests. James, the oldest Hamilton child, who became Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, is not mentioned; but this is not remarkable, as a number of other grandchildren of Susanna Brown are also not mentioned in the will.²

It has been asserted that James Hamilton married and left issue, and also that he was the same James Hamilton who married Gratiana Michael in Virginia. In the Accomac County Records, Volume 1729-1737, page 31, from an entry dated March 3, 1729, it appears that James Hamilton married Gratiana Michael, daughter of John and Ann Michael, and that this James Hamilton was living in Accomac County, but no further trace of him has been discovered. However, on July 8, 1755, Volume XIX.,

¹ Abstracts from will of Thomas Brown, of Northampton County, Virginia, dated November 2, 1704, witnessed by Robert Samuel French and Andrew Hamilton; proved May 29, 1705, being presented to court by Mrs. Susanna Brown, Mrs. Eliz. Preeson, Mrs. Sarah Upshur, Mrs. Anne Preeson, and Mrs. Mary Littleton, joint executors. Thomas Brown signed his name as a witness to several deeds or wills on record at Accomac, and wrote the name Browne with the final e, but the signature to his will omits the letter e.

"I give unto my Daughter Anne all my land at ye Sea Side not already disposed of, that is to say all the land on the South side of ye line before mentioned, including both hammocks—by estimation 631 acres—to her and her heirs of her body forever, and failing such heirs, to goe to ye heirs of my Daughter Elizabeth and their heirs forever.

"I likewise give unto my Daughter Anne my negro^s Mary Frank, his wife Matt, his two sons Stephen and Oliver and my negroe girl Marr at ye Sea Side. I also give her twelve cowes and calves, or other cattle equivalent, and for what household goods my children have had my Will is my Daughter Anne's part be made answerable to ye full out of my Estate and if any of her own goods have been made up of in ye house, my Will is they be made good out of my Estate.

"My Will is further yt my Daughter Anne have during her single life ye use of my Brandy Rill with other conveniences, as house-room, firing, and ye like.

"I nominate and appoint my loving Wife and my four Daughters aforesaid joint executors of this my last Will and Testament."

² Abstracts from will of Susanna Browne, of Northampton County, widow. Dated February 4, 1714, proved May 19, 1719.

"I give unto Margaret Hamilton ye negro girl named Ariadne, now in the possession of her Father Hamilton.

"I give unto Andrew Hamilton, the Younger, ten pound in money, which I now have delivered to his Father for his use.

"I constitute and appoint Elizabeth Preeson, Wife of Thomas Preeson, Executrix of this my last Will and Testament."

Deeds, page 285, Northampton County Records, there is a deed from James Hamilton, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, "son and heir of Andrew and Ann Hamilton, formerly of Northampton County, Virginia, to Thos. Dalby, 631 acres of land, formerly bequeathed to said Anne by her Father, Thomas Brown, lying at the Sea Side," etc. The error appears to have arisen from the natural conclusion that these two records refer to the same individual. The tract of six hundred and thirty-one acres which Mrs. Ann Hamilton had received from her father's estate was sold by Andrew and Ann Hamilton in 1721 to Zerobabel Preeson, their nephew, and in turn Thomas Preeson, the son of Zerobabel, sold the tract to Dalby. For some reason not evident, James Hamilton, son and heir of Andrew and Ann Hamilton, deeded as above, July 8, 1755, the same tract to Thomas Dalby, probably in order to make the title clear. The purchaser, Zerobabel, is supposed to have died, and consequently the new deed from James Hamilton to Thomas Dalby was required. See Volume XIX., Deeds, page 285.

No evidence has ever been produced to prove that James Hamilton, the son of Andrew and Ann, married, and as James Hamilton in his will left his property entailed on the heirs of his brother Andrew; and, in the event of that branch becoming extinct, then on the heirs of his sister Margaret, there would appear to be no possible ground to claim that he left children of his own.

According to rumors which have been current on the eastern shore of Virginia, Andrew Hamilton came to Accomac County, Virginia, about 1696, and taught a classical school for some time after his arrival in the Colony. Among his scholars were members of the Preeson family. After the death of Joseph Preeson he managed the property for Ann Preeson, the widow, whom he a little later married.

R. WINDER JOHNSON.

RACHEL WILSON.—In a copy of Saunder's Pocket Almanack for 1769, in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is the following record: "Rachall Wilson went on Board the Ship at Chester the Ninth Day of 11 mo 1769. Nat. Fortner Cap^t and arived at Dale Oald, England, in Thirty Days."

LETTERS OF MARTHA WASHINGTON IN THE DREER COLLECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—

June 1, 1760.

DEAR SISTER

I have had the pleasure of receiving your very welcome and affect. Letters of the 10th of May intended to come by Jack and the 23^d by Mr. Bassett who I must acknowledge myself greatly obliged to for the favour of his last visit—I should not have suffered him to go without a letter to you had I not known of the opportunity that now offers and hear I must do myself the pleasure of congratulating you very sincerely on your happy deliverance of I wish I could say boy as I know how much one of that sex was desired by you all—I am very sorry to hear my mammas complaints of ill helth and I feel the same uneasiness on that account that you doe but hope Mr. — prescriptions will have the desired effect—the children are now very well and I think myself in a better state of helth than I have been in for a long time and dont dout but I shall present you a fine healthy girl again when I come down in

the Fall which is as soon as Mr. W—ns business will suffer him to leave home I am very much pleased to hear Betsy continues to grow a fine hearty child and ——— will make you happy in that desirable blessing I also hope you are out of all fear of sore Breasts before this time

Mr. Bassett will inform you of the mirth and gaiety that he has seen so I hope I have no occasion to enlarge upon that head in order to induce you to Try Fairfax in a pleasanter season than you did last time I shall now conclude but not till I have desired you to present my Best good wishes to Mrs Dawson and Judy in which Mr. Washington desires to join me also beg you will give our Blessing to the dear little children and to each of them half a Dozen kisses and hope you will not imagine that yourself and Mr. Bassett is forgot by my dear

nancy your sincear and loveing sister

MARTHA WASHINGTON

TO MRS BASSETT

PHILADELPHIA, October the 22 1794

MY DEAR FANNY

I expect that this letter will be handed to you by Mrs. Izard the lady that I mentioned to you in my letter of the 19th of this month,—she has a desire to see mount vernon—if you could make it convenient to yourself, I shall be much obliged to you to go down with the Ladys to mount vernon, as I wish every thing thair to be made as agreeable to them as possible as the notice is short, Mrs Izard is a very agreeable Lady and her family amiable—we have been acquainted ever since I went up to new york—I should be very much gratified to hear that the Ladis of alexandria shows the Ladis sevility—if they should be obliged to make any stay thair—you will find them all very agreeable, Miss Izard has been long a friend of nellys—do my dear Fanny have everything as good as you can for them and put up any little thing that may be necessary for the children on the road—I send you a fashionable cap caul and Border—if you will scollop or overcast the borders it will add to thair beauty—

my love and good wishes attend you and the children—I am my dear

Fanny your ever affectionate

M WASHINGTON.

— October I have not heard from the President since the eleaventh

RICHARD PENN'S ESTIMATE OF THE STRENGTH OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATORS IN 1775.—Richard Penn (son of Richard the Governor), with his family, in the summer of 1775 left for England, taking with him the second petition of Congress addressed to the King, which had been drawn up by John Dickinson. In November, when it was under consideration in the House of Lords, Penn was interrogated as to the condition of the American Colonies, and in answer to the question, "What force has the Province of Pennsylvania raised?" the following series of questions and answers took place:

A. When I left Pennsylvania they had 20,000 men in arms embodied, but not in pay, and 4500 men since raised.

Q. What were these 20,000? militia, or what?

A. They were volunteers throughout the province.

Q. What were the 4500 men?

A. They were minute men, when upon service in pay.

Q. Are they included in the 20,000 men, or exclusive of them?

A. Exclusive.

Q. Doth the province contribute money besides to the continental army?

A. They do.

Q. How many men fit to bear arms is it supposed there are in Pennsylvania?

A. Sixty thousand.

Q. What proportion of these 60,000 men do you believe would willingly come forth, if necessary, in the present contest?

A. All, I believe.

BEQUEST OF MINIATURES TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Under the will of Mary Kittera Snyder, late of the borough of Selin's Grove, Pennsylvania, she has bequeathed to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania "the miniatures of my grandparents Hon. John Wilkes Kittera and his wife Ann Moore Kittera; also blue china teapot which belonged to Governor Simon Snyder." The miniatures were painted by Robert Fulton.

WORKS OF DE BRY PRESENTED TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA BY MR. CLARENCE B. MOORE.—Five folio volumes of the works of these famous publishers, father and sons, have been presented to the Society's library by Mr. Moore. Three volumes are occupied with early voyages to America, and the other two volumes with voyages elsewhere, chiefly by the Dutch.

THE SALE OF THE ASHBURTON LIBRARY.—One of the most interesting book sales of the present London season was the recent dispersion of the Ashburton Library in the middle of last November. The prices realized on this occasion indicate a well-sustained demand for that class of literature which is called Americana. The general appearance of the books themselves as they were arranged on the shelves of Messrs. Southeby, Wilkinson & Hodge's salesroom was that of a well-bound and well-cared-for library of a man of varied and cultivated tastes. Aside from the books themselves, there was an American interest in the vendor as a descendant of William Bingham, sometime United States Senator from Pennsylvania, whose wife was a daughter of Thomas Willing, a member of the Continental Congress and the president of the Bank of North America; and whose splendid mansion on South Third Street was one of Philadelphia's famous houses in the days of Washington's presidency. Among the earlier items of the sale were twelve volumes of pamphlets, possibly collected by William Bingham, ranging from the time of Braddock's defeat to the recognition of the independence of the United States. Copies of nearly all of them were already in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Society has, however, secured one volume which is of exceptional interest, as it contains a copy of Rivington's Army List (as it is called), of which I believe but one other is known to have been preserved. The following is the title and collation, neither of which are quite accurately given in Sabin's Dictionary:

A | List | of the | Officers of the Army, | serving in | North-America,
 | Under the Command of his Excellency | General Sir Guy Carleton,
 K. B. | With the Dates of their Commissions, as they Rank in each |
 Corps, and in the Army. | For the Year 1783. | New-York : | Printed
 by James Rivington Printer to the King's | Most Excellent Majesty. |
 M, DCC, LXXXIII. | 8vo. Collation : Title 1 leaf ; text, pp. 3-98 ; Cor-
 rections and Alterations, pp. (4).

The words interpolated by Sabin's copyist (Dictionary, 4, 14, 56) are not on the title-page, and undoubtedly refer to the *manuscript* alterations in the copy in the collection of the New York Historical Society, from which his title was transcribed, as they are not borne out by an examination of the copy just acquired. As the Society already possessed the first (1777), second, third (1779), and fourth of the series of rosters of the officers of the British army serving in America during the Revolutionary War, this is a most important acquisition. It is especially so, being the fullest and most accurate as well as the last one of the series, which are the only source of information as to the officers of the Loyalist and Hessian corps whose names do not appear in the official army lists printed in England. The rosters of one or two of the regiments of the former are to be found nowhere else, owing to their having been raised during the final year of the war.

The prices realized at this sale show the ever-increasing figures brought by works relating to the colonial and revolutionary history of our country. Among the American tracts which were sold separately were: Denton's "Brief Description of New York," London, 1670 (an uncut copy), \$2000 ; Lederer's "Discoveries in Three Marches from Virginia," London, 1672, \$510 ; Captain John Smith's "Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters in New England," London, 1631, \$800 ; "New England's Plantation," \$490 ; "True Relation of the late Battall fought in New England between the English and the Pequet Indians," \$420 ; "Virginia's Cure," London, 1662, \$380 ; Gabriel Thomas's "Historical Description of Pennsylvania," London, 1698, \$310 ; Winslow's "Good Newes from New England," London, 1624, \$1200.

CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

LONDON.

[The copy of Thomas's "Pennsylvania" in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was purchased at the Brinley sale, and is the largest copy extant.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

OBSERVATIONS UPON THE CONSUMPTION OF TEAS IN NORTH AMERICA, BY SAMUEL WHARTON, 1773.—

From the latest and best Estimation, it is imagined, That there are at least three Millions of British subjects upon that Continent.

The Use of Teas, and of the black sort in particular, is so common and fashionable in America, That it is usually drank twice a Day ; Even by the Frontier Inhabitants of all the Colonies, from New York to North Carolina inclusive ;—for the Expence of transporting it is so very trivial, That the Land Carriage, quite from Philadelphia to the Ohio, is only about a Penny a Pound— ; Inshort, the Practice of Tea Drinking, is so prevalent that the Tribes of the Mohocks and Cononjohare Indians, upon the Mohocks River in the Province of New York, drink it frequently twice a Day, as do many of the Delawares, upon Ohio.

It is apprehended, That at least two Millions of the Americans drink Tea Daily, and that they Yearly consume, not less, than five Millions of Pounds of that Article;—And by some intelligent Persons, it is presumed, *That if the Statute was repealed which lays a Duty of 3d. per Pound on Teas—payable in America*, That the Exportation from hence thither, would be very great, and That it would put an End to the illicit Commerce in that Article, carried on, between Holland, Lisbon and the Colonies.—Many Reasons induce me, to be of a different Opinion; A few of which, I will take the Liberty of mentioning—

The Ports of England, being very seldom open, for the Importation of American Corn and flour; and the East India Sales of Tea, *not* being made, at *certain fixed Times*,—so known to the Americans, That in Case Their Corn and Flour were always admissible in the British Ports, they could direct their Proceeds to be invested in Teas, bought at those Sales and *thereby* make homeward Freights for their Vessels;—They necessarily therefore send their Vessels to the Ports of Holland and Portugal in Europe and S^t Eustatius in America,—As they know, they are *always open* for the Reception of their Flours Corn, &c.; And at these Places, they can be supplied with Teas at a moderate Price and upon the Advantageous Terms of Discount, Difference of Weight &c, amounting in the whole, to near 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ Centum.

Let it also be remarked, that the Americans, *not* being in a Capacity and especially those from Rhode Island to North Carolina inclusive (except possibly a few in the Tobacco Trade in Maryland and Virginia) To *deposit Money* in the Hands of Merchants in London, for the particular Purpose, of buying Teas (at the India Sales) on the beneficial Terms, of Discount &c, Their chief Means of Purchasing *viz* Their Corn and Flour *not* being, as above stated, always admissible in England, They have therefore, hitherto, been constrained, either to purchase their Teas from Foreigners, or to buy them on exorbitant Terms, from the Merchants in London.

The Invoice hereto subjoined, marked N^o 1 shews upon what Conditions the American Merchant is supplied with Teas, *when he can remit Money* to his Correspondent in London, in Order to buy them *at the East India Sales*.

The Invoice marked N^o 2, also shews, upon what Terms, the American Merchant is supplied, *when he cannot remit Money* to buy Teas at the India Sales; but purchases them, on a Credit of 9 or 12 Months from the London Merchant.

A Cursory Examination of the different Conditions, contained in these two Invoices, will, perhaps suggest to every candid and intelligent Mind, *That supposing the Statute repealed which lays a Duty of 3d. a Pound payable in America on Teas imported from hence*. It would not enable the American Merchants, generally, to Lodge Money in London for the Purpose of buying Teas, at the India Sales and of Course, would *not* prevent them from purchasing Teas at those Foreign Places, where they can in Fact *exchange* the Flour Corn &c for them;—There is therefore, in my poor Opinion, *but one* Method, by which this Country can effectually avail itself of all the Tea Trade of North America, and that is, by a Quantity of Teas *sufficient* for the Consumption of that Continent, being *annually landed immediately from China*, in the most central Part of North America, and there being sold, at

stated public Times, upon a Credit of 9 or 12 Months, with the usual Discount and Deductions as in England.

LONDON, January 19th, 1773.

Queries.

SMYTH.—Information is desired as to the parents of Rev. Thomas Smyth, born January 25, 1747, died January 25, 1792; married Mary Weir, widow of Dr. William Ruth or Routh. Graduated from Princeton College in 1768. Licensed to preach 1772, and ordained and settled as pastor of Middletown and Penca Churches, in Delaware, in 1774.

LUCY SMYTH COOPER.

McKINLEY.—On October 10, 1763, in the city of Cork, Ireland, Mary Connolly and John McKinley were married by "Parson Paul Parish." It was an elopement. Mary Connolly was the youngest daughter of Sir William Connolly, of Castletown, County Kildare, and Anne, daughter of Thomas Wentworth, third Earl of Strafford.

The eldest daughter, Anne, married George Byng, Viscount Torrington, Frances married Sir William Howe, Caroline became the second wife of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and the only son, Thomas, married Louisa Augusta Lenox, daughter of the Duke of Richmond.

Eugène Kelly, Jr., of New York, has recently purchased the old Connolly estate of Castletown. John McKinley and his wife came to this country in 1769 and settled at Mount Royal Forge, Frederick County, Maryland. About the year 1772 they moved to the Northwestern frontier in West Virginia. They had five children. The first, Elizabeth, was born at Gravel Walks, Dublin, in 1767; married — Newman. The second, Thomas, was born at Mount Royal Forge, Maryland, 1769, and married Sarah Stewart, of "Stewart's Crossing," West Virginia. The third, Harriet, born at Mount Royal Forge in 1771, married Randall Gibson, of Washington, Mississippi. They were the grandparents of Randall Gibson, who represented the State of Louisiana in the national Congress for seventeen years, and was senior Senator from that State when he died in 1892. Frances was born in 1773 at the "Mouth of Wheeling Creek," West Virginia; married David Gibson, of Mississippi, brother of Randall Gibson, Sr. John was born at the "Mouth of Wheeling Creek" in 1776. He probably died young.

John McKinley served through the war of the Revolution until the surrender of Cornwallis. In 1782 he went with Crawford on his expedition against Sandusky, was taken prisoner with him, and was one of the five tomahawked in the presence of Colonel Crawford only a short time previous to the latter's terrible torture and death.

He was in the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, commanded by Colonel John Gibson, until the battle of Germantown, when he was wounded in the neck, and afterwards transferred to the Ninth Virginia.

This is all I know of Captain John McKinley. I do not know where or when he was born, the names of his parents, brothers, and sisters, or his occupation and home previous to his marriage.

Will be grateful to any one who will give me this information or any information concerning him.

MRS. S. G. HUMPHREYS,
GIBSON STATION,
Southern Pacific Railroad,
Louisiana.

Replies.

BIOREN (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXIV. p. 527).—John Bioren, of the publishing firm of Bioren & Madan, was born March 23, 1772, in Philadelphia. His parents were Benjamin and Mary (Lykins) Bioren, who were married February 13, 1769. John Bioren died August 22, 1835. The partnership between Bioren and Madan seems to have terminated shortly after the publication of their first American edition of Shakespeare (a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and another in my possession), for all the later publications of John Bioren appear with his imprint only, or else in connection with a joint publication with other firms. I have been informed that he printed an edition of the Prayer-Book of the Protestant Episcopal Church, containing the words "into the place of Departed Spirits," in the Apostles' Creed, in place of "into Hell," which edition was later recalled by the General Convention. The Laws of the State of Pennsylvania were also published by authority in 1803 and 1804.

JOHN S. BIOREN.

NEW ENGLAND COMPANY.—A query was inserted in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE (Vol. XXIV. p. 527) in regard to two items which appear in Book A of Surveys, Surveyor-General's Office at Burlington, New Jersey. The items refer to two entries relating to the payment of money for the printing of Eliot's Indian Bible. In one of these entries the phrase "this Corporation" is used, and the question is raised as to what particular "Corporation" was meant. Without much doubt the reference is to the Governor and Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, a corporation which afterwards became known as the New England Company.

In the year 1896 a volume entitled "Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America, and others between the years 1657 and 1712" was privately printed in London. The editor of the book was John W. Ford, "Governor of the New England Company," and in his preface he says,—

"In connection with the printing of Eliot's Indian Bible the following extract from the Company's Ledger for the years 1653–1664, now in the State House at Trenton, New Jersey, U. S. A., will be of interest :

Cr.

21 July 1664 :

	£	s.	d.
Binding Indian Bibles	10	0	0
Bills of Exchange	300	0	0

Feb.

John Elliott as a gratuity given him for his extraordinary pains amongst the Indians in New England	50	0	0
Salary of Marmaduke Johnson :			
Salary for printing Indian Bibles	35	0	0"

These payments evidently refer to the same transactions mentioned by your correspondent. Mr. Ford, the editor, says furthermore in his preface,—

"I have added in an alphabetical list a short account of nearly all those whose names appear as signatories or otherwise in the accompanying correspondence, which I think may be of interest to members of the Company, and would express a hope that the dispersal of this volume among collectors in America may lead to the discovery of the present possessor of the old Minute Book, and to a copy being supplied by him to its original owners, the New England Company."

Inferentially it would seem that Book A of Surveys at Burlington, New Jersey, is the old Minute Book of the New England Company, now missing from the archives of that corporation. If the Company's ledger in some unknown manner found its way to the State-House at Trenton, why may not the Minute Book in some equally mysterious manner have drifted in the same direction, and found its way to Burlington?

SAMUEL A. GREEN.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Book Notices.

VALLEY FORGE.—Two of the February magazines contain carefully prepared articles on the camp at Valley Forge, liberally illustrated from photographs taken by the compilers. Mr. W. H. Richardson, of the Montgomery County Historical Society, contributes one to the *New England Magazine*, and Thomas M. Longcope, Jr., the other to the *Penn Charter Magazine*, of Philadelphia.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SAMUEL ROWELL AND NOTICES OF SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS, WITH A GENEALOGY FOR SEVEN GENERATIONS, 1754-1898. By Roland Rowell, Manchester, New Hampshire, 1898. 8vo, 216 pp. Illustrated. Price \$2.50, postage paid.

Samuel Rowell was a descendant in the fifth generation of Thomas Rowell, who emigrated from England to Salisbury, Massachusetts, about 1639, and was one of the original grantees of land in the town. The parents of Samuel were John and Elizabeth Rowell, who resided at Chester, New Hampshire, at the date of his birth in 1754. When the war for independence broke out he served in the battle of Bunker Hill, joined Arnold's corps in the Canadian expedition, and participated in many of the important battles of the war. Unlike the ordinary genealogy, where only those born to the family name are followed, this work deals with all the descendants of its subject to the present day, giving dates of births, marriages, and deaths. Soon after the battle of Bennington Samuel Rowell married Sarah Duston, a great-granddaughter of Hannah Duston, a well-known figure in colonial history. Of the descendants of this couple, the compiler has found five hundred and thirty-three. The family is a typical New England one, and will fairly represent the fortunes of the descendants of most of the settlers who came early to our shores. The work is substantially bound in cloth, and contains sixty full-page half-tone engravings and many smaller ones.

THE LITERARY ERA (Vol. VIII., No. 1, 1901).—This excellent literary monthly comes to us in an enlarged form, with a new and attractive cover. Its corps of contributors has been increased, and the

Historical and Genealogical Department, again in charge of Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn, has been much improved.

PHILIP VICKERS FITHIAN, JOURNAL AND LETTERS, 1767-1774.

Edited by John Rogers Williams, Princeton, New Jersey, 1900.

8vo, 320 pp. Illustrated.

Philip Vickers Fithian, born December 29, 1747, was a student at Princeton College, 1770-1772, Henry Lee, Aaron Burr, and James Madison being among his associates. After graduating in theology in 1773, he became a tutor in the family of Robert Carter, of Virginia, and between 1775 and 1776 served as missionary among the settlers of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. In July of 1776 he was appointed chaplain of Heard's brigade of New Jersey militia, and served in the battles of Long Island and Harlem Heights. He was taken down with camp fever, and died near Fort Washington October 8, 1776.

The volume under notice is composed of selections from the Fithian Papers deposited in the library of Princeton University, his letters between 1767 and 1773, and journal during his residence in Virginia, 1773-1774, with letters from there covering the same period. Especially interesting are his descriptions of student life at Nassau Hall, and the account which he gives of his residence in the Old Dominion is a most delightful picture of the social life of the period,—of refinement and culture, of elegance of living and lavish hospitality, of balls and fox-hunts, and an almost constant round of entertainments. The editor has added numerous valuable annotations to the text and prepared an excellent index.

THE GERMAN SECTARIANS OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1742-1800. A CRITICAL AND LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE EPHRATA CLOISTER AND THE DUNKERS. By Julius Friedrich Sachse, Philadelphia, 1900.

8vo, pp. 535. Illustrated. Price, \$500.

The second and concluding volume of this work exhibits the same astonishing labor and exhaustive investigation which characterize the first volume, and we have also the same lavish display of illustrations throughout the text. The chapters which will particularly interest the reader are those on Christopher Saur and his German Bible, the industrial, educational, and musical history, and the rules of the sisterhood of the Community, the sketches of Conrad Weisser, Friedsam Got-trecht, and Prior Jabez, and the issues of the Ephrata press, with facsimiles of the title-pages of the most important works printed. Unquestionably the work is the most important one that has been printed on the German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, and the author must be congratulated on the success of his labors.

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XXV.

1901.

No. 2.

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from page 46.)

MRS. ARNOLD AT WEST POINT.

It will be noticed that in Hannah Arnold's letter Edward Shippen is mentioned as keeping Mrs. Allen's house for either himself or daughter to occupy upon her return to Philadelphia. And in a letter written by Arnold to Betsy Mansfield on August 31, 1780, he says: "I expect Mrs. Arnold here soon to spend some weeks with me." Her actual stay was from September 15, when she arrived, till her departure for home on September 27. It was only twelve days, but the events of years were crowded into that short period. There were three other gentlemen attached to Arnold's military family. These were Major Franks, Colonel Varick, and Dr. Eustis.

The intercourse at Robinson's House was pleasant and harmonious, except on two occasions when Joshua Hett Smith was present. He was suspected of not being favorably disposed to America; and Varick warned Arnold not

to trust him. This not producing the result wished for, Varick and Franks determined to affront or insult Smith. In answer to Major Franks's question, Varick says in his sworn testimony :

"On the 23rd September he (Smith) came to Arnold's Quarters and dined with us—my unfavorable opinion of his moral and political character, and his usual and unparalleled impertinence and forwardness, and General Arnold's Countenancing him (notwithstanding my advice and frequent solicitations to the Contrary) fixed a resolution in me to affront him before Arnold the first opportunity. A trifling one offered at Table. I embraced it with warmth ; a very high dispute took place in which you became a volunteer with me. Arnold opposed you and often addressed to you with warmth answers to my observations, and I reply'd to his answers, addressing myself to Smith. You as well as myself were cavalier with Smith till Mrs. Arnold (who also thought ill of Smith) observing her Husband in a passion, beg'd us to drop the matter. I soon quitted the Table and went to my room which was then the office.

"After dinner, Smith went off and Arnold came into the office and took you to task in very illiberal language for affronting Smith. He lashed me over your Back without addressing himself to me—he declared that *if he asked the Devil to Dine with him the Gentlemen of his Family should be civil to him*. You told him that if Smith had not been at his Table you would have sent the Bottle at his head and would thereafter treat him as a Rascal. I then found it necessary to do you as well as myself Justice, by taking the Blame of affronting Smith on myself. You thereupon declared to Arnold that you had of late observed that he viewed every part of your Conduct with an eye of Prejudice and beg'd him to discharge you from his Family. You went out of the room in a passion and to New Burgh on Business from which you did not return till the 24th.

"The dispute between Arnold and myself continued very high. I cursed Smith as a — Rascal, a scoundrel and a Spy, and said my reason for affronting him was that I thought him so. I also told Arnold that my advice to him had proceeded from a Regard to his Reputation which he repeatedly and confidentially told me he wished should stand well in this State, and which I had very often told him would suffer by an improper Intimacy with Smith. I further told him that Smith's Insolence to you and his ungentlemanlike Conduct to Mrs. Arnold, in speaking impertinently to you before her in a Language she did not understand, justified your treating Smith as you did and worse, and also merited his resentment instead of Countenance. Arnold then told me

that he was always willing to be advised by the Gentlemen of his Family, but by — would not be dictated to by them ; that he thought he possessed as much prudence as the Gentlemen of his Family. Some other words ensued till I had occasion to leave him to dispatch an Express, and when I returned he had left the office."

Colonel Lamb happened to be at the dinner spoken of, and he says :

"When we were at Dinner at Saturday, the 23rd September there happened to be a scarcity of Butter at the Table. On Mrs. Arnold's calling for more Butter she was informed by the servant that there was no more. Arnold immediately said, 'Bless me, I had forgotten the oil I bought in Philadelphia ; it will do very well with salt fish,' which was one of the dishes. The oil was produced, and on Arnold's saying it cost Eighty Dollars, Smith replied *Eighty Pence*, that a Dollar was really no more than a penny, upon which you said with some warmth, either, 'You are mistaken,' or, 'That is not true Mr. Smith,' I do not particularly recollect which. This you said in such a tone of voice as convinced me you was determined to affront him. A great deal was said on the subject between you and Smith. From some expression which Smith dropped Major Franks became a party in the dispute which was growing very warm, when Mrs. Arnold (who had observed that Arnold was getting very angry) interposed and begged that the dispute might be dropped as it gave her great pain. After dinner you told me you was determined to affront Smith as often as he came to the House and drive him from it if possible."

On the morning of this very day, Saturday, September 23, André had been captured, and the papers which fully revealed the plot had been sent to Washington, who was then on his way to West Point.

In the "Life of Washington," Irving thus related the events of the journey :

"On approaching the Hudson Washington took a more circuitous route than the one he had originally intended, striking the river at Fishkill just above the Highlands, that he might visit West Point, and show the marquis the works which had been erected there during his absence in France. Circumstances detained them a night at Fishkill. Their baggage was sent on to Arnold's quarters in the Robinson House, with a message apprising the general that they would breakfast there the next day. In the morning (Sept. 25th) they were in the saddle before break of day, having a ride to make of eighteen miles through the mountains.

It was a pleasant and animated one. Washington was in excellent spirits, and the buoyant marquis, and genial, warm-hearted Knox, were companions with whom he was always disposed to unbend.

"When within a mile of the Robinson House, Washington turned down a cross road leading to the banks of the Hudson. Lafayette apprised him that he was going out of the way, and hinted that Mrs. Arnold must be waiting breakfast for him. 'Ah, marquis!' replied he good humoredly, 'you young men are all in love with Mrs. Arnold. I see you are eager to be with her as soon as possible. Go you and breakfast with her, and tell her not to wait for me. I must ride down and examine the redoubts on this side of the river, but will be with her shortly.'

"The marquis and General Knox, however, turned off and accompanied him down to the redoubts, while Colonel Hamilton and Lafayette's aide-de-camp, Major James McHenry, continued along the main road to the Robinson House, bearing Washington's apology, and request that the breakfast might not be retarded."

The family with the two aides-de-camp sat down to breakfast.

"Mrs. Arnold had arrived but four or five days previously from Philadelphia, with her infant child, then about six months old. She was bright and amiable as usual. Arnold was silent and gloomy. It was an anxious moment with him. This was the day appointed for the consummation of the plot, when the enemy's ships were to ascend the river. The return of the commander-in-chief from the East two days sooner than had been anticipated, and his proposed visit to the forts, threatened to disconcert every thing. What might be the consequence Arnold could not conjecture. An interval of fearful imaginings was soon brought to a direful close. In the midst of the repast a horseman alighted at the gate. It was the messenger bearing Jameson's letter to Arnold, stating the capture of André, and that dangerous papers found on him had been forwarded to Washington."

Alexander Hamilton, who was present, thus describes the scene in two letters he wrote to Henry Laurens and to Miss Schuyler:

"Arnold, a moment before his setting out, went into Mrs. Arnold's apartment, and informed her that some transactions had just come to light, which must forever banish him from his country. She fell into a swoon at this declaration; and he left her in it, to consult his own safety, till the servants, alarmed by her cries, came to her relief. She

remained frantic all day ; accusing every one who approached her, with an intention to murder her child (an infant in her arms) ; and exhibiting every other mark of the most genuine and agonizing distress. Exhausted by the fatigue and tumult of her spirits, her phrensy subsided toward evening, and she sank into all the sadness of affliction. It was impossible not to have been touched with her situation. I saw an amiable woman, frantic with distress for the loss of a husband she tenderly loved ; a traitor to his country and his fame ; a disgrace to his connexions : it was the most affecting scene I ever was witness to. She, for a considerable time, entirely lost herself. The General went up to see her, and she upbraided him with being in a plot to murder her child. One moment she raved, another she melted into tears. Sometimes she pressed her infant to her bosom, and lamented its fate, occasioned by the imprudence of its father, in a manner that would have pierced insensibility itself. All the sweetness of beauty, all the loveliness of innocence, all the tenderness of a wife, and all the fondness of a mother, showed themselves in her appearance and conduct. We have every reason to believe, that she was entirely unacquainted with the plan, and that the first knowledge of it, was when Arnold went to tell her he must banish himself from his country and from her forever. She instantly fell into a convulsion, and he left her in that situation.

"This morning she is more composed. I paid her a visit, and endeavoured to soothe her by every method in my power ; though you may imagine she is not easily to be consoled. Added to her other distresses, she is very apprehensive the resentment of her country will fall upon her (who is only unfortunate) for the guilt of her husband. I have tried to persuade her that her fears are ill founded ; but she will not be convinced. She received us in bed, with every circumstance that would interest our Sympathy : and her sufferings were so eloquent, that I wished myself her brother, to have a right to become her defender. As it is, I have entreated her to enable me to give her proofs of my friendship. Could I forgive Arnold for sacrificing his honour, reputation, and duty, I could not forgive him for acting a part that must have forfeited the esteem of so fine a woman. At present she almost forgets his crime in his misfortunes ; and her horror at the guilt of the traitor, is lost in her love of the man."

Irving, quoting Lafayette as authority, says :

"In the mean time, Mrs. Arnold remained in her room in a state bordering on frenzy. Arnold might well confide in the humanity and delicacy of Washington in respect to her. He regarded her with the sincerest commiseration, acquitting her of all previous knowledge of her husband's guilt. On remitting to her, by one of his Aides-de-camp, the

letter of her husband, written from on board the Vulture, he informed her that he had done all that depended upon himself to have him arrested, but not having succeeded, he experienced a pleasure in assuring her of his safety."

Varick, in his sworn testimony, gives the following account:

"Sometime in the course of the Day, I do not recollect when—think it was pretty soon after His Excellency arrived—Capt. Lt. Hubbell came into my room and in conversation told me he saw Arnold's Barge going down the River. But that circumstance made no impression on me. Not long after you mentioned your suspicions to me Mrs. Arnold called for me, and when I waited on her I found from her Language and conduct that she was in great distress and had lost her reason, but could not divine the cause. Some time before dinner (the hour I do not know, but I think just before His Excellency General Washington returned from West Point), Mrs. Arnold recovering her Reason in some measure, complained to me that she was left without a friend. I attempted to sooth her by saying that she had many Friends, enumerating you and myself and that General Arnold would be there soon. On my mentioning his name she replied in great agony, *Oh no, no! he is gone, gone forever!*

"I soon left the room, found His Excellency had returned, and that Arnold had not been at West Point, and then recollecting your Declaration while I lay in bed, and his unaccountable and long absence, and Captain Hogland having come with dispatches to His Excellency, and avoiding answers to my enquiries with respect to Anderson's being taken, I mentioned to you that I was very apprehensive of his having destroyed himself or gone off. In *very few* minutes after we mentioned our fears to Eustis in *Confidence* lest we might be deceived. We were anxious to advise the Genl. of our suspicions but fearful of doing it in a direct manner, when Mrs. Arnold's request to see him to ask for relief soon furnished us with the opportunity, and I waited on His Excellency into her room accordingly. I soon after and just before dinner communicated my suspicions to Colo. Lamb in *Confidence*, and it was not until after Dinner that His Excellency communicated Arnold's Perfidy and Treachery to us."

In answer to Varick's questions, Major Franks testifies:

"Arnold, I believe, did receive two letters by a militia officer, tho' I did not see them. You did not I am sure—you was sick in your room. Arnold did not come in nor did you see him after breakfast that day. His conduct was that soon after he received the letters above mentioned

he went up Stairs to his Lady. In about two minutes His Excellency General Washington's servant came to the door and informed me that His Excellency was nigh at hand. I went immediately up stairs and informed Arnold of it. He came down in great confusion and ordering a horse to be saddled mounted him and told me to inform His Excellency that he was going to West Point and would return in about an hour. His Excellency came about half an hour after Arnold went off and after taking breakfast went to West Point. Soon after Mrs. Arnold's unhappy situation called us all to her assistance. Her alarms together with Arnold's precipitate departure gave me much uneasiness. I hoped to see him return soon and you and myself were about to send for him. An hour and a half or thereabouts after he was gone a report was spread about our quarters of a spy of the name of John Anderson being detected nigh our lines. On my hearing it I flew to you with indescribable agitation and told you I was sure Arnold was a Villain, but on further reflection and further Conversation we agreed that it was uncharitable, and that we were not warranted to think so, and that if any bad consequences were to ensue to Arnold from our suspicions, our characters would be ruined.

"Soon after His Excellency returned from West Point where he had been some considerable time, and during which Mrs. Arnold was in the most alarming distress of mind. You were frequently with her and informed me that she had complained that she had no friends, she was left alone, and on your telling her that she had many friends (here enumerating yourself, me, and General Arnold)—on your mentioning him she exclaimed in an agony of grief, *Oh no, he is gone, gone forever!* This at last confirmed your and my suspicions which were communicated to Dr. Eustis immediately."

Dr. Eustis said, in answer to Varick's questions :

"I came out of Mrs. Arnold's chamber with you and Major Franks. I asked you where General Arnold was gone, and beg'd you for God's sake, to send for him, or the woman would die. You took me into my chamber and both Major Franks and yourself (after enjoining on me the most sacred secrecy) informed me of your suspicions that Arnold had gone to the enemy. On my asking if you had told it to General Washington, I think you told me it was a bare suspicion, and that you were afraid to lisp it to any creature living, lest proving untrue it should ruin your reputations forever. You afterwards informed me that your suspicions were confirmed by Mrs. Arnold saying in her delirium that he (meaning her husband) was *gone forever.*"

The testimony of Varick, Franks, Lamb, and Dr. Eustis was given in an investigation or trial to determine whether

Varick and Franks were guilty of complicity with Arnold. A copy of the testimony is in the possession of the Mercantile Library in New York, and an article containing selections from it was printed in the *Magazine of American History* for November, 1882. Varick and Franks were unanimously acquitted.

On page 574 of *Thacher's Military Journal* it is said :

"In about an hour and a half after Arnold had absconded, Dr. Eustis, who had charge of the hospital in the vicinity, was called to the assistance of Mrs. Arnold whose situation was alarming. He found her at the head of the stair case, in great dishabille, her hair disheveled, knowing no one, and frantic in the arms of her maid, and Arnold's two aids, struggling to liberate herself from them. She was carried back to her chamber, and fell into convulsions, which lasted several hours. In a lucid interval she inquired of the Doctor, if General Washington was in the house, expressing a wish to see him. Believing that she intended to say something which would explain the secret of Arnold's unaccountable absence, he hastened below, gave notice of her request, and conducted the general to her chamber, who remained no longer than to hear her deny that he was General Washington, and to witness the return of her distraction."

Washington gave Mrs. Arnold her choice either to return to her father in Philadelphia or go to her husband in New York. She chose the former.

RETURN TO PHILADELPHIA.

After Mrs. Arnold had in some measure recovered her senses she determined to avail herself of Washington's permission to return to her father, from whom she was certain of a welcome, however great might be her misfortunes. She started to return to Philadelphia on Wednesday, September 27, 1780, with her nurse and son Edward Shippen Arnold, and reaching Paramus in the evening, she stopped overnight at the house of Mrs. Prevost, whose acquaintance she had made on her journey to West Point, two weeks before. While here she met Aaron Burr, who expressing esteem for the Shippen family, treated her with marked politeness, and, after magnifying the dangers to

which she might be exposed, offered to accompany her. His father, Rev. Aaron Burr, President of Princeton College, had become well acquainted with the Shippens from their interest in college affairs. After the death of Mrs. Burr, which soon followed that of President Burr, their orphan children, Sarah and Aaron, were taken to the house of Dr. William Shippen, the uncle of Edward Shippen, in Philadelphia, which became their home during the year Margaret Arnold was born. When less than twenty years of age Burr had accompanied Arnold on the expedition to Quebec, on which occasion he assumed the disguise of a Catholic priest in order to communicate with Montgomery. All men, friends or foes, who knew him, remarked the suavity of his manners and the address with which he insinuated himself into the good opinion of those whom he wished to win. A curious instance is afforded in a letter before us, in which a young man, speaking enthusiastically of the advantages he was to receive through Burr, adds: "He treats me on every occasion as I were his son." It is, perhaps, needless to say that this young man was disappointed in his expectations.

In September, 1780, Burr's bad qualities were unknown to the public, to whom he *seemed* a perfect gentleman, distinguished for his courtesy; so that when he met Mrs. Arnold at the home of Mrs. Prevost and offered to escort her to her father's house in Philadelphia, his offer was gladly accepted.

But in order to rightly understand the incident that follows it is necessary to know Burr's *true character*, and after that is examined we are ready to apply Thackeray's opinion of Philip of Königsmarck to Burr, and say "a greater scamp does not walk the history of America."

When he was less than two years old his mother had written of him, "Aaron is a little, dirty, noisy boy, . . . very sly and mischievous." The workings of his prurient mind are displayed in his comments on the sleighing party, in the latter part of his letter written to his invalid

sister before he was eighteen. When aide-de-camp to General Putnam, in 1776, his position brought him in contact with Margaret Moncrieffe, who had by the fortunes of war become separated from her father, Major Moncrieffe, an officer of the British army. While she, a girl less than fourteen years of age, was under the care of General Putnam Burr seduced her. M. L. Davis says (Burr's "Memoirs," Vol. I. page 90):

"Miss Moncrieffe before she had reached her fourteenth year, was probably the victim of seduction. The language of her memoirs, when taken in connection with her deportment soon after her marriage, leaves but little room for doubt. Major Burr while yet at College, had acquired a reputation for gallantry. On this point he was excessively vain, and regardless of all those ties which ought to control an honorable Mind. In his intercourse with females he was an unprincipled flatterer, ever prepared to take advantage of their weakness, their credulity or their confidence. She that confided in him was lost. In referring to this subject, no terms of condemnation would be too strong to apply to Colonel Burr.

"It is truly surprising how any individual could have become so eminent as a soldier, as a statesman, and as a professional man who devoted so much time to the other sex as was devoted by Colonel Burr.

"For more than half a century of his life they seemed to absorb his whole thoughts. His intrigues were without number. His conduct most licentious. The sacred bonds of friendship were unhesitatingly violated when they operated as barriers to the indulgence of his passions. For a long period of time he seemed to be gathering, and carefully preserving, every line written to him by any female whether with or without reputation; and when obtained, they were cast into one common receptacle,—the profligate and the corrupt by the side of the thoughtless and betrayed victim. All were held as trophies of victory,—all esteemed alike valuable."

When Margaret Arnold accepted the escort of Aaron Burr she little anticipated the painful and humiliating trial to which she exposed herself. It will not require a very vivid imagination to picture what followed. We can almost see Aaron Burr employing his most fascinating wiles to win her regard. He told her how he revered Dr. Shippen, who had cherished him when his mother died; how he loved that family circle, in which he had the happiness to

enter before her (Mrs. A.'s) birth. He pitied her child, and promised ever to protect him, in requital for the kindness he had received. For the same reason he would protect her from the brutal insults of a furious populace. He pitied her forlorn and distressing situation; but behind the cloud the sun was still shining, and she had many years to live, which he hoped would bring her happiness and joy. He wondered that Arnold would allow her to be exposed to popular fury if he loved her. Had he (Burr) found favor in such fair lady's eyes, his heart's blood should flow ere a breath of unkindness touched her. The baseness of Arnold in allowing her to be sent home had broken the fetters which bound her to him. The proudest in the land might well wish to be her brother to have a right to become her defender, and he entreated her to enable him to give her proofs of his regard and afford him an opportunity of meriting her kindness.

And so the tempter moved in serpent circles, ever smaller, around his intended victim. But the libertine found that the arts which he had successfully used against Margaret Moncrieffe, had a very different effect upon Margaret Arnold. With her thoughts upon her babe she listened to his words, but heeded not their import till a dubious phrase awakened her attention. Then surprise and amazement succeeded attention, only to give place to indignation, as his baseness was revealed. Her cheek was crimsoned with shame at the nature of the insult, but her eyes flashed, and she poured forth her scorn and contempt upon the caitiff before her in a manner worthy of "Down-right Shippen" of old. And Aaron Burr slunk away.

The foregoing account is justified by the tradition of the Shippen family. We quote the following from page lxii. of the Shippen Papers, published in 1855:

"he (Davis) does not say that Burr himself met her at Mrs. Prevost's, and when she left the house in the morning, offered his escort, which he pretended might be useful to her in the then excited state of the public mind on the subject of the treason. Still less does he tell, what his

friend would not have ventured to repeat, that on the way he made love to this afflicted lady, thinking to take advantage of her just feelings of indignation towards her husband, to help him in his infamous design. Yet this is the fact, if our tradition be true. And indignantly repelled, he treasured up his revenge, and left a story behind him worthy of his false and malignant heart, to blast this amiable lady's fame, when there might be no one to disprove or deny it."

After the departure of Aaron Burr, Mrs. Arnold continued her journey to Philadelphia without any further molestation.

BANISHMENT.

Very bitter controversies had arisen between Arnold and the authorities of Pennsylvania. The Supreme Executive Council accused Arnold of misconduct in his position as commanding general in Philadelphia. Without any regard for propriety, their charges were printed and circulated in advance of his trial, and with a view to discredit him. The Council had gone to extremes. They apparently preferred British success to Arnold's continuance in command. A letter from the President of the Council ("Pennsylvania Archives," Vol. VII. p. 230, 1st Series) states:

"There is a resolve of this Board against calling out any Militia while Gen. Arnold continues in Command in this State, upon which we are determined to act."

Irving says,—

"Nothing fraudulent on the part of Arnold was proved."

and adds,—

"We have forbore to go into all the particulars of this trial, but we have considered them attentively, discharging from our minds, as much as possible, all impressions produced by Arnold's subsequent history, and we are surprised to find, after the hostility manifested against him by the council of Pennsylvania, and their extraordinary measure to possess the public mind, against him, how venial are the trespasses of which he stood convicted."

Is it any wonder that Lafayette wrote to Washington,—

"There are open dissensions in Congress; parties who hate one another as much as the common enemy."

The chief cause of Arnold's unpopularity in Philadelphia was his Proclamation of June 19, 1778, closing the stores, in obedience to the resolve of Congress. His haughty disposition exasperated still more the men who attributed to him the interference with their private business. False reports were circulated concerning him long before the treason. On October 9, 1779, "Neddy" Burd wrote to his father:

"You may have heard that General Arnold was in Gaol & had been in Wilson's house, but neither of them is true; he is at home with his wife. It is true he was in ye street with ye rest of ye Citizens and was pursued by two Men but he happened to have his Pistols & prevented them from hurting him by threatening to fire at them."

When the news of the treason was received in Philadelphia the feeling against the traitor was most violent. No story of his evil deeds was too incredible to be believed. Not only the treason, but all other acts of Arnold, became the subjects of criticism and abuse. The following curious instance will exemplify the universal tendency to impute evil to all Arnold's actions. In the Index of Vol. XII. "Colonial Records" we find the following entry: "Arnold, General, his conduct in Philadelphia very reprehensible." On turning to the pages cited we do not find the particulars of any bad conduct as we might expect, but instead we do find that a letter or certificate of Messrs. Geddis and Govet was returned to them by the Council as being unsatisfactory, "For that the Certificate does not Contain the circumstances of misconduct in General Arnold's command."

Under date of September 27, 1780, the following appears in the minutes of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council:

"The Hon'ble Thomas McKean, Esq'r, Chief Justice, attended in Council, and informed the Board that certain intelligence had been received of General Arnold's having joined the enemy at New York; whereupon,

"*Resolved*, That the Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia be directed to make diligent search for General Arnold's papers, and that he seize and bring the same before this Board for examination."

Among the papers found on this occasion the following appears to be the only one ever deemed to be of any importance :

"HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, the 16th Aug., 1779.

"MADAME,

"Major Giles is so good as to take charge of this letter, which is meant to solicit your remembrance, and to assure you that my respect for you, and the fair circle in which I had the honour of becoming acquainted with you, remains unimpaired by distance or political broils. It would make me very happy to become useful to you here. You know the Mesquianza made me a complete milliner. Should you not have received supplies for your fullest equipment from that department, I shall be glad to enter into the whole detail of cap-wire, needles, gauze, &c., and, to the best of my abilities, render you in these trifles services from which I hope you would infer a zeal to be further employed.

"I beg you would present my best respects to your sisters, to the Miss Chews, and to Mrs. Shippen and Mrs. Chew.

"With the greatest regard, I have the honour to be,

"Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant,

"JOHN ANDRÉ."

We are told that this letter was in Reed's possession (see Reed's "Life," Vol. II. p. 272), and this fact probably furnishes a clue to the authorship of the following article which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 30, 1780 :

"Our Correspondent concludes with a remark on the fallacious and dangerous sentiments so frequently avowed in this city that female opinions are of no consequence in public matters.

"The Romans thought far otherwise, or we should not have heard of the Clelias and Cornelias and Anias of antiquity ; and had we thought and acted like them we should have despised and banished from social intercourse every character, whether male or female, which could be so lost to virtue decency and humanity, as to revel with the plunderers of their countrymen. Behold the consequence. Col. Andrie under the mask of Friendship and former acquaintance at Meschianzas and Balls opens a correspondence in August 1779 with Mrs. Arnold, which has doubtless been improved on his part to the dreadful and horrid issue we have described, and which but for the overruling care of a kind Providence, must have involved this country and our Allies in great distress, and perhaps utter ruin."

The fallacy in the above article can easily be shown. The obvious meaning of André's letter is innocent, so that if it

is treasonable, it must be so by virtue of some secret meaning attached to ordinary words. But such secret meanings imply previous communications and agreements. No previous communications have been shown, and after the expiration of over a century, in which all sources of information have been thoroughly explored, it is not even alleged that any other letters passed between André and Mrs. Arnold. As no other letter was sent, it is also an error to say that a "correspondence" was opened.

Is, then, the natural import of the letter a sufficiently probable one to afford a satisfactory explanation of its being written? Would "cap-wire, needles, gauze, &c.," be acceptable to a lady nineteen years and two months old who had some pretensions to fashion?

As we find Franklin's daughter writing to him to buy her lace, feathers, linen, and pins (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. III. p. 373, etc.), and we further find that Edward Tilghman (after General Howe's permission had been asked) carried from Philadelphia a package of "six gauze handkerchiefs, two small piece of gauze, and two sets of coloured ribbons" to Mrs. Paca, "a Delegates Lady" (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XVI. 216), we wonder why even the mob would consider it treason.

In Sparks's "Writings of Washington," Vol. VII. p. 520, it is said:

"Eighteen months before the consummation of his treason, General Arnold commenced writing to Sir Henry Clinton anonymously, and from time to time communicated to him important intelligence. *Not knowing the person nor the rank of his correspondent*, Sir Henry at first received his advances coldly, but permitted the correspondence to be continued, as no harm could result from it, and the intelligence would be useful. The business was intrusted to Major Andre, who was then his aid-de-camp. Fictitious names were assumed. Arnold adopted that of Gustavus, and Andre signed his letters John Anderson.

"It was not till after Arnold had taken the command at West Point, that Sir Henry Clinton considered his proposals of sufficient moment to deserve particular attention."

We thus have the statement that it was not known to the British till later who Gustavus was; and the dullest reader can perceive the necessity that compelled Arnold to conceal his name for his own protection, and yet to say that André's letter to Mrs. Arnold was treasonable involves us in the absurdity of supposing that Arnold was well known to André as his correspondent over a year before they actually met!

Resuming now the account of Mrs. Arnold's misfortunes, we find the following order (see "*Colonial Records*," Vol. XII. p. 520), viz.:

"PHILADELPHIA, Friday, Oct. 27 1780.

"The Council, taking into consideration the case of Mrs. Margaret Arnold (the wife of Benedict Arnold, an attainted traitor, with the enemy at New York), whose residence in this city has become dangerous to the public safety; and this board being desirous, as much as possible, to prevent any correspondence and intercourse being carried on with persons of disaffected character in this State and the enemy at New York, and especially with the said Benedict Arnold, therefore, Resolved, That the said Margaret Arnold depart this State within fourteen days from the date hereof, and that she do not return again during the continuance of the present war."

We may learn what were the hopes of her friends from the following letter from "Neddy" Burd to his father Colonel James Burd, which is as follows:

"LANCASTER Nov 10th 1780

"DEAR & HONORED SIR

"I was in great hopes of receiving a letter from you this Court. But as some of the Paxton People will be a going up this afternoon I must embrace the opportunity of writing to you.

"You have doubtless heard of the unfortunate affair of Mrs. Arnold. We tried every means to prevail on the Council to permit her to stay among us, and not to compel her to go to that infernal villain her husband in New York. The Council seemed for a considerable time to favor our request, but at length have ordered her away. Yesterday was the day she was to have set off, and Mr. Shippen, intending to accompany her the greatest part of the way, could not be up at this Court. This circumstance has involved the whole family in the deepest distress. Mr. Shippen had promised the Council, and Mrs. Arnold had signed a writing to the same purpose, engaging not to write to Gen Arnold any

letters whatever, and to receive no letters without showing them to the Council, if she was permitted to stay.

"However, this did not answer the purpose we hoped for. If she could have staid Mr. Shippen would not have wished her ever to be united to him again. It makes me melancholy every time I think of the matter. I cannot bear the idea of her re-union. The sacrifice was an immense one at her being married to him at all. It is much more so to be obliged, against her will, to go to the arms of a man who appears to be so very black.

"Uncle J. Shippen is here & very hearty as is his family. My G. father looks very well. Please to inform me whether Dunnell has threshed rye & what crop he has put in this fall. He should deliver it to you as soon as possible. I have bought two cows of Mr. Shippen's tenant who was to put them upon his meadow & afterwards upon some rye sown for the purpose of fattening Cattle. I intend to go down there tomorrow & order them to be sent to Phila. There is no news of any consequence that I know of. It is the prevailing opinion that the English have left Virginia.

"I received your letter respecting Mr. . . . Behaviour. Peggy is the best Judge, whether he has sufficiently apologized or not. His former conduct was not quite agreeable to our Notions of Propriety. I believe however he is a clever young fellow & hope he will conduct himself better in that affair.

"I beg my love in which Uncle Shippen joins me to my Mother & all & family & am Dear Sir

"Your Affectionate & dutiful Son

"E. BURD."

On November 20, 1780, Colonel James Burd replied:

"The affair of Mrs. Arnold gives us all great uneasiness, we think it a little hard that the Council would not grant the Indulgence she Required we dont know what to think of her going to New York but theres no help."

Anna Rawle wrote to her brother on November 4, 1780:

"I was mistaken in imagining Mrs. Arnold would be allowed to stay here. Betsy Dorsey told me Mr. Shippen was at their house, and said his poor unhappy daughter had received an order to quit this state in fourteen days."

The letter of Edward Burd of November 10, 1780, has been in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for many years, and the late librarian called the

special attention of the writer to its closing paragraph, as he was very decidedly of the opinion that that particular passage refers to the insult offered to Mrs. Arnold by Aaron Burr, as previously related.

Resuming now the thread of our story, we find that Edward Shippen accompanied his daughter on her way to New York, arriving about November 13. A doleful journey it must have been, with the prospect of a separation which might prove eternal.

After Edward Shippen's return, on December 22, 1780, he wrote to his father as follows:

"I am settled for this winter at least with my family in Philadelphia, in good health and tolerable Spirits, considering our late troubles. My poor daughter Peggy's unfortunate Connection has given us great grief. She is however safe arrived at New York and well provided for; which is all the Consolation we could expect considering all Circumstances. When will this terrible War with all its Evils have an end? We have been every now and then flattered with the prospect of a Peace, which notwithstanding seems yet at a great distance, and we have nothing for it but Patience and Resignation. The old Adage of 'War begets Poverty and poverty Peace' is in part verified, yet our Poverty is not yet it seems to procure us peace. The Taxes begin to grow enormous, and we that live only on what we had before feel it most."

During her stay in New York we have only the following accounts from the letters of Miss Anna Rawle in Philadelphia, and her mother, Mrs. Shoemaker, in New York, and the diary of the latter. We quote Mrs. Shoemaker to her daughter, November, 1780. (After mentioning the arrival of Captain Lloyd of the Guards and his beautiful wife, a Miss Lee, of the Isle of Wight.) She says:

"P A is not so much admired here for her Beauty as one might have expected. All allow she has great Sweetness in her Countenance, but wants Animation, Sprightliness & that fire in her eyes which was so captivating in Capt. L's wife. But notwithstanding she does not possess that Life & animation that some do, they have met with every *attention indeed*, much more than they could have promised themselves, & the very genteel Appointment which he (Gen. A) holds in the Service,

joined to a Very large present, (which I am told he has received,) is fully sufficient for every Demand in genteel Life. You know by this time I expect where his Destination is. His particular situation is such as must give her great pain & anxiety I think."

February 8, 1781, Anna Rawle to Mrs. Shoemaker:

"I hope when P. Arnold visited thee she made an apology for living in your house; it was necessary I think. They tell strange stories here of her, and strive to blacken her character in a way which her uncommon affection for the General renders very improbable."

Aug. 29th 1781; Diary of Mrs. Shoemaker. "Peggy Arnold had a son born today."

Sep. 22 1781; "I drank a social dish of tea with Peggy Arnold today & the General came in while we were at it. You wonder, I don't doubt, at my improving an acquaintance there. I have never been in the House since the morning Visit I paid her upon her first coming in, & she had set a long afternoon without ceremony while the Gen. was in Virginia (Dec. 80 & Jan. 81) as well as having been in a morning; & then she is a Philadelphian."

Nov. 5th 1781; "Gen. Arnold & family go home in the next Convoy."

Nov. 27th 1781; "A Short Visit from Gen Arnold; he goes home in the Robuste with Lord Cornwallis."

December 5, 1781, Anna Rawle to Mrs. Shoemaker:

". . . . weeks ago I heard Mrs. A. was to sail in a fortnight so that I suppose she has gone by this time. No doubt they will attract attention in England, for all who are related to the G. excite curiosity."

December 15, 1781, Mrs. Shoemaker to her daughters:

"The Fleet sailed from the Hook today Lord Cornwallis, his Suite & Gen. Ar. . . . d in the Robuste. P. . . . A. . . . & her family in a private ship as more agreeable for her than a man of War, yet not safe for him. They give for the cabin 300 Guineas & then took in what company they chose, chiefly Military I believe. I do not hear of any females but her maids."

LATER LIFE AND DEATH.

For a short period after her arrival in England Margaret Arnold seems to have attracted the attention of some of the people of rank. A friendship with Lord Cornwallis was

formed, to which her children were greatly indebted for their future advancement.

In Arnold's "Life of Benedict Arnold," page 227, it is said: "Tarleton and other returning officers, after she went to London, reported that she was the handsomest woman in England." In Drake's "Historic Fields of Middlesex," page 258, it is said: "The queen was so interested in favor of Mrs. Arnold as to desire the ladies of the court to pay much attention to her."

Yet even with this flattering reception she made no attempt to lead a life of fashion; and we have no account of her being present at any scene of gayety and pleasure. In this connection we desire to quote a sentence from her letter of May 14, 1804, in which she says,—

"You wish my dear Sister to know whether my pension would be affected by his (the King's) death; I much fear that it would, as it would of course cease; and its renewal would depend upon the whim of his Successor, who at present shows no disposition to respect the wishes of his Father, and with whom I have no interest."

To have been the "handsomest Woman in England," and to have had no "interest" with the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., is an unpremeditated testimonial to her purity of character, which only the readers of Huish and similar works can fully appreciate.

In March, 1785, we hear that she was all day with her brother going around the London shops, so as to give her advice in the selection of a set of china for her sister, Mrs. Edward Burd.

In a note to page 147 of the "Life of Peter Van Schaack," by Henry C. Van Schaak, a notable scene is thus described:

"In one of Mr. Van Schaack's visits to the Abbey, some time after Arnold's treason, his musings were interrupted by the entrance of a gentleman, accompanied by a lady. It was General Arnold and the lady was doubtless Mrs. Arnold. They passed to the cenotaph of Major Andre, where they stood and conversed together. What a spectacle! The traitor Arnold in Westminster Abbey, at the tomb of Andre, de-

liberately perusing the monumental inscription, which will transmit to future ages his own infamy."

In earlier life her affection for her parents and kindred had been one of the most noticeable traits of Margaret Shippen's character. In later years her principal object and aim in life was the education and advancement of her children, upon whom she lavished an unbounded affection. We beg the reader's indulgence to excuse a short digression upon this subject, after which we will resume the chronological thread of her story.

Margaret Arnold had five children who survived her, viz. :

EDWARD SHIPPEN ARNOLD, born March 19, 1780; died December 17, 1813.

JAMES ROBERTSON ARNOLD, born August 28, 1781; died December 27, 1854.

SOPHIA, born July 28, 1785; married to Colonel Pownall Phipps, April 17, 1813; died June 28, 1828.

GEORGE ARNOLD, born September 5, 1787; died November 1, 1828.

WILLIAM FITCH ARNOLD, born June 25, 1798; died November 7, 1846.

In addition to the above-named she had two children, a son and a daughter, who died in infancy.

Of her children she thus speaks in her letters :

"June 20, 1792; I am extremely anxious to place the little money that we have reserved for my Children, to the greatest advantage, in order to give them a good education, which in this country is attended with great expence, and to secure them sufficient to keep them from want, should any accident happen to us. Will you, my dear Sir, give me your advice and Assistance to effect this desirable end; which would take from me a load, which has long oppressed me. The greatest part of our Income being dependent on our lives, would make our deaths severely felt by my children; and until I know that in case of such an event, they would be secured from Beggary and absolute dependence, I cannot know tranquility. . . . If you would have the goodness to undertake the business for me and my Children, I would leave it entirely to your management, and you would relieve a heart, anxiously and tenderly solicitous for the future welfare of those so dear to it."

On May 20, 1797, she says :

"I could be contented in a very humble retired situation ; but to see my Children's rising prospects blasted, would fill me with the keenest anguish."

On February 6, 1800, she writes to her father,—

"I am about experiencing a very severe trial in the separation from my beloved Edward who goes this Spring to India in the Engineer line. . . . James is very eligibly situated at Gibraltar. . . .

"I feel myself, my dear Sir, particularly blessed in my Children ; and can with truth assure you, that neither of these young men have ever given me a moment's uneasiness, from any misconduct of any kind. My dear Girl is better than she has been ; nothing but the most unremitting attention has saved her life."

About the close of the year 1801 she says,—

"Among the greatest of which (i.e. Blessings) is the uncommon excellence of my Children the partiality natural to a Parent may lead you to suppose that mine influences me in my favorable opinion of them ; but when I assert that two of my Sons have arrived at the age of manhood, without having by any misconduct, given me an hour's uneasiness ; and that my third Son is exactly treading in their steps, you will not think it a vain boast when I do justice to their worth. And my dear girl is in point of disposition, temper, rectitude of conduct, & goodness all that a fond Mother can wish her, with a pleasing person, and cultivated and well regulated mind."

On June 2, 1802, she says, "Indeed I am much blessed in my children."

On June 5, 1803, she writes,—

"My boys are getting on as well as I could expect. I am highly delighted with the College in which I had the good fortune to get George placed, and he has distinguished himself there in a way to induce the Governor to send me the most flattering reports of his conduct."

On July 27, 1803, she writes, "The excellence of my children is a never-failing source of delight to me."

On May 14, 1804, she writes,—

"I have every comfort necessary to my situation, for which I am indebted to the great liberality of the best Sons in the world, who con-

tribute their little mite to render me so. . . . My dear George will leave me, for India in a few weeks ; he will go under many advantages, and my situation greatly reconciles me to his going. My beloved Edward has been a sharer in the honor of all those brilliant victories in India, obtained by General Lake, and as a cavalry Officer was exposed to great danger, which God be praised he escaped, except a wind wound, which much bruised his arm, and his horse touched in many places. I trust his conduct will lead to something advantageous to himself, as Genl. Lake, after the action, gave him a Cornetcy in an old Regt. of the King's Dragoons for George, who would probably have been a Lieutenant by the time he arrived, with pay and emoluments of £540 pr. an. But I am this day going to send on his resignation of it, by the advice of all my friends ; the Company's service being preferable, as attended with more permanent advantages. My dearest James is Stationary Commanding Engineer at Barbadoes, as well as Adjutant which gives him many advantages, particularly most capital quarters, immediately over the Sea, a circumstance of infinite importance to his health. Nothing can be going on better than all my Children, and you do not know how high their characters stand."

In concluding this branch of our subject we wish to remark that the children of Margaret Arnold were faithful to every trust confided to them, and lived irreproachable lives ; surely deriving those good qualities, which were so conspicuous in them, from the mother who bore and reared them.

Resuming now the story of Mrs. Arnold's own life, we find that in a few years from his arrival in England Arnold, with the object of increasing his means, had entered into trading speculations which led him far away from her. On March 6, 1786, Mrs. Arnold wrote to her father as follows :

"I am still in the most unhappy state of suspense respecting the General, not having heard from him since the account of his Ships being lost. . . . I assure you my dear Papa, I find it necessary to summon all my Philosophy to my aid, to support myself under my present situation. Separated from, and anxious for the fate, of the best of Husbands, torn from almost every body that is dear to me, harassed with a troublesome and expensive Lawsuit, having all the General's business to transact, and feeling that I am in a strange Country, without a creature near me that is really interested in my fate, you will not wonder if I am unhappy."

In 1787 she accompanied her husband to St. Johns, N. B., whence she wrote on June 30, 1788 :

"I am much gratified by your earnest solicitations for me to pay you a visit, and hope to accomplish so desirable an event in the Fall. Independent of the happiness it will afford me, I feel it a duty to make every exertion to comply with the wishes of Parents, for whom I feel the highest respect and tenderest affection. Yet my pleasure will not be unaccompanied by pain ; as when I leave you, I shall probably bid you adieu forever. Many disagreeable, and some favorable circumstances, will, I imagine, fix me forever in England, upon my return to it."

In August, 1788, she wrote that her visit would probably be made in October, but it was delayed until the following year ; for on November 15, 1789, Edward Burd wrote as follows to Jasper Yeates :

"We have received an account of Mrs. Arnold's Arrival at New York tho' no Letters have been received from her. The vessel she came in, ye papers say run ashore, but I suppose must have got off, or she would not have been in New York. I understand she has brought a child with her. Her friends will be extremely rejoiced to see her, as she was exceedingly beloved for her many good qualities."

She arrived in Philadelphia prior to December 3, 1789, staying with her father until her departure for St. John's on April 26, 1790. The accounts of the nature of her reception in Philadelphia are conflicting : we quote the following passage from Sabine's "*American Loyalists*," page 179, edition of 1864 :

"She came once to her native land. Her visit is mentioned in a letter dated at Philadelphia in January 1790. The writer remarks, that she had been there six months, and intended to stay the remainder of the winter ; that 'she is handsome and a woman,' that out of respect to her family, many warm Whigs had been to see her, though the common opinion was, that, as her presence placed her friends in a painful position, she would have shown more feeling by staying away. I learn from another source, that she was treated with so much coldness and neglect, even by those who had most encouraged her ill-starred marriage, that her feelings were continually wounded. She never could come again."

We think the assertion that the coldness and neglect of her former friends prevented any further visits from her cannot be sustained; for in her letter of June 30, 1788, she had spoken of her intended visit as a *final* one. The truth seems to be, that though some who formerly professed great friendship for her treated her coolly, yet there were others who welcomed her as kindly as ever they had done in days gone by. In a letter from St. Johns to her sister on July 5, 1790, Mrs. Arnold says,—

“How difficult is it to know what will contribute to our happiness in this life; I had hoped that by paying my beloved friends a last visit, I should insure to myself some portion of it, but I find it far otherwise. The affectionate attention of my friends, has greatly increased my love for them, and of course my regret at this cruel dreadful separation I shall never forget my dear, my beloved Sister, your tender and affectionate behaviour to me, and that of my more than brother, Mr. Burd, who has endeared himself extremely to me, and of whom I have as high an opinion as it is possible for me to entertain of any human being.”

She returned to England in the latter part of 1791, or the beginning of 1792, and settled in Cavendish Square, London.

In 1792 the Earl of Lauderdale, in an address in the House of Lords, in speaking of the conduct of the Duke of Richmond, concluded with the words, “If apostacy could justify promotion, he was the most fit person for that command General Arnold alone excepted.”

The consequences of this remark are thus related by Mrs. Arnold. In a letter to her father dated June 26, 1792, she says,—

“Should the public Papers of a few days back reach you, you will observe a paragraph, mentioning that Genl. A. is killed in a Duel, with the Earl of Lauderdale. This was for some time so generally believed, that our friends were flocking to the house, to condole with, and make me offers of service. This circumstance has given me a great deal of pain, as it has made known to Genl. A. what I had hoped he would not hear; which was that Lord Lauderdale had cast some reflections on his political Character, in the House of Lords. I am not without strong fears that he will think it necessary to demand an apology, and resent being refused one. But this is a subject, upon which of course,

he is, to me silent ; and all that I can obtain from him, are Assurances that he will do nothing rashly, and without the advice of his friends. You may readily conceive that my situation must be a very unhappy one, till the Affair is settled ; but I call all my fortitude to my aid, to prevent my sinking under it, which would unman him and prevent his acting himself—I am perfectly silent on the subject ; for weak Woman as I am, I would not wish to prevent what would be deemed necessary to preserve his honor.—Lord Lauderdale is at present out of town, but is expected to return in a few days.”

On July 6 she writes again to her father :

“The affair is settled most honorably for the General, and his conduct upon the occasion has gained him great applause. The circumstances that gave rise to it you may wish to hear : Lord Lauderdale (who is violent in the opposition, and was the only man in the House of Lords who voted against an address of thanks to the King, upon a late proclamation), in an attack upon the Duke of Richmond, respecting the Reform in Parliament, is said to have used the following expressions : ‘That he did not know any instance of Political Apostacy equal to the Duke of Richmond’s, except General Arnold’s,’ and that ‘the intended Encampment was designed to overawe the inhabitants of the Kingdom, and the Metropolis in particular ; and prevent a Reform in Parliament, that the Duke of Richmond was the most proper person he knew of to command it, General Arnold first struck off the list.’

“Upon the General’s demanding an apology for this unprovoked attack upon his character, his Lordship positively denied having made use of the last expression, or any similar to it ; the first he acknowledged, and made a kind of apology for it ; but, it not satisfying the General, he drew up such a one as he would accept, which his Lordship refused to sign.

“Lord Hawke (who is a most respectable Peer, and our particular friend) voluntarily offered his services upon the occasion : and as the matter could not be amicably settled, his Lordship waited upon Lord Lauderdale, and a place was named for a meeting. The time appointed was seven o’clock on Sunday morning last—Mr. Charles Fox, as second to Lord Lauderdale ; Lord Hawke, the General’s. It was agreed that they should fire at the same time, upon a word given, which the General did, without effect. Lord L. refused to fire, saying he had no enmity to General Arnold. He at the same time refused making an apology, and said the General might fire again, if he chose. This was impossible, but the General desired Lord Hawke to tell Mr. Fox, that he would not leave the field without satisfaction ; and that if Lord Lauderdale persisted in his refusal of giving it to him, either by an

apology or firing again, that he should be under the necessity of using such expressions to him, as would oblige him to do the latter. Upon this, the seconds had a conference, during which time Lord Lauderdale and the General met; when he told his Lordship that he did not come there to convince the world that he dare fight, but for satisfaction for the injury done his character; and that he certainly would not quit the field without it. After a consultation between Lord L. & Mr. Fox, his Lordship came forward, and said that he had no enmity to General Arnold—that he did not mean to asperse his character or wound his feelings, and was sorry for what he had said. General A. said he was perfectly satisfied with this apology, provided the seconds, as men of honor, declared he ought to be so, which they, without hesitation, did. Before they left the ground, Lord Lauderdale expressed great concern at finding that I had been made unhappy, and begged leave to wait upon me, to make an apology. A variety of circumstances combined to make me acquainted with the whole transaction; what I suffered for near a week is not to be described; the suppression of my feelings, lest I should unman the General, almost at last proved too much for me; and for some hours, my reason was despaired of.”

From this time until her death she kept up a constant correspondence with her father and sisters in Philadelphia, as she had formerly done.

In her letter of May 2, 1796, to her father, she says,—

“I am extremely impatient for the arrival of your picture, which I hope is on its way. You could not have bestowed upon me a more valued gift. Repining is useless, but it is surely a hard lot to be so separated from all my relations; do not suffer absence to weaken your affection for me, and believe that though fate has deprived me of the happiness of contributing to the comfort of your latter days, I could sacrifice almost my life to render them easy, and free from care and pain.”

On July 29, 1796, she says,—

“I cannot express to you my dear Sir, the high gratification you have afforded me, by your goodness in sending to me your valuable picture; the sight of it occasioned sensations I never before experienced; and though I scarcely had it out of my hand the whole of the day I received it, I could not rest without getting up twice in the night to look at it.”

In her letter of May 20, 1797, to her father, she gave an account of a piece of plate which had belonged to “Downright” Shippen as follows:

"I was yesterday gratified by the sight of the Cup & Cover and Stand that was given to the famous Member of Parliament of our name in the reign of George the 1st. I heard of its being at a Silver Smiths, and hoped it might be for sale; in which case, I should have endeavoured to have obtained it, in exchange for some of my most useless plate, and have presented it to you, to whom it would have been valuable. I find however that it was sent by Col. Labourne to be re-gilt, who values it highly. It is very handsome; the inscription 'A Legacy from the Duke of Buckingham & Normandy to the worthy Mr. Shippen.' Its weight 160 oz."

In her letter of February 5, 1800, she thus spoke of the death of General Washington:

"I am sincerely sorry to hear of the death of General Washington. I admired his public, and revered his private Character. I fear that America will sustain an irreparable loss in him, as he appeared to possess the happy talent of uniting all parties."

On May 20 she wrote her sister:

"I was very sorry to hear of General Washington's Death; nobody in America could revere his character more than I did."

On June 14, 1801, Arnold died, and upon his wife the burden of settling his estate was cast. After giving a few small legacies, he makes the following devise to his Wife:

"*Item.* I give Devise and Bequeath to my Beloved Wife, her Heirs, Executors and Administrators all my Estate both *Real* and *Personal* that I may die possessed of, after paying my Debts and Legacies as before and hereinafter mentioned, for her own use and benefit during her continuing a Widow and to be disposed of among all my Children at her Death, as she may think proper, not doubting her doing them all equal justice. But should she Marry again, Then it is in that case, my Will and Pleasure that all my property shall be divided among my Children upon her second Marriage, and in that case, I hereby Give, Devise and Bequeath all my Estate both *Real* and *Personal* that I may have, or die possessed of to my Children to be divided among them in such equal proportions as my beloved Wife shall think Just and Proper, consideration being had to these Sums of Money that they have already received and that have been expended upon them for their Education, &c. And Consideration being also had to their respective Ages and Situations in Life, not doubting that she will do them *all equal Justice* as she knows it is and has always been my intention (as my affection has been equally divided among them) to make an equal provision for them all."

But it was soon found that the claims against Arnold's estate were so great as to leave but little after paying his debts.

On November 5, 1802, she writes,—

"I have been under the necessity of parting with my furniture, wine, and many other comforts provided for me by the indulgent hand of affection; and have by these sacrifices paid all *ascertained* debts, within a few hundred pounds, and hope to be enabled to discharge the remainder and to pay a part of the legacies, provided a demand to a large amount, made by a Swede for the detention of his Vessel, is not substantiated."

On January 5, 1803, she wrote :

"But I am very thankful for the blessings still spared me, and have great satisfaction in informing you my dearest Sir, that my exertions in the laborious task I have undertaken have been so far crowned with success; that I have paid every *ascertained* debt due from the Estate of my late lamented husband, within four or five hundred pounds, and this I have the means of discharging. I will not attempt to describe to you the toil it has been to me; but may without vanity add, that few women could have effected what I have done. And to you, my dear Parent am I indebted for the ability to perform what I have done, as you bestowed upon me the most useful, and best education that America at that time afforded."

We have mentioned that Margaret Arnold was subject to nervous attacks of an hysterical nature when under mental excitement, and the scene at West Point is a well-known instance of this characteristic. Major Franks said :

"In truth, she was subject to occasional paroxysms of physical indisposition, attended by nervous debility, during which she would give utterance to any thing and every thing on her mind. This was a fact well known amongst us of the General's family; so much so as to cause us to be scrupulous of what we told her or said within her hearing."

In later life we find her still subject to such attacks; in her letter of August 14, 1788, she says,—

"I have been unwell for two days past, with an extreme headache and slight fever, and am still confined to my room. You will perceive that my ideas are not very clear."

In her account of Arnold's duel with Lord Lauderdale she says,—

"A variety of circumstances combined to make me acquainted with the whole transaction ; what I suffered for near a week is not to be described ; the suppression of my feelings, lest I should unman the General, almost at last proved too much for me ; and for some hours, my reason was despaired of."

On May 20, 1797, she wrote :

"I informed you, my dear Sir, that I was then laboring under the effects of a violent attack in my head, that had nearly proved fatal ; every precaution has been used to prevent a return of it."

She wrote on February 5, 1800 :

"I shall write to my Sister soon ; my head which is too full of blood, will not admit of my writing more than one letter at a time."

On August 15, 1801, she wrote to Edward Burd :

"My health is impaired by long anxiety of mind, and loss of rest, and my former strength of mind, and energy have entirely forsaken me, and indeed I sometimes fear that my reason will give way."

In the fall of 1801 she wrote :

"My returning health and serenity of mind will I am sure my beloved friends, be a source of great comfort to you, and would have been more so had you witnessed my late sufferings. It would be impossible for me to describe them and the more so, as I am convinced my reason was affected. I look back with thankfulness for my preservation ;—a preservation from worse than death.—But indeed death itself had nearly been the consequence of the despairing state to which I was reduced ; for at one period, when I viewed everything through a false medium, I fancied that nothing but the sacrifice of my life would benefit my children, for that my wretchedness embittered every moment of their lives ; and dreadful to say, I was many times on the point of making the sacrifice. Nothing more strongly proves to myself the deprivation of my reason ; for situated as they are my life is most valuable to them, as the remainder of my days will be devoted to them & their advancement & welfare."

On June 2, 1802, she wrote :

"Sometimes I have been in the deepest distress, and sometimes in a state of irritation not to be described, at present I am neither one or the other, but have a total loss of memory, as far as relates to present occurrences.

"... The Bill to Miss F. has been received. I do not know for what purpose I wished it sent to me, but believe I requested it when I did not know very well what I did."

On July 3, 1803, she wrote:

"I have been a great sufferer, my beloved Sister, for the last three years, but can thank God, though laboring under apprehensions for myself, restored to a perfect serenity of mind, and a degree of contentment, that some time ago, I thought it impossible for me ever to regain."

In her forty-fourth year Margaret Arnold had reached the critical period of a woman's life, and the changes which then took place in her physical system affected her health very unfavorably.

On November 2, 1803, she wrote:

"There was but little variance in the opinion I had already had of the mode to be adopted, to if possible, avert the dreaded evil, a Cancer, and I have steadily pursued the plan laid down for nearly six months.—I have lately been much worse, in consequence of a very large tumor having formed which broke and discharged an immense quantity. To prevent another is now the great object, but I am not much encouraged to hope for success."

On May 14, 1804, she wrote her sister:

"I have been indeed very near death, my dear Sister, and my complaints are such, as to give me but little hope of long continuing an Inhabitant of this world. . . . My only chance is from an internal operation, which it is at present dangerous to perform. I trust I bear this heavy affliction with great resignation; and I do not suffer my spirits to overcome me."

On July 5, 1804, Daniel Coxe, whose family had been very friendly to her, wrote to Edward Shippen as follows:

"her complaints have increased, and, I much lament, appear, from some late and present attacks, to be coming forward to that crisis, which must terminate, sooner or later, the existence of one of the finest women I know. This sad reflection, my dear Sir, cannot affect you more as a father, than it does me, who feel for her all the affections and interest of a Father and Friend. . . . Your daughter now lies on a sick bed, very painful and alarming, not able to partake of the least exercise, such is the nature of her complaints. I need say no more to a father. I saw her *this day* on her sofa, reclined and looking so ill as to shock me. She was not able to write to you or would have done it."

In her last letter dated July 15, 1804, she says,—

“My situation is extremely critical, my recovery appears greatly to depend upon an operation, which hitherto it has been impossible to perform without the most imminent danger of immediately putting a period to my life.”

She had passed through many trials, and the end came on August 24, 1804.

We think we may trust to her father’s opinion of her, written on September 17, 1804, before he knew of her decease, in answer to the letter of July 5 from Daniel Coxe :

“I am unable to express in words my sense of your unparalleled kindness and attention to my dear daughter and her family. You can easily conceive my feelings in reading your friendly and foreboding letter. God grant some unexpected turn may take place, altho’ after the Sentiments you express from such good authority, I have scarcely room to expect it. I must lay my account upon the worst that can happen : *my great Comfort is that her well spent life will secure her a happy Existence hereafter.*”

This is not a doting father making excuses for his erring daughter; no, it is the statement by the chief justice of Pennsylvania of the fact upon which he relied for consolation.

Her relatives always loved her, and even as late as 1855 Sarah Burd by her will directed four diamond rings, each of the value of one hundred and fifty dollars, to be purchased for the children of Mrs. Phipps, who was Margaret Arnold’s only daughter, “as an expression of kind feeling to Mrs. Phipps, and of the love, esteem, and high regard I have had for her mother.”

The principal trait of Margaret Shippen’s character was her loyal nature, which was shown by her intense affection for her relatives, and especially for her children. In a letter from James Robertson Arnold, written from Malta in 1806 to his relatives in Philadelphia, he says,—

“Although a stranger, my heart is with you. Much of the unbounded attachment of my lamented Mother for her family was instilled into her

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“Although a stranger, my heart is with you. Much of the unbounded attachment of my lamented Mother for her family was instilled into her

children, and there is nothing to which I look forward with more pleasure than to being with you once again. I do propose to visit America a very few years hence, if after the long period that has elapsed, former circumstances are sufficiently obliterated to render it proper."

The conduct of her children in later years justified all the praises that Margaret Arnold had bestowed upon them. It seemed as if she had taught them that the only way to atone for the fault of their father was for them to lead lives of the strictest probity and honor.

Though Arnold had won her regard as a girl, and her father (on account of her illness occasioned by his first refusal) had given a reluctant consent to her marriage, yet her married life was full of sorrow and trouble. There is no doubt but that the infamy which was attached to Arnold's name filled her with anguish. It is doubtful whether she would ever have rejoined him against the wishes of her relatives in Philadelphia after the treason had not the decree of banishment deprived her of all choice in the matter.

In later years came the painful discovery that although her happiness had been sacrificed for Arnold, yet he had not always remained true to her. In a letter dated August 15, 1801, to Edward Burd, Mrs. Arnold says,—

"I sometimes fear that my reason will give way.—My sufferings are not of the present moment only.—Years of unhappiness have past, I had cast my lot, complaints were unavailing, and you and my other friends are ignorant of the many causes of uneasiness I have had."

On July 5, 1803, she said:

"Report has again all but actually married my dear Sister Lea. . . . I think was I so happily situated as she is, I should be very fearful of risking a change."

Another marked trait in the character of Margaret Arnold was, that instead of being "extravagant" she was prudent and economical. Her letters contain evidences of this. For instance, when she wanted to get the cup given to William Shippen for her father, her thought was not to buy it, but to exchange some of her own plate, which she

did not need, for it. In her letter from St. Johns, to her sister, asking her to purchase various articles for her, Margaret Arnold speaks like a person accustomed to make every penny tell.

On March 28, 1802, Edward Shippen wrote to her:

"I am glad you have taken a smaller house, & shew such a disposition to economise. . . . *I never had reason to distrust your prudence.*"

In speaking of this very matter, Mrs. Arnold gives the exact figures; in her letter of January 5, 1803, she says, "I stand at an uncommonly low rent; that and the Taxes upon the house not exceeding £56 a year."

But we refer our readers to the correspondence, which will be found in the Appendix, as the best means of knowing the excellence of her character.

CHARGES AGAINST MRS. ARNOLD.

We have given an account of Aaron Burr's insult to Mrs. Arnold. Let us now consider what course Burr would naturally adopt after he had been repulsed.

In all ages there have been attempts at seduction, but there is one remarkable circumstance connected with unsuccessful attempts, which is that the baffled seducer almost invariably accuses the person he has injured of the perpetration of a crime. The Biblical stories of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and Susannah and the elders, are illustrations of this well-known trait of human nature. Mr. Henry C. Van Schaack, author of the "*Life of Peter Van Schaack*," before referred to, says, in speaking of Burr:

"We have high authority for saying, that Mrs. Arnold is not the only lady whom he (Burr) has slandered because he was repelled, and could not accomplish his wicked purposes."

So that we have not only the probability from human nature that Burr would make a false accusation against Mrs. Arnold, but also the fact that he did the very thing at another time in a similar instance. But let us consider

other incidents in Burr's career, related by his biographers, as bearing upon the question whether Burr would or would not make a false charge against Mrs. Arnold.

Burr obtained the charter for the Manhattan Bank by pretending it was for a water company to supply New York city.¹

As a lawyer he would resort to any pettifogging trick to win his case.²

Washington, distrusting his honesty, refused to Burr access to the Archives of the government.³

Henry Clay was firmly convinced that Burr had deliberately lied to him when he was employed as Burr's counsel.⁴

In 1806 Burr forged the name of General Dearborn, Secretary of War, to a letter setting forth that Burr's treasonable schemes would be approved by the President.⁵

Furthermore, we can say that the duel with Hamilton shows that Burr possessed a vindictive and determined spirit; and another incident shows that he cherished the passion for revenge to the end of his life. The preface to Davis's "Life of Burr" states: "His prejudices against General Washington were immovable. They were formed in the summer of 1776." And yet over fifty years later Burr was only prevented by Davis's peremptory refusal from inserting in his memoirs passages to detract from Washington's fame.

Assuming that Burr would make a false accusation against Mrs. Arnold, let us consider what it would probably be. It was not his object to have a judicial investigation with a chance for the accused to prove her innocence. That was the very thing he wished to avoid. The accusation, then, must be something which would excite most feeling against her and be most easily believed without being proved. It was useless to accuse her of highway robbery, burglary, or murder. In fact, there was no accusa-

¹ Parton, Vol. I. p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

tion of crime which did not bear its contradiction on its face. It being ridiculous to accuse her of the actual commission of any crime, the charge must be shifted to complicity with crime committed by another. This at once obviated many difficulties; for the indignation of an injured people was violently excited against Arnold, and to charge her with being his accomplice would cause his (Burr's) story to be less sharply scrutinized, while the accusation would render her most odious to the people. Having determined to accuse her of complicity with her husband, how should the accusation be rendered most plausible. He could not say he overheard her plotting treason before September 25, 1780, for the reply would be, Why did you not inform the authorities? Thus he would be forced to say that Mrs. Arnold *afterwards* made a confession. As it would be equally his duty to inform the authorities of a confession while it was possible to punish her, he would be compelled to say that the confession was made to a third party, who *afterwards* told him. In order to impose upon popular credulity such person must possess certain qualifications. Such a person must be a woman in order to render the fact of confession more probable. She must be at least an *acquaintance* of Mrs. Arnold, and one who had met her *after* the treason, that there might be time and place for a confession. She must be intimately connected with Burr, to account for the fact no one else has been informed of the alleged confession; and, lastly, she must be *dead* at the time the accusation was made, so that there would be no chance of contradiction on her part. There was no person to whom the part of having heard a confession from Mrs. Arnold, and afterwards repeating it to Aaron Burr, could be more fitly assigned than to Mrs. Prevost, afterwards Burr's wife. In order to make the alleged confession as damaging as possible and to offset the effect of any assertions of her innocence to others, it would be necessary to add that Mrs. Arnold further confessed that her distress at West Point was only feigned.

Such an accusation would be the one above all others which Burr would prefer to have believed, for in addition to its animus against Margaret Arnold, it would be an attack upon both Washington and Hamilton, if they were shown to be the dupes of a traitress. It would be the strongest charge against Washington's character which Davis would permit him to make; and it would also be an attack upon the reputation of Hamilton, the two men whom Burr hated above all others. Having a threefold motive for a particular accusation, we may rest assured the accusation would be made in Burr's craftiest and most plausible way.

As it was not possible after November, 1780, for Burr to injure Mrs. Arnold *personally*, his charge of complicity with her husband's treason could only affect her reputation; and if he (Burr) did not publicly accuse her until after her death, there would be no possibility of a direct denial from her. As there was no extraneous evidence to support Burr's charge, he was not deprived of any evidence by delay; but as death was constantly removing witnesses who might have been able to give testimony in favor of the truth, Burr's accusation became harder to refute the longer it was delayed. So that if Burr had a false charge to make in order to gratify his malice, he would probably delay it till after his death, when it would appear in his Memoirs. But in order to disseminate the story as widely as possible he would tell it to his friends whom he could trust, and who would believe him without seeking for further evidence, thinking that their statements might influence public opinion.

We have shown how Burr could make up a story which to this point would be incapable of direct contradiction, even though it was utterly false in its most important particulars. If Burr could assign a plausible reason why a confession should be made, and fill in the minor details of his story correctly, there is no reason why a casual reader would not implicitly receive his account, unless Burr's bad character

in other respects would excite the suspicions of the reader and induce an examination of the evidence.

But if he fails to give a sufficient motive why the alleged confession should be made, or if he asserts that she confessed to incidents which can be proved *not* to have happened, it is the strongest proof possible to be given that no confession was made, and that the whole narrative is merely Burr's invention.

Or if, after having related a story, the greater part of which depends solely upon Burr's assertions, he has been proved to have falsified in any particular, his whole story should be rejected.

We will now give Burr's story as he dictated it to his friend, Matthew L. Davis, for the purpose of publication in his Memoirs, adding in brackets a few corrections made necessary by the numerous errors. We quote from Vol. I. page 219, of Davis's "*Memoirs of Aaron Burr*:"

"In the summer of 1780," [*the only letter was dated August 16, 1779,*] "Major Andre, of the British army, was in correspondence" [*one letter does not make correspondence*] "with Mrs. Arnoid, the wife of General Arnold, under a pretext of supplying her, from the city of New York, with Millinery and other trifling articles. On the 23rd of September, 1780, Major Andre was captured and the treason of the general discovered. When this news reached West Point, Mrs. Arnold became apparently, almost frantic. Her situation excited the sympathy of some of the most distinguished officers in the American Army. Mrs. Arnold, having obtained from General Washington a passport, and permission to join her husband in the city of New York," [*she went direct to her father in Philadelphia,*] "left West Point, and on her way stopped at the house of Mrs. Prevost, in Paramus, where she stayed one night. On her arrival at Paramus the frantic scenes of West Point were renewed, and continued as long as strangers were present. Mrs. Prevost was known as the wife" [*why not say widow? She was then receiving Burr's attentions, and was married to him on April 17th 1782,*] "of a British officer, and connected with the royalists. In her therefore, Mrs. Arnold could confide." [*She had spent one night with Mrs. Prevost on her way to West Point. Did she, without any necessity, confess herself guilty of a crime the punishment of which was death?*] "As soon as they were left alone, Mrs. Arnold became tranquilized, and assured Mrs. Prevost that she was heartily sick of the theatrics she was exhibiting.

She stated that she had corresponded with the British commander—" [after the lapse of a century the letters have not been shown;] " "that she was disgusted with the American Cause and those who had the management of public affairs—and that, through great persuasion and unceasing perseverance, she had ultimately brought the general into an arrangement to surrender West Point to the British." [Arnold began the correspondence over a year before he applied for the command of West Point.] "Mrs. Arnold was a gay, accomplished, artful, and extravagant woman." [We know she possessed, the true spirit of wise economy.] "There is no doubt, therefore, that for the purpose of acquiring the means of gratifying an inordinate vanity, she contributed greatly to the utter ruin of her husband, and thus doomed to everlasting infamy and disgrace all the fame he had acquired as a gallant soldier at the sacrifice of his blood. Mrs. Prevost subsequently became the wife of Colonel Burr, and repeated to him these confessions of Mrs. Arnold.

"The preceding statement is confirmed by the following anecdote. Mrs. Arnold was the daughter of Chief Justice Shippen, of Pennsylvania. She was personally acquainted with Major Andre, and, it is believed, corresponded with him previous to her marriage. In the year 1779-1780, Colonel Robert Morris resided at Springatsbury, in the vicinity of Philadelphia, adjoining Bush Hill. Some time previous to Arnold's taking command of West Point, he was an applicant for the post. On a particular occasion Mrs. Arnold was dining at the house of Colonel Morris. After dinner, a friend of the family came in, and congratulated Mrs. Arnold on a report that her husband was appointed to a different, but more honorable command. The information affected her so much as to produce hysteric fits. Efforts were made to convince her that the general had been selected for a preferable station. These explanations, however, to the astonishment of all present, produced no effect.

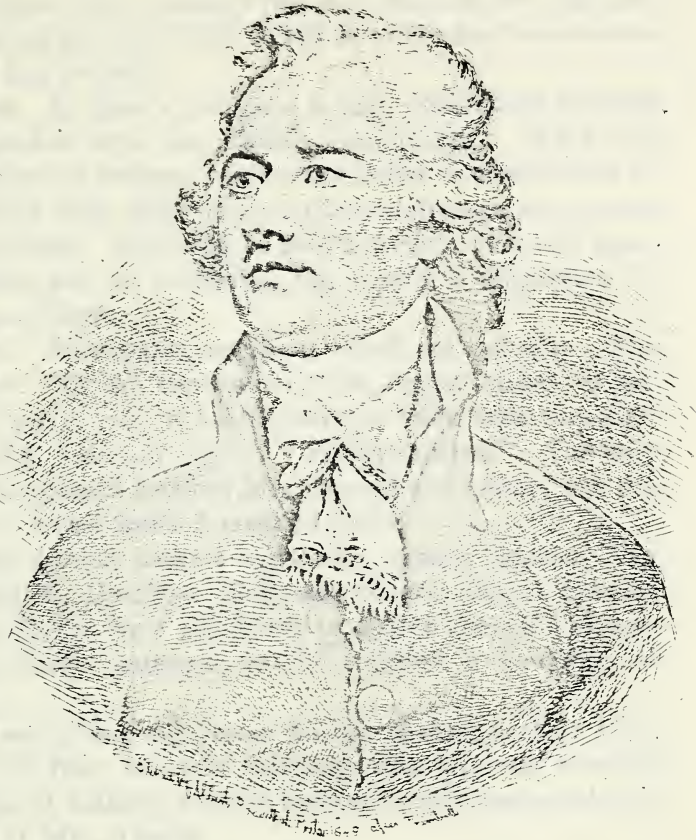
"But after the treason of Arnold was discovered, the family of Colonel Morris entertained no doubt that Mrs. Arnold was privy to, if not the negotiator for, a surrender of West Point to the British, even before the general had charge of the post." [We have not been able to discover any proof that such a statement emanated from Robert Morris or any member of his family. But even if it were true, it would not prove that Mrs. Arnold was cognizant of the treason, but would show how unsafe it would have been to confide a momentous secret to a woman whose nerves were so little under her control.]

Davis's "Memoirs of Burr" were published in 1836, fifty-six years after the meeting with Margaret Arnold. The witnesses of these occurrences were all dead except one,

Major Franks. If the accusation were true, it was greatly weakened by the delay, which had deprived it of the corroborative evidence of impartial observers. But if it was false, the delay would render any direct contradiction by witnesses impossible with a single exception. Knowing the craftiness of Burr's nature, we conclude that he would make the accusation at the time most favorable for his purpose; and if he delayed it until witnesses were dead, it was because their testimony would contradict his story.

We think we have clearly shown that if Aaron Burr had determined to make a false accusation against Margaret Arnold it would necessarily have been in the form in which his charge actually appears in his Memoirs. Though its form, as well as the time of its appearance, renders it extremely probable that the whole narrative is merely a fabrication of Aaron Burr, yet we will consider whether (irrespective of these facts) his story bears the impress of truth or the marks of falsehood.

First. Is the allèged motive sufficient to account for a confession which might cost Mrs. Arnold her life? It was, after three days' assertion of her innocence, "That she was heartily sick of the theatrics she was exhibiting." As Washington, Hamilton, Lafayette, and other officers believed her innocent, it was not necessary to continue any "theatrics." Silence was all that was required. Even if she had been guilty of treason, she would not have gratuitously invited Mrs. Prevost's contempt by an exhibition of such barefaced duplicity as Burr relates. As Mrs. Arnold's previous intercourse with Mrs. Prevost was limited to the one night Mrs. Arnold spent at Paramus on her way to West Point, her acquaintance could not have been intimate enough to lead us to believe that she would confess the secret on which her life depended. No, we cannot believe Burr's story that Washington, Lafayette, Hamilton, and the physician, Dr. Eustis, were all deceived by a clever piece of acting by a woman just entering her twenty-first year, but who was well known to them. We want a man with greater



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Nat-1757-Ob-1804.

From the Original Painting in the Trumbull Collection, Yale School of Art.

veracity than Aaron Burr to induce us to believe that Margaret Arnold had "corresponded" with the British commander for two years without betraying herself, and would then without any necessity risk not only her own life but also that of her only child to tell it to the first woman she met on her journey.

Second. In Burr's charge it is said, "She stated she had corresponded with the British Commander." After the lapse of over a century, neither the letters nor references to them have been discovered; so that statement may be set down as false. But being in Burr's account, it would show that there was no confession, but merely a fabrication on the part of Burr.

Third. Burr makes assertions which are not true. For example: "In the summer of 1780, Major André, of the British army, was in correspondence with Mrs. Arnold." One letter does not make a "correspondence." The only letter that passed between Mrs. Arnold and André was the letter of André dated August 16, 1779.

"Mrs. Arnold became apparently, almost frantic." As Washington, Hamilton, Lafayette, Varick, Major Franks, and Dr. Eustis were convinced that Mrs. Arnold was hysterical, Burr's statement to the contrary is unworthy of belief.

Without giving any reason for the change, another biographer of Burr has told this story with the very material variation of making Burr an auditor of this pretended confession of Mrs. Arnold.

Perhaps it was only intended to make Burr's story more direct and conclusive by this violation of the ethics of historical composition, but by so doing Mr. Parton has committed the blunder of making a statement which cannot be true unless Burr was an accessory after the fact to the treason at West Point.

In the first volume of Parton's "Life of Burr," edition of 1864, page 125, Parton's version of Burr's charge is thus stated:

"In September, it was Colonel Burr's fortune to witness at the house of Mrs. Prevost a memorable scene.

"The news of Arnold's treason was flying in awful whispers over the country. Soon after the first shock of the discovery, came touching descriptions of Mrs. Arnold's grief at her husband's crime, of which, it was universally believed, she had been ignorant up to the moment of his flight from West Point. The historic reader is familiar with Hamilton's high-flown narrative of the scene which transpired under his own eyes." [He then quotes from Hamilton's letter describing the condition of Mrs. Arnold after the discovery of the treason and continues:]

"This was the romantic falsehood of the affair. It was fitted to deceive the good-hearted Hamilton, who was then himself a lover, and therefore full of tenderness for all women; and the story was one which a young gentleman of a rhetorical turn, and who indeed owed his advancement to 'the flowers of his pen,' would delight to tell. It fell to Burr's lot to become acquainted with the repulsive truth. He was sitting one evening with Mrs. Prevost, when the approach of a party of horse was heard, and soon after, a lady veiled, and attired in a riding habit, burst into the room, and hurrying toward Mrs. Prevost, was on the point of addressing her. Seeing a gentleman present whom, in the dim light of the apartment, she did not recognize, she paused, and asked in an anxious tone, 'Am I safe? Is this gentleman a friend?' 'Oh, yes,' was Mrs. Prevost's reply, 'he is my most particular friend, Colonel Burr.' 'Thank God!' exclaimed Mrs. Arnold, for she it was; 'I've been playing the hypocrite, and I'm tired of it.' She then gave an account of the way she had deceived General Washington, Colonel Hamilton, and the other American officers, who, she said, believed her innocent of the treason, and had given her an escort of horse from West Point. She made no scruple of confessing the part she had borne in the negotiations with the British general, and declared it was she who had induced her husband to do what he had done. She passed the night at Paramus, taking care to resume her acting of the outraged and frantic woman, whenever strangers were present. Colonel Burr's relations with the Shippen family, of which Mrs. Arnold was a member, had been of the most intimate character from childhood." [*Aaron Burr was born February 6, 1756; was taken to Philadelphia in 1760, and in 1761 was removed to Stockbridge, Massachusetts. We have no account that Burr met any of the Shippen family between 1761 and the meeting at Paramus.*] "They had been his father's friends; and the orphan boy had been taken from his mother's grave to their home in Philadelphia. He stood towards this fascinating, false-hearted woman almost in the light of a younger brother," [*he was four years, four months, and five days older,*] "and he kept her secret until she was past being harmed by the telling of it."

Past being harmed by the telling of it? Is it no harm "Thus for to blot the honor of the dead?" The reader will notice the contradictions in important particulars in Burr's statements, as given by his two biographers. We know of no surer test of truth to apply to these narratives than one made use of over eighteen hundred years ago, when, on a certain important trial, the falsity of the testimony was fully expressed by the words, "but their witness agreed not together."

But laying aside all these inconsistencies in the narrative, and assuming that all the circumstances related extraneous to the alleged conversation were uncontradicted, what force would Burr's story have in such case?

It is a characteristic of human nature to conceal one's own wrong-doing for fear of punishment or loss of reputation. When, therefore, we hear of a voluntary confession of a crime, we either doubt the story or assume that a motive sufficiently strong to overcome the fear of punishment exists. A true repentance and remorse for crime has thus operated, and often when a criminal is confronted with *some* of the proofs of guilt he confesses all in the hope of making his punishment lighter. But where there is no repentance for the wrong done, no danger of discovery and punishment apparent to the criminal, and no sufficient motive shown, we assert that no instance in history of such a confession can be exhibited. But there is no reason even alleged why Margaret Arnold should volunteer the information that she was guilty of conduct punishable with death. She well knew the consequences, for the execution of Roberts and Carlisle had impressed even the most careless.

We think the reader will agree with us that Burr's narrative by itself is so unworthy of belief as to be worthless as evidence. And when we come to this conclusion as to this particular alleged confession, we only determine from reason what the people of the United States have seen fit to declare is the true worth of *all such* confessions.

For in Article III., Section 3, of the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that, "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in *open court*."

If such is the general rule as to confessions, even where the character of the witness for truth and veracity is unimpeached, surely no credit should be given to the statements of a man notoriously untruthful, and who has in addition a secret spite against the person he accuses.

But we can only see how utterly worthless this so-called testimony of Burr is by a comparison with what would be required to sustain a conviction for treason. We have seen that confession out of court is worthless. If Mrs. Prevost had been a witness of an overt act and had afterwards informed Aaron Burr, his testimony to that fact would only be hearsay and inadmissible. If Mrs. Prevost herself had testified to the commission of an overt act, it would be insufficient, because two witnesses are required. No matter what the evidence is, a conviction cannot be sustained unless the charge is made within three years of the commission of the treason. This is because the difficulty of proving anything increases so greatly with the lapse of time that the law does not consider it fair that a man should be called upon to defend himself from such a charge after three years. What, then, shall we think of a charge made fifty-six years after the event?

We have said that another way Burr might seek to injure Mrs. Arnold was for him to repeat his story to his friends, and if preserved in any diaries, these statements would seem corroborative of his story. But if shown to originate from Burr, the corroboration would be only apparent, not real. It would only be to the fact that Burr had said these things, not that they were true.

In Stone's "*Life of Brant*," Vol. II. page 101, it is said:

"The author has long been aware, through confidential friends of the late Col. Burr, that Mrs. Arnold was only acting a part when she exhibited her distress."

In Vol. I. page 746, of "New York in the Revolution," by Thomas Jones, it is said :

"the writer can state, that he was informed by his personal friend, the late Richard Varick De Witt of Albany, one of the most upright of men—that Col. Varick, Arnold's aid, told him, that at first he believed Mrs. Arnold's conduct on the discovery of the plot was the genuine result of her innocence of her husband's treachery, but that subsequently he was satisfied that it was nothing but a piece of splendid acting."

Assuming that this report of conversation is precisely correct, it only proves that Varick was convinced of Mrs. Arnold's innocence as far as her conduct came under his own observation; but *subsequently* he altered his opinion from something he afterwards heard.

We have no doubt but that Richard Varick was one of the persons to whom Burr told his story *subsequently*, and that the change in his opinion was due to Burr's artfully told falsehood. As Varick was one of Arnold's aides, Burr would, of course, try to convince *him* that his first impression was incorrect; and as we know the threefold motive of Burr to try to induce Varick to change his view, we cannot doubt but that Burr would use every effort, nor need we be surprised if Burr were *subsequently* successful.

But after all a falsehood did not become the truth, no matter how many times Burr repeated it to his confidential friends, and these frequent repetitions only prove how venomously Burr hated Mrs. Arnold, Washington, and Hamilton.

When writers like Leake in the "Life of Lamb" and Stone in the "Life of Brant" speak of Mrs. Arnold as a traitress on the authority of Aaron Burr, it is only Burr's falsehood which these writers have repeated without giving the subject an examination.

We have found no writer who attains to the dignity of an historian who, after consideration of the evidence on both sides, has come to the conclusion that Mrs. Arnold was guilty.

In this connection we desire to quote the words of Major

Franks when he heard of the charge made in "Burr's Memoirs." He was the only man living when the accusation was publicly made who could, from his own knowledge, testify to the occurrences at West Point in 1780. His characterization of Burr's story is that it was "False! utterly False!"

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To recapitulate, we conclude that the accusation of Burr is false, because

First. He had a motive to make such an accusation.

Second. Burr would not hesitate at falsehood.

Third. His accusation is precisely the one which he would make if he intended to accuse her falsely.

Fourth. We have documentary evidence that portions of Burr's statement are not true.

Fifth. The public accusation was delayed until every witness but one was dead. That witness pronounced the charge False! utterly False!

Sixth. Burr's accusation is in the form looked upon with such peculiar disfavor by the law as apt to be false, that even the Constitution of the United States prevents a conviction for treason upon such testimony as Burr gives, no matter how truthful the witnesses may be.

(To be continued.)

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN LACEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued from page 13.)

Before I commence my narrative at New York, it will be proper to recite the proceedings of the Monthly meeting of Quakers to which by birthright I belonged. After being visited by several Committes, and finding me inflexible a few days before my march from Bucks County, I rec'd a Paper, containing the following Order and extract from their Minutes.

Whereas John Lacey Ju^r hath had his birth and education amongst Friends; but hath so far diviated from the principles of Friends as to learn the art of War; and having been treated with on that account, but not coming to a sence of this error, we give forth this our Testimony against such practices and can have no further Unity with him as a Member of our Society untill he comes to a sence of his Misconduct, and condemns the same to the satisfaction of Friends, which he may do is our desire for him.

(signed) JOSEPH CHAPMAN, *Clerk*

All my officers as well as myself being total strangers in New York, were at a loss to act, no provision having been made for our reception, we were left to make the best shift among total strangers we could. The Commanding officer, called the Town Major, however placed us in empty Houses, deserted by their former owners in fear of the approach of the Enemy who were soon expected. In Broadway I appointed Ensign John Beatty, Quartermaster, having no duty assigned us I order every Gun to be repaired & put in the best order. On the 13th of April Cap^t Robinson's Company joined us & on the 14th we were ordered to encamp on Long

Island under Major Housiker who had also arrived, we encamped in Tents on the North end of the Island. A few days after Cap^t More's Company arrived unarmed, and Cap^t Churches armed with Rifles, which according to the promise of Col. Wayne ought to have been in the hands of my Company. When Col. Wayne gave me recruiting orders, he told me to procure as many Rifles in Bucks County as I could, to be paid for by the Public on my joining the Regiment, and that if I procured more than any of the other Captains, my Company should be the Rifle Company, as he intended one of the Companies of his Regiment should be armed with Rifles. I procured upwards of twenty. None of the other Companies a single one. The Colo^l forgetting his promise, on our arrival at Chester, the Rifles were taken from my People and given to Capt. Churches, & my men armed with Muskets. I had used more industry to Cloth my men than any of the other Captains, their Regimentals were made in Philada. by the Taylors there mine at Darby by my own Men & others at that place under my own direction, and of Cloth I had procured myself, by which means My Company was Clothed several Weeks before any of the other Companies, and thus enabled to go on to New York so long before the others were ready to March. Our Regimental Coats were Deep blew faced with white, white Vests & Overalls edged with blew Cloth. A very beautiful uniform, but on experience was found much better adapted for parade than utility in the hardships of a Camp, as they too easily became soiled, and hard to clean.

On the 27th of April Colo^l Anth^y Wayne came to New York, I did not see him. Major Housiker informed me the Colo^l ordered him to send me immediately to Darby to pay the Board of my men, handing me a letter from Colo^l Johnston our Lieu^t Colo^l in these words—"immediately to return to Darby & settle and pay for the Men's board, I had neglected before I left that place, or my Character, which had already suffered would sustain much damage." I instantly left the Camp, hastened to Darby, satisfied the People

the blame lay with Colo^l Wayne, that he had forfeited his word with me, and that he was the cause of the Men being Quartered on them, as well as their not being paid. They were satisfied and acknowledged me to be innocent but refused to take the money allow'd by Act of Congress. I made Application to the Committee of Safety, stated my predicament, they ordered a further allowance, and I effected a satisfactory settlement, payed them off and returned to long Island, which I reached on the 11th of May. Five of the Companies were still there, with Lieut Colo^l Johnston & Major Housiker—Robinsons, mine & Churches were gone to Canada with Colo^l Wayne. He had taken his Pett Cap^t Moore with him to Command my Company, leaving his Unarmed, with the other four Companies to follow as soon as they procure arms. Colo^l Johnston informed me Colo^l Wayne had left orders that I was to take charge of Moors Company untill we overtook them. Agreeably to this arbitrary mandate I remained here to the 22nd during which My mind was continually harrowed up to the highest pitch of Mortification, by repeated accounts from Albany that my Company was deserting, that they had refused to March under Cap^t Moore, that numbers under Guard & twenty absent at one time, of which I informed Colo^l Johnston, who consulted with Gen. Green, then Commanding officer on long Island. He directed him to send me after my Company, gave me a letter to Colo^l Wayne stating the reasons for his sending me, and that it was by order of Gen^l Green. No time was lost, having no baggage to get ready or to incommode me, my Chest & Cloths were gone on with the Comp^y taken by Lieut Smith. Imbarked in a Vessel at New York for Albany, with Lieut^s Alexander & McClintie, Ensign Varnum & Doct^r Mouse, mate to our Regiment; Alexander, McClintie & Varnum, belonged to Robinson & Church's Companies, had been left behind when these Companies marched from long Island. Altho we made use of every effort, by land and water we did not come up with the Troops untill the 30th, who lay about half way between

Crown Point & Sent Johns, encamped on the west side of lake Champlain. After we came to Albany we marched to Fort George at the southerly end of the lake of the same name, crossed that lake in batteaus, taking my turn at the Oars, hour about, passed a landing place of about a mile and a half to Lake Champlain, continued our course in the same kind of Vessel down that lake with a Company of Indians from Ticonderoga, by Crown point. The wind being a Head the last day the Troops under Gen^l Sullivan going to Reinforce Gen^l Thompson & Arnold in Canada, did not venture out, but lay encamped on the shore, by which means, we overhalled them. I waited on Colo^l Wayne, gave him Johnston's Letter, and related the cause of my following the Company & refered him to the letter from Colo^l Johnston. Next morning, May 31st, there was a fine & fair wind down the Lake, orders were given for the Troops to embark. On the beat of the General the Tents were instantly struck, and the Troops hurried into the Batteaus. I was invited by Colo^l Wayne to take a passage in his boat.

The Boats were soon under way. From the best calculation I could make, there were about two Hundred Vessels, Tents were hoisted for sales. Col^l Waynes Division leading the Van, the whole made a most formidable and beautiful appearance—I presume, something like the Gretion Fleet going to the Seage of Troy—having a brisk and fair wind went rapidly on, but did not reach sent Johns till after dark, having sailed upward of Eighty miles. Next Day being the first of June, it rained very hard; lay in our Tents all day, the rain continued all night and untill ten o'clock next Morning, and the ground we encamped on being leavil retained the water, we all had got a good soaking. The return of the Sun was a welcome Friend—our Camp was on the low Ground near Fort sent Johns, about sixteen miles below the Isle aux Noix at the head, or what is called the enterence of the River Sorell. At S^t Johns the Current of the water is strong but not rapid, it gradu-

ally increas untill it arives to the head of the Rapids, about three miles below, from whence to Chamblee about the same distance it is a swift rapid, meeting a west branch of nearly the same seize, when the water becomes almost stationary, admitting large Vessels to sail up and down the sent Lawrence River. On the third the Troops marched by land to Chamblee about six miles, excepting a few to Man the Boats. I went in one of them, down the Rapids to Chamblee; we had a very swift Passage, and the good fortune to have none of the Boats cast away, as is sometimes the case on striking the Rocks when they are stove to pieces. On our arival at Chamblee, the Troops re-entered the Batteaus, and reached the Mouth or Junction of that River with the S^t Lawrence in the evening. Encamped on a beautiful level & sandy piece of Ground on the south east fork of these Rivers in froont of the sent Lawrence.

On the second of June while the Troops lay at sent Johns I rec^d the following note from Col^l Wayne—

“SENT JOHNS 2^d June 1776.

“Its Colo^l Wayne’s Orders that Captain Moore continues to Command Capt. Lacey’s Company untill such time as Capt Moores arives. The Colonel at the same time disapproves of Capt Lacey’s Conduct in proceeding without Cap^t Moores People which was Contreary to Orders, yet he will pass it over with impunity as he is Contious that Capt. Lacey was only anxious to be at the field of Action, and did not intentionally disobey Commands—he therefore requests Capt. Lacey to Act as a Volunteer Continuing his Rank untill the arival of Cap^t Moores Company.

“ANTH^y WAYNE,

“Col^l 4th Penn^y Regt.”

This was a Thunder Bolt, I had not foreseen nor expected, therefore taken by surprise, an Electricity that Vibrated through every nerve. Intirely among strangers, not a Confident, or a friend to consult with, Lieut. Smith & Ensign

Beaty were already so Humbled by Colo^l Wayne's tyranical and Haughty Treatment, were Completely Silenced. I had not an advocate, nor even a single Person who even seemed inclined to advise me what to do. I resolved to wait on the Colo^l. to know his reasons for this Order; his answer was—"It was his Orders & they should be obeyed." I reminded him that I had Lieut. Colo^l Johnston's Orders to Follow my Company, and that he had first consulted with Gen^l. Green, who advised him to send me, and that my motives were pure and laudable, and my conduct excited by the best intentions. That, being an elder Capt. to Moore, to have my Comp^y given him in my presence, to act as a mere Volunteer, without any Command, or indeed to be commanded myself by a Junior officer—having committed no offences, and contious of having committed no breach of Orders, was unjust. That if there was blame it lay with Lieut. Colo^l Johnston, without his permission I should not have followed the Company, and that I could not conceive my conduct any way reprehensible believing my motives most concieniously to be innocent. I looked upon myself highly degraded and injured, and begged the Colo^l to reconsider his Order; that if I was guilty of a breach of Orders, I ought in Justice to be first convicted before I was so severely punished. All I could say had no avail the Colo^l was inflexible.

However a Man may cloth himself with Tyroney, and lord it over others, a secret sting will still rest on his conscience, and his mind must condemn his Conduct. Sensible of this Feeling the Colo^l's mind condemned his actions, and to smooth it over invited me to a Dinner he had ordered in the vicinity of the Camp, by sending me the following note.

Colo^l Wayne's best Compliments waits on Capt^t Lacey, begs the favour of his dining with him on a Roasted Pig at 2^oClk this afternoon by the edge of the woods.

TO CAPT. LACEY,
Present.

I thought it most advisable to accept the Colo^{ls} invitation; the Pig was well Cooked and very nice; but I felt such a load of Degradation, of injured innocence, of the purest Motives of Patriotism, such a deadly blow to all my future hopes of Comfort or preferment under such an Absolute, such a Tyrent and Partial Commander, I had no appetite, nor could I eradicate the Ponderous load that hung upon my mind, dejection and dispair was evidently visible in my Countenance. Having embarked at the resk of my Life to oppose a foreign Tyrent, and, then meeting an implacable one at Home, my mind was inextricably enthralled.

On our arrival at the Mouth of the Sorrell River, I waited on Gen^l Sullivan, who had gone there before us. Show^d Colo^l Wayne's Order. He gave me fair promises, and assured me he would settle all differences between the Colo^l and me, and he would see I had Justice done me. On the next Day the 5th of June the Gen^l sent for me and ordered me express with letters to Gen^l Arnold at Montreall. A Post Chais or rather a common Chair without a Top—what they call in Canada a Callash—stood at the Door of the General's quarters. The letters were handed me by one of the Gen^{ls} Aids, with some hard money to pay the drivers at the end of each stage, and gave me verbal instructions how to proceed. I instantly jumped into the Carriall, to which was Geered a small Chunk of a Horse; the Coachman drove off in full speed up the East side of the Sorrell River. We left Head Quarters about four o'clock, and after two changes arived within six miles of Chamblee, having travelled all night. Crossed the river in a boat, persuid my course on foot to Lapraree and came to Montreall about twelve o'clock, delivered my letters to Gen^l Arnold, with whome I dined. In passing up the River Sorrell I had an agreeable and fine prospect of the ajcasent Country. On the margen of the River and as far back into the Country as I could see the soil appeared to be of a Sandy loome & very Fertile, the banks and for some distance as far as I could see the land lay a considerable hight above the Water

in the River, but very level. Some of my Drivers could speak English, who informed me that back from the river their were a great body of swamp and Marshy Ground, and the Country uninhabited; along the bank and Margen of the River, the Villages seme to unite with each other, so that it might almost be said to be a string of Villages from the Chamblee to the mouth or Junction of the Sorrell with the St. Lawrence.

At every Cross Road or vicinity of a Church, of which there appeared not a few,—to each was erected a Cross or Crusifix attached to a large post fixed in the ground; as we passed each my driver never failed to pull off his Hat, and make a low bow as he sat in our Carryall, turning his Face toward it, muttering at the same time a few words in French, I did not understand. I could not help reflecting on the Prejudice of Education on seeing these poor and ignorent Canadians so adroit in their devotion to these inanimate Posts of Wood.

About four o'clock the same day, June 6th, I received other Letters from Gen^l Arnold to Gen^l Sullivan at the Sorrell. The Gen^l ordered five men to accompany me, in a large Connoe. We hoisted a Blanket for a sail, having a fine fair & easy Wind down the River, untill we came to Lapraree, where we ware overtaken by a Squall of Wind & Rain. Steared for the shore, expecting every moment to be oversat, the waves runing like little Mountains. We were afraid to take down our sail, kep nearly before the Wind so as to make the first land in our course. Luckely we maid out to reach the land, but the instant our Connoe struck she sunk, fortunately for us the Water being shole we reeched the shore in safety. Being thus cast away on an Enemies Country, concieved it unsafe to apply to the Inhabitants for assistance, as none of us could speak a word of French, even if they were disposed to assist us, we could not make them understand what we wanted. Providentially, however, we discovered a Battau on the shore near the place where we landed, which we suppose had been either found

adrift or stolen by the Inhabitants and drawn out of the Water; it proved to be a good one with four Ores in it. After considerable efforts we lunched her into the River; the wind and storm abating, got her under way, altho the Waves were still in tremendous adjitation, and our new Vessel very leaky, continued our course down the River all night. In the morning the Wind shifted; being ahead we had hard roing. Having no Provision with us we landed on one of the Islands, of which the S^t Laurence abounds, got plenty of Bread and Milk of one of the Inhabitants, whome I offered Paper Money, but the Mistress of the House—the man not appearing—refused to take it, saying *No Bone*, I then paid her in Specie, when she seemed to be quite overjoyed, brought us more bread & Milk, and as well as she could invited us to Eat. We reentered our Boat and after hard rowing reached the Mouth of the Sorrell River about 10 o’Clock and delivered my letters to Gen^l Sullivan—having started precisely at 4 o’Clock P.M. on the 5th went to Montreall,—said to be 45 miles by Water, but more by land—delivered dispatches to Gen^l Arnold, received other from him and returned to Sullivan’s Head Quarters at the Mouth of the Sorrell, and delivered despatches from Gen^l Arnold to Gen^l Sullivan by 10 °Clk A.M. of the 7th, having performed the Toor in less than 2 Days. Travelled on foot from River Sorrel near Chamblee to lapraree opposite Montreall on the south side of the River S^t Laurence about 15 miles—the Road from the Sorrell to Lapraree was tolerably good, but swampy, was Coswaid in many places—here and there a habitation and improvement—the People appearing to live very poor—the Land level and broken by reason of the swamps, those parts laying above the Water appeared fertile & very Natural to Grass, and producing Strawberries in abundance. On my arrival at the Sorrell I found the Pennsy^a Troops had gone down the S^t Laurence, left this place the day before to reinforce Gen^l Thompson & Colo^l St. Clear, opposite the three Rivers, where the Enemy from Quebec had landed and

erected fortifications. Gen^l Sullivan rec^d me very Cordially, commended me for the expedition I had made, and advised me to stay with him, that in a few days he should join the Army below or they would return, when he would have the matter with Colo^l Wayne adjusted. I accepted his advice, and was determined not to Join Colo^l Wayne again, untill something more satisfactory took place between us.

June 8th, last night Gen^l Sullivan rec^d a letter from Gen Thompson advising him, that he proposed to attack the Enemy at the three Rivers by surprise, with his whole body this Morning. The river at this place was very wide, called lake sent Peters. The Army was to cross over in Batteaus, land above the three Rivers and attack the Enemy at Daylight—Early in the Morning we heard firing down the River, which we supposed to be the attack on the Enemy according to Gen^l Thompson's Letter. It was however, broaken and at intervils not like a General charge. We waited all this day in suspence without a word of inteligence from the Army. On the morning of the 9th we again heard the report of Cannon, tho singly, & soon discontinued. About 10 o'Clk A.M. the Batteaus of the Army came in sight. In great anxiety we all hastned to the edge of the River to meet the Batteaus, but was sadly mortified to find Our Army had been defeated. That the Batteaus which transported over the Army being cut off by the E^{ny} from the Troops who lost their way came up by detachment to the Enemies batteries, were driven back, finding the Enemy in Possession of the place where the Batteaus were left, took to the Woods and Swamps. Major Woods who was left in Command of the Batteaus and Baggage, found himself cut off from the American Army and discovering two of the Enemies Frigates under way ordered the Batteaus to push up the River. Having proceeded some distance & night coming on he halted with an expectation to meet with our Army, on their retreat where he remained till morning. The Ships of War Major Wood discovered under way the Day before, had entered lake S^t Peters, nearly abreast of

the Batteaus—finding himself in this precarious situation he ordered those in the Batteaus to proceed directly with them to the Mouth of the Sorrell—about 45 miles—with all possible dispatch, thus abandoning the Armeý, to make the best of their way, through horrid Swamps, up the North side of the River.

On the 10th by Order of Gen^l Sullivan crossed the River S^t Lawrence to the North side with a Scout of Ten Riffler men & Lieu^t Read, to proceed down the S^t Lawrence untill we met the Retreating Armeý. Proceeded through most Horrid Swamps, were almost devoured by Muskeetoës of a Monsterous seize and innumerable numbers, came into a very indifferent and Swampy Road, not meeting with a single habitation, which we followed untill after Dark, when we luckily fell in with the leading detachment under Cap^t Smith of the 6th Pennsy^a Regiment, with whome we returned leaving two of our men to direct those in the Rear the Rout to the mouth of the Sorrell. The troops being so scattered, they did not arrive untill the latter part or evening of the next Day. On the 12th of June, threw up a Breast Work of Sand in front of our encampment, Keeping a look out for the Enemy, who were duly waiting for a fair wind to their heavy Vessels up the Rapids into lake St. Peters, the only obstruction in their way here, and even up to Montreall. On the 15th a Flag arrived from Gen^l Carlton with letters from Gen^l Thompson & Colo^l Ervine of the 6th Penny^a Regiment, who were taken Prisoners, advising they were used well by Gen^l Carlton. According to Report our loss was upward of three hundred missing, as very few were either killed or wounded at the three Rivers—it was presumed they were generally taken Prisoners. It appeared 17 were missing from my Com^d who according to Lieut. Smiths acc^t must all be Prisoners as the Comp^d never came in reach of the Enemies Muskets, and that the Vallient Cap^t Moore ran at the first fire of the Enemies Cannon, without returning a shot, being at too great a distance for the fire of Muskets to do any execution. On the night of

the 13th a Council of War was held at Gen^l Sullivans Head Quarters, at which it was decided that it was advisable for the whole of the American Arme^y to evacuate Canada, and to consenter and make a stand at Ticonderoga. On the morning of the Fourteenth orders were given to retreat. The Baggage and stores of the Arme^y were hurried into the Batteaus, and the whole proceeded up the River towards Chamblee. The wind light or contrary we did not reach the place untill the 16th altho. no halt was made by Day or night. The Arme^y marched by land keeping about three miles behind the Fleet of Batteaus—when we came to Chamblee, a number of Canadien Carts were procured, some drawn by Horses & some by Men, the Baggage and many of the Batteaus were hauled up to a place called point dispare at the Head of the Rapids, about three miles, where the Boats were unloaded, and again lanch^d into their proper Eliment—some of the Batteaus were drawn up the Rapids with long Ropes, the men drawing on the shore, some in the Vessel with long poles to keep it in Deep Water, the Men often up to their armpits in Water. I continued with the Boats in all the Bussel, which never seased all night and continued two Days. From point dispair we had to stem a heavy Current, tho not swift about three Miles to St Johns. We were several times alarmed by a report of the approach of the Enemy, which turned out on our good Fortune to be Falls alarms. About 4^o Clock on the afternoon of the 17th left St. Johns in a Batteau for the Isle Aux Noix with Ensigne Varnum and Doc^r Mouse, with about 25 soldiers to row the Batteau, being very heavy laden with Cannon Ball, and other Baggage, did not reach that Island until next Morning almost wried to Death—the men began to Sicken very fast. On the 19th the remainder of the Arme^y came in Batteaus & landed on the Island—as the rear of the Arme^y left Sant Johns the Enemies Van appeared. On the 20th the greater part of our Batteaus with two Thousand sick & Invaleeds left this Island for Crown Point—among them were Lieu^t Smith and Ensign Beaty. The

Batteaus heavy loaded with stores & Baggage. I chose to remain still having good health—the Batteaus were to return for the remainder of the Army, as they could not all go, not having a sufficient number to transport them and the Baggage & Stores of the Army at the same time. We were perfectly safe here, and likely to remain so for some time, having destroyed all the Craft we could not get up the Rapids at the Village of Chamblee—the Enemy not having any to follow us—had no way to pursue us by Water, untill they built others which would take them some time to accomplish. Eleven soldiers and two officers dyed yesterday—having only a Blanket each for his Coffin, and all consigned to one grave.

This Island is surrounded with lake Water, apparently stationary. The Shores on the Main appearing to lay low and marshy, grown up with Shrubs and swamp timber. The Island itself is low-level but drie and clear Timber; but what I conceive renders it unhealthy is a white Scum on the Face of the Water in the morning, which is driven by the Rippling of the Water on the shores of the Island, which by the middle of the Day becomes Peutrified by the heat of the Sun, and is very offensive to the smell. The Army was divided into two Divisions—the New England & New York Troops occupied the Eastern part of the Island, and the Jersey and Pennsylvania Troops encamped on the Western part. On the 22nd our Scout or rather look out party from toward Sent Johns sent word the Enemys whole or great part of his Army had arrived at that place, but we did not apprehend ourselves in any present danger.

Having nothing to do, curiosity led me to visit the New England Camp—here my Feelings were indiscrivable, some men in and some out of Tents sick on the bear ground—infected with Fluxes, Fevers, Small Pox and over run with legions of Lice, and none but Sick to wate on one another. My eyes never before beheld such a seen, nor do I ever desire to see such another—the Lice and Maggots seme to vie with each other, were creeping in Millions over the Vic-

tims; the Doctors themselves sick or out of Medicine. The estimation in both Camps was that 15 to 20 die daily. I examined the Burying Ground of each Camp, found two large holes dug in the Earth, one for each Camp—while there I saw several Corps brought, carried by four Soldiers in a blanket, one holt of each corner. On their ariving at the pit or Grave, those next to it let go of the blanket, the other two giving a Hoist rolled the dead body into the pit where lay several bodies already deposited in the same way, with no other covering but the Rags in which they dyed, heads and points as they happened to come to the place. In this manner the burial continued all day, as soon as the breeth had left the unfortunate Victim, the body was thus laid on a dirty Blanket and toted off to the silent Toom, without a sie from a Friend or relative, or a single morner to follow it. In the evening the dirt in front of this General Grave, or deposit of the dead, was thrown over the Dead bodies leaving a new space open for the next Day. This seene of human retchedness & misery ingrossed my daily visits. The New England & New York Camp was the most infected with the smallpox scarcely a single one of whome survived. The whole Armeý was computed to be about five thousand of which it could not be said more than one third was fit for duty. Our Retreat was certainly a wise Measure, and was well conducted.

Twelve officers of the Sixth Pennsy^a Regiment imprudently went over to the Main on the West side of the Lake to drink sproos Beer with a Canadian inhabitant, were surprised by a party of Savages, who killed four, Tomihalked and most inhumanly butchered & scalped them, took six Prisoners—two only made their escape, one by being a small distance in the Woods at the time, the other an Ensigne, was in the House of the Canadien, on the instant of the alarm, sprang up into the loft, pulling a small ladder after him & closing a Trap Door remained undiscovered. The affair being in sight of our Camp, several Boats were immediately maned & pushed over to the Canadians—the In-

dians having effected their purpose and were gone before they arrived—they however brought over the Mangled Bodies of the four Officers.

Hitherto the rapid movements and Confusion of the Army on our Retreat made it impracticable to come to an inquiry with Colo^l Wayne, but as we had in some measure became stationary on this Island, and must remain so untill the return of our Batteaus, I conceived it a favourable time to remind the Gen^l, at least if nothing else could be done, it would be paving the way to a decision. On our arrival at Crown Point I therefore called on Gen^l Sullivan, at his Markee. He was very civil and polite, but said in the disorganized state of the Army, and as our Boats were Hourly expected, it was unadvisable to commence an enquiry at present, but assured me, on our arrival at Crown Point, where in all probability we should meet the other part of the Regiment, when he would most assuredly order an Enquiry, and that I should have full Justice done me, that as far as he could see he apprehended the Colo^l had used his Power with too imperious a discretion. I replied that this was not the only instance I conceived the Colo^l had injured me, and that for some unknown cause to me, I had reason to think the Colo^l had formed a strong prejudice against me, that he had become my personal Enemy; that from his marked and decisive partiality I had nothing to expect in future but Hostility and unfriendly treatment, and that on some future occasion, I might inadvertently commit an Act, he might use to my disadvantage. Hitherto I knew myself safe and out of the Power of his Malice. I thought it most prudent under these Considerations to resigne my Commission, and offered it to him. The Gen^l refused to accept it, requiring me to be satisfied an investigation should be made as soon as possible and all matters made right.

June 24th, last night about thirty Batteaus returned from Crown point—they were this morning loaded with Baggage, Stores, Sick and Invaldeads. I took my passage in one of them bidding an eternal farewell to so hateful a place where

the scenes of horror were so prevelant; but before I leave it I must relate one Anecdote of myself. After my return from Head Quarters on the 23rd, I invited Lieut. Read and two or three other Pennsy^a Officers, my particular Friends, to my Tent. Having reserved a few Case Bottles of good old Spirits, I had brought in my Chest from Philad^a, not knowing when it might be most wanted. I had hitherto kep it concealed, such an article was a choice thing on the Iseland, and very little if any to be had there. I opened my Chest, drew out the treasure to the agreeable astonishment of my guests. We all sat too it in good Earnest, determined to smooth the Brows of care, and before tattoo beating were all handsomly Drunk. I remember only, that all my Companions were first fallen, & that I was the last up.

June 26th. This detachment reached the Isle of Mott last night, about 20 miles from the Isle Oix Noix. In the same Battau with me came Cap^t Willson & Doc^r Johnston of the 6th Pennsy^a Reg^t and my good friend Lieut Read of the 4th. This Iseland is said to be out of what is considered the Bounds of Canada. It is covered with Green Timber; the troops incamped in the Woods on the North end of the Iseland; the weather being very hot the shade of the Trees was a comfortable convenience and an agreeable contrast to the peirsing rais of the Sun on the Iseland we had just left. The men however, still continued to Dye from 8 to 10 every Day. The Batteaus which brought us returned to bring up the Reer of the Arme^y—those expected from Crown Point having joined them at the Isle Oix Noix; they brought the remnant of the Arme^y on the night of the 26th to this place, and on the 28th the whole embarked and started for Crown point—the wind being ahead the Officers stood to the Ores Hour about with the Men. We did not reach that place untill the first day of July very much veried by Rowing, so many of the men being sick, and the Head or Contrary winds, very little or no use could be made of the Sails. On our arrival we found Gen^l Schuyler & Gates. The Com-

mand of the Army was assumed by Gen^l Gates—Schuyler and Sullivan left us for Albany. I found Lieu^t Smith & Ensign Beaty both Sick. We lay hear to the 9th—some of the Troops had gone on to Ticonderoga six miles to the southward at a narrow part or neck of the Lake, where the Fort of that Name stands, which had been first built by the French, and afterwards occupied by the British Army. At Crown point the Fishing in the Lake was very good, the Soldiers caught plenty—here we had good water to drink, for which we suffered much while on the Lake.

(To be continued.)

REV. JOHN ETTWEIN'S NOTES OF TRAVEL FROM
THE NORTH BRANCH OF THE SUSQUEHANNA TO
THE BEAVER RIVER, PENNSYLVANIA, 1772.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[In June of 1772, the Moravian Indian town, Wyalusing [in Bradford County], consisting of a chapel and school-house, and fifty-two log houses and huts, with two hundred and four men, women, and children, was abandoned and the converts removed to Friedenstadt, on the Beaver River. One-half of the converts proceeded by water to Muncy Creek, on the west branch of the Susquehanna, where they united with the overland division, and together continued on their westward journey. The overland division was in charge of the Rev. John Ettwein, whose notes of travel we print for the interesting descriptions they give of those sections of the State through which he travelled, one hundred and twenty-nine years ago. The original manuscript is in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.]

June 11, 1772.—After we crossed the Susquehanna at the ford [now Sugar Run Ferry] our way led straight to the mountains, and after proceeding two miles, we entered the Great Swamp,¹ where the undergrowth was so dense that oftentimes it was impossible to see one another at the distance of six feet. The path was frequently a blind one and yet along it sixty head of cattle and fifty horses and colts had to be driven, and it needed careful watch to keep them together. We lost but one young cow from the entire herd. Every morning however, it was necessary to send drivers back, as far as ten miles, to whip in such as would during the night stray off. At our first night's encampment two of our Indians lost themselves while in search of straying cattle, and several hours elapsed before we could reach

¹ Ettwein's course lay south-southwest through Wilmot, Terry, and Albany Townships, Bradford County, into Cherry Township, Lycoming County, to the watershed, in which rise sources of the Loyalsock and Muncy Creeks.

them with signal guns. It was daily a matter of astonishment to me, that any man should presume to traverse this swamp, and follow what is called a path. It is at least sixty miles in diameter. On the highlands where the Loyalsock and Muncy creeks head, it is very rocky and almost impassable. There were indications of abundance of ores here. The timber is principally Sugar-maple, Lindens, Ash, Oak and White-pine. What told on me the most, was that several days it rained incessantly, and I was wet all day. The path led *thirty six times* across Muncy creek. At intervals here there were exceedingly rich bottoms, and the noblest timber I have seen in America, excepting the cypress in South Carolina and Georgia.

June 14 (Trinity Sunday).—We met for worship for the first time on the journey, but the incessant lowing and noise of the cattle, drowned all attempts at discourse and singing.

June 15.—We passed from the Swamp into an extensive and beautiful region of plains. Here the hunters in two days shot fifteen deer, the meat of which was dried at the fires for use on the journey.

June 17.—Met a man from the Jerseys, who on his return home will pass through Bethlehem, and handed him letters for home.

June 18.—Proceeded to the West Branch, to Scoonhoven's plantation, one mile above Wallis's.¹

June 21 (Sunday).—Held morning and evening services. At noon I preached at Mr. Samuel Wallis' to from fifty to sixty hearers, all English, some of whom had come from a distance of twenty miles.

June 22.—We had a market day in camp. Mr. Wallis bought of us fifteen head of young cattle and some canoes, others bowls, firkins, buckets, tubs and diverse iron ware. A trader's agent smuggled some rum into the perlieus of the

¹ Reading Howell's map of 1790, notes Wallis's mill on a run near the West Branch, about four miles above the mouth of Muncy Creek. On the 20th the water party joined Ettwein's.

camp, and when discovered, we handed the contraband to Mr. Wallis for safekeeping, until the trader should return. Twenty hundred weight of flour which I had purchased was here distributed.

June 23-24.—Broke up camp and moved on. Passed the Loyalsock at the place where Count Zinzendorf visited thirty years ago, and Lycoming creek, which marks the boundary line of lands purchased from the Indians.¹ At both places we found white settlers. One mile above the Lycoming stood formerly the town of Quenischaschacki [Linden] where Nathaniel Davis has lived for six years. He related that when our missionaries Grube and Mack visited there [Aug. 1753], a couple of Shawanese, who were inimical to the whites demanded Grube's surrender, in order to murder him, that he [Davis] had replied, "the white man is seated in my house, and there no harm should befall him."

We encamped above Larry's Creek.² Here Newolike's wife visited our Joseph [convert]; she stated that her husband was ill, otherwise both of them and the family, would have emigrated with us to the West.

June 25.—We encamped opposite Long Island.³ Here rattlesnakes seemed to hold undisputed sway, and they were killed at all points. Not more than half an hour after our arrival, a horse was brought in, that had been bitten in the nose. His head swelled up frightfully, and as it rained the remedy that had been applied failed to take proper effect, and the poor animal perished the next day.

June 26.—Today I assembled the men, told them, that we had progressed but thirty miles during the past week, and that if we failed to make more rapid headway, our large company would come to want, that it would be prudent under these circumstances, to leave the sick woman, her husband and their friends on the island, (for I expected her

¹ At the treaty at Fort Stanwix in November, 1768.

² One mile east from Jersey Shore.

³ The island in the Susquehanna at Jersey Shore.

to die in a day or two); that Nathaniel Davis and his party would come up and they could join him, and that we would send men and fresh horses for them from Chinklacamoose. It was furthermore decided that the strongest of our company should proceed in five canoes with the baggage of the women as far a Chinklacamoose.¹

June 27.—Arrived at Campbell's, where we met Mr. Anderson, who dissuaded us from attempting to embark in canoes, stating the water was too shallow for navigation. Hereupon the canoes and sundry utensils were sold, and some glass, nails and iron ware left here in trust. It having rained incessantly for several days, our effects were wet through and some damaged.

June 28 (Sunday).—By request, I preached in English to a goodly audience of assembled settlers from the Bald Eagle creek and the south shore of the West Branch. As no ordained minister of the Gospel was settled in the neighborhood, I was requested to baptize, and accordingly administered the sacrament to the new born daughter of a Frenchman, Fourney, by name (calling her Cunigunda) and to the son of a Catholic, Antoine White, whom I named John.

Joshua [convert] convoked the men, and persuaded them, (despite their yesterday's deliberations to the contrary), to carry Elizabeth [convert] who was sick, along, and also to send lame Jonathan [convert] with a string of wampum ahead to Langundontenink,² Kaskaskunk,³ and Gekelemekhpeekink.⁴ As they consulted neither me or Roth in this business, we took no farther notice of it, but it proved, however, the beginning of diverse perplexities.

June 29.—My fifty-second birthday. We set out from the island by land, and I with several others, from this day on,

¹ An Indian town on the site of Clearfield, Pennsylvania, and the central point on the path.

² Friedenstadt, on the Beaver.

³ Located in Lawrence County.

⁴ In Oxford Township, Tuscarawas County, Ohio.

led the caravan. Traveled fourteen miles to Beech creek, on the path agreed on. After encamping here, the men returned with horses to fetch up the baggage. This they did daily, and thus were compelled to travel the road three times.

June 30.—Bro. Roth and wife came up from the rear with the others, excepting Elizabeth and her friends, she being too ill, to allow of her being carried. Thereupon I moved on nine miles to a salt-lick. As I was in search of Roth's horse, to send it back to his camp, I trod upon a fifteen year old rattlesnake. Such was my fright, that for days I took every step with dread, fancying every rustling leaf to be the movement of a venomous serpent. The two Indians with me, despatched the reptile.

July 2.—Bro. Roth and the others again came to the front.

July 3.—In company of Cornelius and William [converts] I advanced early in the morning. Up to this time we had passed only through a beautiful and fertile region of country,¹ but now our way lead across mountains. On reaching a summit, when eight miles along, we saw the bold peaks between the West Branch and the Juniata. Were compelled to encamp on a dry elevation, and to fetch water from the foot of the mountain. A poor little cripple, aged ten years, a son of the late Jonas [convert], whom his mother had carried all the way in a basket from one station to another, was very weak today, and expressed the wish to be baptized. Bro. Roth administered the sacrament and named him Nathan.

July 4.—Early today there came two Indians from Kaskasky, en route to Stockbridge, who I invited to breakfast.

¹ Thus far, on leaving the site of Lock Haven, they had pushed down the valley of the Bald Eagle, bounded by the Bald Eagle Ridge to the south and the Allegheny proper on the north. Now they began the ascent of the latter, which is the backbone of Howard, Snowshoe, Boggs, and Houston Townships, Centre County, a tract of broken and wild Alpine region of country.

One of them spoke English fluently. In his childhood, he had been taken by the whites prisoner, but since then turned a complete Indian in his mode of life. We proceeded four miles into the mountains. Roth from this point summoned to Great Island by an express. Thither went Joshua with twelve men [converts], to fetch up his sick friend, and when he arrived there she was near her end. She died on the evening of the 5th. just an hour prior to Roth's arrival. The next day he buried her.

On the evening of the 6th., Roth rejoined us in camp.

July 7.—Moved on six miles to a spring—a heavy thunder storm with rain.

July 8.—Advanced six miles to the West Moshannek¹ over precipitous and ugly mountains, and through two nasty rocky streams. In fording the second, I fell neck deep into the water. Had it been at any other season of the year, we could not have endured so much wading in streams.

July 9.—Advanced but two miles to a run in the swamp. We were almost broken down, and those who carried the luggage, could with difficulty climb the mountains.

July 10.—Lay in camp, as some of our horses had strayed, and I had to send mine back twice to the other camp.

July 11.—We found Nathan released from all suffering—his death had been unobserved. His emaciated remains were interred along side of the path, and I cut his name into a tree that overshadowed his lonely grave, and then we moved eight miles to an old beaver-dam.

July 12 (Sunday).—Bro. Roth and his party came up. In the evening we met for worship, and afterwards a collection of corn and beans, taken up for the poor.

July 13.—Proceeded six miles to a spring, in a beautiful widely expanded mountain meadow. Scarcely had we encamped, when a frightful storm swept over us. The angry clouds, like mountains, piled themselves up in the heavens,

¹ This stream empties into the West Branch, between Clearfield and Centre Counties.

the lightening, like snakes of fire leaped in forked flames over the sky, the thunder rolled like siege artillery, and the rain came down with the sound of many waters, or the rushing of a mighty cataract. It was a war of the elements. The tall oaks bowed before the storm, and where the timber failed to do obeisance, it was snapped like glass, in the grasp of the roaring wind. My companions, to my surprise, heeded none of this, but cut sapplings and collected bark and built huts, which were completed, as the storm passed over.

July 14.—Reached Clearfield creek, where the buffaloes formerly cleared large tracts of undergrowth, so as to give them the appearance of cleared fields; hence the Indians call the creek Clearfield. Here at night and next morning, to the great joy of the hungry, nine deer were shot. Whoever shoots a deer, has for his private portion, the skins and inwards, the meat he must bring into camp for distribution. It proved advantageous for us not to keep so closely together, as we had at first designed, for if the number in camp is large, one or two deer when cut up, afforded but a scanty morsel to each individual. So it happened that scarce a day passed, without there being a distribution of venison in the advance, the centre, and the rear camp. (On the route there were one hundred and fifty deer, and but three bears shot.)

As there was a growing impatience observable among those who were called on to aid others with their horses, to press on, and not be detained, I spent a sleepless night. But on

July 16, after representing the state of the case to the dissatisfied, I felt reassured, and journeyed on with a few of the men two miles in a pelting rain to the site of Chinklacamoose, where we found but three huts and a few patches of Indian corn. The name signifies, "No one tarries here willingly."¹ It may, perhaps, be traced to the circumstance,

¹ Christian F. Post lodged here on his way to the Ohio country in August of 1758. It is noted on Scull's map.

that some thirty years ago an Indian resided here—(a hermit life upon a rock)—who was wont to appear to the Indian hunters in frightful shapes. Some of these too, he killed, others he robbed of their skins, and this he did for many years. We moved on four miles and were obliged to wade the river three times, here rapid and full of ripples.

July 17.—Advanced only four miles to a creek, that comes out from the north-west.¹ Had a narrow and stony spot for our camp.

July 18.—Moved on without waiting for Roth and his division, which on account of the rain had remained in camp. Today Shebosch lost a colt from the bite of a rattlesnake. Here we left the West Branch three miles to the north-west up the creek, crossing it five times. Here the path went precipitately up the mountain to the summit, to a spring, the first waters of the Ohio.²

July 19 (Sunday).—As yesterday, but two families kept with me, because of the rain, but we passed a quiet day and dried our effects. In the evening the *ponkis* were excessively annoying, so that the cattle pressed towards and into our camp, to escape their persecutors in the smoke of the fires. This vermin is a plague to man and beast, both by day and night. But in the swamp, through which we were now passing, their name is legion, and hence the Indians call it Ponks-utenink *i.e.* “the town of the Ponkis”—The word is equivalent to *living dust and ashes*, the vermin being so small as not to be seen, and their bite, burning hot as sparks of fire or hot ashes. One of the converts related the following Indian myth: that the aforecited Indian hermit and sorcerer, after many years having been a terror to all Indians, had been killed by one, who had burned his bones. The wind blew his ashes into the swamp and they became living things, and hence the *ponkis*.

¹ Anderson's Creek, in Pike Township.

² Probably the sources of the north branch of the Mahoning, which rises in Brady Township, Clearfield County, and empties into the Allegheny, ten miles above Kittanning.

July 20.—We traveled on through the swamp, and after five miles, crossed the path that leads from Frankstown¹ to Goshgoshink² and two miles beyond this point, encamped at a run [a branch of the Mahoning]. At five o'clock p.m. came Peter, Boas and Michael, with fourteen unbaptized Indians from Langundontenink, to meet us, with four horses and five bushels of Indian corn. Two of them went out to hunt, and in half an hour Michael brought in a deer to my fire. Esther hunted up the large camp-kettle, and soon all hands had their fill of venison and rice. That night and the following morning, there were four deer shot by my company.

July 21.—The rear division came up, and the destitute, viz. such as had lived solely upon meat and milk, were supplied each with one pint of Indian corn. We proceeded six miles to the first creek, and camped.

July 22.—We journeyed on four miles, to the first fork, where a small creek, comes down from the north.

July 23.—Again, today, four miles to the second fork—to a creek coming in from the south-east.

July 24.—The path soon left the creek, over valleys and heights to a spring. We now had left the swamp and were free from the plague of *ponkis*. Huckelberries were found in abundance, which were enjoyed. Our today's station was five miles, and about so far we advanced on

July 25, and encamped at a salt lick, where we kept a religious service, three miles from the large creek, which runs in a horse shoe and which is navigable for canoes when the water is high. It is a four days journey by water to this point, where the Ohio is struck, whereas by land, the point can be reached in one day. Some of our young people went to the creek to fish, others to hunt, and at sunset they came in with two deer and four strings of fish.

July 26 (Sunday).—Early to day Anton [convert] Nathaniel Davis and others, who up to this time had brought

¹ See Scull's map of Pennsylvania, 1759.

² Located in Venango County.

up the rear, came to my camp. Roth preached in the morning and I at evening. At this place a sufficiency of fish were taken to supply the entire camp, large pike and salmon, but especially a large species unknown to us all resembling the sheepshead, in these parts called the Buffalo-fish. In place of a skull they have two small white stones (probosis?) lying towards each other—the mouth resembles that of a sucker, but without teeth; instead, in the throat, it has two pieces of bone fitting one on the other, in form of a large shoemaker's pincers, with which it crushes the mussels, its proper food. The meat is better than rock-fish, and is without fins. We also took an unknown species of tortoise, as large as a goose, with a long neck, pointed head and eyes like a dove. The shell is hard only along the back and below in the middle, otherwise all around soft and liver-colored. At the creek here, we also noticed good stone-coals.

July 27.—We proceeded over a long mountain to Tschachkat, four miles to where the path from Ligonier passes north, then four miles over a mountain to a creek coming from the south-west, and then one mile to a small run.

July 28.—Advanced eight miles over hill and valley to a bad spring. Here we were met by the Indians from Kaskaskia en route for Shemung.

July 29.—With sunrise we were again on the way, as we desired to day to strike the Ohio [*i.e.* Allegheny], and in the evening we arrived there without mishap. For three days the weather had been excessively warm, and we traveled over plains and highlands where the wind and fires had wrecked all the timber confusedly together, so that our progress was a difficult thing. The land is mostly arable and much of it good. The bean-grass in many places, reached up to my horses back, and stood as thick as though it had been sowed. We came to eight miles above Kittaning, not far above Kawuntschhannink, down a very precipitous mountain, (so much so that we were compelled to take off our shoes to effect the descent), to the Ohio, which here is not

quite so broad as the Delaware at Easton, and scarce reached to our horses bellies, as we forded it.

July 30.—Some of the men began to make bark canoes, in order to proceed by water with the heavy baggage, and with the aged and the sick, and also to look out supplies in and about Pittsburgh. To those who had fallen back in the rear, we despatched horses. There was an abundance of mussels here, of which the Indians ate plentifully. As I had sore feet and was worn down, I determined to go on in advance.

July 31.—I set out on horseback with Peter and Jacob. (Up to this time, Roth and I, as well as others, had traveled on foot.) The path led about three miles down on the north bank of the river, then over a high mountain, and about eight miles from the Ohio, there were extensive plains, then succeeded good land with rich vegetation and flowers. The country reminded me of Carolina. Having ridden twenty-five miles, we lodged for the night with two Indians who were out hunting. One of them gave me a fine fawn. In the creek on which we camped were several salt-springs.

August 1.—John Heckewelder met us with some Indians and two horses. The Indians turned back with us, and Heckewelder went on with some supplies to meet Roth and his division. We rode briskly the whole day, accomplishing forty miles, and late at night entered Langundontenink (Friedenstadt).¹

The beginning of this memorable journey was not auspicious, as the measles broke out. The epidemic proved a hinderance to our progress, as it attacked both adults and children. The former had to lay by at least two or three days, after being taken ill, and the children had to be carried. Matters, however, went so well with the sick as to be cause of surprise; all that they required was a drink made of the large sarsaparilla, which proved efficacious in bringing out the eruption. The milk supplied by our cows went far

¹ Roth's division arrived at the town August 5.

toward our daily support. Scarce a day passed but what we could distribute rations of meat. True, we heard complaints that there was no flour, nor corn, nor beans, but never did a soul go to bed hungry. None received injury to his person, although dangers were without number; especially on the West Branch, where there were rattlesnakes in abundance. I know that upwards of fifty were killed. That peace and unity should have prevailed was a matter of gratitude. It is true, at times, that there were indications of the old feeling of opposition inborn in the Mohicans towards the Delawares, yet no contention came to our notice.

ETTWEIN.

THE LAST OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY UNDER
THE PENNSYLVANIA CONSTITUTION OF 1776.

Extract from the Diary of William Rawle, Esq., one of the Members
during its Final Session.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE, ESQ.

[The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 was abrogated by that of 1790, which was framed by a convention which assembled at Philadelphia November 24, 1789, completed its labors February 26, 1790, and then adjourned that the people might examine its work. The convention reassembled August 9, 1790, and formally proclaimed the new Constitution September 2, 1790. The only appearance of Mr. Rawle upon the stage of political life was in the last session of the General Assembly under the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, to which he was elected against his will, as explained in the following extract. The only public office he was ever induced to hold was that of Attorney for the United States for the District of Pennsylvania, which was conferred upon him by President Washington on July 18, 1791, without solicitation, and voluntarily resigned by him on May 6, 1800, in the administration of President Adams.]

A few days after writing the preceding account [October 7, 1789] I was elected very unwillingly into the General Assembly.

I had refused several applications for the purpose, unwilling to desert the profitable profession of expounding, for the sterile office of making, laws. My duties to my children held me back from the impulses of ambition and the pleasures of honorable distinction. It is right on account of those children (who I wish may peruse this, and every other manuscript I leave from which they may derive some benefit, perhaps in example, but more I believe in precept,) to preserve the circumstances that evince the sincerity of my reluctance to engage in a different course of life, and to

relinquish any part of those emoluments which I solemnly declare were chiefly rendered desirable by my love for my little counterparts.

Opposite tickets were circulated on the morning of the election day and the ground appeared to be divided by contrary and irreconcilable interests. A conference between the active people on either side was proposed, and different characters were suggested without success. Colonel [Francis] Gurney and myself were finally assented as the new members, and some gentlemen were appointed to call upon me and to urge my acceptance of the station. My refusal was firm and sincere, and they retired with apparent regret. But before they reached the ground the circulation of the ticket had commenced, and the success which attended it was uniform and extraordinary. My answer was signified, but some gentlemen thought it too late to stop the progress of the election; others were persuaded that I would not refuse after the choice had taken place, and others asserted that the people having a right to the service of an individual my refusal ought not to avail.

Upon receiving this intelligence I was considerably disquieted. The indecorum of publicly opposing it on the ground alone restrained me from doing so, but I put up written notices, and caused one to be inserted in the evening paper of the day, and I prevailed on several of my friends to attend and personally to signify the impossibility of my serving. My papers were torn down and my friends were disregarded.

I was elected.

The consequences of accepting or of refusing the seat occupied my attention almost exclusively of every other object for some time afterwards, and I at length concluded that, however it might diminish that extraordinary popularity which I was not before sensible of, I would resign a seat conferred upon me by a sort of violence, tho' so flattering and dignifying.

I am not yet convinced that my acceptance of it was not

less manly and less commendable that an adherence to that determination; but as the time of meeting approached, as the public expectation was turned upon me, as my friends urged me, as the terror of public dissatisfaction encreased upon me, I gradually sunk from my resolution, and at length, at the expence of self approbation and the risque of professional emoluments, I took my seat.

The engagements of [William] Lewis in the Convention have thrown much of the burthens upon me. There are few in the present house of competency to public difficulties, few acquainted with the higher duties of public life.

Of my performance of those duties I have many flattering testimonials. I have enlarged the number, and I hope the esteem, of my friends; I have extended the general knowledge of my character and perhaps encreased the estimation in which it was held. Whether I have rendered my profession less lucrative time is to determine.

I do not feel however any accessions to my stock of vanity or pride. I sincerely declare myself abased in my own opinion by relinquishing my determinations of refusal, founded as they were upon deliberate reflections.

I find I have less strength and firmness of mind than I thought I possessed, and I have submitted to acquire public at the expence of internal applause.

[*Copy of Letter from William Rawle to William Lewis.*]

I give way, my dear friend, to the importunities of zealous friends, and the pressure of public exigencies, and find it impossible any longer to refuse the burthensome honor of a seat in the house.

In so doing I resign my own sense of the conduct my previous declarations required, and I shall join with you in a considerable sacrifice of private interest.

Sincerely yours

W. R.

Oct. 22d, 1789.

I wrote the above to Lewis when at last I found that I *must* take my seat.

September 5th 1790.

My public fatigues are no more.

Yesterday the members of the house agreed that the Legislature was dissolved, and we parted in great cheerfulness and good humor.

In framing the new constitution no attention appeared to have been paid to the continuance of the Assembly. But the necessity of an express provision was known to many of the convention who from different views concealed their opinions, or communicated them in confidence only to particular friends, while those who would earnestly have wished to prevent the effect, inadvertently omitted the measure requisite to prevent it.

Lewis and Ogden of Bucks County proposed to prevent an adjournment to Lancaster. Slegle, the division of York County. The thought was communicated to [Richard] Peters and myself—but I disregarded it. In the evening at the City Tavern (where Genl. Washington, the Convention and Assembly were entertained by the Mayor and Corporation) the subject was talked of as certain. I felt uneasy, and withdrew to consult Lewis. He was clear in his opinion.

In the morning I had determined on a plan which met with approbation. The house met. I moved an immediate adjournment for the purpose of consulting the Judges and other characters in the Law. It was agreed to.

The Chief Justice [McKean], Shippen, Wilson, Ingersoll and Wilcocks were united in opinion. Bryan would give none. Bradford spoke with doubt.

The Executive Council attended and signified their union in the same sentiment. The Speaker therefore did not assume the chair.

Smiley openly charges a design to prevent the election for members of Congress in October.

Old Maclean insisted upon our right to sit and make laws, trusting that the ensuing legislature would confirm them.

A wild idea to which nobody appeared to listen.

When I look back to the unusual weight and difficulty of my station—unassisted by Lewis, notwithstanding his promises—unsupported by men of business, of whom there was scarce one in the house,—I feel reason to rejoice at the few mistakes I have committed.

In the business of the Comptroller General's reprimand I was involved against my inclination. We got through it however without much difficulty or disgrace.

My fellow citizens are earnest for me to continue to serve, which I cannot.

CIRCULAR.

PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 6. [1790]

Last Saturday morning the members of the late General Assembly met at the state house: but it seeming to be the general opinion that they could no longer act as a legislative body, the speaker did not take the chair. Having placed Mr. Wynkoop in the chair they agree to the following address. The unanimous thanks of the meeting were then returned to the Hon. Richard Peters, their late Speaker, and an adjournment sine die took place.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

In the constitution, which received its public completion on the second instant, it is established that "The legislative power of this commonwealth shall be vested in a general assembly, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives."

No provision is made, in any part of it, for the temporary continuance of the legislative functions of the house of assembly: hence it has been doubted whether our powers did not cease with the adoption of the constitution; whether a legislature consisting of a single house could bind the people

by laws after the people had declared, that their laws should be the act of two houses, with the sanction, under certain regulations, of the chief executive officer. We have considered that the power vested in the late convention, was necessarily superior to ours tho' derived from the same source, at the same time. To them was entrusted the office of making a new plan of government after an avowed experience of the inconveniences of the former; to us, the task of common and necessary legislation while they were so employed. As they were not restrained in their appointment to any time at which the government they might form should commence in its effect, it is obvious that they were no less masters of this circumstance, than of the different parts and principles of which the system should be composed.

To deny, therefore the authority of the convention to supersede the powers we possessed would be, to dispute the authority of the people from whom we received our powers, and to whom we are accountable for the exercise of them.

In this peculiar situation we have not relied, altogether on our own judgment: we have consulted with the President and Supreme Executive Council (who are expressly continued in office) with the judges and other respectable authorities in the profession of the law.

We have found their opinions generally to coincide with ours. We have also contemplated the impropriety of proceeding under an authority doubtful and perhaps extinguished, at a considerable expence to the Commonwealth, to enact laws which perhaps would not be enforced, and to direct measures which might only terminate in disorder & disobedience.

We have therefore thought it our duty to retire from the station in which we were placed, altho' it is with regret that we leave much necessary business unfinished.

We have also considered ourselves under the obligation of informing you, to whom we hold ourselves accountable for our public conduct, of the reasons which have induced

us to decline the further exercise of the trust reposed in us.

September 4th, 1790.

JOHN M'DOWELL,
JAMES CLEMSON,
JOHN HOPKINS,
HENRY DERING,
JAMES CUNNINGHAM,
JOHN MILLER,
JOSEPH READ,
JACOB SYMSE,
JOHN STEWART,
THOMAS LILLY,
WILLIAM GODFREY,
DAVID MITCHELL,
JOHN LUDWIG,
THOMAS CLINGEN,
NICHOLAS LUTZ,
DANIEL LINEBACH,
JONATHAN HOGE,
LAWRENCE SECKEL,
JACOB HILTZHEIMER,
JOHN WHITE,
JAMES BARR,
JAMES MARSHALL,
JAMES JOHNSTON,
JONATHAN ROBERTS,
JAMES VAUX,
JAMES M'CREIGHT,
DAVID STEWART,
HUGH LLOYD,

WILLIAM RAWLE,
FRANCIS GURNEY,
RICHARD PETERS,
SAMUEL ASHMEAD,
THOMAS PAUL,
THOMAS BRITTON,
ELIAS BOYS,
GERARDUS WYNKOOP,
JOHN CHAPMAN,
JAMES BRYAN,
RICHARD THOMAS,
RICHARD DOWNING, JUN.
CALEB JARVIS,
PETER EALER,
STEPHEN BALLIET,
CONRAD IHRIE, JUN.
ALEXANDER WRIGHT,
ANTHONY LERCH, JUN.
JOHN MOORE,
JOHN BAIRD,
THOMAS RYERSON.
JOHN GILCREEST,
JOHN REA,
BENJAMIN MARKLEY,
JOHN CARSON,
OBADIAH GORE,
JOHN NEVILLE,
RICHARD RILEY.

CIRCULAR.

PRINTED IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

To the Electors for the City of Philadelphia.

GENTLEMEN,

With a deep impression of the honor conferred upon me at the last election, permit me earnestly to request

that I may be excused from further services in the legislature.

The peculiar inconveniences I should sustain from continuing in it, will I hope, apologize for declining a station, which great deference for the voice of my fellow citizens alone induced me to accept.

I am, with the utmost respect,

Your most obedient servant,

THIRD STREET
September 13, 1790.

W. RAWLE.

December 26, 1790.

And now having decently left the stage of public employment, let me endeavor so to arrange affairs as to escape a return to it. Of the bitternesses of public duties much might be said, for much is felt.

There are occasions in which it is proper to press forward with vigour and activity, and occasions in which deliberation and delay are equally expedient. It requires the nicest and quickest judgement to catch the momentary. But Shakespeare tells it to you much better.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men," etc. This tide it is the grand secret of political action to take advantage of. But with all the success that can attend the happy sudden and correct adoption of it, what anxieties, what toils, what labours after information, what studies of arrangement, what painful responsibilities are the lot of the Statesman.

But can we expect success in employment so arduous unless we devote to it all our time and all our talents? Will the vacancies of professional business, the occasional and interrupted intervals of forensic labors be sufficient?

The mind must be powerful and penetrating indeed to avoid the confusion which generally arises from the concurrent shocks of different and numerous objects.

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(To be continued.)

ACCOUNT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRIG
"PEGGY STEWART," AT ANNAPOLIS, 1774.

[The following letters of John Galloway and Thomas Ringgold, the son and son-in-law of Samuel Galloway, of Tulip Hill, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, give interesting details relating to the destruction of the brig "Peggy Stewart," at Annapolis, in October of 1774, with the seventeen packages of the "detestable plant," which comprised part of her cargo.]

TULIP HILL, Thursday Morning
Octr. 20. 1774.

HOND. SIR

I am now set down to give you an Account as well as is in my power of Yesterdays transactions of the Committee of the County and the mob assembled at Annapolis relative to the 17 Chests of Tea imported by Thos. Williams & Co. and the Peggy Stewart.

It seems by Capt. Jackson commander of the brigg affidavit he refused Kelly Lot & Co. to bring any Tea to America in his Vessel, and that Mr. Thos. William who was then in London without his knowledge put 17 Chests on board and that he did not discover it till at sea. When the brig arrived at Annapolis Mr. Anthy. Stewart ordered him to enter his Vessell and all his Cargo except the Tea the Custom house officer would not admit him to a partial entry. Mr. Stewart having not considered the matter well and to save his Vessel from being libeled went himself and entered the whole cargo and paid the Duty on the Tea. In thursday paper their was an advirtizement for a meeting of the County as Yesterday but on Friday Eveng when it came to be known that the Tea was entered and might if the owners thought proper be landed the Committee of Annapolis met and also on Monday following and the results of their meeting was that the Tea should be burnt but they defered doing it till the County Committee had a

meeting which was on yesterday. After the Gentlemen of the County Committee had met and determined what should be done, they called the inhabitants together to Mr. Jacques porch & Mr. T. Hammand as one of the Committee stood forth and made a speech to the people (to be sure it was the most shockg one I ever heard) and read the Concessions that Messrs. Stewart & Williams was to make publickly to the people for the infringements they had made on the Liberty of the People after this was over Mr. Charles Carroll B. desired to know the sense of the Gentlemen in regard to what was to be done with the Tea and it was the unanimous opinion of all present that it should be burnt, the Committee then order'd the Tea from on board the brigg but some of the Mob called out that it should not come on shore that the Vessel should also share the same fate. Matters now began to run very high and the people to get warm some of the Gentlemen from Elk Ridge and Baltimore Town insisted on burning the Vessel. Mr. Carroll then went and consulted Mr. Dick who immediately consented to the destroying of the Vessel Mr. Dick was fearfull that if they did not give up the Vessel that it would be attended with worse Consequences to Mr. Stewart as the mob had threatened to lay violant hands on him. Mr. Carroll then declared to the people that Tea & Vessell should both be burnt. Mr. Quyn then stood forth and said that it was not the sense of the majority of the people that the Vessell should be destroyed and made a motion which was seconded that there should be a vote on the Question. We had a Vote on it and a Majority of $\frac{7}{8}$ of the people, still the few that was for destroying the Brigg was Clamorous and insinuated that if it was not done they would prejudice Mr. Stewart more then if the Vessell was burnt. the Committee then with the Consent of Mr. Dick declared that the Vessell and Tea should be burnt then Doctor Warfield (a youth that practice under Doctor Thompson at the Ridge for some time) made a motion that the Gentlemen should make their concessions on their knees, there was a vote on it and

carried in favour of the Gentlemen, they then came and read their concessions to the Publick and then Mr. Stewart went on board of his Vessell and set fire to her with his own hands and she was a burning when I left town.

I think Sir I went to Annapolis yesterday to see my Liberty destroyed which was done when fire was put to the brig. Every body allows that Mr. Stewart was to blame in entering the Tea, he was advised by many not to do it and made two attempts and was persuaded from it before he did do it, but after making such concessions as he did do (which I shall send you) and agreeing to pay for half of the Tea it was monstrous to destroy his Vessell which is worth £900 Currency none but madmen could do such a thing, they have not only punished the Guilty, but the Innocent must also suffer Capt. McGachen was $\frac{1}{3}$ owner of the Vessell, he did not enter her nor was he privy to any part of the transaction. If this is Liberty, If this is Justice, they certainly must have found a new code of Laws on Elk Ridge; but they must be very different from any others ever was pened by man or ever appeared heretofore on the face of this Earth. Whilst they were preparing to go on board the Vessell sober sought of people begin to think what a Scandal it would be to suffer an Action to be put into execution against the sense of the majority of the people. Stephen in particular began to declare his Sentimentt very freely, Mr. C. Wallace Mr. G. Hopkins, Mr. Jos. Cowman my Uncle and in short every person present who had any sense of honour & Justice cryed out Shame and determined immediately to prevent it but as they were going down to the water side with that intent they met poor Mr. Dick who beg and entreated for God sake not to meddle in the matter, but let her be burnt, he said that if they were prevented, they would certainly destroy Mr. Stewarts house and prejudice him more than the Value of the Brig, on this the Gentlemen desisted from proceeding any farther, but it is my Sentiments that the Gentlemen ought to have proceeded, for if they were able to prevent the burning the Vessell, they cer-

tainly might have prevented any insult being offer to Mr. Stewart or prejudice done his house. Some of the Gentlemen from Elk Ridge and Baltimore when they came to Town was very much exasperated against Mr. Stewart they talk of taring and feathering him they were persuaded from it with a good deal of difficulty. Mr. Thomas Williams the Shipper of the Tea would have under gone that discipline if they had him. Mr. John McLure and others have made oath they heard him say in London, they the Association in America was a mere bug bear and that he would import what goods he thought proper to that Country he is now on his passage to Philadelphia from London I would not advise him to come to Annapolis. I shall send you the News paper and Mr. Stewarts hand bill. I am apt to believe the Committee will meet with some difficulty in putting this affair in print as they cannot say it was with the Consent of the major part of the people that the Vessel was burnt. It is not proper for me to make remarks on a Committee chose by the people of Ann Arundel Cy. but for the future I would not give a Copper for all that their committee can say or do.

Thus Sir I have related you the whole and in as full manner as is in my power this most infamous and rascally affair which makes all men of property reflect with horror on their present Situation to have their lives and propertys at the disposal & mercy of a Mob is Shocking indeed the whole Province are Crying out against the proceedings and the Ring leaders begin to be assame of it themselves. I heard one of them who call himself a Gentleman a hour after the affair was over say that it was not his Sentiments to burn the Vessell. Mr. Stewart has agreed to pay for half of the Tea before this matter happened, the Ring-leaders where Mr. Charles Ridgely son of Doctr. Howard, Dr. Warfield & Walter Buier of prince Georges (please not to mention these names)

TULIP HILL Friday morning

It seems that Mr. John Brice has been trying to persuade Duvall not to leave him and has not succeeded in it which

has been a means of breeding a Quarrell between them. Duvall has applyed to me to send a Boat for him immediately. I told him I should do it on my return from the Estern Shore are you to be at the Expençe of the Boat hire, please to inform my next post. I have seen Mr. Waters he is to come down tomorrow, to look at Tanner and if he thinks he is able to travel as far as New York he will take him he has more flesh on his Bones than when you left home tho' still very thin. Old Silim thrives fast I must have some oats got for him he does not eat Corn kindly. Mr. Heath certainly must have been running the old Horse to have made him so thin.

Our People has been two Days longer than I expected in securing the Fodder they have been very lasy [torn] out of sight and I have not been able to attend to them so closely as I could wish being engaged in puting yr. papers into some kind of order. We set about the potatoes on Wednesday, in some places they yield very well in others but poorly. I still have Fires kept in the Old Toll-house at home the rest of the Houses I think are sufficiently cured. I am fearfull it will be very late before the wheat will be put into the potatoe Ground as diging the potatoes is very tedious and our Negroes does not much when I am absent which I must be next week. I have spoke to Mr. Pyle for some early Wheat for to soe in that Ground. We have not had any rain Since my last it is the dryest fall that ever was known the Wheat Suffers very much. The warm weather rots the keeping apples very fast we had gathered this year more than I have ever known so that I hope there will be a sufficient quantity to last the Winter. I make the Gardener put them over every now and then. The Cyder we made last is very good.

I am sorry to hear that you have been indisposed I hope the bark will prevent a return of the fever that you will be reinstated in your usual Health which Sir is always the sincere desire and anxious wish of Hond. Sir

Your Dutifull Son

JOHN GALLOWAY

P.S. I shall write my Sister by Mondays post tho' I have not had the pleasure of a Letter from her since her leaving home my best love & wishes attend her and Miss. Chew hoping the latter will be lightly markd with the Small pox
J. G.

CHESTER TOWN MARYLAND 25th Oct.
1774.

DEAR SIR

I have the pleasure to tell you that we reached home yesterday very well and found all so here.

You have no doubt an Annapolis Paper giving an Acct. of the Burning of Anthony Stewarts Vessel. As the account does not satisfactorily justify the violence I will shortly tell you how it happen'd as I have it from People at Annapolis. Upon the Arrival of the Vessel it was made known that the Tea was on board. Tom Williams who is now in England had it put up in Blankets and the Captain declared he did not know it was in the Vessel until his Papers were put into his Hands at Gravesend. Mr. Stewart had it seems no interest in the Tea nor had he any Goods as was reported and the people would have been satisfied even with the Tea's being stored without paying the Duty. But Anto. Stewart obstinately went and paid it & contrary to the advice of all his Friends. This incensed the people and a great number came in from all parts of the Country and nothing less than tarring & feathering would satisfy them. This they were diverted from by the Influence of Barrister Carrol & others in pity to Mrs. Stewart who was then in Labor. Anty. then proposed to atone for his offence by having the Tea burnt on his own loss. This was not thought sufficient and it was put to vote whether or not the Ship should not be burnt. A Majority determined she should not but many appearing discontented old Mr. Dick insisted that in order to give general satisfaction which he thought was due to the people that the Vessel too should be burnt. She was accordingly committed to the Flames. From the whole

of Mr. Stewart's conduct I have no doubt but he has pre-meditated the Exploit to endear himself to the Ministry and I am glad the people have shown so much spirit. We shall be glad to hear from you by the post and with our best Loves.

I am dear Sir,

Yrs. most affectl.

THOS. RINGGOLD.

PASSENGER LIST OF THE SHIP "ELIZABETH,"
WHICH ARRIVED AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1819.

[Copied from the original in the Library of the Historical Society of
Pennsylvania.]

We the undersigned : I, M. Adams, Captain of the Ship Elizabeth on one part, and we the passengers on the other part do obligate ourselves—

First, We the passengers to take our passage with the above mentioned Capt. Adams to Philadelphia in North America, and to conduct ourselves as good passengers ought to do, quiet and orderly, and to be satisfied with the food mentioned at foot as per agreement with the Captain, and with regard to water and other provisions, to follow the Captain's directions as he shall find necessary through long passage or other circumstances.

Second. We agree to take our passage on the following conditions, viz. to pay

For those who are able to pay in Amsterdam for each person man or woman 180 fr.

Children under four years of age are free—

From four to twelve years to pay 90 fr.

From twelve years and older to pay 180 fr.

For those who are not able to pay here or only in part, the passage to be

Children under four years of age free

From four to twelve years 95 fr.

From twelve years and older 190 fr. and 200 fr. as specified.

Those who have to pay their passage in America shall be obliged to do so in ten days after their arrival. No passenger shall be allowed to leave the vessel in America without leave from the Captain and in particular those as have not paid their passage money. Should any one of the passengers die on the voyage, the family of such person shall be

obliged to pay his passage, if such decease took place on more than half the distance of the voyage, but should the person die this side half the distance, the loss of the passage shall fall to the Captain.

In return I, M. Adams obligate myself to carry these passengers to Philadelphia, to accommodate them with the necessary comfort and give them daily the here below mentioned proportion of victuals—children not to receive anything.

Sunday—one pound Beef and half pound Rice,

Monday—one pound Flour,

Tuesday—one half pound Pork with pease,

Wednesday—one pound Beef and barley,

Thursday—like Tuesday,

Friday—like Monday,

Saturday—like Wednesday,

One pound Butter, one pound Cheese, six pounds Bread, per week.

One glass Gin and three quarter gallons Water per day.

There shall also be on board a sufficiency of Vinegar to cleanse the vessel and for the refreshing the passengers. To all this we bind ourselves with our persons and property.

Witness VAN OLIVIER & Co.

AMSTERDAM, 4 May, 1819.

Names	Number of Persons	Freight	Passage Money	Paid here	To be Paid in Philada
George Michael Huetter,	6	5 fr.	900 fr.	900 fr.	
Henry Roedel,	10	9	1620.	1620.	
Michael Idler,	6	6	720.	720.	
Magdalena Strählin,	1	1	180.	180.	
Frederick Walber (?)	4	3	540.	540.	
John Frederick Betzold,	1	1	180	100	80 fr.
John Frederick Speiser,	1	1	190	50	140
Francis Krucker,	1	1	190	60	130
John Henry Wilk,	1	1	190	30	160
Henry Luttell,	1	1	200	21	179
John Andrew Ammon,	1	1	170	170	
V. P. Myersott (?)	1	1	150	150	
Xavier Streuber (?)	1	1	160	160	

Names	Number of Persons	Freight	Passage Money	Paid here	To be Paid in Philada
George Henry Bute,	1	1 fr.	200 fr.		200 fr.
Jean Louis Kemser,	1	1	200		200
George William Miller,	1	1	200		200
S. T. Van de Graff,	2	1½	290	120 fr.	170
Philip Fr. Leisaten, (?)	1	1	200		200
George Eberle,	1	1	190		190
Carl Ollie,	1	1	200		200
John Frederick Schuhardt,	1	1	200		200
Carl Rommel,	1	1	190	50	140
John Sautter,	1	1	200		200
— Tomber (?)	1	1	200		200
Henry Geiger,	1	1	200		200
Conrad Neinstein,	7	6	760		760
Jacob Frederick Maechtle,	1	1	190		190
Anton Hanhaussen,	1	1	190		190
John Henry Burg,	1	1	190		190
George Francis Klee,	1	1	190		190
John Jacob Keppel,	1	1	190		190
John George Heugel,	1	1	190		190
Barbara Schwasen (?)	1	1	190		190
Barbara Etlung,	1	1	190		190
John Fuchs,	1	1	200		200
John Kücherer,	1	1	200		200
Barndina Hulsing,	1	1	200		200
Barbara Jundt,	1	1	190		190
Magdalena + Langin,	1	1	190		190
Rudolph + Hagmann,	1	1	190	70	120
Elizabeth Hensin,	1	1	190		190
— Maria Steinman,	1	1	190		190
Carl Lebold,	1	1	200		200
Jacob Stark,	1	1	200		200
Michael Haag,	1	1	180	180	
John George Hauser,	1	1	200		200
John George Weber,	1	1	200		200
Seligmann Zimern,	1	1	170	170	
Jacob Fuchs,	1	1	190		190
Jacob Adolt,	1	1	200		200
John Leonard Gieser,	1	1	190		190
Barbara Lang,	1	1	190		190
J. M. Schüle,	1	1	180		180
George Peter Gieser,	1	1	190		190
John S. Kline,	1	1	180	120	60
Henry Steinman,	1	1	180	170	10
Jacob Breitenbücher,	1	1	180	180	
Christina + Keim,	1	1	190		190
John George Gundt,	1	1	180	180	
Frederick Seitz,	1	1	180	180	
F. Lennig,	3	2½	700	700	
Carl Schuele,	1	1	190		190
John Schmitt,	1	1	180	180	
John Haas (?)	3	2½	425	425	
Reichard Saltzer,	5	3	510	510	
William A. Diecken,	1	1	160	160	
Anna Melinger,	1	1	180	180	

Names	Number of Persons	Freight	Passage Money	Paid here	To be Paid in Philada
Ludwig Reiff,.....	1	1 fr.	200 fr.		200 fr.
Conrad Kegel,	1	1	200		200
Augustin Wandel,.....	1	1	200		200
John George Reiner,.....	1	1	200		200
Christian Frederick Reinhold, ..	1	1	200		200
Adam Gelhart,.....	1	1	200		200
John Frederick Guedeman,....	1	1	200		200
Anton Vanbun, (?).....	1	1	200		200
Jacob Frederick Lehmann,	1	1	200		200
Xavier Vanbun,.....	1	1	200		200
Gottfried Schink,	1	1	200		200
Henry Hofer,	1	1	170	170 fr.	
Gottfried Straub,	1	1	200		200
Caspar Walber (?) }	3	3	570		570
Simon Walber (?) }					
Jacob Walber (?) }					

LETTER OF LAMBERT CADWALADER TO TIMOTHY
PICKERING ON THE CAPTURE OF FORT WASH-
INGTON.

TRENTON, May 1822.

DEAR SIR.

I rec^d your Letter of the 15th inst. and thank you for the Information it contains.

It is now more than Forty five years since the Affair of Fort Washington, and though it can scarcely be expected I should be able, after so long an Interval, to afford you a full Narrative of all the Incidents that occur'd on the Day of the Attack, yet I have it in my Power, in some Measure, to satisfy your Inquiries. I shall however avail myself, in performing this Task, and to save Trouble, of a Statement of this Nature, wh I made in the year 1811, at the Request of a Friend of mine, formerly a Captain in the 3^d Pennsylvania Battalion wh I commanded in the War of the Revolution, who was writing a Book entitled "Memoirs of a Life chiefly passed in Pennsylvania within the last Sixty years," in which he mentions the Attack on Fort Washington, and our Posts, on the Island of New York.

My Statement commences on Page 175 of that Work, and ends in Page 180, with my Arrival at the Fort; exclusively of which I furnished not a single Sentence published in the Book. I however recommend to your Notice, a Paragraph of the Author, in his Book pages 188, 189, in which he gives the following extract from Gen^l Washington's Letter to Congress.

"I sent a Billet to Col^l Magaw directing him to hold out, and I would endeavour in the Evening to bring off the Garrison, if the Fortress could not be maintained, *as I did not expect it could, the Enemy being possessed of the adjacent*

Ground.” When I arrived at the Fort, I found the British had succeeded, in their several Attacks, and were in Possession of all the Ground, except that in which the Fort stood. That they should have been possessed of all the adjacent Ground with the Force they employed, could not well be wondered at, when it is known,

1st That the Post on the Rear of Mount Washington was attacked by 3000 Hessians, against Col^l Rawlins’s single Regiment of Riflemen.

2^{dly} That the Post at the Point on Haarlem River, opposite to Fort Washington, was assailed by the British Guards & Light Infantry, and defended by a raw Regiment of Militia.

3^d That at Roger Morris’s House, not a Man was posted for Defence, and when Six or Seven Hundred Highlanders approached the Shore, the only opposition they encounter’d was by the Detachment of about 150 Men from the lower Line wh they could not well spare.

4. That the Attack on the Lower Line, extending across the Island of New York, was by 1600 British Troops against 650 Men; the Number of Men left after the Detachment of 150 Men was sent to Roger Morris’s House. The lower Line required 3000 Men for an efficient Defence.

The Assailants in the whole, were estimated at 7000, supported by the British Army.

The Fort and the extent of the Ground, including the Flanks on the Haarlem and North Rivers, required at least 8000 Men. The Fort I always considered as an open Field Fort—constructed of earth, without Casemates, or even Shelter—(the Cannon, Iron six Pounders) without any Qualification, or Character, which could possibly be construed into a Fortress, capable of standing a Siege, against a regular Army, furnished with Artillery.

Before I left the Fort, many Weeks previous to the Attack, to take charge of the lower Line and the adjacent Ground, I h[ad] a Conversation with the commanding Officer on the Island, in which I most forcibly inculcated the Ne-

cessity of instantly attending to the full Supply of Water, Ammunition, and Provisions, and every Thing requisite for the Defence of the Fort, and also proposed to him to form a Work which I conceived would be of great Importance in *flanking* the Enemy should they attempt to ascend the Hill in Rear of Mount Washington—the Spot they actually selected for the Attack; all of which he cordially approved.

General Washington's Idea of the Incompetency of the Fort, to make a serious Defence, is sufficiently evinced in his Billet to Col^l Magaw; and, I may add the Sentiment entertained by Gen^l Charles Lee, who in a Conversation he had with me, reprobated the Measure of keeping the Garrison on New York Island; and said when he rec^d the Intelligence of the unfortunate event, he was so excited, that he tore the Hair out of his Head.

I have thus, with Candour and Impartiality given you the best Information in my Power, and if the Facts I have disclosed, should bear hard upon the Advisers and Abettors, of the fatal Measure of keeping the Troops on the Island, after General Washington had crossed, to the West Side of the North River, and whilst General Howe was marching his Army down to King's Bridge, I would not take a Feather from the Weight which must fall on their Heads, however dignified, or however high they may have ranked in the Army.

I find from what you have mentioned of your Age, that you will number 77 years on the 17th July next, new Style, and I sincerely congratulate you that you “have enjoyed uninterrupted. Health, and that your Strength and Activity are not greatly diminished.” In Return I have to inform you, that on the 2^d July next old Style, I shall complete my 79th year, a Period, exceeding by several years, that of any of my Family, and which I never was encouraged to look to; having experienced much Sickness in early, and middle Life.

I hope it will suit your Convenience to call on me—it will gratify me exceedingly to see you at my House, and

indulge with you in talking over old Times. Few remain who can look so far back as we can, and upon Scenes more important to our Country.

With great Regard & Esteem

I remain, Dear Sir,

Your Obed^t Serv^t

LAMB^t CADWALADER.

COL^L TIMOTHY PICKERING.

LETTER OF CHIEF-JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL.

[Original in the Dreer Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

RICHMOND July 27th 1812

DEAR SIR

I had this morning the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 24th—The paper you mention reached me a few days past & was read with attention and approbation. Your wish respecting its republication will not be forgotten.

The view you take of the edict purporting to bear date on the 28th of April 1811 appears to me to be perfectly correct. I am astonished, if in these times any thing ought to astonish, that the same impression is not made on all.

Although I have for several years forbore to intermingle with those questions which agitate & excite the feelings of party, it is impossible that I could be inattentive to passing events, or an unconcerned observer of them. As they have increased in their importance, the interest, which as an American I must take in them, has also increased; and the declaration of war has appeared to me, as it has to you, to be one of those portentous acts which ought to concentrate on itself the efforts of all those who can take an active part in rescuing their country from the ruin it threatens. All minor considerations should be waived; the lines of subdivision between parties, if not absolutely effaced, should at least be covered for a time; and the great division between the friends of peace & the advocates of war ought alone to remain. It is an object of such magnitude as to give to almost every other, comparative insignificance; and all who wish peace ought to unite in the means which may facilitate its attainment, whatever may have been their differences of opinion on other points.

On reading the decree of the 28th of April I could not avoid asking myself questions such as these.

This decree having been obviously fabricated since the official declaration of the Prince Regent that the orders in council would stand repealed so soon as the decrees of Berlin & Milan should be proved by an authentic document to be revoked, why was it not dated on the 1st of November 1810 instead of the 28th of April 1811? Since the one date might have been affixed to it as readily as the other, why was not that date affixed which would have saved the feelings of the American government by supporting the assertion it has uniformly made in its diplomatic intercourse with foreign governments, in its domestic official communications, & in its legislative acts?—assertions on the truth of which our whole system stands? Had France felt for the United States any portion of that respect to which our real importance entitles us, would she have failed to give this proof of it? But regardless of the assertion made by the President in his Proclamation of the 2^d of Nov^r 1810, regardless of the communications made by the Executive to the Legislature, regardless of the acts of Congress, and regardless of the propositions which we have invariably maintained in our diplomatic intercourse with Great Britain, the Emperor has given a date to his decree, & has assigned a motive for its enactment, which in express terms contradict every assertion made by the American nation throughout all the departments of its government, & removed the foundation on which its whole system has been erected. The motive for this offensive & contemptuous proceeding cannot be to rescue himself from the imputation of continuing to enforce his decrees after their formal repeal, because this imputation is precisely as applicable to a repeal dated the 28th of April 1811 as to one dated the 1st of November 1810, since the execution of those decrees has continued after the one date as well as after the other. Why then is this obvious fabrication such as we find it? Why has M^r Barlow been unable to obtain a paper which might consult the honor & spare the feelings of his government? The answer is not to be disguised. Bonaparte does not sufficiently respect us

to exhibit for our sake, to France, to America, to Britain, or to the world, any evidence of his having receded one step from the position he had taken. He could not be prevailed on, even after we had done all he required, to soften any one of his acts so far as to give it the appearance of his having advanced one step to meet us. That this step or rather the appearance of having taken it, might save our reputation was regarded as dust in the balance. Even now, after our solemn & repeated assertions that our discrimination between the belligerents is founded altogether on a first advance of France,—on a decisive & unequivocal repeal of all her obnoxious decrees; after we have engaged in a war of the most calamitous character, avowedly, because France had repealed those decrees, the Emperor scorns to countenance the assertion or to leave it uncontradicted. He avers to ourselves, to our selected enemy, & to the world, that, whatever pretexts we may assign for our conduct, he has in fact ceded nothing, he has made no advance, he stands on his original ground & we have marched up to it. We have submitted, completely submitted; & he will not leave us the poor consolation of concealing that submission from ourselves. But not even our submission has obtained relief. His cruizers still continue to capture, sink, burn, & destroy.

I cannot contemplate this subject without excessive mortification as well at the contempt with which we are treated as at the infatuation of my countrymen. It is not however for me to indulge these feelings though I cannot so entirely suppress them as not sometimes though rarely to allow them a place in a private letter.

With respectful esteem

I am Sir your obed^t serv^t

J MARSHALL.

To R. SMITH.

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.

(Continued from page 131.)

<i>1751</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
July 29	Sloop John	George Dawes	George Dawes John Hopkins	Marcus Hook, Pa.	20
Aug. 2	Sloop Charming Betsey	Samuel Lloyd	both of Philadelphia Samuel Lloyd	Kent Co., on Delaware	15
Aug. 6	Sloop Medford	Thomas Standly	Thomas Standly Timothy Fitch	Newbury	40
Aug. 7	Snow Betsey	John Bolitho	both of Boston Reese Meredith Samuel Neave	Philadelphia	60
Aug. 9	Brig't Jane	Robert Stewart	both of Philadelphia Robert Stewart of Philadelphia David Morris	Salem, New Jersey	45
Aug. 12	Snow William & Thomas	Thomas Macfarland	of Salem Thomas Macfarland William Welfit Francis Belby Hugh Lawson John Johnston all of Hull	Hull, England	90

July 10	Ship Lark	George Morrison	Mathias Aspdon of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
Aug. 21	Sloop Penguin	Joshua Byrne	Joshua Byrne Robert Lewis both of Wilmington	Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	17
Aug. 28	Ship Pembroke	Arthur Burrows	Arthur Burrows Charles Norris William Cox all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Aug. 30	Snow Polly	Robert White	John Wallace Alexander Hamilton both of Philadelphia	Maryland	70
Aug. 20	Schooner Elizabeth	Thomas Nusam	James Pillar of Philadelphia Henry Bunn Obediah Watton of Jamaica	Philadelphia	6
Sept. 2	Brig't Barbados Factor	Joseph Greenway	Jonathan Lewes Joseph Greenway both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Sept. 5	Sloop Haclem	Daniel England	Arent Hassart Robert Rollinson both of Philadelphia	New Jersey	20
Sept. 10	Snow Sarah	John Mitchell	John Smith of Philadelphia Messrs Berkett & Booth of Antigua	Philadelphia	50

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1751	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built Tons
Sept. 4	Sloop Cart Mill	John Rawlinson	John Rawlinson of Tortola George Sooper Ambee Sutton James Duff Charles Stedman of Philadelphia Samuel McCall Alexander Stedman John Stedman of London Amos Jones of Wilmington James Few Andrew Tranberg Samuel Mifflin William Dowell both of Philadelphia Anthony Stocker of Philadelphia James Child of Philadelphia Joseph Richardson Thomas Penrose both of Philadelphia	Cape May, New Jersey Philadelphia Philadelphia Wilmington, on Delaware Scituate, N. England Newcastle, Pa. Philadelphia Philadelphia
				30
Oct. 8	Ship Halifax	Thomas Coatam		180
Oct. 14	Brig Nancy	Amos Jones		50
Oct. 22	Schooner Sally	James White		85
Oct. 28	Sloop Humming Bird	Spencer Trotter		25
Oct. 29	Ship Katherine	James Child		140
Nov. 12	Brig Greyhound	Lester Falkner		50

Nov. 14	Sloop Consels Bay	Samuel Appowin	Thomas Lloyd of Philadelphia Mess ^{rs} Carrington & Nicholls of Barbados	Philadelphia	10
Nov. 15	Brig't Bettsey	Thomas Lake	Samuel Midlin John Searle William Plumsted Edward Hicks all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
Nov. 20	Ship Happy Return	William Woodside	James Mitchell William Hamilton both of Londonderry	Philadelphia	70
Nov. 19	Snow Charming Polly	Nathaniel Ambler	Joseph Marks Charles Edgar both of Philadelphia	On River Delaware	40
Nov. 25	Ship Charming Molly	James Taylor	Robert Ragg of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
Nov. 27	Ship Lenox	William Wallace	Randle Mitchell of Philadelphia Hugh Mitchell of Dublin	Philadelphia	100
Nov. 27	Ship Friendship	Hugh Wright	James Wallace of Philadelphia Samuel & William Bryan of Dublin	Marcus Hook, Pa.	50

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1751	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Nov. 28	Brig't Batchelor	Ralph Gill	Theophilus Gardner of Philadelphia William Whitebread of Londonderry	Philadelphia	40
Nov. 28	Brig't Egmont	James Rea	Theophilus Gardner of Philadelphia John Perry of Cork, Ireland Charles Edgar of Philadelphia Peter Keine Jonathan Lewes	Marcus Hook, Pa.	50
Nov. 28	Ship Charming Polly	William Morrel	William Morrel Robert Wakely of Philadelphia Samuel Spofforth of Philadelphia Robert Ellis Abraham Masson Thomas Stillberry John Nixon all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
Nov. 30	Snow Batchelor	William Wallace		New England	60
Sept. 25	Sloop Victory	Robert Harvey		Bermuda	50
Dec. 2	Ship Mary	Robert Ellis		Lewes, on Delaware	65

Dec. 2	Brig Shirley	Oswell Eve	Oswell Eve of Philadelphia	Cohansey, New Jersey	50
Nov. 28	Ship Bettey & Molly	John Woodhouse	John Okill Roger Barstone Thomas Mears	Liverpool	110
Dec. 10	Brig't Delaware	Henry Lysle	Henry Lysle John Nixon both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	40
¹⁷⁶³ Feb. 18	Sloop Polly	James Sparks	Peter Adams of Lewes Town, on Delaware	Lewes, on Delaware	20
Feb. 19	Brig't Barbados Factor	Joseph Greenway	Jonathan Lewes Joseph Greenway Robert Wall all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
March 4	Sloop Mary	Jeremiah Hawkins	Jeremiah Hawkins John Gerish both of Providence	Providence	30
March 4	Sloop Jolly	Arthur Whiteside	Arthur Whiteside Bowman Mariner Jacob Mariner Tho's Whiteside all of Indian River	On Delaware	10
March 4	Sloop Little Harry	Daniel Denormandy	Henry Elwes of Philadelphia John Roberts of Indian River	Indian River	30

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1768	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
March 7	Snow Lavinia	Robert Ritchie	James Trotter Andrew Elliot both of Philadelphia	On Little Choptank, in Maryland	60
March 9	Ship Lydia	Peter Reeve	Peter Reeve James Pemberton both of Philadelphia	New York	100
March 25	Ship Beaver	John Harper	John Meas Marcus Kuhl William Blair all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
March 26	Sloop Catherine & Ann	Zepheniah Holwell	Zepheniah Holwell Abraham Gardner John Cummins all of Philadelphia	Virginia	15
April 2	Ship Jane	William Kelley	William Kelley of Philadelphia John Mayne of London & Edward Burne Charles Mayne both of Lisbon William Vaughan of Marcus Hook	Philadelphia	80
April 8	Schooner Hannah	Jonathan Copeland		Marcus Hook, Pa.	15

April 8	Snow Charming Jenny	Morgan Mulloney	Morgan Mulloney of Cork, Ireland	Philadelphia	90
			Mess ^{rs} John Ayney & Co. British merchants, residing at Lisbon		
April 16	Sloop Philadelphia	Patrick Rooney	James Russell of Maryland	Cohansey, on Delaware	20
April 24	Brig't Samuel	Francis Peesely	Walter Shee	Philadelphia	35
			James & Thomas Hervey all of Philadelphia		
			Samuel Montgomery of Londonderry, Ireland		
April 30	Brig't Dolphin	James Miller	William Bingham John Stamper Joseph Stamper all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
May 5	Sloop Dove	William Condy	John Pole	East Haddam, Conn.	25
May 1	Schooner Industry	Anthony Whitely	Anthony Whitely James Reynolds Alexander Alexander all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	25
May 7	Brig't Nancy	Samuel Appowen	Thomas Willing Charles Willing Thomas Lloyd all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1753	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Time
April 22	Ship Ann	James Gibbons	John Bell of Philadelphia Messrs Walter & John Ewer of London	Philadelphia	75
May 8	Brig't Rebecca	Daniel England	Samuel Mifflin of Philadelphia Anthony Stocker of Philadelphia George Camill of Liverpool	Philadelphia	35
May 15	Snow George	Joseph Arthur	Susanna & Elias Minviele Isaac Depeza Benjamin Massiah all of Barbados Joseph Forman Thomas Robinson	Philadelphia	70
May 21	Sloop Peggy	Thomas Robinson	both of New York City Joseph Harlan of Wilmington Charles Stedman Alexander Stedman John Philips all of Philadelphia	New Jersey	15
May 21	Sloop Martha & Mary	—		Wilmington, in Newcas-	25
May 25	Brig't Thistle	John Murrey		the District Philadelphia	40

May 14	Sloop Tenereiff	George Eckles	Albert Nesbit of London	Bermuda	25
June 8	Sloop William & Mary	Alexander Cook	Alexander Cook Nathan Durant	Philadelphia	16
June 13	Shallop Phœbe	Jacob Smith	both of Barbados Jacob Smith David Smith	Amboy	15
June 16	Ship Betty and Sally	Edward Sneed	both of Cape May, West Jersey		
June 17	Schooner Industry	Sylvester Moryarty	Randall Mitchell of Philadelphia Hugh Mitchell	Philadelphia	100
June 17	Brig't Jenney	Alex'r Magee	of Dublin, Ireland Hugh Mathews James Reynolds	Philadelphia	25
June 27	Sloop Cumberland Galley	Thomas Seares	both of Philadelphia Co. James Wallace George Bryan	Philadelphia	35
June 27	Brig't Lark	William Hunt	both of Philadelphia Abraham Reeve of Hopewell, Cumberland Co.	Cumberland, West Jersey	30
			Robert Waln of Philadelphia	Sussex	40

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1752	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
July 1	Brig't Sarah & Mima	Samuel Nettle	William Corry Richard Edwards	Philadelphia	50
July 2	Schooner Mulberry	Charles Dingee	both of Philadelphia Charles Dingee	Lewes Town, on Delaware	5
July 4	Schooner Mary	Timothy Sheehan	Benjamin Minos of Bernuda Joseph Ginshard John Bell	Condemned Aug. 19, 1751, for breach of several acts of Trade, & delivered up	8
July 6	Sloop Martha & Miriam	John Waide	both of St. Christophers John Waide of Marcus Hook George Warner of Philadelphia Walter Shee James Harvey Thomas Harvey	Marcus Hook	10
July 16	Ship Lydia	Andrew Caldwell	all of Philadelphia William Caldwell of Londonderry, Ireland Robert Moulder of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
July 17	Sloop Prudence	Robert Moulder		Marcus Hook	20

July 28	Sloop Nottingham	William Smithson	John Green of Philadelphia	Indian River	30
July 25	Snow Charming Polly	James McCollough	John Wallace William & Andrew Hodge James McCullough all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
July 31	Sloop Virginia Packet	Robert Murrey	Robert Murrey of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	20
Aug. 11	Sloop Sea Fovey	Jeremiah Nixon	Jeremiah Nixon of West Jersey	Cedar Creek, West Jersey	15
July 30	Brig't Richmond	Daniel Rees	Abel James Joseph Oldman both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Aug. 10	Snow Lucas	Nathaniel Magee	James Wallace George Bryan both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Aug. 20	Sloop Dolphin	Thomas Leech	Benj ^m Milfin Edward Ball both of Philadelphia	New Jersey	20
Sept. 1	Ship Recovery	Amos Jones	Amos Jones Robert Lewis Oliver Canby all of Wilmington & the Wilmington Co.	Wilmington, Newcastle Co.	80

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1762	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Sept. 19	Schooner Polly	Thomas Wood	Thomas Wood of Bristol, Gt. Britain	Scituate, N. England	35
Aug. 21	Sloop Speedwell	Samuel Douthaite	Andrew Erikslan of Cumberland Co., West Jersey	Morris River, West Jer- sey	14
July 21	Sloop Lark	Robert Richardson	Samuel Douthaite of Philadelphia John Richardson, Esq of Newcastle Co. Robert Richardson of Wilmington Charles Stedman Alexander Stedman both of Philadelphia James Child of Philadelphia Edward Pennington of Philadelphia John Gurney Henry Gurney both of Norwich, Great Britain	Wilmington, New Castle Co. Philadelphia Philadelphia Philadelphia	15 100 150 100
Sept. 28	Ship Minerva	John Hamilton			
Oct. 2	Ship Catherine	George Burnett			
Oct. 3	Ship Lucy	Charles Hargrave			

Oct. 3	Brig't Rose	Charles Stewart	Randall Mitchell of Philadelphia Hugh Mitchell of Dublin, Ireland Benj ^a Sayre of Cumberland Co., New Jersey James Penberton Thomas Crosby both of Philadelphia David Hall of Lewes William Plumsted George McCull John Ingraham Benjamin Dorchester both of New Haven, Conn. Randall Mitchell of Philadelphia Hugh Mitchell of Dublin, Ireland Robert Bluett Daniel Payton, Esq ^r John Spencer Samuel Adams all of Jamaica	Marcus Hook	40
Oct. 16	Sloop Ann Elizabeth	Benj ^a Sayre		New York, & rebuilt in West Jersey this present year Philadelphia	20
Oct. 16	Ship Marlborough	Edward Dowers			70
Oct. 10	Brig't Molly	David Hall		Lewes, super Delaware	45
Sept. 26	Schooner Dove	John Ingraham		A British built vessel reg- istered at Bristol	40
Oct. 26	Ship Jenny & Betty	Robert Raitt		Philadelphia	100
Oct. 27	Brig't Sally	Robert Bluett		Philadelphia	32

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.			
1752	Vessels	Masters	Owners
Oct. 28	Sloop Susanna & Molly	Edward Young	Richard Clark Edward Young both of Chichester, Chester Co., Pa.
			James Rency John McCormick both of Cape May Alley McAlley of Philadelphia John Burford of Charles Town, South Carolina Richard Burford of London John Brown of London John Stedman a British merchant, residing at Rotterdam
			William Attwood of Philadelphia Sam'l McCall, Senr of Philadelphia
Nov. 6	Sloop Priscilla	John Austin	
			Cape May, West Jersey
Nov. 8	Schooner Susanna	Henry Jones	
			Philadelphia
Nov. 9	Ship Barclay	John Brown	
			Philadelphia
Nov. 15	Brig't Kensington	Joseph Brown	
			Philadelphia
Nov. 20	Snow Philadelphia	Robert Ferguson	
			Philadelphia
			110
			120
			80
			10
			10

Nov. 24	Brig't Valentine	John Cotton	Robert Waln of Philadelphia Valentine Welch Samuel Welch both of Barbados Hezekiah Williams of Philadelphia William Allen Joseph Turner William Bingham Joseph Simms all of Philadelphia Hugh King of Lewes Thomas Stayton Thomas Power of Waterford, Ireland John White a British merchant, residing at Lisbon Rudeman Robinson of Philadelphia William Blair Samuel Hastings Thomas Walker all of Philadelphia	Connecticut	45
Dec. 1	Sloop Polly	Elisha Salter		Tree Town, Province of Massachusetts Bay	30
Nov. 18	Schooner Joseph	Hugh King		Sussex Co., on Delaware	10
Dec. 7	Sho James & Christo- pher	Thomas Power		Philadelphia	70
Dec. 6	Sloop Fancy	William Wallace		Philadelphia	15
Dec. 13	Ship Molly	Francis Blair		Philadelphia	70

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO ROBERT HARLEY, 1701.—

August 27.—I cannot forbear thinking myself safe where I have such a friend in the chair. It is the idea we have of things that rules our determinations, and if that be wrongly taken, our conclusions will be so made.

That the notion men have at an office or two is in disfavour of proprietary governments I can't wonder at, because it is not always what is just but what is profitable to themselves that is the spring of motion.

I think it is no hard task to prove that it is easier for the crown to make colonies and improve them at other folks' cost, than at its own, and that those people have a better caution and security for their conduct than a mercenary governor or those that have not so much to lose.

If it be alleged that the temptation of gain will prevail with such as have power in their hands to secure themselves in unfair ways of prosecuting it, I take leave to say, no, where the King has approved of a Deputy Governor no more than if he named him, especially if he is obliged to give security for his faithful discharge of his duty to the laws of trade and navigation—which would not be denied—besides, the King has already his Vice-Admirals, Judges of the Admiralty, Advocates, Collectors, Surveyors, and Auditors in each proprietary government. I must think that so many spies cannot but be a security, and that no wise man will hazard a country to indulge a few traders, not twenty perhaps, in a whole province. And to think that a King's governor who comes only to get money, and is perhaps indigent, should not lie under at least equal temptations with a proprietary one, were a partiality. I know not what they may do, but what they have done favours my argument.

This leads me to affirm that being King's governments, the end proposed to prevent false trade will not do it, and if so, the hardship is imposed in vain. For I convinced the Lords, before whom I had five hearings upon this very suggestion, by the confession of the same prosecutor, Ed: Randall, that notwithstanding the activity and vigilance of Governor Nicolson, and the almost ubiquity and penetration of the other single eyed gentleman, Maryland since a King's government was twenty seven times a greater sinner than we were. And more, that of the nine ships, that is, sloops and brigantines, that he with too great assurance averred were gone from our province to Scotland or Holland, I found that they all answered the laws of trade but one, and she had given bond, which is all we are obliged to expect by law.

It can never enter the head of any reasonable man, that we should labour to cut the grass under our own feet, which we must do, if to let others be rich we would ruin ourselves, by being the security of the whole to the crown.

In practice, they that improve most, are the profitablest colonies to the crown, but those are known to be proprietary ones. And again, if it be

considered who they are that rise more by trade than culture, they will be found to be the King's more immediate governments as they are used to be distinguished. Upon which let the question be put, who are most likely to be vicious in trade, and I believe we shall escape the stroke of the hand now lifted up at us.

Yet again, let it but be remembered that our staple is provision to the Islands, in which regard we have not the opportunity of false trade, if we had the inclination; for those Colonies are most to be apprehended, that trade above their own produce, whereas, we have not shipping to export one half of it, but in bottoms of New York and New England.

However, I think the commission of the Customs is not changed upon every trick a merchant plays in trade. Let our faults be proved, first the facts, next the malice or intention; but not behind our backs; civil causes may, but this is of a criminal nature, and a Bill to punish us before tried is worse than one of attainder.

My worthy friend, this seems to me great trifling with honour and property, when men must be forfeited in both, unheard, and which is worse, innocent, aye, meritorious; pardon the expression, I hope it is not vain; time, if I may have it and live, will secure me.

I humbly beg that if any Bill be brought in against us next sessions, I may have time to come home, and in order to it, that the King would approve of a deputy, according to the law of the seven and eight of his reign, without which no man will serve, as without one I cannot well leave the government. Here's my dilemma, abdicate, or lose my government for not doing so, if the Parliament will proceed in my absence.

The confusion these things breed here is treating government and governors in burlesque.

I shall conclude my letter, with two things. First that the preamble of the Bill, as to me, is most untrue, for I am so far from being an independent governor that no King's governor in America has obeyed and pursued the King's directions more readily and vigorously than I have done, and in all respects to my ability, submitted to his orders. In fine, I have acted the part of the King's governor at my own charges, and pray that my letters to the Council of Trade and Commissioners of the Admiralty and Customs may be called for in my justification, for the first have not used me with candour in their representation. I might add upon this head that by my grant, appeals are reserved to the King, laws of trade to be observed, and our laws to be transmitted for the King's assent. Such a grant and government cannot with justice, I think, be reputed independent.

Next, I have sunk my fortune and family 20,000*l.* above my gain by land, to make and succeed this enterprise, which the loss of the government will make one to me, and never count upon the money owing from the Crown to my father, that was at the bottom the consideration of the grant, as my petitions, &c. show.

If therefore we must lose it let us be tried, if nevertheless the King will have it, let us have our equivalent, and time to negociate this, or a gaol instead of a government must determine my hazards, labour and expense. Let it not be said that a Parliament of England, the people's last resort for right, should ex parte, deprive whole provinces of their first and chief encouragement to planting of them.

This is the diamond, the soil but the ring, and that we bought of the

natives, and have made it English property by our blood and bones as well as treasure; and to have a proviso to save us this only is a jest rather than a security or privilege.

It is pretended the King's service, but I hope reason of State shall never be one to violate property; and I am afraid, it is the service of some body else, that would have no dissenters governors, for all the proprietary ones began upon that bottom, Carolina excepted; and then our case must be desperate, that shall not be allowed such accountable powers at t'other end of the world, to be made inhabitable by our toil, hazard and great expense. I may add an other, that some people may have more governments to excise (*sic*) and governors to go halves with.

Pardon, my worthy friend, this tedious and unpremeditated letter. Sufferers are always full, but so I am of deep respect for thee.

STAGE TRAVELLING IN 1832.—I left Northumberland on the 23d of August, found our friends at Harrisburg awaiting our arrival, they having reached H. at four in the afternoon, we at nine in the night, agreeable to the present arrangement of Stage travelling, . . . it is the ordering of the times to travel by night and rest by day; this may do for fashionable folk, but for travellers I have cause to enter my protest against it. We spent the 24th very pleasantly . . . at Buhler's Hotel, a large establishment, poor beds and good table; the reverse would have suited me better.

At eleven o'clock at night on the 24th we left Harrisburg for Chambersburg, which we reached at six in the morning, to breakfast, a short ride this, only fifty miles;—in former times I remember twelve and twenty were thought sufficient to give one an appetite for the morning repast, not so now, in these days of reform. At this place, we had been informed, we should meet the stage which went on to Hagerstown and Frederick, but not so, upon enquiry we learned the stage from Chambersburg on, went only every other day, Sundays never, so we had no alternative . . . but to content ourselves to remain at Seider's Hotel until ten o'clock on Second day morning; this circumstance was attended with peculiar vexation, because, had we received proper information from those whose business it was to be acquainted with the stage route, we should have remained with our friends at Harrisburg . . . and escaped a very unpleasant cold night ride.

27th, We proceeded on our journey 26 miles to Hagerstown, where we arrived at two o'clock, expecting to go on to Frederick—but not yet—we must try again how we liked turning night into day, so we were shown into our chambers at Schneibly's hotel; a dirtier, more wretched, comfortless place I will defy the universe to produce, considering the size of the mansion, two or three parlours, and fifty or sixty chambers.

Here we were obliged to pass the remainder of the day and get into the stage for Frederick at twelve o'clock at night. We did not know over what sort of roads nor what sort of driver or horses, and the darkest of nights, without lamps, nor moon to cheer our forlorn way; we however, arrived in safety at Thomas's hotel in Frederick at six o'clock in the morning.

PRIVATE LIBRARIES.—Mr. G. Hedeler, of Leipzig, Germany, is compiling the second part of his "List of Private Libraries," which will contain upwards of six hundred private collections in the United

States and Great Britain. Those with whom Mr. Hedeler has been unable to communicate, are requested to furnish him with details as to the extent of their libraries and the special direction to which they devote their researches. Address G. Hedeler, 18 Nürnberger Str., Leipzig, Germany.

PENROSE FAMILY.—My mother's great-great-grandfather, Bartholomew Penrose, of Philadelphia, shipwright, in his will, dated December, 1709, bequeathed a nominal legacy to his "brother Thomas Penrose in the Kingdom of England shipwright." The will of this brother has been found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, dated March 17, 1721, and proved June 27, 1722, by his widow and executrix. The following abstract of it has been made by Miss Walford :

I Thomas Penrose of the parish of Bedmister in Co. Somerset, shipwright.

I give to my wife Elizabeth Penrose my manor or reputed manor and mansion house of Moreton in the said county, and all the lands, tenements &c. &c. thereto belonging lying in Moreton in the Parish of Compton Martin in the said county ; and my messuage and lands lying at a place called Rudgehill within the parish of Winford in the said county, in the holding of George Brocke my tenant ; my toft or tenement called Pages tenement ; my messuage and tenement called Sheppards with the lands thereto belonging ; and the parcel of ground called the Fifteen Acres late Clarkes ; my messuage called Sea Wall tenement, all which said last mentioned premises are in the parish of Kingston Seymour in the said county ; and my parcel of ground called Hickeysward in the parish of Clevedon in the said county ; my messuage called the White Hart lying near a place called the Lime Kilnes in the par. of Clifton and county of Gloucester ; and the reversions and remainders of all the said premises : To hold to my said wife for life, subject to the payment of the yearly sum of £40 clear to my son Romney Penrose and the heirs of his body ; for default to my daughters Elizabeth, now wife of Edward Lowe, and Anne Penrose and their heirs. After the death of my said wife I give all the said premises to my said son Romney and the heirs of his body, for default to my said daughters Elizabeth and Anne and their heirs for ever.

I also give to my said wife my messuage or farm which I bought of Thos. Goldney and Richard Hawksworth in the said parish of Kingston Seymour for her life subject to the payment of the yearly rent of £15 to my said dau. Anne and the heirs of her body ; for default to my said son Romney and dau. Elizabeth Lowe and their heirs.

After the death of my said wife I give the said messuage to my said dau. Anne and the heirs of her body ; for default to my said son Romney and dau. Elizabeth and their heirs for ever.

To my said dau. Anne £300 at her age of 21 years.

I give to my said wife a silver tankard engraved with the name of the "Cranfeild Frigott," 1 large silver bason and 2 pairs of candlesticks, which after her death shall go to my said children.

The provisions herein made for my said wife and children are in full satisfaction of all settlements made on them by indentures of lease and release made 4th and 5th November 1702, and the dower of my said wife.

I give to my son Thomas Penrose my messuage or dwelling house wherein I now dwell in Bedmister aforesaid with the dock, out houses,

grounds &c. thereto belonging; and my messuage in Baldwin street in the parish of St. Stephen in Bristol, and all those closes (part of Pages Tenement) containing 20 a. to hold to him and to the heirs of his body during the remainder of my term and estate therein; and for default I give the same to my said son Romney and his heirs for ever.

I give to the said Thomas my great silver tankard marked ^{N.B.}
^{T.B.}

Whereas I have given a bond for the payment of £400 to the use of my said son Thomas, viz £100 at his age of 21 years and the rest at my death, I now give to him £300 which together with the legacies given to him herein make up the said £400.

I give to my said wife all my household goods, &c.; and I hereby leave to her the tuition of my said daughter Anne during her minority.

To my brother James Penrose £10.

I not only forgive and release to the heirs and exors. of my late brother Bartholomew Penrose lately residing in "Pensilvana" all the money he owed me, but I also give to his children £5. when they shall come and demand the same.

All the rest of my goods to my said wife whom I make sole executrix.

I appoint Christopher Shuter, Esq., late Mayor of Bristol, John Etwell of the same city, M.D., Captain Edmund Saunders and Mr. Richard Battiscomb to be overseers.

Whereas sometime ago I contracted with Robert Knight, Esq., lately treasurer of the South Sea Company for the sale to him and his heirs for ever of my said manor of Moreton, and all my said messuage, lands &c. in Compton Martin, Kingston Seymour and Clevedon for £7800. whereof £1000 was paid, I now desire my said overseers to endeavour to get the said contract performed.

THO. PENROSE.

Witnesses:

Tho. Coules, Sid. Feast Hen. Bampton.

The will of Thomas's son Thomas, dated November 21, 1723, has also been abstracted.

CHARLES P. KEITH.

NEW ENGLAND COMPANY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXIV. p. 527; Vol. XXV. p. 142).—I would state that the part of Book A of Surveys, in the office of the surveyor-general of West Jersey, at Burlington, consists of twenty-one pages in the front of the book, on one of which is written: "Here begins the Disbursement of the Corporation, by virtue of their Charter from the Kings Most Excellent Ma^{ty} dat. 7th of Febru: 1661." The book is bound in full leather and is eleven by seventeen and three inches thick. The accounts begin April 2, 1655, and the last entry is April 10, 1666—from 1655 to 1661 being on loose leaves, apparently part of the former account book. It is most likely, being almost a complete blank book, with only a few pages used, the proprietors of West Jersey appropriated it for the use of the surveyor-general's minute book. The entries seem to indicate that it was the beginning of a new account book, and *not* the lost minute book. The "Two Ancient Folios" referred to by Francis B. Lee (p. 143) appear to have belonged to the same lot.

R. J. DUTTON.

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

ABSTRACTS OF COUNTY WILLS AND INDEX TO ADMINISTRATIONS.

—In the Genealogical Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania will be found abstracts of wills on record in the counties of Philadelphia, 1682–1802; Bucks, 1685–1825; Chester, 1714–1777; Lancaster, 1721–1820; York, 1749–1820; Northampton, 1752–1802; Berks, 1752–1825. Indices to Administrations in Philadelphia, 1683–1825; Bucks, 1713–1831; Chester, 1714–1844; Lancaster, 1730–1830, and Delaware counties, 1789–1831.

Queries.

EVAN, EVANS, DAVID.—The will of David Evan, or Evans, is dated 27th September, 1745. He styles himself, "of the City of Philada., gent." He mentions his loving wife Elizabeth, brother-in-law John Owen, of Springfield, county of Chester. "My six grandchildren who are children of my two deceased daughters, Susanna and Margaret by a former wife." His son Evan when of age. Trustees, Evan Jones of Merion, son of Thomas Jones, deceased, and Owen Jones of the said City of Philada. "My four children by my present wife, son Evan, and daughters Rebecca, Sidney and Sarah." Proved 2d December, 1745, Philada., will book H, page 80. In "Merion in the Welsh Tract," it states that Evan died prior to 1762, Rebecca died unmarried, Sarah the same, Sidney married Joseph Howell of Chester, and that Margaret (who is stated to have been a daughter by the last wife) died unmarried 4-12-1734. Of course this is an error. Margaret was a daughter by the first wife who married and left issue. The second wife was Elizabeth, a daughter of Robert and Rebecca Owen, of Merion. The information now desired is the full maiden name of the first wife of David Evan, with the married names of the daughters, Susanna and Margaret, with the names of their husbands.

HOWARD WILLIAMS LLOYD.

STEPHENSON.—Wanted, ancestry of Elizabeth Stephenson, born June 27, 1775, in Pennsylvania, married March, 1791, probably in Washington County, Pennsylvania, Jonathan Jennings, born May 14, 1769, in New Jersey. The family removed from Washington County, Pennsylvania, to Washington County, Ohio, in 1801. The elder children were born in or near Brownsville, Washington County, Pennsylvania. Elizabeth had several brothers and sisters. John removed to Parkersburg, West Virginia; Rhoda married William Hill; Nancy married Nathaniel Mitchell; Patty married — Hall. The Hills and Mitchells also removed to Washington County, Ohio.

FIRST NAMESAKE OF WASHINGTON.—The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 8, 1775, contains the following notice of baptism of a child named after Washington. Is there a record of any earlier one, not connected with the Washington family?

NEW CASTLE October 17, 1775.

Last Sunday the Rev. Joseph Montgomery of this place, baptized a son of Mr. Zachariah Vanlemenigh's by the name of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Vincit amor Patriæ immensa laudanda cupids.

X.

Replies.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA FACULTY (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXIV. p. 251.)—Philip Syng, of Philadelphia (1703–1789). He was born in Ireland, September 29, 1703. Sailed from Bristol, England, with father of same name, arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 14, 1714. Philip, the father, removed later to Annapolis, Maryland, but his son made Philadelphia his home. His father died in 1739, May 18, aged sixty-three years; he was a goldsmith and so was his son, the said Philip of Philadelphia, the latter also holding the following positions and offices: Original member of Philadelphia Library Company, do. of the American Philosophical Society (invented and made an electrical machine, as mentioned by Franklin), vestryman, Christ Church (1747–1749), promoted Association Battery (1748), a Warden of the Port of Philadelphia (1753), and Treasurer of the city from 1759 to 1769; trustee of Academy and College from foundation until 1773, Provincial Commissioner of Appeals (1765), member of Franklin's "Junto" and of the "Colony in Schuylkill," contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital. He died May 8, 1789, leaving, by his wife, Elizabeth Warner (*m.* February 5, 1730), daughters, but no sons.

ROWLANDSVILLE, MARYLAND.

P. S. P. CONNER.

Book Notices.

IMMIGRATION OF THE IRISH QUAKERS INTO PENNSYLVANIA, 1682–1750, WITH THEIR EARLY HISTORY IN IRELAND. By Albert Cook Myers, B.L.

In this work is presented a feature of the early immigration into Pennsylvania hitherto overlooked by historians of the State. The Irish, or more properly the Anglo-Irish and Scotch-Irish Quakers, settled in particularly the city of Philadelphia and in what are now the counties of Chester and Delaware, the township of New Garden in Chester County being settled almost entirely by them. The descendants of these settlers, numbered by the thousands, have scattered to all parts of the Union.

The materials for this volume have been carefully and systematically collected from widely scattered sources: the manuscript records of all the monthly meetings of Friends established in Pennsylvania prior to 1750; the Friends' records of the Province of Ulster, in Ireland, and those collected in Dublin; the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; the British Museum; the Friends' Library of Devonshire House in London; the Bodleian Library of Oxford University; and at the Public Record Office in Dublin.

Many new facts have been obtained concerning the families of Logan, Hollingsworth, Harlan, Parke, Fredd, Hutton, Dixon, Gregg, Kirk, Starr, Carlton, Milhouse, Hobson, Wilkinson, Wily, Greer, Faucett, Clark, Moore, Lowden, Lightfoot, Wright, Wilson, Valentine, Webb, Stanfield, Hillary, Bell, Matthews, Chambers, Bradshaw, Hooke or Hoopes, Sheppard, Beverly, Robson, McMillan, Marsh, Hinshaw, Pim, Blackburn, Calvert, Rooke, and notes relating to the families of Chand-lee, Truman, Turner, Canady or Kennedy, Pennock, Musgrave, Miller, Garnett, Jackson, Whinery, Steer, and many others.

Many ancient documents and letters written by the early settlers are now printed for the first time, and the illustrations are reproductions of old manuscripts, portraits, meeting-houses, etc. Price to those subscribing now, \$3.00 net. Address the author, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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No. 3.

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from page 190.)

A QUESTION OF MOTIVES.

If we clearly set forth all the circumstances which might tend to influence the conduct of Margaret Arnold, it will aid the reader to determine what course of action she probably pursued.

The only motive assigned for her conduct in the allegation that she committed treason is in Burr's charge that she was an "extravagant woman. There is no doubt, therefore, that for the purpose of acquiring the means of gratifying an inordinate vanity, she contributed greatly to the utter ruin of her husband."

As to the charge of extravagance, we can say that Arnold was extravagant before his marriage, and had even then opened up a correspondence with the British. In all the circumstances of her after-life Margaret Arnold was very economical in the expenditure of money, and though perhaps she may be blamed for *not* restraining Arnold's ex-

penses, yet we must remember that it was in the first year of her married life, when he was thirty-nine and she was nineteen.

While Edward Shippen, in his letter of December 21, 1778, did complain of the increase of his expenses for that year, we think that, as his family consisted of himself and wife, four grown-up daughters, and one grown-up son, he had no valid reason to complain that the living expenses of his family, including the wedding of his eldest daughter, reached nineteen hundred dollars in specie in the year 1778. It was the cutting off of his income from his profession that pinched him.

We have not been able to find any further evidence of the alleged extravagance of Margaret Arnold; and, although Aaron Burr may have supposed that the woman who, at the hour of her deepest, greatest distress, could so utterly and contemptuously scorn his advances must have possessed an "inordinate vanity," yet we require better proof than his assertion alone.

We think that affection for her kindred would furnish to Margaret Arnold a more powerful motive for loyalty to America than would the desire for wealth (to gratify an "inordinate vanity") for treachery. During all her life she exhibited remarkable attachment to and affection for her relatives, and she certainly would not do anything to injure them.

She was accustomed to meet cultivated society and men of affairs, and she well understood that British success would have rendered every man who took part on the American side guilty of treason.

Margaret Arnold knew this, and she knew that the penalty was death, for the fate of Roberts and Carlisle was familiar to every Philadelphian; and in addition, her father had no doubt told her how the heads of traitors were exposed on Temple Bar. The executions that followed the Scotch Rebellion of 1745, the Lord Gordon Riots of 1780, and the Irish Rebellion of 1798 show how bloody would have been

the British triumph. That triumph would have rendered eleven of her near relatives and connections liable to execution for treason, whom we will name as follows: Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, her grandfather; Dr. William Shippen the elder, her grandfather's brother; Dr. William Shippen the younger, her father's first cousin; Colonel James Burd, her uncle; Edward Burd, her brother-in-law; Jasper Yeates, married to her first cousin, Sarah Burd; Curtis Grubb, married to her first cousin, Mary Shippen Burd; James Willing, her father's first cousin; Tench Tilghman, her own first cousin; Tench Francis, her uncle; and Richard Willing, her father's first cousin.

If we are to judge from the motives which influenced Margaret Arnold, we feel certain that she was guiltless of treason.

ANSWER TO CHARGES AGAINST MRS. ARNOLD.

We think we have clearly shown that the accusations against Mrs. Arnold have not been sustained by any satisfactory proof. In a legal trial such a state of facts would render it unnecessary for her to make any defence. But we now propose to give such evidence as will clearly establish her innocence, and for convenience we divide it into classes as follows:

1. The opinion of the people at the time of the treason.
2. Mrs. Arnold's own statements, conduct, and character.
3. Opinions and conduct of her relations and friends.
4. Opinions of generals, etc., who had opportunities of personal observation.
5. Opinions of historians who have examined the subject.
6. Arnold's statements, actions, and conduct.

First. The people did not believe her guilty. In Sparks's "*Life of Arnold*" (Boston, 1835), page 299, it is stated,—

"In her travels through the country, she was every where treated with a respect and forbearance hardly to have been expected in the exasperated state of public feeling which then prevailed; a proof that, although unfortunate in her alliance with a traitor, she was not considered guilty of participating in his crimes."

Second. Mrs. Arnold's statements, conduct, and character are inconsistent with the idea of her guilt.

a. We have the proof that she publicly asserted and claimed she was innocent. The account of Hamilton is conclusive on this subject; he says, "she is very apprehensive the resentment of her country will fall upon her (who is only unfortunate) for the guilt of her husband," etc.

b. Washington gave her the choice whether to join her husband in New York or return to her father in Philadelphia. She chose to return to her father. If guilty, this was the most perilous course she could adopt. She had seen how violent was the hatred of the mob, for her husband had previously been the object of its fury. She well knew the deadly character of its rage, for "Fort Wilson" was only a square from her father's house, and her sister's husband, "Neddy" Burd, had been in the house during the attack, and had told her how Captain Campbell had been killed and how narrow had been the escape of all the rest from death. And she was but too well aware of the nature of the penalty of treason, for it had not been two years since the execution of Roberts and Carlisle had horrified the people of Philadelphia.

Let any reader who is disposed to think that the sex of Mrs. Arnold would have obtained immunity for her, if convicted of treason, ponder well the stories of Marie Antoinette and Madame Roland. Their fate in those days of Jacobinism is a sufficient answer to any doubts.

If guilty, prudence demanded that the papers at West Point should be destroyed, yet this was not done.

c. The character of Mrs. Arnold herself, as we know it and have attempted to portray it, is the strongest evidence to be found that she was innocent of treachery. She came of a race noted for fidelity, honesty, and truth, and she was proud of her kindred, who had suffered for their opinions both in England and in America. The manner in which she discharged the duties of life affords us an example well worthy of imitation. In that character, whose fascinating

graces almost concealed the good old-fashioned virtues which she also possessed, there was no foul blot of treachery. "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit." It was no traitress to America who wrote from England,—

"I was sincerely sorry to hear of the death of General Washington. I admired his public, and revered his private Character. I fear that America will sustain an irreparable loss in him, as he appeared to possess the happy talent of uniting all Parties."

In another letter she said,—

"I was very sorry to hear of General Washington's Death; nobody in America could revere his character more than I did."

When Lord Lauderdale, after having fought a duel for his animadversions upon Arnold in Parliament, "expressed great concern" at finding that Mrs. Arnold "had been made unhappy, and begged leave to wait upon her, to make an apology," surely it was not a traitress for whom he was thus concerned.

Third. The conduct and opinions of her relatives are inconsistent with the idea of her guilt. What more perilous place of residence could be found for her than Philadelphia? What could be more foolish than for her relatives to try every means in their power to induce the Council to permit her to remain where she would constantly be exposed to danger? Unless she had been innocent, her uncle, Colonel James Burd, would not have written to his son, "Neddy" Burd, both soldiers in the Continental army: "The affair of Mrs. Arnold gives us all great uneasiness, we think it a little hard that the Council would not grant the Indulgence she Required we don't know what to think of her going to New York but theres no help."

Among her relatives there is none so proud but feels honored to claim kinship with her. Among all the different branches of that diversified relationship there is one uniform tradition to this day, that she was beautiful in person, engaging in manners, devoted in her affection, and guiltless of participation in her husband's treason.

Fourth. The opinions of officers who, from their presence at West Point or other circumstances, would have knowledge of the facts are in favor of her innocence.

Washington's opinion is shown by his action in two different particulars. First, he gave her the option to go to her father in Philadelphia or to her husband in New York. Second, upon finding that Arnold had actually escaped to the British, he informed her of the fact to relieve her anxiety. We most confidently affirm that Washington would have done neither of these things unless he had felt convinced of Mrs. Arnold's innocence.

Rochambeau says (see 2 Am. Register, 163), "General Washington found him [Arnold] gone, and Mrs. Arnold not knowing what had become of her husband."

Hamilton says, "We have every reason to believe that she was entirely unacquainted with the plan, and that the first knowledge of it was when Arnold went to tell her he must banish himself from his country and from her for ever." We call the reader's particular attention to the use of the word "we" in this sentence, showing that this was the general opinion. It is the only time he uses "we" in this narrative, while he has used "I" eight times.

d. We quote the following extract from a letter from Lafayette to Chevalier Luzerne, dated at West Point on September 25, 1780; the whole letter is given in Vol. II. page 164 of Tower's "Lafayette in the American Revolution":

"The unhappy Mrs. Arnold did not know a word of this conspiracy; her husband told her before going away that he was flying never to come back, and he left her lying unconscious. When she came to herself, she fell into frightful convulsions, and completely lost her reason. We did everything we could to quiet her; but she looked upon us as the murderers of her husband, and it was impossible to restore her to her senses. The horror with which her husband's conduct has inspired her, and a thousand other feelings, make her the most unhappy of women.

"P. S. She has recovered her reason this morning, and as, you know, I am upon very good terms with her, she sent for me to go up to her chamber. General Washington and every one else here sympathize

warmly with this estimable woman, whose face and whose youthfulness make her so interesting. She is going to Philadelphia; and I implore you, when you return, to use your influence in her favor. It would be exceedingly painful to General Washington if she were not treated with the greatest kindness. You know the sentiments of the people and of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Your influence and your opinion, emphatically expressed, may prevent her from being visited with a vengeance which she does not deserve. General Washington will protect her also. As for myself, you know that I have always been fond of her, and at this moment she interests me intensely. We are certain she knew nothing of the plot."

In the Shippen Papers, page lix, is the following statement by Mrs. James Gibson:

"I propose now to relate an anecdote on this subject, which is fresh to my own knowledge and recollection.

"Major Franks, of the Revolutionary army, was a well known acquaintance of my parents. He was respected and welcomed wherever he went, for his social good humor and manly candor. In one of his visits to Philadelphia, where his near relations resided, he was often at my father's; and one day, when dining with other gentlemen at our house, and my father and the others had returned to the parlor, my mother detained Major Franks to converse with him respecting Mrs. Arnold, whom she had recently heard very unjustly spoken of. He entered upon the subject with alacrity. Mama said to him, 'Tell me Major Franks, what is your opinion and belief concerning her knowledge of her husband's plans.' He quickly replied, 'Madam she knew nothing of them—nothing! She was as ignorant of them as a babe.' His manner was solemn and earnest, and I began to think it might be proper for me to withdraw, but he said, 'Don't let Betsy go—I have nothing to say that she may not hear.' Of course, I gladly resumed my seat at the table, and he went on:—'Madam, I am glad you have mentioned this subject. I have much to say. I am much distressed by it. Within a few days I have heard, for the first time, things said of her that are contrary to truth—false—utterly false! You know I was one of Gen. Arnold's aids. He paid me the compliment to assign me the particular duty of protecting Mrs. Arnold; of attending to her safety, her general welfare, and her health. I was, in the General's family, laughingly called *the nurse*! Her health was then delicate; and while General Arnold was in command at West Point, he frequently sent her to different, sometimes distant parts of the country, on that side of the river. He always sent a guard with her, besides her female attendant, and gave me very particular charge over her welfare. He spoke of her

suffering in the bustle of the camp, and wished her to be relieved from it during the summer. I obeyed, nothing doubting, but considering him a pattern for a husband, although other and far different motives for sending her away on these excursions afterwards came to light. But, madam, she knew nothing of his projects. In truth, she was subject to occasional paroxysms of physical indisposition, attended by nervous debility, during which she would give utterance to anything and everything on her mind. This was a fact well known amongst us of the General's family; so much so as to cause us to be scrupulous of what we told her or said within her hearing. General Arnold was guarded and impenetrable towards all around him, and I should believe her to have been ignorant of his plans, even without my knowledge of this peculiar feature in her constitution; but *with it*, such a strong corroborative proof, I am most solemnly and firmly convinced that General Arnold never confided his detestable scheme to her. *He could not have ventured to do it.* He was, moreover, too well aware of her *warm patriotic feelings.* *You know, madam, how completely she was American at that important period.* Madam, I can aver solemnly, she was totally ignorant of his schemes.' "

In Volume IV. page 61, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, in speaking of Arnold, Henry Lee says, "He has deceived his wife, & has betrayed his friend, Major André."

John Jay writes to Robert Morris on December 18, 1780: "Arnold's Plot was as unexpected as its discovery was fortunate. His wife is much to be pitied—it is painful to see so charming a woman so sacrificed." (New York Historical Society Collection, 1878, page 453.)

Fifth. The historians who have examined the subject are of the opinion that Mrs. Arnold was not an accomplice in her husband's treachery.

a. Joseph Reed was probably Arnold's bitterest enemy, and his views are contained in the life written by his grandson, W. B. Reed. Yet even he has come to a conclusion favorable to Mrs. Arnold. On page 273 of Volume II. he says,—

"Colonel Hamilton, in a well-known letter written at the time, has given it as his conviction, founded on observation of Mrs. Arnold's excessive distress on her husband's desertion, that she was innocent. . . . Hamilton's judgment on a matter where sympathy with afflicted beauty

had influence, is not always to be relied on, but in this instance it was probably correct."

In a note at the foot of the page he adds,—

"In Davis's *Life of Aaron Burr*, vol. i. p. 219, a different theory is suggested, but on very inadequate evidence."

b. Isaac Arnold, on page 321 of the "*Life of Benedict Arnold*," says,—

"No one who reads her letters contained in this volume will believe her capable of acting the double part with which she has been charged. On the contrary, if Arnold had disclosed his plans to her, she would have been much more likely, prompted alike by her love and her clear perception of right, to have tried to save him from the commission of a fearful crime and a terrible blunder."

c. In Bryant's "*History of the United States*," Volume IV. page 17, edition of 1892, it is said,—

"The assertion, so generally made, that Arnold took advantage of this correspondence to put himself in communication with André can hardly be true, for Mrs. Arnold was ignorant till the last moment of the treacherous relation her husband had established with the enemy, and André and Sir Henry Clinton were for a long time unable to ascertain the real name of the person to whom they were indebted for much valuable information."

d. In Sargent's "*Life of André*," page 220, it is said,—

"Though at the outset the English had no clue to their correspondent's identity, the character and value of his information soon led them to suspect it; and it is supposed by some that this letter to Mrs. Arnold was written with the view of making clear to her husband the character of its author, and to invite a return of confidence. This may possibly have been the case; but all my investigations show that the lady had not any suspicion of the dealings between the parties, or was ever intrusted by either side with the least knowledge of what was going on. Equally false, in my judgment, is the charge that she tempted her husband to treason. Her purity and elevation of character have not less weight in the contradiction of this aspersion than the testimony of all chiefly concerned in the discovery and punishment of the crime. This correspondence must have engrossed much of André's time. His letters are said to have been 'numerous and significant,' though there

is no reason to believe that, so far as Mrs. Arnold was concerned, its limit ever exceeded the one just published."

e. Sparks says ("Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold," page 248, edition of 1835),—

"It may be here added, that Mrs. Arnold had been only the last ten days at West Point, during her husband's command at the post, and that nothing was afterwards brought to light from which it could be inferred that she had any knowledge of his traitorous designs."

f. Washington Irving, who was personally acquainted with Burr, says in his "Life of Washington," Volume IV. page 151, edition of 1863,—

"In recent years it has been maintained that Mrs. Arnold was actually cognizant and participant of her husband's crime; but after carefully examining all the proofs adduced, we remain of opinion that she was innocent."

This opinion is of great weight, because Irving had exceptional opportunities of knowing the value of Burr's testimony. Washington Irving had been educated as a lawyer, and had been retained as one of Burr's counsel in Burr's trial for treason. ("Life and Letters of Washington Irving," Volume I. page 190.)

g. In the second volume of "The American Revolution," page 213, Professor John Fiske says,—

"but is in the highest degree probable that down to the final catastrophe Mrs. Arnold knew nothing whatever of what was going on."

In a note he says,—

"I think there can be no doubt that Burr lied."

h. Henry C. Van Schaack, author of "The Life of Peter Van Schaack," "The Illinois Country," etc., was devoted to historical and antiquarian pursuits, and became greatly interested in the case of Mrs. Arnold. After carefully investigating the accusation against her, and the evidence pro and con, he embodied the result of his labors in a lecture, which he delivered before the Historical Societies of New York and Chicago. In speaking of Burr we quoted from

this lecture, which is entitled "A Vindication of Mrs. Gen'l Benedict Arnold against the charge of implication in her husband's treason." In conclusion, Mr. Van Schaack says,—

"We can justly concur in pronouncing this lady untainted by treason. And I am happy to add, that we have reason to know, that in her subsequent life Mrs. Arnold proved herself a faithful, a blessed, a noble mother to her children."

i. In Sabine's "American Loyalists," edition of 1874, under the name Arnold, Margaret, on pages 176 and 177, it is said,—

"The allegation of the third Vice President of the United States concerns common girlhood, common wifehood, and universal motherhood; hence the time bestowed upon it. In my judgment, the subject of this notice should be acquitted. The *probabilities* are all in her favor, and there is no *evidence* against her. Indeed, more; dates and facts prove her entire innocence. . . . In the eighty-three years which have elapsed since the alleged imprudent boasting of Mrs. Arnold at Mrs. Prevost's, hundreds of volumes of biographies and correspondence of the Revolutionary era have been published; but, as far as my knowledge extends, not one of them contains a syllable to corroborate Burr's story, or in any way to implicate the subject of this notice. Nor is this all. When I mingled with Loyalist families in the British Colonies, Arnold himself, the beauty, character, and fate of his wife, were among the favorite topics of conversation. Gentlemen of the lineage of the Colonel, who went up the Hudson in the Vulture with André, and other well informed persons, never once suggested that by tradition, even, Mrs. Arnold was involved in the treason."

j. Although Bancroft does not mention Mrs. Arnold at all, yet he does make some statements which are conclusive of her innocence. On page 378, Volume X., edition of 1874, in speaking of Arnold, he says,—

"Towards the end of February, 1779, he let it be known to the British commander-in-chief that he was desirous of exchanging the American service for that of Great Britain. . . . In the course of the winter 1778-79 he was taken into the pay of Clinton, to whom he gave on every occasion most material intelligence."

If the foregoing statements be correct, Arnold was a traitor *before* his marriage to Margaret Shippen.

In a note to page 395 Bancroft makes a remark which is peculiarly appropriate to Burr's charges against Mrs. Arnold. It is:

"Hamilton had the best opportunities to be well informed; . . . The reminiscences of men who wrote in later days are so mixed up with errors of memory and fable that they offer no sure foothold."

k. In Lossing's "Washington and the American Revolution," Volume II. page 692, the following statement is found:

"The tenderest care was bestowed upon her, and she was soon escorted in safety to her friends in Philadelphia. Arnold's family, and others, have sought to make her the author of the traitor's defection, or, at least, an accomplice in his guilt; but I have never yet seen a particle of evidence to prove that she had any knowledge of the traitorous designs of her husband."

In this connection we call the reader's attention to the fact that no mention of Mrs. Arnold as being implicated in her husband's treason is made in any of the following histories: Hildreth's "United States," Ramsay's "United States," Knight's "England," Hughes's "England," Stanhope's "England," Botta's "America," Mercy Warren's "History of the Revolution," Headley's "Washington and his Generals." Nor have we been able to find a single reputable historian who, after examining the evidence in the case on both sides, has come to the conclusion that Margaret Arnold was a traitress.

Sixth. The conduct of Arnold himself is inconsistent with the idea that his wife was an accomplice in his treason.

Of all men in this world, Arnold alone knew the entire truth. In his letter of September 25, 1780, to Washington from on board the "Vulture," he said,—

"I have no favor to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but from the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me; she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg

she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may choose."

Surely this assertion of her innocence is as credible as Burr's to the contrary. But we do not ask the reader to depend upon this assertion, but to consider the latter part of the quotation. If guilty, Philadelphia was the most dangerous place for her, and the suggestion of her return would have been most egregious folly.

When Arnold was about to fight the duel with Lord Lauderdale, he forbore to discuss it with his wife. If she had been an accomplice in his treason, why should he not discuss the duel, which indirectly grew out of the treason?

But Arnold's conduct on one occasion is, in our opinion, a decisive proof of his wife's innocence, even if all the other testimony in her favor had been obliterated. It was not in the first tumult occasioned by the discovery of his treason, and while he was still hopeful of the ultimate success of the British arms, though full of alarm for his wife and child, but after he had drunk his cup of bitterness to the bottom, and had learned to loathe his treason as only an unsuccessful traitor can; when he had repented, and had put on his old American uniform with the exclamation, "God forgive me for ever putting on any other" (Arnold's "Life of Arnold," 395); when her face, once the most beautiful in England, had been wasted by

"Care and sorrow and child-birth pain;"

when he was contemplating the time when he should walk no more this fair green earth, and all that he could ask was for some true man or woman to carry out his will and to treat his children fairly. Who would trust a traitress to make a fair division? Yet the will of Benedict Arnold contains the following item:

"I give Devise and Bequeath to my Beloved Wife her Heirs, Executors and Administrators all my Estate both *Real* and *Personal* that I may die possessed of, after paying my Debts and Legacies as before and here

in after mentioned, for her own use and benefit during her continuing a Widow and to be disposed of among *All* my Children at her Death, as she may think proper, not doubting her doing them all equal justice. But should she marry again, Then it is in that case, my Will and Pleasure that all my Property shall be divided among my Children upon her second Marriage, and in that case, I hereby Give Devise and Bequeath all my Estate both Real and Personal that I may have, or die possessed of to my Children to be divided among them in such equal proportions as my beloved wife shall think Just and Proper, consideration being had to those Sums of Money that they have already received and that have been expended upon them for their Education &c. And Consideration being also had to their respective Ages and Situations in Life, not doubting that she will do them *all equal Justice* as she knows *it is* and has always been my intention (as my affection has been equally divided among them) to make an equal provision for them all."

These are the words of Arnold at the time when he would speak the truth, if ever. He reposed this trust in his wife because he knew she was faithful. Under all the circumstances, we think that Arnold's testimony is more convincing than that of any other witness.

In concluding this biography we desire to state that we have given all the facts as far as we have been able to ascertain them from the original documents, whose very language we have endeavored to follow, and, having done this, we only ask in behalf of Margaret Arnold for JUSTICE!

(To be continued.)



Thos. Hartley

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF COLONEL THOMAS
HARTLEY, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

Thomas Hartley, a son of George Hartley, and a well-to-do farmer, was born September 7, 1746, in Colebrookdale Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. After receiving a good classical education at Reading, at the age of eighteen years he began to read law in the office of Samuel Johnson, at York, a prominent lawyer and a relative of his mother. He was admitted to practise in the courts of York County July 25, 1769, and in the courts of Philadelphia in August following. He rose rapidly in his profession and was enjoying a lucrative practice when the war for independence opened. In 1774 he was elected a vice-president of the Committee of Observation for York County, and again in November of 1775. He represented York County as a deputy in the Provincial Conference held at Philadelphia July 15, 1774, and in the Provincial Convention, January 23, 1775. In December of 1774 he was chosen first lieutenant of Captain James Smith's company of Associators, and a year later lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of York County. The Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania recommended to Congress a number of persons for field-officers in the battalions to be raised in that State, and he was elected January 10, 1776, lieutenant-colonel of the Sixth Battalion, commanded by Colonel William Irvine, and served with distinction in the Canada campaign. In December of 1776 Congress authorized General Washington to raise sixteen battalions of infantry additional to those in service, and the command of one of these was given to Colonel Hartley. In the campaign for the defence of Philadelphia Hartley's regiment bore a conspicuous part. At the battles of Brandywine and Germantown it was attached to the First Philadelphia

Brigade, General Wayne's division, Colonel Hartley commanding the brigade, and was also at Paoli.

To repel the inroad of the Tories and Indians from New York and for the protection of the frontiers, Colonel Hartley and his regiment in July of 1778 were ordered to Sunbury. So effectively did he perform this duty that the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, December 10, 1778, passed a unanimous vote of thanks: "For the brave and prudent course in covering the North Western frontiers of this State and repelling the savages and other enemies; and that he be requested to inform the officers and men who have been under his command, that the Council is highly sensible of the difficulties and hardships of the duty which they have performed, and the zeal which they have shown during the last campaign."

On December 16, 1778, Congress resolved that Colonel Hartley's regiment, with a number of independent companies, be consolidated into one regiment and added to the Pennsylvania Line, to be known as the New Eleventh, the old Eleventh having been incorporated with the Tenth Pennsylvania Line. Colonel Hartley was assigned to the command of the new regiment, but resigned February 13, 1779, having been elected a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania in October, 1778. In accepting his resignation Congress, deeming his reasons satisfactory, bore testimony of their "high sense of Colonel Hartley's merits and services." When General Sullivan was organizing at Easton the expedition against the Indians in New York, his advice was sought, and he suggested to General Hand the names of officers and men who were good woodmen and had a knowledge of the Indian country.

Colonel Hartley was elected in 1783 a member of the Council of Censors of Pennsylvania, and in 1787 a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. He was elected a member of Congress in 1788, and continued in that position for twelve years. His personal regard for Washington while in the military service

was continued during his political life, and we find his name frequently mentioned as attending the social and official functions of President and Mrs. Washington. When the President reached York, July 2, 1791, on his return from his southern tour, Colonel Hartley met him, escorted him through the town, and afterwards entertained him at tea at his own house. Colonel Hartley was the first lawyer from Pennsylvania to be admitted a counsellor in the Supreme Court of the United States, and took the oath February 5, 1791, in New York, where the first sessions of the Court were held. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati and a trustee of Dickinson College. Governor Thomas McKean, April 28, 1800, commissioned him major-general of the Fifth Division, State Militia.

His brilliant life as a soldier, lawyer, and statesman was now drawing to a close. After a long and tedious illness, he died at his home in York December 21, 1800, and his remains were interred in the burial-ground of St. John's Episcopal Church, with impressive ceremonies. His friend and pastor, Rev. John Campbell, D.D., in the course of his tribute of respect to his memory said in part:

"If I could blow the trump of fame over you ever so loud and long, what would you be the better for all this noise? Let not your integrity, patriotism, fortitude, hospitality, and patronage be forgotten. Another (who need not be named) hath borne away the palm of glory, splendid with the never-dying honor of rearing the stupendous fabric of American freedom and empire. Departed friend! you hear me not, the grave is deep and silent. In this work of blessings to future ages you bore, though a subordinate, yet an honorable part. Soldiers of liberty! come, drop a tear over your companion in arms. Lovers of justice! come, drop a tear over her able advocate,—and of science, come, drop a tear over its warmest patron. Children of misfortune! come, drop a tear over your benefactor and protector. Brethren of this earthly lodge! rejoice that our brother is removed to the temple of the Supreme. Min-

isters of religion! come, drop a tear to the memory of a man who was ever the friend of truth and virtue. And thou, my soul! come not into the assembly of those who would draw his reposed spirit from the bosom of the Father who is in heaven!"

Colonel Hartley was married to Catherine, daughter of Bernhard Holtzinger, and had issue, Charles William Hartley, for some time prothonotary of York County, and Eleanor, who married Dr. James Hall, who became physician to the Lazaretto, at Philadelphia, and to whose descendant, Dr. Charles Hall, of Macon, Georgia, we are indebted for the copy of the miniature of Colonel Hartley which accompanies this sketch.

Colonel Hartley was a voluminous and entertaining correspondent, and there are upwards of two hundred of his letters in the Manuscript Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

DEAN TUCKER'S PAMPHLET.

"A LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN LONDON TO HIS NEPHEW IN
NORTH AMERICA," 1766.

[We reprint this pamphlet by Rev. Josiah Tucker, D.D., Dean of Gloucester, "relative to the Present Posture of Affairs in the Colonies, in which the supposed Violation of Charters, and the several Grievances complained of, are particularly discussed, and the Consequences of an Attempt towards Independency set in a true Light," from Benjamin Franklin's own copy in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. We also present a fac-simile of the title-page, and the critical marginal notes by Franklin, with which the pamphlet abounds, have been indicated by his initials, "B. F."]

Dean Tucker was born at Langharne, Carmarthenshire, Wales, in 1712; died November, 4, 1799, and is buried in Gloucester Cathedral. He always took a keen interest in matters of politics and trade, and became noted by his writings upon the American troubles. In various pamphlets he maintained that a separation from the Colonies was desirable; that the supposed advantages of the Colonial trade to the mother country was a delusion. On the other hand, he maintained that the Colonies turned adrift would fall out with each other and be glad to return to political union. He was rather a crotchety and inconsistent writer and inclined to be meddlesome. In one of his works he charged Franklin with having promoted the passage of the Stamp Act and making application for the position of stamp distributor. In the correspondence which followed these strictures on his conduct and character Franklin wrote to the Dean: "Nothing can be further from the truth than your assertion that I applied or used any interest, directly or indirectly, to be appointed one of the stamp officers for America. I certainly never expressed a wish of the kind to any person whatever; much less was I, as you say, 'more than ordinarily assiduous on this head.' . . . If on such reconsideration and inquiry you find, as I am persuaded you will, that you have been imposed upon by false reports, or have too lightly given credit to hearsays, in a matter that concerns another's reputation, I flatter myself that your equity will induce you to do me justice by retracting that accusation."—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

A

L E T T E R

FROM A

MERCHANT in LONDON

TO HIS

Nephew in NORTH AMERICA,

RELATIVE TO THE

Present Posture of Affairs in the Colonies

IN WHICH

The supposed Violation of Charters, and the several Grievances complained of, are particularly discussed, and the Consequences of an Attempt towards Independency set in a true Light.

And it is farther enacted and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That all Laws, By-Laws, Usages, or Customs, at this Time, or which hereafter shall be in Practice, or endeavoured, or pretended to be in Force, or Practice, in any of the said Plantations, which are in any-wise repugnant to the before-mentioned Laws, or any of them, so far as they do relate to the said Plantations, or any of them, or which are any-wise repugnant to this present Act, or to any other Law hereafter to be made in this Kingdom, so far as such Law shall relate to and mention the said Plantations, are illegal, null, and void, to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever.

7 and 8 W. III. Cap. 22. Sect. 9.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WALTER, at Homer's Head, Charing Cross:

M DCC LXVI.

This is quoted upon the Supposition that the Power disputed is indisputable, viz. the Power of Parliament to make Laws binding in America, and to repeal Laws

of the Colonies after they have had the Royal Assent.

This clause is void in itself being contrary to the original Compact contained in the colony Charters

A | LETTER | FROM A | MERCHANT IN LONDON | TO
HIS | NEPHEW IN NORTH AMERICA. |

DEAR COUSIN,

YOUR Letters gave me formerly no small Pleasure, because they seem to have proceeded from a good Heart, guided by an Understanding more enlightened than is usually found among young Men. And the honest Indignation you express against those Artifices and Frauds, those Robberies and Insults, which lost us the Hearts and Affections of the Indians, is particularly to be commended: for these were the Things, as you justly observed, which involved us in the most bloody and expensive War that ever was known: and these, by being repeated, will stimulate the poor injured Savages to redress their Wrongs, and retaliate the Injury as soon as they can, by some Means or other. You did therefore exceedingly right, in manifesting the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation of all such Practices.¹

But of late I cannot say, that I receive the same Satisfaction from your Correspondence. For you are vastly altered from what you were; your Mind seems to be in a continual Agitation: you assert and deny in the same Breath; and, instead of maintaining any one regular, coherent System, you blend opposite Systems together, not reflecting on the palpable Contradictions resulting from such a Conduct.—Discontented you, and your Countrymen, certainly are to a great Degree: but whether your Discontent arises from a Desire of Change, and of making Innovations

¹ This is wickedly intended by the Author (Dean Tucker) to represent the English N. Americans as the Cause of the War. Whereas it was in fact begun by the French, who seized the Goods & Persons of the English Traders on the Ohio: encroached on the King's Lands in Nova Scotia & took a Fort from the Ohio Company by force of Arms, which induc'd England to make Reprisals at Sea, & to send Braddock to recover the Forts on the Ohio, whence came on the War. [B. F.]

in your Form of Government,—or from a mistaken Notion, that we are making Innovations in it, is hard to say.

Give me leave therefore to expostulate with you, on this strange Alteration in your Conduct. I have a right to do it on every Account: and you know me well to be the invariable Friend to the Rights and Liberties, civil and religious, of all Mankind. You indeed talk loudly of Chains, and exclaim vehemently against Slavery: but surely you do not suspect, that I can entertain the most distant Wish of making any Man a Slave, much less my own Brother's Son, and my next of kin.—So far from it, that whether I can make you a Convert to my way of thinking or not, I shall still act by you as my nearest Relation: being always desirous of allowing that Liberty to others, which I hope ever to enjoy myself, viz. of letting every Man see with his own Eyes, and act according to his own Judgment:—This, I say, I would willingly indulge every Man in, as far as ever is consistent with good Government, and the public Safety. For indeed Governments there must be of some Kind or other; and Peace and Subordination are to be preserved;—otherwise, there would be no such Thing as true Liberty subsisting in the World.

In pursuance therefore of this rational Plan of Liberty, give me Leave to ask you, young Man, What is it you mean by repeating to me so often in every Letter, *The Spirit of the Constitution*? I own, I do not much approve of this Phrase, because its Meaning is so vague and indeterminate; and because it may be made to serve all Purposes alike, good or bad. And indeed it has been my constant Remark, That when Men were at a Loss for solid Arguments and Matters of Fact, in their political Disputes, they then had recourse to the *Spirit* of the Constitution as to their last Shift, and the only Thing they had to say. An American, for Example, now insists, That according to the Spirit of the English Constitution, he ought not to be taxed without his own Consent, given either by himself, or by a Representative in Parliament chosen by himself. Why ought he not?

And doth the Constitution say in so many Words, That he ought not?—Or doth it say, That every Man either hath, or ought to have, or was intended to have a Vote for a Member of Parliament? No, by no Means: the Constitution says no such Thing. But the Spirit of it doth; and that is as good, perhaps better. Very well: See then how this same Spirit will presently wheel about, and assert a Doctrine quite repugnant to the Claims and Positions of you Americans. *Magna Charta*, for Example, is the great Foundation of English Liberties, and the Basis of the English Constitution. But, by the Spirit of *Magna Charta*, all Taxes laid on by Parliament are *constitutional*, *legal* Taxes;¹ and Taxes raised by the Prerogative of the Crown, without the Consent of Parliament are *illegal*. Now remember, young Man, That the late Tax or Duties upon Stamps was laid on by Parliament; and therefore, according to your own Way of reasoning, must have been a regular, constitutional, legal Tax. Nay more, the principal End and Intention of *Magna Charta*, as far as Taxation is concerned, was to assert the Authority and Jurisdiction of the three Estates of the Kingdom, in Opposition to the sole Prerogative of the King: so that if you will now plead the Spirit of *Magna Charta* against the Jurisdiction of Parliament, you will plead *Magna Charta* against itself.²

¹ There is no doubt but Taxes laid in Parliament where the Parliament hath Jurisdiction, are legal Taxes; but doth it follow that Taxes laid by the Parliament of England on Scotland before the Union, on Guernsey, Jersey, Ireland, Hanover, or any other Dominions of the Crown not *within the Realm*, are therefore legal.—These Writers against the Colonies all bewilder themselves by supposing the Colonies *within the Realm*, which is not the Case, nor ever was. [B. F.]

² This then is the *Spirit* of the Constitution, that Taxes shall not be laid with the Consent of those to be taxed. The Colonies were not then in being and therefore nothing relating to them could be *literally* express'd. As the Americans are now *without* the Realm, and out of the Jurisdiction of Parliament, the *Spirit* of the British Constitution dictates, that they should be taxed only by *their own* Representatives, as the English are by theirs. [B. F.]

Leaving therefore all these shifting, unstable Topics, which, like changeable Silks, exhibit different Colours, according as they are viewed in different Lights; let us from the *Spirit* of the Constitution, come to the Constitution *itself*. For this is a plain, obvious Matter of Fact: and Matters of Fact are said to be stubborn Things. Now the first Emigrants, who settled in America, were certainly English Subjects:—subject to the Laws and Jurisdiction of Parliament, and consequently to parliamentary Taxes, *before* their Emigration; and therefore subject *afterwards*, unless some legal, constitutional Exemption can be produced.¹

Now this is the Question, and the sole Question between you and me, reduced to a plain, single Matter of Fact. Is there therefore any such Exemption, as here pretended? And if you have it, why do you not produce it?— “The King, you say, hath granted Charters of Exemption to the American Colonies.” This is now coming to the Point: and this will bring the Dispute to a short Issue. Let us therefore first enquire, Whether he could legally and constitutionally grant you such a Charter? And secondly, Whether he did ever so much as attempt to do it? And whether any such Charters are upon Record?

Now, upon the first settling of an English Colony, and

¹ This Position supposes, that Englishmen can never be out of the Jurisdiction of Parliament. It may as well be said, that wherever an Englishman resides, that Country is *England*. While an Englishman resides in England he is undoubtedly subject to its Laws. If he goes into a foreign Country he is subject to the Laws and Government he finds there. If he finds no Government or Laws there, he is subject there to none, till he & his Companions if he has any make Laws for themselves; and this was the Case of the first Settlers in America. Otherwise & if they carried the English Laws & Power of Parliam^t with them, what Advantage could the Puritans propose to themselves by going, since they would have been as subject to Bishops, Spiritual Courts, Tythes, and Statutes relating to the Church in America as in England? Can the Dean on his Principles tell us how it happens that those Laws, the Game Acts, the Statutes for Labourers, & an infinity of others made before & since the Emigration, are not in force in America, nor ever were? [B. F.]

efore ever you, Americans, could have chosen any Representatives, and therefore before any Assembly of such Representatives could have possibly met,—to whose Laws, and to what legislative Power were you then subject? To the English most undoubtedly; for you could have been Subject to no other.¹ You were Englishmen yourselves; and you carried the English Government, and an English Charter over along with you. This being the Case, were you not then in the same Condition, as to Constitutional Rights and Liberties, with the rest of your Fellow-subjects, who remained in England? Certainly you were.² I most cordially agree, that you ought not to have been placed in a worse: and surely you had no Right to expect a better.³ Suppose therefore, that the Crown had been so ill advised, as to have granted a Charter to any City or County here in England, pretending to exempt them from the Power and Jurisdiction of an English Parliament;⁴ what would

¹ The Author here appears quite ignorant of the Fact. The Colonies carried no Laws with them, They carried only a Power of making Law, or adopting such Parts of the English Law, or of any other Law, as they should think suitable to their Circumstances. The first Settlers of Connecticut, for Instance, at their first Meeting in that Country, finding themselves out of all Jurisdiction of other Governments, resolved and enacted, That till a Code of Laws should be prepared and agreed to, they would be governed by the *Law of Moses*, as contained in the Old Testament. [B. F.]

² You are too positive, Mr Dean. [B. F.]

³ If the first Settlers had no Right to expect a better Constitution, what Fools were they for going over, to encounter all the Hardships & Perils of new Settlements in a Wilderness!—for these were so many Additions to what they suffer'd at home from tyrannical & oppressive Institutions in Church & State, if they carried those Institutions with them with a Substraction of all their old Enjoyments of the Conveniencies & Comforts of an old Settled Country, Friends, Neighbours, Relations, Homes, &c. &c. [B. F.]

⁴ The American Settlers *needed no Exemption* from the Power of Parliament: they were necessarily exempted as soon as they landed out of its Jurisdiction. Therefore all this Rhetorical Paragraph is founded on a Mistake of the Author; and the Absurdity he talks of is of his own Making. [B. F.]

the Judges? what would the Lawyers? nay, what would you Americans have said to it? Apply this now to your own Case: for surely you cannot wish to have it put upon a fairer footing: try therefore, and see, and then tell me; is it possible for you to believe, that the King has a Power vested in him by the Constitution of dividing his Kingdom into several independent States, and petty Kingdoms, like the Heptarchy in the Times of the Saxons? Or can you really imagine, that he could crumble the Parliamentary Authority and Jurisdiction, were he so minded, into Bits and Fragments, by assigning one Parliament to one City or County,—another to another,—and so on? Is it possible, I say, for you to believe an Absurdity so gross and glaring? And yet gross and palpable as this Absurdity is, you must either believe it, or adopt a still greater, viz. that, though the King cannot do these strange things in England, yet he can do them all in America; because his Royal Prerogative, like Wire coiled up in a Box, can be stretched and drawn out to almost any Length, according to the Distance and Extent of his Dominions. Good Heavens! what a sudden Alteration is this! An American pleading for the Extension of the Prerogative of the Crown? Yes, if it could make for his Cause;—and for extending it too beyond all the Bounds of Law, of Reason, and of Common Sense!¹

But though I have for Argument's sake, and merely to confute you in your own Way, here supposed, that the Crown had been so ill advised, as to grant Charters to the Colonies so unconstitutional and illegal, as these undoubtedly must have been;—yet the Fact itself is far otherwise;²

¹ What Stuff! Why may not an American plead for the just Prerogatives of the Crown? & is it not a just Prerogative of the Crown to give the Subjects Leave to settle in a foreign Country if they think it necessary to ask such Leave? Was the Parliament at all considered or consulted in making these first Settlements? or did any Lawyer then think it necessary? [B. F.]

² Our former Princes claimed a Right, and frequently exercised the Power of levying Taxes, without the Consent of Parliament. But upon

for no such Charters were ever granted. Nay, many of your Colony Charters assert quite the contrary, by containing express Reservations of Parliamentary Rights, particularly that great one of levying Taxes.¹ And those Charters which do not make such Provisoos in express Terms, must be supposed virtually to imply them; ² because the Law and Constitution will not allow, that the King can do more either at home or abroad, by the Prerogative Royal, than the Law and Constitution authorize him to do.³

However, if you are still doubtful, and if you would wish to have a Confirmation of this Argument by some plain Fact, some striking Proof, and visible Example;—I will give you one; and such an one too, as shall convince you, if any thing can, of the Folly and Absurdity of your Positions: the City of London, for instance,⁴ a Body Politic as

settling the Colonies, this supposed Right, which cost Charles I. his Crown, and his Life, was not insisted on in any of the Charters, and was expressly given up in that which was granted to Lord Baltimore for Maryland. Now this Clause, which is nothing more than the Renunciation of *obsolete* Prerogative, is quoted in our News Papers, as if it was a Renunciation of the Rights of Parliament to raise Taxes. Whereas the King in that Charter stipulated only *for himself, his Heirs, and Successors*, not to raise Taxes by virtue of the Prerogative Royal: which certainly he might do; and which was very proper to be done for the Encouragement and Security of a new Colony. But he could not stipulate for the Parliament; and indeed he did not attempt to do it.

[It was not a Renunciation of Right of Parliament; there was no need of such a Renunciation, for Parliament had not then pretended to such a Right. But since the Royal Faith was pledg'd by the King for himself & his Successors, how can any succeeding King, without violating that Faith, even give his Assent to an Act of Parliament for such Taxation? [B. F.]]

¹ A Fib, Mr Dean; In *one* Charter *only*, & that a late one, is the Parliament mentioned: And the right reserved is only that of laying Duties on Commodities imported from the Colony or exported to it. [B. F.]

² *Suppositions & Implications* will not weigh in these important Cases. [B. F.]

³ No Law or Constitution forbad the King's doing what he did in granting those Charters. [B. F.]

⁴ This Instance would be something, if London was not *within* the Realm. Whereas the Colonies are *without*; and therefore 'tis nothing

respectable, without Offence, as the greatest of your Colonies with regard to *Property*, and superior to many of them with respect to *Numbers*;—this great City, I say, the Metropolis of the whole British Empire, hath long enjoyed, before the Colonies were ever thought of, the threefold Power of Jurisdiction,—Legislation,—and Taxation in certain Cases: but no Man in his Senses ever yet supposed, that the City of London either was, or could be exempted by these Charters from Parliamentary Jurisdiction, or Parliamentary Taxes; and if any Citizen should plead the Charters in Bar to Parliamentary Authority, or refuse to pay his Quota of the Land-Tax, because that Tax is not laid on by an Act of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council;—I do not say indeed, that the Judges would commit him to Newgate;—but I do verily believe, that they would order him to another Place of Confinement, much fitter for a Person in his unhappy Situation.¹

And now, my good Friend, what can you say to these things?—The only thing which you ought to say, is,—that you did not see the Affair in its true Light before: and that you are sincerely sorry for having been so positive in a wrong Cause. Confuted most undoubtedly you are beyond the Possibility of a Reply,² as far as the Law and Constitution of the Realm are concerned in this Question. But indeed it seems to me by certain Passages in your Letters, that, though you raise a terrible Outcry against the supposed violation of your Charters; you yourself would not rest the Merits of your Cause upon the Proof of such a Violation; and that you would rather drop that Point, than attempt to justify the Charge, if called upon to do it.

to the purpose, convinces no American of any thing but the pert positiveness & Ignorance of the Author. [B. F.]

¹ The difference between a Fool & a Madman is said to be, that the Fool reasons wrong from right Premises the Madman right but from wrong Premises. This seems the Case of our Author, & therefore *that Place* perhaps more suitable for him. [B. F.]

² This is Hollowing before you are out of the Wood. [B. F.]

What then is it, which you have next to offer? Oh! "The Unreasonableness! the Injustice! and the Cruelty of taxing a free People, without permitting them to have Representatives of their own to answer for them, and to maintain their fundamental Rights and Privileges!"

Strange, that you did not discover these bad things before! Strange, that though the British Parliament has been, from the Beginning,¹ thus *unreasonable*, thus *unjust*, and *cruel* towards you, by levying Taxes on many Commodities outwards and inwards,—nay, by laying an internal Tax, the Post-Tax for Example, on the whole British Empire in America;—and, what is still worse, by making Laws to affect your Property, viz. your Paper Currency, and even to take away Life itself, if you offend against them;—Strange and unaccountable, I say, that after you had suffered all this so long, you should not have been able to have discovered, that you were without Representatives in the British Parliament, *of your own electing*, till this enlightening Tax upon Paper opened your Eyes! And what a pity is it, that you have been Slaves for so many Generations, and yet did not know, that you were Slaves until now.²

But let that Pass, my dear Cousin; for I always choose to confute you in your own way. Now, if you mean any thing at all by the Words *unreasonable*, *unjust*, and *cruel*, as used in this Dispute; you must mean, that the Mother Country deals worse by you, than by the Inhabitants of Great Britain; and that she denies certain Constitutional Rights and Privileges to you abroad, which we enjoy here

¹ False! Never before the Restoration. [B. F.]

² The Parliament it is acknowledged have made made many oppressive Laws relating to America which have passed without Opposition partly thro' the Weakness of the Colonies, partly thro' their Inattention to the full Extent of their Rights when employ'd in Labour to procure the Necessaries of Life. But that is a wicked Guardian, & a Shameless one, who first takes Advantage of the Weakness incident to Minority, cheats & Imposes on his Pupil; & when that Pupil comes of Age, urges those very Impositions as Precedents to justify continuing them & adding others! [B. F.]

at home. Now pray what are those Constitutional Rights and Liberties, which are refused to you? Name them, if you can.—The things, which you pretend to alledge are, “The Rights of voting for Members of the British Parliament; and the Liberty of choosing your own Representatives.” But surely you will not dare to say, that we refuse your Votes, when you come hither to offer them, and choose to poll: you cannot have the Face to assert, that on an Election Day any Difference is put between the Vote of a Man born in America, and of one born here in England.¹ Yet this you must assert, and prove too, before you can do any thing to the present Purpose. Suppose therefore, that an American hath acquired a Vote (as he legally may, and many have done) in any of our Cities or Counties, Towns, or Boroughs; suppose, that he is become a Freeman, or a Freeholder here in England;—on that State of the Case, prove if you can, that his Vote was ever refused, because he was born in America:—Prove this, I say, and then I will allow, that your Complaints are very just; and that you are indeed the much injured, the cruelly-treated People, you would make the World believe.

But, my good Friend, is this supposed Refusal the real Cause of your Complaint? Is this the Grievance that calls so loudly for Redress? Oh! no, you have no Complaint of this sort to make: but the Cause of your Complaint is this; that you live at too great a Distance from the Mother Country to be present at our English Elections; and that in Con-

¹ This is all Banter & Insult, when you know the Impossibility of a Million of Freeholders coming over Sea to vote here. If their Freeholds in America are *within the Realm*, why have they not, in virtue of those Freeholds, a Right to vote in your Elections as well as an English Freeholder? Sometimes we are told, that our Estates are by our Charters all in the Manor of East Greenwich and therefore all in England, and yet have we any Right to vote among the Voters of East Greenwich? Can we trade to the same Ports? In this very Paragraph you suppose that we cannot vote in England if we come thither, till we have by Purchase acquired a Right, therefore neither we nor our Estates are represented in England. [B. F.]

sequence of this Distance, the Freedom of our Towns, or the Freeholds in our Counties, as far as voting is concerned, are not worth attending to. It may be so; but pray consider, if you yourselves do choose to make it inconvenient for you to come and vote, by retiring into distant Countries,—what is that to us?¹ And why are we to be reproached for committing a “Violation on the Birth-rights of Englishmen, which, if it be a Violation, is committed only by yourselves?” It seems, you find it to be your particular Interest to live in the Colonies: it seems, that you prefer the Emoluments of residing there to your Capacity, or Capability (take which Word you please) of residing and voting here. Now this is your own free Choice; and we leave you at full Liberty to act as you think proper: but then, are we obliged to alter our Political System merely to accord with your Convenience? Are we to change and new model our fixed and ancient Constitution, just as you shall see fit to command us? and according as it shall please you to remove from Place to Place? and is this the Complaisance, which you expect the Mother Country should shew to her dutiful Children? Yes, it is: and you demand it too with a loud Voice, full of Anger, of Defiance, and Denunciation.²

However, the Lion is not always so fierce as he is painted:—and till we are beaten into a Compliance, it is to be hoped, that we may be allowed to expostulate with you in a few harmless, unbloody Words. Granting therefore, that the Colonies are unrepresented in the British Parliament: Granting that two Millions of People in America have, in

¹ This is all beside the Mark. The Americans are by their Constitutions provided with a Representation & therefore need nor desire any in the British Parliament. They have never ask'd any such Thing. They only say, since we have a Right to grant our own Money to the King; since we have Assemblies where we are represented for such Purposes, why will you meddle out of your Sphere, take the Money that is ours and give it as yours without our Consent? [B. F.]

² An absolute Falshood: We never demanded in any Manner much less in the Manner you mention, that the Mother Country should change her Constitution. [B. F.]

this respect, no Choice, nor Election of their own, through the Necessity of the Case, and their Distance from the Place of Election:—What would you infer from this Concession? And wherein can such Kind of Topics support your Cause? For know, young Man, that not only two Millions, which are the utmost, that your exaggerated Accounts can be swelled to;—I say, not only two Millions, but six Millions at least of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, are still unrepresented in the British Parliament. And this Omission arises, not from the Necessity of the Case, not from consulting Interest and Convenience as with you, but from original Ideas of Gothic Vassalage,—from various Casualties and Accidents,—from Changes in the Nature of Property,—from the Alteration of Times and Circumstances,—and from a thousand other Causes.¹ Thus, for Example, in the great Metropolis, and in many other Cities, landed Property itself hath no Representative in Parliament; Copyholds and Leaseholds of various Kinds have none likewise, though of ever so great a Value. This you yourself very well know; because when you were here last, you knew, that I was possessed of considerable landed Property in London, and of several Copyholds and beneficial Leaseholds in the Country, and yet that I never had a Vote.² Moreover, in some Towns neither Freedom, nor Birth-right, nor the serving of an Apprenticeship, shall entitle a Man to give a Vote, though they may enable him to set up a Trade: In other Towns the most numerous, the most populous, and flourishing of any, there are no Freedoms or Votes of any Sort; but all is open; and none are represented. And besides all this, it is well known, that the

¹ Why then do you not give them a Representation? [B. F.]

² Copyholds and Leaseholds are suppos'd to be represented in the original Landlord of whom they are held. Thus all the Land in England is in fact represented notwithstanding what he here says. As to those who have no Landed Property in a Country, the allowing them to vote for Legislators is an Impropriety. They are transient Inhabitants, & not so connected with the Welfare of the State which they may quit when they please, as to qualify them properly for such Privilege. [B. F.]

great East India Company, which have such vast Settlements, and which dispose of the Fate of Kings and Kingdoms abroad, have not so much as a single Member, or even a single Vote, *quatenus* a Company, to watch over their Interests at home.¹ What likewise shall we say in regard to the prodigious number of Stock-holders in our public Funds? And may not their Property, perhaps little short of ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS Sterling, as much deserve to be represented in Parliament, as the scattered Townships, or straggling Houses of some of your Provinces in America?² yet we raise no Commotions; we neither ring the Alarm-Bell, nor sound the Trumpet; but submit to be taxed without being represented:—and taxed too, let me tell you, for your sakes.³ Witness the additional Duties on our Lands, Windows, Houses;—also on our Malt, Beer, Ale, Cyder, Perry,

¹ By this Argument it may be prov'd that no Man in England has a Vote. The Clergy have none as Clergymen; the Lawyers have none as Lawyers, the Physicians none as Physicians, & so on. But if they have Votes as Freeholders that is sufficient: And that no Freeholder in America has for a Representative in the British Parliament. [B. F.]

² The Stock-holders are many of them Foreigners, and all may be so when they please, as nothing is more easy than the transferring of Stock, & conveying Property beyond Sea by Bills of Exchange. Such uncertain Subjects are therefore not properly vested with Rights relating to Government. [B. F.]

³ This is wickedly false. While the Colonies were weak & poor, not a Penny or a single Soldier was ever spared by Britain for their Defence: But as soon as the Trade with them became an Object, & a Fear arose that the French would seize that Trade & deprive her of it, she sent Troops to America *unask'd*. And now brings this Account of the Expence against us, which should be rather carried to her own Merchants and Manufacturers.—We join'd our Troops & Treasure with hers, to help her in this War. Of this no Notice is taken. To refuse to pay a just Debt is Knavish: Not to return an Obligation is Ingratitude: But to demand Paym^t of a Debt where none has been contracted, to forge a Bond or an Obligation in order to demand what was never due is infamous Villainy.—Every year both King and Parliament (during the War) acknowledged that we had done more than our Part, & made us some Return, w^{ch} is equivalent to a Receipt in full, and entirely sets aside this Monstrous Claim. [B. F.]

Wines, Brandy, Rum, Coffee, Chocolate, &c. &c. &c. for defraying the Expences of the late War,—not forgetting the grievous Stamp-Duty itself. All this, I say, we submitted to, when you were, or at least, when you pretended to be, in great Distress: so that neither Men, almost to the last Drop of Blood we could spill,—nor Money, to the last Piece of Coin, were spared: but all was granted away, all was made a Sacrifice, when you cried out for Help.¹ And the Debt which we contracted on this Occasion, is so extraordinary, as not to be paralleled in History.—It is to be hoped, for the Credit of human Nature, that the Returns which you have made us for these Succours, and your present Behaviour towards us, which perhaps are still more extraordinary, may not be paralleled likewise.

¹ *Never.* [B. F.]

(To be continued.)

ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGES DONE BY THE BRITISH
TROOPS DURING THE OCCUPATION OF PHILA-
DELPHIA, 1777-1778.

[After the evacuation of Philadelphia County by the British forces, in June of 1778, an assessment of the damages sustained by the inhabitants was made by wards and townships. It is from the original assessment books, which bear the title, "Estimate of Damages Done by the British in 1777 and 1778," in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, that the returns of the assessors are copied.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

DOCK WARD. (South part.)

Anthony Cuthbert, Assessor.

Bedford, Gunnig	£342	5	—
Cather, Robert	163	—	—
Cornman, John	1435	—	—
Cuthbert, Thomas	171	15	—
" " Deceased's Est°	478	19	4
" Anthony	658	—	—
Evans, Edward	218	3	2
Flick, Philip	120	—	—
Gore, Sarah	227	2	6
Hover, John	230	—	—
Hubley, Adam	513	10	—
McKnight, Robert	49	7	—
Mitchell, Thomas	101	2	6
Robbins, Samuel	517	3	6
Snowden, John	188	10	—
Spence, Sarah	871	5	—
Steel, Margaret	250	10	—
Summers, Andrew	130	2	11
Williams, John	26	15	—
Worrell, James	372	—	—
Young, William	1797	7	6

DOCK WARD. (North part.)

Alexander Rutherford, Assessor.

Carlisle, Alexander	£124	—	—
Donohue, John	79	19	—
Gibbon, Mary	119	—	—
Hall, Thomas	225	—	—
Henry, William	3645	—	—
Hollingsworth, Levi	1665	2	—
Lawrence, William	37	10	—
Paschall, Benjamin Esq.	250	—	—
Rutherford, Alexander	1100	5	—
Richards, Samuel	54	15	—
Snowden, Isaac Esq.	1006	15	—
Shedaker, William	27	12	6
Shearman, John	740	—	—
Shields, Thomas	577	50	—
Spence, John	113	10	—

SOUTH WARD.

Roger Flahaven, Assessor.

Boylan's, James Est ^e	£380	—	—
Kirkpatrick, Elizabeth	73	18	3

MIDDLE WARD.

William Richards, Assessor.

Christler, Widow	£65	10	10
Cooper, George	200	—	—
Erwin, Robert	651	5	—
Falconer, William	30	7	6
Hamill, John	15	—	—
Keppele, Henry	258	—	5
Randolph, Benjamin	2811	10	—
Simpson, Samuel	213	4	—
Sutter, Elizabeth	37	19	—

CHESTNUT WARD.

William Pollard, Assessor.

Adeock, William Esq	£83	10	—
Kuhn, Ludwick	145	—	—
Moore, William	91	5	—
Potter, James	30	3	4
“ Matthew	59	2	—

WALNUT WARD.

Robert McKnight, Assessor.

[No return.]

LOWER DELAWARE WARD.

Charles Risk, Assessor.

[No return.]

UPPER DELAWARE WARD.

John Hood, Assessor.

Clarkson, Matthew	£200	—	—
Hagner, Frederick	100	—	—
Hodge, Andrew	1168	—	—
Meredith, Charles	1350	—	—
Smith, Thomas W.	3000	—	—
Wood, Joseph	60	—	—

HIGH STREET WARD.

Abraham Dubois, Assessor.

Coburn, John	£2450	—	—
Dubois, Abraham	175	—	—
Francis, Thomas	145	—	—
Hollinshead, William	166	18	9
Huston, Elizabeth	161	—	—
Whitebread, William	364	17	—

NORTH WARD.

Lambert Wilmore, Assessor.

Barge, Jacob	£35	8	—
Brown, Mary	58	—	—
Derrick, Christian	495	17	6
Dehaven, Peter	204	12	5
Haines, Reuben	413	15	—
Hodge, Hugh	580	11	—
Jackson's, William Est ^e	180	—	—
Porter, Robert	85	15	—
“ Mary	71	11	3
Price, Jonathan	92	6	2
Summers, Peter	243	15	—
Zantzinger, Adam	1280	—	—

MULBERRY WARD. (East part.)

Nathaniel Brown, Assessor.

Allen, William (Not Qualified)	£92	10	8
Bartram, Moses	132	10	—
Bonham, Ephraim	330	8	—
Brooke, Bowyer	125	—	—
Benezet, Daniel	150	—	—
Bently, John	11	17	6
Beehr's, Joseph & Elizabeth Est ^e	201	—	—
Channell, James	208	—	—
Deshler, Elizabeth	556	6	—
Dowman, “	88	3	9
Falconer, Nathaniel	224	13	—
Grafe, Casper	50	—	—
Gardner, Archibald	40	10	—
Groff, Samuel	44	8	—
Hess, Charletta	109	—	—
Hyneman, Frederick	141	10	—
Kessler, Andrew	110	5	6
Logon, Elizabeth	50	—	—

Melcher, Isaac	£387	15	9
Moravian Meeting	39	—	—
Meyer, Thomas	37	19	—
Miller, Jacob	93	—	—
Peters, John	725	10	—
Pechin, Christiana	291	14	—
Rohr, John	17	19	10
Rush, William Esq.	2261	5	—
Schweighauser, John C.	160	—	—
Schlosser, George	2130	—	—
Smith, Thomas	29	12	—
Slessman, Henry	120	—	—
Shaffer, David jun.	3742	17	—
Schreiner, Jacob	217	7	6
Sprogell, John	677	—	—
Thompson, Peter	61	18	3
Weiss, Jacob	273	—	9
Webb, John	229	12	6
Wilkinson, Brian	480	—	—
Wooley, Mary	381	—	—

MULBERRY WARD. (West part.)

Andrew Epple, Assessor.

Bartling, Christlieb	£116	—	—
Craighead, Mary	10	—	—
Eckart, Adam (Not Qualified)	112	—	—
Entris, John Jr.	31	15	—
Graff, John	53	—	—
Grebel, John	6	2	6
Gressler, Frederick	82	10	—
Heysham, William	286	3	—
Joy, Daniel	1504	13	5
Knees, John	293	—	—
Knorr, George	467	10	—
Miller, John, Esq ^r	50	17	—
Thompson, John	449	13	4

ABINGTON.

John Collom, Assessor.

[No return.]

BLOCKLEY.

John Thomas, Assessor.

Bispham, William	£318	7	6
Camber, Henry	30	5	—
Coughran, Joseph	581	5	—
Coulton, "	23	15	—
Crain, Richard	228	—	—
George, John	53	18	—
Heston, Edward	185	14	6
Hibberd, Aaron	23	12	6
Hoffman, Jacob & Christiana Leech .	1178	10	—
Jones, Joseph	225	—	—
" Peter	40	10	—
Leech, William	142	15	9
Lees, Joseph	119	10	—
Mahlin, David	181	12	6
Rhoades, Nathan	48	18	—
Rose, William	24	3	—
Seltenrich, David	220	10	—
Smith, Frederick	25	—	—
" Mary	114	3	6
Stradling, John	141	5	—
Walter, Martin	165	5	—
Wilfong, Peter	12	—	—
Warner, Isaac	526	—	—
Worrell, James	62	—	—
Young, William	669	15	—

BRISTOL.

Caleb Armitage, Assessor.

Armitage, Caleb	£428	2	—
Benner, George	270	10	—

BIBURRY.

Jacob Rhoads, Assessor.

Groom, Thomas	.	.	.	.	.	£52	12	6
Jackson, John	.	.	.	.	.	98	—	—

CHELTHENHAM.

Peter Rush, Assessor.

Leech, Samuel	.	.	.	.	.	£75	2	6
“ Jacob	.	.	.	.	.	65	16	—
Meyer, Jacob	.	.	.	.	.	69	3	—

DOUGLASS.

Christopher Sheiner, Assessor.

[No return.]

FREDERICK.

Philip Boyer, Assessor.

[No return.]

FRANCONIA.

Jacob Gerhart, Assessor.

[No return.]

GERMANTOWN.

Joseph Ferree, Assessor.

Altemus, John	.	.	.	.	.	£39	14	—
Armitage, Benjam	.	.	.	.	.	237	10	—
Adolph, Margaret	.	.	.	.	.	98	16	—
Buckius, John	.	.	.	.	.	227	10	—
Buckius, Francis	.	.	.	.	.	43	—	6
Bender, Joseph	.	.	.	.	.	64	3	—
Beck, Martin	.	.	.	.	.	52	15	—
Bush, Mathias	.	.	.	.	.	640	8	3

Bamberger, Henry	£9	15	—
Butler, Joseph	119	14	4
Biddis, John	625	19	6
Bringinghurst, William	4	11	7
Brown, Anthony	8	5	—
Berger, Henry	74	16	—
Beilinger, Henry	9	3	—
Cress, Henry	1275	13	9
Coleman, Jacob	501	—	—
Dannenhower, George	434	11	8
Dannenhower, Abraham	57	10	—
Dedier, John	57	—	—
Dulizang, Margaret	88	7	—
Dannenhower, John	27	3	—
Derr, Ulrich	17	—	—
Day, Christian	28	3	9
Ent, Theobald	127	10	—
Eplin, Frederick	52	—	—
Erdman, Martin	178	1	10
Engle, Jacob	324	4	—
Edleman, George	30	16	—
Engle, John	258	16	8
Fraley, Henry	158	2	—
Ferree, Joseph	168	—	—
Fogelgesang, Semion	24	4	—
Fraley, Leonard	65	8	6
Friedly, Michael	575	6	3
Freed, Jacob	114	6	6
Galley, Frederick	41	14	6
Gardner, John	91	5	—
Gardner, George	55	—	—
Gardner, John	320	16	—
German Reformed Church	10	4	—
Geiger, Jacob	180	6	3
Gorgis, Rachel	100	13	—
Gillinger, Rudolph	115	9	—
Groushop, Jacob	50	—	—

Green, Christopher	£122	4	—
Hay, Charles	520	—	6
Hesser, George	82	19	—
Hinkle, Henry	15	1	6
Hinker, Peter	256	6	11
Haselet, James	91	7	6
Howell, John	95	5	8
Hopple, George	52	—	—
Holgate, William	123	18	6
Jacobi, Christopher	32	9	—
Jacoby, Elizabeth	276	1	6
Klingel, George	131	10	—
Kerper, Volius	1750	11	—
Kropp, Frederick	57	7	6
Keel, George	32	5	—
Kup, John	60	16	—
Keyser, John	85	10	—
Kiem, William	8	15	—
Leibert, Peter	133	7	11
Losh, Jacob	239	5	—
Lutheran Church (German)	156	2	6
Lentz, Nicholas	14	—	—
Losch, George	2412	11	3
Linderman, Catherine	95	2	—
Miller, Sebastian	114	16	9
Meng, Christopher	486	13	8
Meyer, Casper	53	5	—
Miller, George	158	4	—
Miller, Henry	33	8	—
Miller, Wickard	680	3	—
Mechlin, Samuel	2571	17	6
Melberger, Michael	679	6	—
Mehl, Frederick	778	10	—
Miller, Daniel	48	—	—
Nunnemaker, Ludwick	92	5	3
Nunnemaker, Mathias	43	8	—
Nungesser, John	35	15	3

Nieman, Zachariah	£657	12	—
Nick, Jacob	57	3	6
Nice, Charles	91	16	6
Opliter, Catherine	21	5	4
Piper, William	239	11	3
Pleager, Frederick	195	10	4
Painter, Mary	20	14	3
Paul, Abraham	52	3	6
Rayman, Andrew	17	2	6
Rex, John	452	7	—
Rees, Daniel	123	13	3
Ritter, Catherine	576	6	8
Recker, Elias	9	1	3
Starr, John	62	3	6
Sommer, Jacob	204	12	4
Sweitzer, Simon	167	5	4
Shubart, Melchior	364	17	—
Showaker, Conrad	79	17	—
Shubert, Barbara	42	1	—
Sheetz, Jacob	413	5	—
Schlotterer, Martin	33	—	—
Shuster, Jacob	13	13	6
Strow, Jacob	114	10	6
Stroup, Peter	31	9	9
Simon, Ann	14	8	9
Sander, Mary	19	2	—
Smith, Andrew	184	15	—
Showecker, Jacob	19	5	3
Steel, William	74	17	6
Steel, Mary	74	17	6
Spevia, William	82	8	5
Welker, Jacob	176	2	6
Warner, Lidia	347	15	—
Will, John	69	—	—
Will, Casper	65	10	—
Windish, Casper	8	10	—
Yeakle, Christopher	290	17	6

GWINEDTH.

Stephson Bloom, Assessor.

Dull, Christian	£75	—	—
Fleck, George	45	—	—

HATFIELD.

George Sheive, Assessor.

Reed, Jacob	£45	15	—
Wisler, Isaac	25	17	6

HORSHAM.

John Simpson, Assessor.

[No return.]

KINGSESSING.

James Bartram, Assessor.

Bartram, James	£271	13	6
Bartram, John	181	3	8
Boon, Rebecca	192	10	—
Donehower, George	70	—	—
Elliott, Christopher	676	17	—
Glover, William	74	17	—
Gibson, David	316	5	—
Gibson, Nathan	445	9	—
Guire, Adam	2284	13	6
Holston, Frederick	10	2	6
Hansell, Peter David	192	13	—
Hoffner, George	23	15	—
Jones, Neels	66	—	—
Justis, Charles	654	—	—
Lincon, Abraham	75	10	—
Lascum, Benjamin	10	5	3
Lodge's, Abel Est ^e	51	15	—
Matsinger, Elizabeth	41	15	—
Morris, David	71	10	—

Makimson, George	£33	6	6
Nilsell, Elizabeth	8	10	—
Robinson, Charles	249	16	3
Stitzel, George	16	17	6
Walters, John	213	15	3
Young, William jun.	200	—	—

LOWER DUBLIN.

Joseph Ashton, Assessor.

Ashton, Joseph	£40	14	6
Ashton, Martin	67	—	—
Ashton, Jacob	3	—	—
Addis, Joseph	92	7	—
Ashton, Thomas	26	15	—
Bennet, Simon	31	16	6
Carman, Elizabeth	71	10	—
Duffield, Abraham			
Duffield, Thomas	4	7	—
Dungan, James	50	—	—
Dungan, Jesse	106	—	6
Duffield, Jacob	125	2	6
Dearman, Joseph	51	10	3
De Nyce, Jane	20	—	—
Elphinston, Nicholas	151	8	—
Edwards, William	21	8	9
Edwards, Elizabeth	5	7	—
Finney, John	54	10	—
Glenn, Daniel	67	12	6
Green, Robert	17	—	—
Holmes, John and Thomas	340	5	—
Hufty, Mary	126	—	—
Hall, Jacob	436	4	—
Jones, Samuel	62	—	—
Johnson, Peter	59	—	—
Johnson, Benjamin	26	5	—
Jones, Joshua	47	17	6

Jackson, Josiah	£29	10	—
Johnson, John	46	15	9
Laughlin's, Jacob Est ^e	278	5	9
Lycans, Andrew	42	10	—
Livezey, Jonathan	21	15	—
Livezey, Nathan	27	—	—
McVaugh, Edmund	19	—	—
McGargle, John	108	—	—
Miles, Joseph	92	15	—
Neswinger, Samuel	15	—	—
Northrop, Jeremiah	96	2	6
Ott, Jacob	57	14	—
Paul, James	73	—	—
Paul, John	108	—	—
Pass, Frederick	121	11	6
Retzer, Jacob	38	10	—
Rich, Jacob	54	5	—
Rambo, Peter	55	4	3
Shearer, Jacob	43	14	6
Snyder, David	251	—	—
Taylor, Jacob	79	12	6
Thomas, Evan	21	15	—
Vandyke, Aaron	20	9	—
Vandyke, Richard	50	12	—
Waggoner, John	155	10	—

(To be continued.)

JOHANN GOTTFRIED SEELIG AND THE HYMN-BOOK
OF THE HERMITS OF THE WISSAHICKON.

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

Substantially all heretofore known concerning the learned enthusiasts who were called the *Hermits of the Wissahickon* and the Society of the *Woman in the Wilderness* can be found in the "Settlement of Germantown" and the biography of Hendrick Pannebecker. The sources of information there used were to a large extent the works of Seidensticker and Sachse. So far as known, there was only one manuscript extant in the handwriting of Kelpius, his journal, in the possession of the Wistar family, and all of the productions of Seelig had been lost. In the "*Vitæ Theologorum Altorphinorum*," by Gustave George Zeltner, published at Nuremberg in 1722, may be gathered a few additional facts of interest concerning the early settlers of Germantown. Pastorius was a student at Altdorf from 1668 to 1670, and it was there that his thesis upon law was printed. In Zeltner's work are portraits and biographies of John Weinman, Luke Frederick Reinhart, John Conrad Durr, and John Conrad Schwaeger, four of the teachers of Pastorius. There is also a reference to a song written by Dr. Johann Wilhelm Petersen, one of the members of the Frankfort Land Company. From it we learn that the book of Kelpius, entitled "*Scylla Theologica*," went through two editions. There are also a portrait and biography of Dr. John Fabricius, whom Kelpius called his master, and under whom he studied.

It was in a letter to Fabricius that Kelpius told the story of William Penn and the Indian chief narrated in the

"Settlement of Germantown," page 252. Fabricius had written to Kelpius telling him of the report current in Germany that he had surrendered his theological tenets and become a Quaker, in reply to which he wrote a denial in one of his few letters we possess. Thereupon Fabricius wrote a vindication of him, which appeared in the second edition of the "*Scylla Theologica*."

A recent discovery made in rather a remarkable manner has added materially to our store of information concerning the Hermits of the Wissahickon, and constitutes an interesting bibliographical incident relating to the earliest period of Pennsylvania history.

In the summer of 1894 I bought at a public sale at the house of one of the Schwenkfelder people, named Kriebel, on the Skippack Creek, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, a number of ancient books and papers, which were sent to my office in Philadelphia. After all that seemed to be of any importance had been selected, a residuum of what was regarded as rubbish lay exposed upon the top of a box for two years. Among the neglected material was a German manuscript volume about eight inches in length and four in width, whose title and front leaves had been lost, and which contained at the end a crude verse in a rude hand, written in 1772. It happened that I gave up my office, and the rubbish was collected by the expressman and taken to my home, where it lay on a shelf unnoticed for four years longer. One day in 1900 the words "*Der einsamen Turteltauben*," the peculiar language of the Dunkers of Ephrata, written on one of the pages of this volume, casually caught my attention and led me to give it careful study. I found that the turtle-dove was singing "in the silent woods," and, fortunate chance! one of the hymns written in the book was dated of July, 1707, nearly forty years before the establishment of the community at Ephrata, and was signed "J. G. S." There was only one other set of people in early Pennsylvania life who used this phraseology, and upon a comparison of the

unusual penmanship of the early hymns with that of the journal of Kelpius, the revelation became certain and complete. The hymn-book of the Hermits of the Wissahickon had been happily and strangely recovered.

Kelpius wrote in it nineteen hymns, and at the end of the book made an index of them. Of these there are seven entire, parts of two others, and the first lines of all. Another of the hermits, not identified with certainty, but who may have been Henry Bernhard Koster, the learned translator of the Septuagint, added thirteen hymns. Then Johann Gottfried Seelig wrote four hymns, and fortunately signed and dated one of them in 1707. They constitute the only productions and the only manuscript of Seelig which the ravages of time have spared. The subsequent history of the volume can only be conjectured. Treasured as long as the community lasted, and then carried away from Germantown and trusted to chance, it fell into the hands of some person who made it the convenient receptacle for the meaningless verses of 1772 which misled me, and was thereafter knocked about the garrets of farm-houses, where it lost its title-page and twelve of its leaves. It is now bound in crushed levant and rests in a morocco case.

One of the hymns written by Seelig is here translated, and, being among the earliest of American poetical productions, is extremely interesting. It has much of the tone of a modern love-song. The dove is cooing for its mate. Christ is a bridegroom who is called to hasten to the awaiting soul. Each stanza suggests one single, simple thought, which is emphasized by a descriptive word in the final lengthened line. The attempt has been made to preserve the rhyme, measure, and spirit as well as the ideas of the original, a task rendered more difficult because of the brevity of the lines.

Der einsamen Turtel-tauben bewegliches Klag-lied am orte ihrer probirung im stillen büsche der geduld gesungen von J. G. S.

The moving Song of Complaint of the Solitary Turtle Dove in the place of its trial. Sung in the still woods of patience by J. G. S.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Mein süßestes Englein ?
 Ich sehn mich mit schmerzen,
 Und ruff dich im hertzen,
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch mein <i>tröstendes</i>
 Englein.</p> | <p>1. My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Sweet Angel, why part thou ?
 My heart is so painful,
 Oh, be not disdainful.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, consoling my heart
 now.</p> |
| <p>2. Sieh wie ich hier walle,
 Stets nahe dem falle,
 Ich mercke die tücke,
 U. sehe die stricke,
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Kom eylend mein <i>rettendes</i> Eng-
 lein.</p> | <p>2. See how I am heaving,
 I stand here bereaving,
 I watch all the threading
 Of nets that are spreading.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Haste, Angel, deliver my heart
 now.</p> |
| <p>3. Hör wie ich dir klage,
 In eusserster plage,
 Der Feind mir den glauben
 Fast alle wil rauben,
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch <i>hertz-stärckendes</i>
 Englein.</p> | <p>3. Oh ! hear me complaining
 In sharpest of paining,
 The fiend is me reaving
 Of faith and believing.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, and strengthen my
 heart now.</p> |
| <p>4. Im finstern ich sitze
 In zweifel-angst schwitze ;
 Mein weg ist verborgen,
 Mich quähen viel sorgen ;
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch <i>erleuchtendes</i>
 Englein.</p> | <p>4. In darkness I'm sitting,
 With doubt I am splitting,
 My way is all hidden,
 No care is forbidden.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, enlighten my heart
 now.</p> |
| <p>5. Es lebet die Seele
 In einsahmer Höhle
 Ohn freude, ohn friede,
 Von anfechtung müde,
 Kom paarendes Täublein,
 Ach kom doch <i>erfreuendes</i> Eng-
 lein.</p> | <p>5. My soul is but living
 In lonely misgiving,
 The time is but dreary,
 With struggles I'm weary.
 Come, Dovelet, and mate me,
 Come, Angel, rejoicing to sate
 me.</p> |
| <p>6. Irrleitende lichter,
 Verstellte gesichter
 Mich wollen bethören
 Von warheit abführen,
 Wo bistu mein Täublein ?
 Ach kom doch <i>warhaftiges</i> Eng-
 lein.</p> | <p>6. False beacons misguiding,
 False faces deriding,
 Do often bewray me,
 From true ways betray me.
 My Dovelet, where art thou ?
 Come, Angel, the true way im-
 part now.</p> |

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>7. Ruch fühl ich die Hiebe,
Der fleischlichen Liebe;
Wen die mich verwunden
So bistu verschwunden:
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Kom lieb mich <i>reinliebendes</i> Eng-
lein.</p> | <p>7. I feel all the glowing
Of lust in me growing;
If fails my endeavor
I lose thee forever.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, clean love in thy
heart now.</p> |
| <p>8. Bey alle dem Kummer
Fall ich doch in Schlummer
Die Trägheit mich drücket
Der Schlaf mich berücket;
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch <i>ermuntrendes</i>
Englein.</p> | <p>8. Oft sorrows encumber
While lying in slumber,
My sin is enduring
And sleep is alluring.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, awaken my heart
now.</p> |
| <p>9. Soll ich noch mehr klagen?
Von kummernüss sagen?
O dass ich dich hette,
In meinem hertz-bette!
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch <i>verborgenes</i> Eng-
lein.</p> | <p>9. Why am I refraining,
In sadness complaining?
Oh! could I but hold thee
And to my heart fold thee.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, and hide in my
heart now.</p> |
| <p>10. Du bist ja alleine
Die lieb die ich meine:
Dich will ich nur haben
Du kanst mich recht laben:
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch <i>hertz-liebenstes</i>
Englein.</p> | <p>10. For thee am I lonely,
For thee I love only,
And I must possess thee,
And thou canst caress me.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, with love in thy
heart now.</p> |
| <p>11. Ach lass dich beschweren
Die heissen hertz-zähren!
Zu kommen, zu eylen
Nicht länger verweilen!
Wo bistu mein Täublein?
Ach kom doch <i>erwünschtes</i>
Englein.</p> | <p>11. Oh, why art thou keeping
Thy hot tears from weeping?
Be coming and staying,
No longer delaying.
My Dovelet, where art thou?
Come, Angel, the wish of my
heart now.</p> |
| <p>12. Nun hier wil ich warten
In deinem Creutz-garten
Bey der gedult Myrrehn,
Stets ruffen und girren:
Wo bleibstu mein Täublein?
Kom paar dich, kom lieb mich
mein Englein.</p> | <p>12. Now here am I waiting,
The Cross is inviting,
By Myrrh is my wooing,
Still calling and cooing.
My Dovelet, I wait thee,
My Angel, come love me, come
mate thee.</p> |

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN LACEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued from page 207.)

July 9th. The three Pennsy^a Regiments—the first Commanded by Colo^l Dehaas; 2d by Colo^l S^t Clear, and three Companies of the 4th Commanded by Colo^l Wayne, embarked in Batteaus. I went with them; having head winds did not arrive there until after night. Two of the men belonging to my Company, Levi Fell and William Rogers, were left sick at Crown point, without a single person to attend them, who died for want, purely by Capt. Moore's neglect. On the Eleventh word was brought that the five absent Companies under Lieu^t Colo^l Johnston had arrived at the landing on the North East end of Lake George about three miles distant from where we were Encamped. I immediately went to them; Colo^l Johnston & Major Honsiger, were loth to believe my relation of Colo^l Wayne's Treatment to me. The Colo^l however, engaged he would immediately have all difference amicably. Next morning they came into Camp and erected their Tents near the other three Companies. Cap^t Moore took the Command of his Own Company—mine was left without an officer as Lieu^t Smith & Ensign Beatty were both sick. I still remained at a distance and did not Join the Regiment—I had made it a practice not to pitch my Tent near Colo^l Wayne or either of the three Companies—but Chose to be nearer those I conceived to be my Friends—had Joined Cap^t Willets Com. of Colo^l Dehaas Regiment he being a Bucks County man. Early in the Morning of the 13th Colo^l Johnston and Major Honsiger came to my Tent—the Major advised me to go and take care of my Company, as they appeared to be totally neglected and without an officer, Smith & Beatty being both sick—he said by way of persuasion, if I quit the

Armeý as I had determined to do at this time & went home, it would be believed by everybody that I had been guilty of some crime for which I had to leave the Armeý. I told him I had rather dye or live all my days in obscurity, than to continue under & subject to the Caprice of such an unjust tyrent as Colo^l Wayne. Colo^l Johnston advised me by all means to take the Command of my Company—the Colo^l he said had been rong, and my Character was not at all injured with any of my friends—if I would now go and Join the Comp^y all our diffierence would be ended and forgotten, and that he would vouch that the Colo^l would use me well in future; that to contend would only aggravate & make matters worse. I offered him my Commission, but he refused to take it. Soon after he left me I rec^d the Following note from Colo^l Wayne—

“TICONDEROGA July 13th 1776—

“To CAPTAIN LACEY.

“You are immediately to take the Command of your Company, and to appear with them on the Parade at half past 7 o’Clock this Morning.

“ANTH^y WAYNE.”

I immediately called on Colo^l Dehaas, whome I had before consulted with concerning Colo^l Wayne’s Treatment, and he had stated my case to Gen^l Gates, who promised him I should have Justice done me. I showd him Colo^l Wayne’s Order commanding me to take the Command of my Company—he advised me by all means to take charge of the Comp^y or Colo^l Wayne would make my refusal a disobedience of Orders, in which he would have the advantage of me, and that if I took his advice, he would be my Friend. In consequence of which, I concluded it most prudent & advisable to Join the Company, tho with great reluction and regret—but as I had got my hand in the Lyon’s mouth it was the wisest way to get it out as easy as I could; but the Wound given me by Colo^l Wayne was deep and incureable. I was resolved to leave the Armeý the first oppertunity I

could Honourably depart from it, convinced Wayne had become my Personal & Bitter Enemy, he would suffer no good occasion to slip in gratifying his spleen in punishing me for my reluctance in yielding to his arbitrary and unjust mandate, & by complaining to the Commanding Generals for redress. At the time appointed the whole of the Regiment had been Ordered to Parade, I placed myself at the Head of my Company—this was the first time the whole Regiment had met together—each Company taking its station in the line according to the Rank of the Captain, in the following manner, viz. First, Frasers, 2^d Robinsons; 3 Lacey's; 4th North's; 5 Church's; 6th Varnum's; 7th Taylors; 8th Moore's. This being the first Organization of the Regiment, we incamped in the same Order, with the officers' Tents in the Rear. I ordered my Orderly sergeant to make me a return of the Company, which to my inexpressable mortification I found to stand as follows, viz. one Cap^t, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, no Drum or Fifer, and but 48 privates—Ryan my second Lieu^t had been appointed adjutant of the Regiment 2 Sergeants & 2 Corporals had been lost at the three Rivers, the Drum & fife had deserted at Albany—having lost since I left the Company on long Island, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 2 Drum & fife and 28 Privates. The chagrin and mortification in finding the Company so reduced was almost insupportable and what made it still worse, those 28 missing Men, were the finest and best looking men belonging to the Comp^y. I was again determined to resigne my Commission, but by the persuasions of my Brother officers, and being convinced by sad experience I could not obtain any Redress, once more resolved if possible to worry out the Campaign; to leave it now, when danger was expected, looked too much like cowardice, and that I detested more than all the other calamities that had befallen me & this, I could not Brook rivitted me to the Spot.

July 14th. Tho Sunday, I was Ordered to take the command of one Hundred and fifty Men—one Captain and two

Lieutenants, all of the Pennsy^a line, to proceed with fifty Batteaus to Crown Point, to bring the 6th Pennsy^a Regiment to this Place—returned with them the next Day—I lodged at Crown point with Doc^r Johnston of the 6th Reg^t whome I had before contracted a very friendly acquaintance. He was a Man possessing a very Noble and Philanthropic mind, in him no hollow Friend was found, his professions of Friendship were sincere. Part of the New Jersey, New York and New England Troops went and encamped on the East side of the lake, on a high point of Ground opposite the Old Fort which was called Mount Indipendance, or Rattle Snake Hill, on account of the great numbers of that Venemous Serpent found there, on clearing off the Timber and under Wood, where the Troops pitched their Tents. On the 18th the Pennsy^a Troops moved from their encampment near the old Fort Ticonderoga, and Encamped along and within the old French lines on the high ground to the Northward and Westward of the Fort. These lines consist of a string of Redoubts or Breast Work, with a ditch on the outside, which had been picketed, and appeared to have once been a formadable works, but now gone very much to decay and out of repair. They extended across a point or Neck of Land from the Southern to the Northeast bend of Lake Champlain, as far as the hight extended, to a Marsh or Morass on the Margin of the Lake. These lines or Redoubts appeared to be well calculated for defence against the sudden approach of an Enemy without Cannon, but required twice the number of Men composing the four Pennsy^a Regiments to defend it. Colo^l S^t Clear having been appointed a Brigadier Gen^l commanded the Pennsy^a line, Colo^l Winds Regiment of New Jersey, and some other Troops attached to the Brigade.

The Troops Officers and men lay in Tents, their daily occupation was repairing the old lines and building new Redoubts, not even sundays excepted, officers as well as men laboured in cutting brush making and toting fashines, and digging in the ditches, not a moments time was lost, and only

time allow'd to Eat. Fattigue and guard-mounting occupied all our time. The following was the order of work viz. On the beating of the Revelee, which commenced at the Fire of the Morning Gun at the head Quarters of the Commander in Chief. At the moment the report of the Cannon was heard every Drum in Camp began to beat the Revelee, a little before or on the first appearance of Day brake, the Soldiers at the same instant seasing their Arms and accrutraments, rush forward to the Alarm posts—a place previously fixed for that purpose, there with the Officers they remain there ready for action untill, and sometimes after sunrise. As soon as it is sufficiently light to distinguish the Men, orders are given to go through the exercise of fireing, which is kept up untill the Troops are ordered to their Quarters, to get their brakefasts and at 7 at Troop Beating the Guards and Fattigue parties are turned out, who assemble opposate their respective Companies and are marched by Sergants to the Gen^l Parade to be joined by others, and placed under the proper officers are sent to the Stations of the different Guards or Fattigue, according to the Order of the Detail of the Day. The sick having been on our first arival from Crown Point sent over Lake George to the Barracks at the south end of it, where they had good Quarters, those in Camp are geting well, and very few new Cases accrue, owing to our regular duty & better supplies which are now becoming very regular and plenty. We begin to live like Christians and all in good Humour and Harmony.

I omitted to mention in its proper place and time, some occurences in Canada, worthy of remark. My mind at that time was engaged in matters of deeper moment to myself, on my personal account; these were in regard to our supplies, which were not only bad in quality, but scant and limitted in quantity. The Meal, I cannot call it flour, for it was hardly ground, it was what at my Father's Mill in Bucks County, we called Chopt for Horses and Cattle. Many a bushel I had Ground there for Hogs of far better

quality than the Meal we drew here to Eat, none of which had been Boalted ; we eat it Bran and all, some of it very musty. As to meat, we had none but rusty Pork, the Pickle, if any had ever been on it, had long since leaked from the Barrels, such as did not Stink was so rusty it could not be eaten ; but used in this manner, as I saw and had it done myself. The Meat was cut in Slices, stewed over the fire in a pan or other vessel, untill the lard was extracted, when the Meat was thrown away, making the Meal & Bran into a batter with water, pouring it into the hot lard, holding over the Fire a short time, we had a very ritch and eatable Cake, which served both for Meat and Bread—a small portion of Tea or Chocolate sweetned with Maple sugar satisfied our repast. This would have done very well could we but procured enough of it—we seldom drew more than half the rassion & often not one third. As for fresh Meat, I dont recollect seeing any, it was in the season when Cattle in Canada was very poor, the Grass and Herbage was now in rapid progression and I have no doubt but Autom will produce plenty of good and Fat Beef. I saw a great many fine Cattle Browsing especially on the Islands and Southern Banks of the main lands as I passed down the S^t Lawrence from Montreall to the mouth of the River Sorrell, and where we halted, discovered plenty of Milck & good rye bread in the Houses of the Inhabitants, which they were very willing to sell for hard money, but refused our Paper.

Lieut. Colo^l Johnston brought with him the Declaration of Congress of the Indipendence of America on the 4th inst. it made a little Buze, but soon subsided & was forgotten. A few Officers left the Arme^y in consiquence of it, among whome was Lieu^t Collan Allen. Lieu^t Smith still continuing sick had taken his residence at the Saw Mills about 3 miles from our Camp, at the Rapids between Lake George & lake Champlain—I went to see him, found him more indisposed in Mind than Body, prevailed on him to accompany me to Camp, and take his Qtr^s in my Tent. I had procured some Boards from the Saw Mill, made a good

and Drie floor, raised the sides of my Tent two Boards high, made a Chimny & fireplace at the back end with Sods of Dirt or Earth, which made it a commodious habitation. Having first sat the Example it was soon followed by all the other Officers, many of whome exceeded mine by carrying the sides of their Tents higher with Boards, with more commodious fireplaces, having improved on my Plan.

From the 18th of July to the first of September, very little occurence of Note took place, Fattigue and Guards mounting was the principle duty & requires no particular notice; but on the begining of Sep^r reinforcements were daily ariving from different Quarters. A more serious and formadable and warlike Aspect semed to pervade the whole Armeý of Mount Independance, the other the Armeý of Ticonderoga. Gen^l S^t Clears command at the old French Lines, the Pennsy^a Troops & part of the Jersey line—Gen^l, Brigade and Regimental Orders were issued every day, gave so detailed an acc^t of the Occurrences in the Camp, and having a book wherein was copyed the Orders of the Day. I here omitted to continue my Journal, depending on these Gen^l Orders for an out line of the History of the times. One occurrence, however, I shall notice in my Journal before I discontinue it, because it discloses an important instance of Colo^l Wayne's good will and attachment to me, and is a link of the chain of his persicutions.

Having been on a Scouting with Lieu^t Read absent three Days, during which time a supply of Spirits arived in Camp for the Officers, our rations were retained untill our return, being very much fattigued concluded to put the whole together and have one good drink. We invited a few of our Friends, and after Dark, retired to my Tent. Being woried and not having eaten any Food the last Day we were absent,—our provisions being expended—the Spirits having the greater effect on our empty Stomacks, got the better of us. It being late and after tattoo beating, we supposed ourselves unnoticed, was louder in our conversation than we ought to have been, Colo^l Wayne, whose Markee was at no

great distance, hearing something that displeased him, altho none of us remember saying any thing about him, or even mentioning his Name the course of the Evening. He, however, next morning sent Adjutant Ryan to demand my Sword, to put me under an arrest, with Orders that I must remain in my Tent. No notice was taken of the other officers that were with me the previous evening. I demanded of the Adjutant a statement of the crime for which I was arrested, as I was thus to remain a Prisoner in my Tent. I supposed it must be a capital offence, and as I was conscious of committing none to my knowledge, that it was requisite I should know the charge, to prepare myself to make my defence, as I was deprived of my liberty, by being a prisoner in my own Tent, I must procure some Friend to act for me—but not knowing my offence I was entirely at a loss how to act. He replied the Colo^l had not told him, and only commanded him to demand my Sword & inform me that I was to consider myself under arrest, and not to leave my Tent. I sent for the Officers who had been with me the night before, who all declared they did not remember that Colo^l Wayne's name was mentioned once during the Evening. They all agreed I was the soberest person in Company. Conceiving myself innocent, or at least not knowing wherein I had transgressed against any of the Rules or articles of War, I remained in my Tent a passive prisoner untill the next Day, when I wrote the Colo^l a very civil note requesting him to be so good as to send me in writing the purport of the crime or offence for which I had been placed under an Arrest by his Orders, which I prevailed on Major Honsiggar to deliver to him—but he sent me no reply. I sent for Colo^l Johnston, who knowing the irritability of Colo^l Wayne and not willing to offend him refused to come. All the other Officers of the Regiment, excepting Robinson & Moore, called on me in the Course of the day—several of them had been at my Tent the Evening before—all declared they had not seen nor heard a single occurrence that related to any transaction

of the Colonels, that while they were with us, we were all in high good humour. Some of them said they saw the Colo^l soon after they left us, standing near my Tent listning to us; that he remained there for some time, and during the time they heard us laugh very harty & loud, but could not hear what was said. I remained in my Tent to the third day, not hearing anything from the Colo^l, I drew up a statement of Colo^l Waynes Treatment to me, including the Former as well as the present case, which I sent to Gen^l S^t Clear, requesting a Court Martial, that I might be acquitted or condemned; that I only demanded Justice; that my Character had already sustained much injury by implication of Colo^l Waynes Conduct to me, and that my Future reputation, my own satisfaction as well as that of my Friends demanded it, being confined a prisoner to my Tent. I beged the Gen^l would Order my releasement so far as to be permitted to procure testamony and prepare for my defence. Being aware of bringing any of the officers of my own Regiment under Colo^l Waynes displeasure, and being unable to leave my Tent without incurring a breach of Order, which was what Colo^l Wayne wished, I sent for my Friend Cap^t Willit of the first Pennsy^a Regiment, who gave my statement and application to Gen^l S^t Clear, unsealed to Colo^l Dehaas who delivered it to the Gen^l.

On the same Evening Adjutant Ryan called on me, delivered me my Sword, and informed me I was at liberty, that the Colo^l had withdrawn the Arrest. I required of him to inform me what was the cause of the arrest, and why he had withdrawn it; he said the Colo^l had not inform'd him. I accepted my Sword, but told him I must have a hearing, that I had applyed to Gen^l S^t Clear and expected him to appoint a Court Martial. I immediately went to Gen^l S^t Clears Head Quarters, Colo^{ls} Wayne, Dehaas, & Hartley of the 6th Pensy^a Regiment was there. I address'd the Gen^l, stating that my case had become the Theme of every Officer of the Army, at least in the Pennsy^a Line, that I demanded an investigation, and hoped the Gen^l would

do me the Justice to grant it. That I had long lain under a Sensure for disobedience of Orders, and had already been sorely punished for it by the Orders of Colo^l Wayne, without a tryal, or conviction, and that the present occasion offered a fair opportunity for an investigation, which I very anxiously wished the Gen^l would be pleased to indulge me in, that I hoped a measure of that kind would put an end to all differences between me and the Colo^l in future, and that if I was guilty of any Crime I wished it to appear, and I only wanted Justice, which I conceived every Officer & Soldier in the Army was intitled to. My mind had been worked up to a kind of Frensey, I did not feel much what I said or did, but fortunately, I had resolution to keep my Temper, was quite coole and collected.

Wayne nor any of the other Officers said a word, but I could see the Choler rise in his Face & his Bosom heave with indignation, which he curbed with difficulty. After I had done, the Gen^l said, as I had accepted my Sword and was from under an arrest he could not on the present occasion interfere in my case, and hoped as matters now stood, the Colo^l and me would be good Friends in future. Finding I had ignorantly made a mistake in accepting my Sword which I ought to have refused, I withdrew and return^d to my Quarters, where I spent the Night in meditations. Altho this affare had passed away still my mind was far from being reposed, the evidence left was clear, the canker in the Colo^l's Breast was unabated, that he had imbibed without a Just cause a powerful prejudise, which the first sure occasion would lead him to seize with avidity to crush me altogether in satisfaction to his spleen, for my daring to complain to his Superiors of his Maltreatment of me, which his high & Haughty mind can never forgive, and to expect it I would be deceived.

The Colo^l is a Tyrent in his very Nature, of an implacable temper, once offended always cruel and unforgiving, waiting only like a beast of Prey to make a sure and safe stroke on his prey. Considering myself thus precariously

situated and all my future prospects of peace, happiness or promotion to be in Jeperdey under the Controle of such a being, I came to a full and decided determination to quit the Army as soon as the Campain ended. To quit it now, when danger was said to be approaching would have the appearance of Cowardice; on that score I could not forgive myself and which I was resolved should not be laid to my charge. Early next morning after dismissing the Men from the Morning Alarm post, I called at the Colo^l Markee; Cap^{ts} Robinson & Moore were present. I told Colo^l Wayne I was exceeding sorry such a Misunderstanding existed between us, and that he had taken such a deep prejudice against me, which imbittered both our lives, and rendered us alike uncomfortable; that I had called to inform him, I had come to a resolution as soon as the Campain had ended to leave the Army, and hoped we might live in harmony untill that time arrived. That I did not wish to leave it now when we expected the Enemy to pay us a visit soon, to leave at such a time would look like cowardice, and that I did not wish to lay under such a charge. I never saw the Colo^l so much beat before, he stammard, said he was willing to give me satisfaction if he had injured me, that he was not prejudiced against me, and asked me to stay and take breakfast with him, which I declined, returned to my Tent, resolved to do my duty in every thing to the utmost extent of my Abilities, and not to be absent a moment from duty or fain myself sick, as had been the case with some others, especially the Colo^ls favorites Robinson & Moore. I felt my mind more composed on the final determination of quitting the Army at the end of the Campain, if I survived the approaching conflict we expected with the Enemy, whome we learnt from our spies were expected to pay us a visit, and that we might expect them ere long. On our part were equally industerous to prepare for their reception, and to meet their attack, we laboured with increased industry in repairing old Works and building new Batteries along the edge of the lake to oppose their approach by water.

Hitherto I had acquired a very slender knowledge of Mankind, or at all troubled my mind on the topick, or study of Human Nature; I had been led away by fancy, in pursuit of a Butterfly, a fantom, something, Nothing, I knew not what. I had supposed every body was as simple as myself, and never drempt of deep designs and whiley schemes of speculating and ambitious Men of Craft and cunning swindlers and deceptive knaves, of Mean Sycofants, Toad-eaters, & spittle lickers to great Men, Flatterers & Buffoons or any thing to be favourites. I had lately been in a Copious School, had seen much and felt more, I have worshiped largely on the Altar of adversity. On the Onset of my Public career I was a profound novise of the World, or the motives that lead and Govern Mankind, perhaps the vicitudes of my late adventers may be profitable lesson to me. I am sometimes almost ready to dispond, considering my fortune to be unlucky, and that my evil Jenius attends me on all occasions, in every vicitude of my life & wherever I go altho one perplexing disappointment is following close on the heels of another, and every step I take is marked with misfortune still the ennergy of my mind is unbroken; it becomes more vigerous as Calamities beset me, neither is my Patriotism shaken, yet with sorrow I see or think I discover men acting from very different motives I have predicated to be the government of my own. Very few if any appear to act on open pure and disinterested principles; by their conduct one would suppose their patriotism to be an empty name, guided alone by private pique and personal resentment, by restless ambition or desperate fortune, of party and factuous spirits, and relentless persecution, bearing down every thing in their way to the Seat of Power or promotion. Such I fear are the motives which guide too many in their pursuit of wealth or preferment. Not being influenced by the benevolent Spirit of Universal Public good. I do not say all men are thus contaminated with evil, but I can say to a sertainty, I have found more of this class than I wish, and I deplore the misfortune of their

Alliance, nor shall I hesitate to say it of Colo^l Wayne, and that he sacrifices largely on the Altar of self pride and Ambitious Tyranny. I know very little of Cap^t Robinson, he keeps himself very close within the Vortex of the Colo^{ls} Patrimony; but this I know when any extra duty is required, he is sure to be sick, and never fails to faint at the sight of human Blood. Cap^t Moore is more of a Bully; he is of profligate and debauched morrels, a mean Cringing and servile flatterer, crouching at the Colo^{ls} Feet, to secure a place in his Royal favour, a seat at his Table & Lodging in his Markee. A total stranger to all the Noble and manly feelings incident to a free and Independant mind. They two were Waynes constant companions, inmates of the same Markee, Dined, Suped and lodged togeather. None of the other Officers of the Regiment were suffered to approach them or invited to eat or drink a drop, at the Colo^{ls} Festive Board; no one troubled them, unless called there on business. The Colo^{ls} partiality to them was such, as to disgust all the other Officers of the Regiment.

On taking a retresperspective view of my life up to this Day I have abundant matter of regret in my buget to dispose of it properly is no easy task. A large account must go on the Debit side to my Parents, a large share to my own Nature, and the resedue, or Ballance of accompt to Fortune: The Goddis of the distiniies of Man. Altho my Parents possessed no absolute power to direct the distiniies of my life, yet they had the power over my Actions during my Minority, a full controle which they neglected, over my education, which alone had the most powerful influence on my future actions, in fiting me for useful imployment as well in public as private life, expanding my mind, enlarging my Ideas, and preparing me to see and Judge correctly of Men and things as they really were; to guard against deception, Flattery, false pride, and all the hosts of Siren elurements that hover about the minds of youth, too often the fatal cause of their devoted calamities.

I was young, my mind fleeting, every thing about me

clothed in deceptive colors; it was impossible I should see or Judge correctly; my mind was not prepared by education to the Sphere of my actions. Judgment must therefore go against my Parents, and I thus get rid of the first charge. Next in order is my own Nature, how am I to dispose of that seeing so large a charge to go to the account of the first rudiments, first impressions made on the tender mind of Youth on its onset. Altho it will be admitted a large account ought to go to the affare of Education still their is due to Nature, to instinct, to Jenius & Capacity no small account, they must of course bear their share. As to the Ballance which I have exhibitted against Fortune. Perhaps that Fickle Goddis in true Justice might be chargable with the whole Debt of errors, as she alone semes to have the controlling Power over all, and the distiniies of men intirely subject to her Will. Having thus Ballanced the Acc^t of errors on placing them to their proper Debits up to this time; still I find no profit by the Work, no gain, all blank, and my distiny unsettled—thrown into a misterious World, lyable to unforeseen, and uncontrolable misfortunes—and without a hope that my future life will be attended with less capricious events than my Past—seeing this World to be full of evils, which requires more than human eyes to foresee or human Wisdom to shun, having ended my miditations, sat down exactly where I begun.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND "LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE."

[The following letters of Presidents of the United States and "Ladies of the White House" have been copied from the originals in the various autograph collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Many of them have never been published, and the general selection has been made as far as possible for the social character of their contents.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

MOUNT VERNON 7th Oct. 1795

DEAR SIR,

Upon my return to this place from Philadelphia, about the middle of last month, I found your letter of Sep^r 1st and the sum of Four hundred and seventy five pounds ten shillings & two pence which you had deposited in the hands of M^r Dandridge on account of your collection of my Rents which will be placed, as desired, to your credit.

I am sorry you should have been so unsuccessful in purchasing in my life leases;—but if I do not misunderstand your meaning, when you say I had limited you to too distant a day—viz—the first of Sept^r to make these purchases, there surely never was such a mistake as you have committed in this business, or I must have been out of my head when I wrote the letter.—So far from restraining you in making purchases until the first of last month you were told, or at least meant to be told that if you could not apply the money which was in your hand to this purpose by a certain day (I suppose the first of Sept^r) that then, and in that case I should call for it as I wanted it for other uses—How this could be deemed limiting you to too long a day I have no conception when the money was left in your hands for the sole purpose of buying in the leases.—I request you to look at

my letter again and inform me if it will admit of such a construction as you have given it if I understand the meaning of yours.

What money you may yet pay, agreeably to the assurance in your letter may be deposited in the hands of Mr Pearce or in the Bank of Alexandria—giving me an acc^t of the sum.—

As Land has risen so much, and so suddenly in its price, and my rents bear no kind of proportion thereto; I shall insist, and beg that you will see, not only that the rents are *punctually* paid, but that *all* the covenants in the leases, with respect to buildings, planting Orchards making meadows reserving certain proportions of the Land in wood, &c &c are strictly complied with—and I further desire that in cases of life leases, where the Occupant can give you no satisfactory evidence of the existence of the lives of the persons therein named, that ejectments may be brought, in order to make *them* come forward with their proofs:—for these leases will never expire if vague information is received & credited, of the lessees being in Kentucky, or the lord knows where.—Another thing too I would have minutely looked into, and that is, where there has been a change in the occupants from the original Lessee's, to know by what authority it has happened; for if I recollect the tenure of my Leases, there can be no alienation of the property without the consent of the Landlord, under his hand (and I believe) seal.—

You say you have repossessed two or three lots in Frederick; and have conditionally rented out two for £35 pound per ann; but you do not say whether this is the rent for each, or for both.—If the latter, I should think it inadequate.—If the former, I agree to and ratifie the same for the term of ten years—but when leases for that term are given, you should stipulate for reasonable & proper improvements, that the tenements may be restored with some advantages.—I do not recollect what the quantity of Acres in the Frederick lots are,—and therefore my opinion of the adequacy—or inadequacy of the rent of £35 is mere guess work.—all I

want, is as much as others get for lands of the same quantity quality thereabouts.—Whenever you make out a Rental have a column for the quantity of Acres contained in each lot. Give my love, in which your Aunt & the family join, to M^{rs} Lewis and be assured of the friendship and regard of

Your affectionate Uncle

G. WASHINGTON.¹

NEW YORK October the 22^d 1789

MY DEAR FANNY

I have by M^{rs} Simes sent you a watch it is one of the Car-goe that I have so long mentioned to you, that was expected, I hope is such a one as will please you—it is of the newest fashion, if that has any inflawanc on your tast—the chain is of M^r Lears choosing and such as M^{rs} Adams the vice Presidents Lady and those in the polite circle wares. It will last as long as the fashion—and by that time you can get another of a fashionable kind—I send to dear Maria a piece of chine to make her frock—the piece of muslin I hope is long enough for an apron for you, and in exchange for it, I beg you will give me the worked muslin apron you have like my gown that I made just be fore I left home of worked muslin as I wish to make a pettecoat of the two aprons,—to my gown—M^{rs} Sims will give you a better account of the fashions than I can—I live a very dull life hear and know nothing that passes in the town—I never goe to any publick place—indeed I think I am more like a state prisoner than any thing else, there is certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from—and as I can not *doe* as I like I am obstinate and stay at home a great deal.

the President set out this day week on a tour to the eastward. M^r Lear and Major Jackson attended him—My dear children has had very bad clolds but thank god they are getting better. My love and good wishes attend you and all with you—remember me to M^r & M^{rs} L Wn how is the

¹ Society's Collection from W. Alex. Smith.

poore child—kiss Maria I send her too little handkerchiefs
to wipe her nose—adue

I am my dear Fanny yours
most affectionately
M WASHINGTON.¹

Addressed

MRS F. WASHINGTON
Mount Vernon

avored by
M^r Sims

QUINCY October 8. 1815

SIR

Your favour of September the 30th, was received last night. Your frank avowal of your birth in France is no diminution of your respectability in my Estimation: for of the two most conspicuous Nations of Europe I know not to which, I ought to give the Preference in Science Litterature and taste, but in point of Civilization and politeness, I have no hesitation in preferring the French to the English.

Accept my Thanks for the two "Daily Compilers."

In the first Line of the Letter dated Boston 17, April 1809 there is a mistake, instead of 1650, it should have been 1630. For Joseph Adams Senior, the only one of the Eight Sons of Henry who Settled in this place, was an original Proprietor in the Township of Braintree which was legally incorporated in One thousand Six hundred and thirty nine, as appears by their Records.

In the Second Paragraph of the Same Letter is another Mistake. Samuel Adams and John Adams, it is true, were both descended from Henry, but not "by two of his Sons." They descended from two of the Sons of Joseph Adams Senior. John descended from Joseph Adams junior the oldest Son of Joseph Senior. Samuel was descended from John Adams a Merchant in Boston, and a younger Son of Joseph Senior. If you Should ever come to Boston and

¹ Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

will favour me with a Visit I will take a Walk with you in the congregational Church yard in Quincy, where the Grave Stones of the Race Still appear with inscriptions in very legible Characters.

There is another little mistake in the Account of the Letter of 1755. My dear youthfull Friend and Correspondent D^r Nathan Webb, died a Batchellor and left no Son. He left the Letter to his Father who left it to his Nephew and Devisee, Captain Jonathan Webb my Neighbour now living who was kind enough to Send it to me when it was more than fifty years old.

Another Mistake. J. Q. Adams's Grandfather Smith was a Clergyman it is true: but his great Grandfather was not. He was a Merchant in Charleston Massachusetts and a relation of the Smiths of Charleston South Carolina.

Another Mistake. J. Q. Adams's Father did not "receive Permission to come home." He was left in the most awkward Situation imaginable: but he took upon himself the resolution to return home, and run the Guantlett a Second time, through the thousand Ships of War of Great Britain and run the risque of the Tower and the hurdle and the Axe.

Thus far, with the above exceptions, the Letter is correct and exact. In the continuation of the Letter, in the Compiler of September 25th Justice is not done to J. Q. A. His "Acquirements in Science and Litterature have been equal to those of any public Man I ever knew in America, Jefferson and Madison not excepted." What may be intended by Sciences, I know not: but in Mathematicks, in Physicks, in Chymistry and in Natural History, his Proficiency need not Shrink from a Comparison with the proudest Sons of Fame in political or military Life.

There is another Inaccuracy. He had not "entirely neglected his Greek." He had Studied that Language at Leyden and there are Memorials Still in being in his hand Writing, of his Studies in Greek, which Shew that he was not only Master of the Characters but had made a respec-

table Progress in the Rudiments. All the rest of this Letter is exact.

You request "further Information concerning the diplomatic Career of J. Q. A." On the 8th of August 1809 He sailed with part of his Family for Saint Petersburg as Min. Plen. to the Emperor of Russia. His Negotiations there and at Ghent; are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Secretary of State of the United States? I know nothing of them but what has appeared in the Newspapers. He has had too much discretion I presume, to communicate them to any but his Government.

He is now Min. Plen. in London, with his Wife and his three Sons.

I am, Sir respectfully your humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS.¹

P.S. J. Q. A's Travels in Silesia while he was Minister in Prussia were published in the Port Folio at Philadelphia, and thence pirated into a printed Octavo Volume in London, and have Since been translated into French. Any Man who will read them and his two Volumes of Lectures on Oratory may form a Judgment of his Litterature. His Letters to the public offices and to his Friends in America written from Europe for the last twenty years would form a History of the European and American World for the whole of that Period.

J. A.

L. H. GIRARDIN Esq^r
Richmond, Virginia.

QUINCY, Feby 2^d 1806

MY DEAR NANCY

Miss Ann Beal delivered me your Letter this morning at meeting. you will see by my Letter of fryday evening how much the president was dissapointed both by the travelling and weather. we adjournd the club on purpose. to day the travelling is better than since the Snow fell. I have looked

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

up the articles you requested, and judging others by myself, that a kind turn will not be considered as a burden, I venture to send the Bundle by Mr. Beals, and am half tempted to add one for Mr. Shaw, as I know he must want. if I do, will your sister oblige me by sending her Boy with it I have another much larger, but that I shall try to send some other way—I need not say how much I miss your companionable qualities—tho some times a little too low spirited. yet we could talk of that and reason about it—what a contrast I have between the loquacity of Susan, and the Taciturnity of Louissa—apathy what art thou?

Absence of occupation is not rest,
A mind quite vacant, is a mind distressed—

I have only been twice out since you went away, once to the funeral and once to sister Cranch's—I have been troubled with a pain in my stomach, but am better to day.—Susan is quite well, and regrets your absence daily—John talks of you constantly—rides to see you—and inquires how all your Family do.—

My love to your sister if the weather should be pleasant & the travelling good I may run in some day in the week, but you know I have many hinderences so do not expect it till you see me.—I have not sent the other stockings because the dried yellow in spots.—

John Greenleaf George & John have been prateing about me all the time I have been writing.—

affectionately your Mother

A ADAMS.¹

I see a Mr. Whitwell is
selling of his Hard ware
at the corner of union street.

Addressed to

MRS. ANN ADAMS

Boston.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

MONTICELLO Sep. 29. 1794

DEAR SIR

In a letter from Crosby, office keeper for the Secretary of State, he informs me you expressed some anxiety to receive the gong belonging to Mr Franklin, the bringing of which here was the subject of a former apology to you. I have the promises of three several persons who went to China in different vessels in 1793, that they would bring me one each, and I presume I may count on their return the next summer. in the mean time Mr Franklin's is used here as the bell for a chateau clock which I have. I take the liberty of assuring you it is in perfect safety, that whether I receive one or not, the next summer, it shall be then most sacredly returned, and that in case of any accident to myself, I have given notice to my family that it is the property of Mr Franklin & is to be safely returned. still should you require its immediate return, I will on receiving notice send it instantly to Richmond from whence there is a conveyance to Philadelphia every week. retaining always the same sentiments of

esteem & respect,

I am Dear Sir

Your most obed^t& most humble ser^tTH: JEFFERSON¹M^r BACHE.

DEAR SIR

I am very much ashamed of having delayed till this day to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, I am afraid I shall forfeit my title to the character of a "woman of business," but I received it in the midst of a hurry of a double moving, Ellen and Cornelia to Boston, and My self and little ones to our new quarters in Cambridge, where I am very pleasantly and comfortably settled in the family of the Professor of law (M^r Stearns), a most excellent family and as

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

kind and attentive to me, as even My own children could wish. you know how much that says. I was very much dissapointed at not seeing Mrs. Peyton and your self before you left Boston but I was so much confined and had it so little in My power to visit at that time, that I could not pay those attentions to the Virginians in town that I wished. to Mrs Mayo and Mrs Richie both I must beg you to excuse me, for to both of those ladies I feel my self indebted, the one for the many kind attentions paid me in Richmond, and the other for so kindly waving the ceremony of a first visit and calling upon me at Monticello. but as those stern deities "Poverty and impossibility" seem to regulate My destiny I must beg you all My dear friends to accept the *will* of a grateful and affectionate heart for the deed. remember me most affectionately to Mrs. Peyton and accept for your self the best wishes of yours & &

M RANDOLPH ¹

Cambridge, Oct. 15, 1827

Addressed,

COL. BERNARD PEYTON

Richmond

Virginia

HAREWOOD October 5, 1794

DEAR & HON^D SIR

I have detained Sam by whom I send this so much longer than I intended & you expected that many apologies are due for the liberty. I hope it will be a sufficint one that I found him indispensable for a variety of little services, which I did not particularly take into view before I left Orange. These he can himself explain and I therefore leave the task to him; proceeding to the history of what relates to myself. On my arrival here I was able to urge so many conveniences in hastening the event which I solicited that it took place on the 18th Ult: On the friday following we set

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

out accompanied by Miss A. Payne and Miss Harriot Washington, on a visit to my sister Hite, where we arrived the next day, having stopped a night in Winchester with Mr. Balmain. We had been a day or two only at Mr. Hites, before a slight indisposition which my wife had felt for several days ended in a regular Ague & fever. The fits tho' succeeded by compleat intermissions were so severe that I thought it prudent to call in a Physician from Winchester. Doc^r Mackay not being in the way Doc^r Baldwin attended, and by a decisive administration of the Bark soon expelled the complaint. She has since recovered very fast & I hope notwithstanding a slight indisposition this morning which may be the effect of fatigue & change of weather, that no return is in the least to be apprehended. We left M^r Hites the day before yesterday. our time was passed there with great pleasure on our side, and I hope with not less on the other. Our departure however was embittered by the loss sustained the night preceeding by my sister, which you will have an account of from Mr. H. by this opportunity. In about 8 or 10 days we expect to set out for Philad^a your daughter in law begs you and my mother to accept her best and most respectful affections, which she means to express herself by an early opportunity. She wishes Fanny also be sensible of the pleasure with which a correspondence with her would be carried on.

I saw Fraily at M^r Hite's. He promises stedfastly to be with you in about a fortnight at farthest; and to do every thing on his part requisite for a vigorous prosecution of the undertaking at Bernard's Ford.

I must ask the favor of my mother to make out a memorandum of the Cloathing &c to be obtained at M^r Dunbars for the negroes; & of yourself to have it transmitted along with a list of other articles such as Salt, Iron &c which may wanted [*sic*] for the winter's use. I heard with great satisfaction by M^r Howard that her complaint which appeared in so doubtful a character when I left her, had taken a turn that promised an early & I hope entire recovery. With my

sincerest prayers that perfect health & every other good may attend you both. I remain y^r affect^e son

J^s MADISON JR.¹

I called soon after I came into the neighbourhood on M^{rs} F. Hite & found her & family well. I intend to repeat my visit if possible & to introduce her new relation to her.

Nov^r 7th 1807

Deep affliction my dear friend has for some time past arrested my pen!

My beloved & tender Mother left us forever, on the 20th of October last—She was in Virgi^a with my youngest sister, when she died, without suffering or regret. . . .

The loss is only ours, & for that only aught we, her children, to mourn!

M^r Madison unites with me in best wishes, & regard for you & yours

D P MADISON ²

I can have no doubt but that Fitzrald's statement is proper—and the balance due to us will perhaps answer for a new Ensurance, if you will have the goodness to apply it—

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

(To be continued.)

A COLLECTION OF PUNS AND WITTICISMS OF
JUDGE RICHARD PETERS.

[Copied from the manuscript of Samuel Breck.]

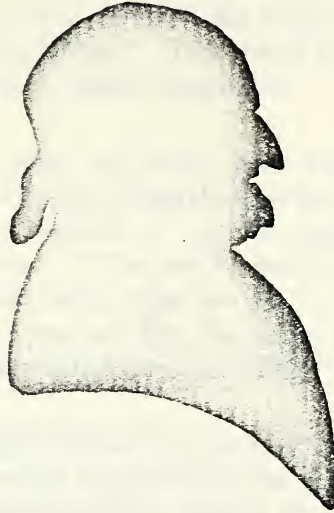
I have heard somewhere that punning is the foundation of every kind of wit, because it is of the lowest sort. Be that as it may, it certainly amuses as much as any, and as we are all of us disposed at times to cry out "*Vive la bagatelle*," I have for occasional diversion, collected such "*Jeux des mots*" and "*Jeux d'esprit*" as have pleased me. . . . many of them in my social intercourse with my venerable and excellent friend and neighbor Judge Peters, who as a punster was unrivalled in this country.¹

The Judge when in his seventy-sixth year was dining with the Society of the Cincinnati, and looking over the list of original members perceived that only forty were then alive. "Very well, gentlemen," said he, "as this is a military association and I am the oldest survivor, I mean to stick to the military etiquette, which places the senior officer in the rear of all processions, and by that means I shall see you all out, and reach the dismal goal last."

¹ Judge Richard Peters was born in Philadelphia June 22, 1744, and died there August 28, 1828. He studied law, came to the bar in 1763, and rose to eminence in his profession. Early in the Revolution he commanded a company of Associators, and later served as a member of the Board of War. In 1782-83 he became a member of Congress; 1787 a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and Speaker of that body 1788-90. On April 11, 1792, he was commissioned judge of the United States District Court for Pennsylvania, which he held till his death. Judge Peters had a high reputation as a wit and was a general favorite in society, and at his country-seat, "Belmont," in the present Fairmount Park, he extended a princely hospitality to the eminent men of his day.

This silhouette was copied from the original by Miss Lucy Breck, and Judge Peters used to say on looking at the profile: "This *Indenture* Witnesseth."

The Judge had an uncommon sharp nose and chin, and as he grew old they became more prominent and approached each other. A friend observed to him one day that his nose and chin were getting so near they would quarrel. "Very likely," he replied, "for hard words often pass between them."



The Judge was at a dinner in Philadelphia in company with Judge Bushrod Washington, who presided over the United States Circuit Court, in which Judge Peters sat junior Judge. The host repeatedly urged Mr. Peters to eat some duck, but he constantly refused. At length being again pressed, "Give the duck," said he, "to my brother Washington, for he is the mouth-piece of the court."

When Judge Peters was Speaker of the Assembly, one of the members in crossing the hall tripped on the carpet and fell down. The members burst out into a loud laugh, when the Judge with the utmost gravity cried, "Order! order, gentlemen, do you not see that a member is on the floor?"

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the Judge commanded a company of Infantry Associators. When he called on the paymaster to settle his first six months' accounts, that officer remarked to him that they were very

large and added: "Pray, captain, how many men do you command?" "Not one," replied the Judge. "How," exclaimed the paymaster, "such heavy accounts as these and not command one man!" "No," rejoined the Judge, "not one, but I am commanded by ninety." This was in allusion to the usual insubordination of militia companies.

Peter A. Browne, Esq. who had lately been removed from the office of Deputy Attorney General, on some political charge, continued from custom to use the technical phrases of a public prosecutor. "You see," remarked Mr. Browne to the Judge, "the habit sticks to me." "Yes, yes," observed the Judge, "you are like the clapper of a bell, that keeps wagging after it has done sounding."

Some time after the Judge laid out the town of Mantua [West Philadelphia], the project languished, when suddenly some improvement in the neighborhood revived his hopes, upon which one of his acquaintances remarked that he had better now complete the laying of it out. "Yes, yes," replied the Judge, "it is high time indeed to *lay it out*, for it has been dead these two years."

At the annual dinner of the Agricultural Society in 1813, the secretary, in casting up the bill and apportioning it among the members, omitted accidentally a member by the name of Price. "Never mind, Mr. Secretary," cried the Judge, "you see, gentlemen, that we have had an excellent dinner without Price."

One day after church our Rector, the Rev. Mr. Montgomery, was walking among the large timber collected for the steeple. The Judge was in his gig at the farther end of the yard, and when about to leave remarked, "Adieu, I would shake hands with you, were you not on the other side of the Styx [sticks]."

While I was in Independence Hall, waiting to be presented to Gen. Lafayette, Col. Forrest [a colonel of artillery during the war for independence] came up to him, fell upon his neck and wept like a child. The Judge who was always at the side of the General remarked that "there were many kinds of trees in a *Forest*, and that this no doubt was the *Weeping Willow*."

"Why don't you buy land in North Carolina?" said a friend of the Judge. "I would prefer buying it in the moon," was the reply. "Why?" "Because I should sometimes see my purchase."

The Judge dined with me today (Nov. 10, 1822), and in the coruscation of wit which sparkled in his conversation said, that when he accompanied General Washington as District Judge, in the "Whiskey Insurrection," Mr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and himself undertook to pitch a tent. While Hamilton was very awkwardly digging the ditch, he (Peters) attempted with a dull axe to point some pins. As he was hacking away unconscious of being seen by any one, he heard a laugh behind him, and looking round discovered Col. Gurney and some of his officers making merry at his bungling efforts. Col. Gurney commanded a regiment denominated the "Babes of Grace," and on that officer looking at the dull axe, "Why," said he, "your tool wants sharpening." "True," replied the Judge, "and you have a regiment, every man of which would willingly steal [steel] it."

LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN LAURENS, 1780.

[The original of this valuable and interesting letter is in the "George M. Conarroe Manuscript Collection" of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

HP Q^{RS} PASSAIC FALLS
13th Oct. 1780.

MY DEAR LAURENS

Your friendly & affection^e letter of the 4th came to my hands on the 10th & would have been acknowledged yesterday by the Baron de Steuben but for some important business I was preparing for Congress.

In no instance since the commencement of the war has the interposition of Providence appeared more conspicuous than in the rescue of the Post & Garrison of West Point from Arnold's villainous perfidy. How far he meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place does not appear by any indubitable evidence and I am rather inclined to think he did not wish to hazard the more important object of his treachery by attempting to combine two events the lesser of which might have marred the greater.

A combination of extraordinary circumstances—an unaccountable deprivation of presence of Mind in a man of the first abilities—and the virtuous conduct of three Militiamen—threw the Adjutant General of the British forces in America (with full proofs of Arnold's treachery) into our hands—and but for the egregious folly—or the bewildered conception of Lieu^t Col^o Jameson who seemed lost in astonishment and not to have known what he was doing I should as certainly have got Arnold.

André has met his fate and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and gallant officer—But I am mistaken if at *this time*, Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental Hell. He wants feeling!

—From some traits of his character which have lately come to my knowledge he seems to have been so hackneyed in villainy—& so lost to all sense of honor and shame that while his faculties will enable him to continue his sordid pursuits there will be no time for remorse.

Believe me sincere when I assure you, that my warmest wishes accompany Captⁿ Wallens endeavours & your expectations of an exchange—and that nothing but the principle of Justice & policy w^{ch} I have religiously adhered to of exchanging officers in the order of their captivity (where rank would apply) has prevented my every exertion to obtain your release & restoration to a family where you will be receiv'd with open arms by every individual of it—but from none with more cordiality & true affection than your

Sincere friend

and obliged Servant

G^o WASHINGTON

P.S. The Baron not setting out as I expected become the bearer of this letter.

LIEUT^r COL^o LAURENS.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOUNDING BY THE
 "SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOS-
 PELS IN FOREIGN PARTS," LONDON, OF THE
 MISSIONS AT READING AND MORLATTAN, BERKS
 COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY B. F. OWEN.

At a general meeting of the Society 17 April, 1761.
 Read a petition subscribed by 22 of the inhabitants of the
 County of Berks in Pa., in behalf of themselves & other
 inhabitants of the said Co., dated July the 13, 1760,
 setting forth y^t s^d Co. is a very large & gaining one, situ-
 ated on the frontier of ye s^d province & hath never yet
 had any English minister of any denomination settled in
 it, nor hath it had ye happiness of being visited often by
 any of ye clergy of ye interior provinces, there being none
 whose mission is so near to them as to allow them to come
 thither without neglect of their proper parishes. That in
 this distress having invited ye Rev. Dr. Smith to come &
 preach among them & having received encouragement from
 him to lay their case before the venerable society, they have
 presumed to do so, & humbly pray that ye Society w^d be pleased
 to send them a missionary to reside at Reading & to officiate
 also at Molattin, 15 miles from Reading, where a church has
 for many years been built by a Society of English Swedes,
 who Join with them in this application. That in order to
 induce the Society to grant their request they have obliged
 themselves by subscription to pay yearly to such missionary
 ye sum of £60 Pennsylvania Money (about £38 sterling)
 over and above what the Society may be pleased to allow
 him & they will give all the further encouragement in their
 power to any worthy minister the Society may be pleased
 to send over. that for want of such, many people sincerely
 disposed to the Church of England are drawn after various
 sectaries & others are drawn to popery, to promote which a
 popish priest was on the point of settling in that town.

And they take the liberty to mention to ye Society Mr. Joseph Mather as they suppose at this time in London, a young gentleman born of creditable parents in that province & educated in the College of Philadelphia, who they believe w^d do them good service, could he be prevailed upon to come among them, & undertake the fatigues to which a new mission near the frontiers must be necessarily subject.

Read a letter in which the preceding petition came enclosed from the Rev. Dr. Smith, Provost of ye College in Philadelphia, dated there August 26, 1760, & he hopes it will merit the Society's attention. The subscribers are personally known to him, & he preached to them that day & was present when they subscribed it, & he knows them both able & willing to make good their engagements. He says Mr. Bird the first gentleman that subscribes is worth a thousand guineas per annum in iron works. Reading is about 60 miles from Philadelphia, & is the chief town of the county. Settled mostly with Germans, & no English minister hath yet resided in it, & the Romish priests are busy among the people on one hand, & the Sectaries dependent on the Quakers on the other, & Dr. Smith gives it as his honest & most candid judgment that he knows of no place where a mission is more wanted, & this was likewise the opinion of the whole body of the Episcopal Clergy of the Province in their late Convention. Agreed that a mission be established at Reading in Penna. & that Mr. Mather be acquainted with it if established as soon as it is known where he is.

At a meeting of the Society 16 October, 1761. Read a letter from the Rev. Mr. Barton, the Society's itinerant missionary in Penna., dated Lancaster, July 6, 1761, stating that he has been twice this Summer to visit Reading, where there are a few English families well-affected to our Church, as there are also scattered here & there in other parts of the country from whom he has frequent applications & is determined as far as the duties of his extensive mission will permit to embrace every circumstance that promises success to the cause of true religion & the advancement of the Church of England.

At a meeting of the Society 16 April 1762. In pursuance of the Resolution of the Society 17 April 1761, to establish a mission at Reading, *Resolved*, That Mr Murray being well recommended by Dr. Smith, Mr. M^cPherson, the Presbytery of Aberlone and a great number of his hearers in that Presbytery, be appointed to the Mission of Reading in Penna. provided the people of Reading perform their agreement with the Society, and the Lord Bishop of London shall upon examination find him worthy of Holy Orders.

REV^d SIR

I was not a little concerned I could not see you when at London last. M^r Treadwell & I were recalled by Rench as if he was to have sailed under the Convoy of the S^t Ann, but, like the wind, after we had Returned, he changed his Resolutions, & told us he must wait the Scarborough Frigate which was appointed Convoy to the New York Trade; next he took Sailing Orders a day ago from the Shrewsbury which is one of the five Ships that are ordered to Halifax to relieve Lord Colvil. This is now the fourth Convoy he has Tantalized us with, tho' you know he made us believe he was to have sailed from this about a fortnight at farthest after we engaged with him, & nothing but these hopes of Dispatch ever determined me to agree with him, yet we are this moment as uncertain when we may sail as the first day we came hither; which is indeed a very great hardship upon all the Passengers who are living at a Considerable Expence, but a much greater upon Treadwel & me, who are not carried to our nearest Port as all the Rest are, & they see an end of y^r Trouble & Charges. In this Unlucky Situation, tho' I brought hither with me afterwards of fourteen Guineas, I have been obliged to negotiate two Bills upon the Society to supply my present necessities, which I hope they will be so good as pay as they fall due— But this Expensive as well as hazardous Delay which exposes us to the Equinoctial Storms which we had contrived to avoid, are not the only Perplexities. The Steward of our

Ship, taking the advantage of our long absence, has Robbed Several of us of the Best of our Things on board. Mr Treadwel has lost of Things bought for Mr Auchmuty at New York to the value of £5, but this is inconsiderable compared with My Loss. The Villain has Stripped me of my best Linen, & all my Summer Dress to a trifle, with every thing else of the Most Value I had in my Trunk which he broke open, & so left me to go the next thing to naked into a Strange Country without Friends or Money to get myself supplied. Our Captain, of whom I am at a Loss what to say, engaged this Fellow, without so much as a Character of him, yet I am advised we can have no Redress at his hand. Never were Passengers perhaps worse used in Most Respects.

I would fain hope the Venerable Society will consider my Unfortunate Circumstances, & allow me Some Small Addition to my Salary, tho' it were but for the first ensuing year, that I do my best to get Rid of my present Incumbrances & Difficulties, & must presume to depend upon your Interposition in this affair, if you judge it advisable. It Galls me indeed I should be constrained to put any Friend to such Trouble. I now bitterly Repent my not accepting of the Offer of going Chaplain to the Coast of Africa. I must further beg you will pay your Brother the Account I am due him & I shall Reimburse you when you Return to Philadelphia. It will be still more obliging if you can bring me another Pair of the Black Silk Stockings I bought of him, for the Steward made sure of the Pair I had among other things; only my Books remain untouched. I flatter myself, in the Abundance of your Goodness, you will forgive this trouble, &, with my Comp^s to our Friends in the North, believe me to be in all Sincerity & Gratitude

Rev^d Sir

Your most Obed^t & obliged

Serv^{at}

ALEX^R MURRAY

PORTSMOUTH 6 Aug^t

1762

P.S. Since writing the above, The Orders for going under Convoy of the Shrewsbury are Countermanded. The lying at this Rate here, to what has passed, will bring me under such a Load of Debt, as all The Funds I can Command will not be sufficient to clear off for Some Considerable Time. Tho' I Communicate my Losses & Disappointments to you, yet Chuse that none of my Acquaintances in Scotland Should Know any thing of them.

To

The Reverend

DOCTOR WILLIAM SMITH

at Mr. James Smith's Corner House
of the Mews.

London

REV^D SIR

Having been detained here waiting a Convoy much Longer than Expectation at an inaccountable Expence, I was obliged, in order to defray a part of my Charges, to Negotiate a Bill of Exchange which I have drawn upon M^r Pearson for £7.1.00. being my Salary from Michaelmas to Christmas next. In these circumstances I would fain hope the Venerable Society will agree to the Payment of it, especially as it is a part of my first years Salary which is allowed even in the Event of My Death within that time.

I am w^h Esteem

Rev^d Sir

Your most hu^e Ser^{vt}

ALEX^R MURRAY

The Reverend

DOCTOR BURTON—Secretary

to the Venerable Society for propagating
the Gospel in Foreign Parts

London

READING 9 April 1763

REV^D SIR

The Society, no doubt, may have expected to have heard of my Arrival here before now; but tho' I set out from

London y^e 2^d of July last to take Shipping from Portsmouth to Halifax, & from thence to Philadelphia, yet I reached y^e Latter only y^e 10th of December, & this place y^e 18th of that Month; after a Course of Greater Dangers, Hardships & Misfortunes than I choose to trouble any with y^e disagreeable Particulars of. I thank Almighty God my life was preserved, tho' my Health much impaired. But had I not been reduced by considerable Expences as well as repeated Losses I had never presumed to have drawn upon y^e Venerable Society in the forward manner I did: for I had expended upwards of four times y^e Sum I was advised was sufficient to defray my Charges to this place, & Contracted besides more Debts than I can soon get clear of, before I drew my Last Bill of £7.10 which was dated Philadelphia 27 Dec^r last payable to M^{rs} Barclay Merch^t for my Quarters Salary from 25th of that Month to 25th March last—My other Bill of £7.10. for my Salary from 25th Sept^r to 25 Dec^r last was drawn payable to John Mitchel in London. & my Bill of £1.11 for y^e Portage & Freight of y^e Societies Books was drawn 10th Aug^t last pay^{le} to Edward Green on Demand. The Acceptance of these & y^e Societies Generous Forgiveness of what I have done irregularly in this matter is what I would fain hope for, after Knowing y^e Straits I was reduced to, and which I could neither foresee nor prevent, tho' I followed y^e best advice to avoid Hazard & Expence. * * *

I did not fail to Recommend the Celebration of the Lord's Supper at Easter; but none offered for y^t purpose.

I continue, in terms of my Instructions, to officiate two Sundays here & the third at Molatton, which is 15 miles distant from this Town.

There has hardly any Ship since my Arrival offered from Philadelphia that I cou'd with safety write by till now; y^e Delaware being froze over the most part of y^e Winter.

Besides the four Adults in Town I have Baptized a fifth belonging to Molatton & two Infants.

The Venerable Society may depend upon my best en-

deavours, with the Divine Concurrence, to answer the Pious
Ends of my Mission & waiting their farther Instructions

I am respectfully

Rev^d Sir

Your most Obed^t hu^o Ser^t

ALEX^R MURRAY

The REV^D DR BURTON

READING. 25 January 1764

REV^D SIR

My Notitia Parochialis of April last I hope you Received
& communicated to y^e Venerable Society; Since then my
Congregation here has increased from 7 To 18 Families,
consisting of 121 Souls Young & Old. Of the New Mem-
bers, some were Presbyterians, some Baptists, some Quakers,
& some of our own Communion lately settled in Town. Of
the Quakers & Baptists I Christened 13 on last Christmass
day, & 5 before then, of whom 10 were Adult Persons, par-
ticularly one Gentleman ye Principal Attorney at Law in
this place, whose Example had a very good effect in dis-
posing the Rest to be admitted into y^e Church by Baptism.
These 18 w^h 7 Infants besides are all I have Baptized in the
District of Reading since last April. I dispensed the Sacra-
ment of y^e Lords Supper to 5 Persons Christmass last, &
w^h these I was obliged to Retire to a Private house on this
occasion, as we have no Church, like others, to assemble in.

The Congregation at Molatton, the other part of my Mis-
sion, has decreased, by Removals, to 29 Families, making in
all 185, of which I have Baptized 2 Adults, & 12 Infants; I
can no more prevail on that People than these here in Town
to engage heartily in any Scheme for Building a Church:—
So I despair of seeing one erected in either of the Places,
for some time to Come, as I do of a Parsonage-House &
Glebe, without which it is no easy matter to live in a Town
—And for Voluntary Subscriptions, they are so very pre-
carious, trifling & troublesome to Collect, that little more
can long be depended upon here, than the Society's Salary.
And if this is y^e Case, as I am credibly informed it is, in

other Missions, I am apt to dread the Consequences. For y^e Expences of Living in this New World I can plainly see, daily increase, & are become Extravagantly high from what I learn they were but a few years ago; insomuch that in this Village tho' distant about 60 miles from the Metropolis, I have paid at the Rate of £52 p Annum for Boarding & but poorly Entertained & accommodated for that Money; & my horse costs me from 2 to 3 shillings a night.—If Missionaries then in Times past could do no more than barely live on their Income, what must their Condition be now! They must fall into Poverty & Contempt, & become the Fools & Slaves of a Few on whom they may depend for a pitiful Subsistence; and in the End no Man of Letters or Common Abilities will be found to fill the Mission in America; so that it must fall into the hands of men whom it will Reflect no great honour upon the Church to employ & who may Ruin her best Interests especially in a Government constituted like Pennsylvania, where she has Nothing but the Purity of her Principles & Doctrines, & the Morals of her Clergy, to Recommend & Support her. The Impending Evil is rather more easily to be foreseen than prevented. However Something Still Might be done for her perhaps w^h the Governours of those Provinces where she is not by Law Established & Provided for.—For Instance, were the Marriage Licenses directed only “To the Episcopal Ministers,” as I am assured they Constantly were till of late years, it would be no small Emolument to us. Whereas just now the Licences are directed “To any Protestant Minister.” So that even Magistrates as well as Teachers of all Denominations marry by virtue of these, & Reduce this, which is y^e only Perquisite we have here, to a very Trifle, Six Pair being all I have married since my Settlement here.—But I make no doubt, were proper Application made to M^r Pen, our Proprietor, who it seems has been very generous in promoting every public measure for ye Benefit of y^e Country, but he would appoint that these Licenses be Returned into their Former Channel, which would rather Increase than diminish the

Perquisites of y^e Governour; & render the Solemnization of Marriages more Decent & Honourable than presently & Redress the Grievances daily complained of from Unfair & Clandestine Ones.

It is the Unanimous opinion of all here who wish well to the Preservation & Enlargement of the Church, that, in the Settlement of our late Conquests in America, application should be made in the very beginning for the allotment of Lands towards the Support of a Clergy Regularly Ordained in our Church, after the Example of the French, who pursued this Scheme in Canada, & thereby maintained a numerous Body of Priests & Jesuits, who were ever Zealous & Active in Proselyting the Natives, & Sowing among them the Seeds of Prejudice & Antipathy against the British, as too evidently appears from their Singular attachment to the French still—It cannot be expected that the Society's Funds can Extend beyond the present Limits they have set to them, & if they Continue Sufficient to Preserve even the present Missions, it is all, at the Utmost, can be hoped from them.

The Number of Papists in this County I have not got a more particular Account of yet than what I sent you in my Last, nor that of Dissenters, of which we have some of every Name. But the State of their Several Congregations are rather too Evident from their scandalous Differences & Animositities, each within itself, as well as w^t one another. The People are ever & anon quarrelling w^t their Preachers, whom of humour & Caprice the Change much oftener than they Renew their Cloaths, so that it is a great deal if they are not all by the Ears in a Twelve-month—They are supported by Annual Contributions, which are made good the first year, then they are wearied, & both Parties find it Convenient to part; the Minister to find a fresh Subsistence, & y^e People to get a New One in his place, no Matter whether Better or Worse, so be their Itch after Novelty is gratified. In this perpetual Round of Changes & Contentions, they sometimes move w^t a Seeming Gravity, as they do at others, with all ye Party-Rage & Violence of Men out of their senses; end-

ing in provoking Libels & Lampoons, & in Batteries & Bloodshed, 'twixt Pastors & People, as here of late; which forms the most Ludicrous & pitiable Contrast Imaginable, & has too manifest a tendency to expose the Ministerial Character to such Obloquy & Contempt without distinction, as I could hardly have thought it could be loaded with in any Christian Country, as I observe it generally is here.—In the short time I have been here, the Baptists, Lutherans & Calvinists (the most numerous Sects in this Town & Country adjacent) have changed their Ministers, & are still unprovided, as they have been for some months past. In the midst of these Convulsions & Wild-fire, I leave you to judge what State of Mind I must necessarily be in; not knowing often what course to steer, that, if possible, I may give no offence: And hitherto I have been abundantly happy to preserve the Favour of my own People, & I have no Share in the Quarrels of the others.—A Minister here must double his Guard, & deny himself many of y^e Innocent Comforts & Liberties of Life, & Undergo as many of its Inconveniences, Foils & Troubles, if ever he would succeed in his Work, particularly in y^e Frontier Missions, as of Berks, Lancaster, York & Cumberland, an Extent of above 150 miles & where there are but three Missionaries only Mess^{rs} Barton & Thomson & myself, who are obliged to Itinerate to our different Congregations which are distant 30, 20, 18, 15 &c miles from our Respective places of Residence; & that in y^e Several Seasons of Extreme Heat & Cold & to be from home for Weeks together: And at the year's End scarce Receive so much as would satisfy an Ordinary Mechanic: So that I am often surprized how such of my Brethren Subsist, who have large Families, as M^r Barton, whose singular merit, I humbly think, deserves the Notice of the Venerable Society. I am still a Single Man, & it will be Prudent for me to continue such in my present Circumstances. In time of War our Situation is deplorable enough. M^r Thomson, who had Retired to a Plantation to Retrench y^e Expences of Living was drove off by the Indians & obliged to abandon his all, &

take shelter w^t his Family in another Man's house in Carlisle. Many of the Dissenting Clergy, without any Assistance from the Mother Country, are upon a better footing, than those of the National Church, for while the Latter in obedience to y^e Canons Chuse rather to Suffer many Hardships than engage in Secular Employments The Former besides the Stipends they Receive from their Numerous Congregations, are indiscriminately concerned in every Branch of Trade, & hold Civil & Military Offices, & such of them as are not employed in this way are Reduced to that State of Dependence & Contempt I have mentioned before. Of the three Sects I took notice of in y^e former part of My Letter, the Baptists are rather the least Factious; therefore I performed Divine Service Sunday last in one of their Meeting houses about 6 Miles from here; and if I meet w^h any Encouragement & Success among them I shall advise the Society, that I may be allowed to attend them at Stated Times.

My best wishes to the Interests of Religion, & the honour & Good of the Church is the only apology, I can make for the length of this Letter, & what Instructions I am favoured from time to time w^h from the Society shall be most punctually observed, & I shall ever reckon it, my Greatest Honour & Happiness to deserve their approbation on all Occasions & I should be very Ungrateful if I neglected to make my most dutiful acknowledgements to the Society for the addition of £10 they have been pleased to make to my Salary, which enabled me to Keep a Horse from the Middle of Summer last till now. I have distributed the Societies Books among the Poorer people & Proselytes I have made; & I hope still I shall be a happy Instrument of gaining more from a State of Ignorance & Error, to embrace the Truth as it is in Christ Jesus.—

I am w^h the sincerest Gratitude & Respect

Rev^d Sir

Your most obliged & very

affec^{te} hu^e Serv^{nt}

The REV^d DR BURTON

ALEX^r MURRAY

(To be continued.)

The late Major James Edward Carpenter.

We regret to announce the death of Major James Edward Carpenter, a vice-president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which took place at the residence of his daughter, Newburyport, Massachusetts, August 16, 1901. He was elected a member of the Society and became a life member December 26, 1868, and after an honorable service of thirty years as its treasurer, in 1898 declined a renomination, and was then elected a vice-president.

Major Carpenter, born March 6, 1841, was a son of the late Edward Carpenter, a great-grandson of Thomas Carpenter, of New Jersey, an officer of the Revolutionary army, and a descendant of Samuel Carpenter, a member of the Council and treasurer of the Province of Pennsylvania. In the female line he was descended from Governor Thomas Lloyd and Samuel Preston, who was mayor of Philadelphia in 1711.

During the Civil War Major Carpenter served as an officer in the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry and on the staff of General D. McM. Gregg, and was wounded in the engagement at Philamont, Virginia. In the celebrated charge of the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry, at the battle of Chancellorsville, his horse was shot under him, and of the five officers who rode at the head of the column he was one of the two who survived the action. For a number of years after the war he was an officer of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry.

Major Carpenter was admitted to practice at the Philadelphia Bar October 21, 1865. He was one of the founders in 1888 of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, one of its vice-presidents, and the only chairman of its board of managers.

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- , JOHN ELLIS, *Gen.*; Moore, Frank, *Heroes and Martyrs*, N. Y., p. 15, 1861. Geo. E. Perine sc.
- , JOHN ELLIS, *Gen.*; Moore, Frank, *Rebellion Record*, N. Y., vol. ii. p. 1, 1861.
- , JOHN ELLIS, *Gen.*; Port. Monthly of the N. Y. *Illust. News*, p. 25, August, 1863.
- , JOHN ELLIS, *Gen.*; Harper, p. 600, October, 1863.
- WRIGHT, GEO. W., *Hon.*; Democratic Rev., frontispiece, April, 1851. Illman & Sons sc.
- , SILAS; Democratic Rev., frontispiece, February, 1843. Blanchard p., A. L. Dick sc.
- , SILAS; Democratic Rev., frontispiece, November, 1846. Daguerreotype by Plumb. T. Doney sc.
- , SILAS; Jenkins, John S., *Lives of the Govrs. of N. Y.*, Auburn, p. 723, 1851. Lith. of F. Michelin.
- , SILAS; Harper, p. 843, May, 1872.
- , WM., *Hon.* (of N. J.); Amer. Rev., frontispiece, April, 1851. C. Burt sc.
- YEADON, RD. (of Charleston); Amer. Rev., frontispiece, May, 1850. Mezzotint by P. M. Whelpley.

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.

(Continued from page 281.)

<i>1752</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Nov. 21	Ship Isabella Maria	William Cuzzins	John Bell of Philadelphia Walter & John Ewer of London	Philadelphia	80
Dec. 14	Sloop Sarah & Ann	Thomas Murford	Thomas Murford Richard Wood both of Cohanzie	Cohanzie, West Jersey	14
Dec. 14	Ship Amelia	Charles Ross	Alexander Ray of Philadelphia John Dunlop Alexander Simpson Robert Ritchie Archibald Kenedy British merchants, residing at Rotterdam	Philadelphia	120
Dec. 16	Brig't Barbadoes Factor	Joseph Greenway	Jonathan Lewes of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Dec. 16	Shallop Mary & Elizabeth	Joshua Newberry	Israel Seymour of Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware Ezekiel Harlan of Chester	Philadelphia	8

Dec. 18	Ship Alexander	James Scott	Redmond Conyngham of Philadelphia Alexander Knox of Londonderry, Ireland	Philadelphia	70
Dec. 18	Sloop Abbey	Asher Mott	Asher Mott of Philadelphia Thomas Collier of Maryland	Worcester Co., Md.	20
Dec. 20	Sloop Susannah	Jacob Spike	Jacob Spike of Philadelphia Henry Elwes of Philadelphia	Cohanzie, West Jersey	5
Dec. 22	Sloop Molly	George French	John Spunner James Russell both of Great Britain	Plantation built & sold at Publick Sale as unfit to proceed to Sea, but since rebuilt at Philadelphia	25
¹⁷⁵³ Jan. 15	Brig't Addison	Daniel De Nor- mandy	William Clampffer Adam Clampffer both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Jan. 24	Sloop Three Brothers	Samuel Watson	William Watson of West Jersey Enos Woodroffe Samuel Watson both of Cohanzie	Cohanzie, West Jersey	20

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1753	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Feb. 27	Schooner Argo	Charles Swaine	William Allen of Philadelphia, with other British Subjects, residing in North America	Newberry, Province of Massachusetts Bay	60
Feb. 28	Sloop Peggy	Jacob Spike	Jacob Spike of Philadelphia	Cohansey, West Jersey	—
March 30	Brig't Delaware	Henry Lysle	Henry Lysle John Nixon both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	40
April 21	Brig't Lark	James Read	Francis Claxton of Antigua James Read of Charles town, South Carolina	Stratham	60
April 30	Sloop Flying Fish	Isaac Comron	William Griffiths & William Cox both of Philadelphia Isaac Comron of Philadelphia William Garratt of West Jersey	West Jersey	18

May 11	Brig't Neptune	William Knox	Joseph Richardson Thomas Penrose John Redder all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
May 26	Sloop Polly	Clement Conyers	Clement Conyers Joseph Conyers Thomas Wells	Philadelphia	20
May 15	Ship Patience	Joseph Brown	all of Philadelphia Samuel Millin of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
May 31	Sloop Hester	Francis Showers	John Inglis of Philadelphia Anthony McCullough Charles Christie	Sussex Co., on Delaware	15
June 4	Ship Prince of Orange	Benjamin Keene	both of Maryland Benjamin Keene William & Andrew Hodge & John Wallace	Marcus Hook, Pa.	70
June 2	Ship Susanna & Molly	John Hazelwood	all of Philadelphia John Hazelwood Samuel Laing	Marcus Hook, Pa.	10
June 9	Schooner Katey	David Stewart	both of Philadelphia Alexander Ray of Philadelphia	Cecil Co., Maryland	35

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1753	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
June 11	Ship Alexander	John McClelland	Joseph Marks Warwick Contes both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
June 15	Brig't Nancy	Alexander Adams	Richard Edwards John Stamper William Correy all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
June 18	Snow Catherine	Joseph Arthur	James Child of Philadelphia Corssley Rogers & Son of Bristol, Great Britain	Philadelphia	100
July 2	Brig't Rebecca	Charles Dingee	Robert Wahn John Scott John McMichell all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	40
June 29	Snow Polly	Cony Edwards	Edward Pennington of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
July 9	Sloop Nancy	Alexander Sage	Reese Mercalith of Philadelphia	Cecil Co., Maryland	50
July 22	Brig't Rebecca & Mary	Daniel Rees	Abel James James West both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70

July 11	Sloop Mayflower	John Gass	John Reilly James White John Gass all of Philadelphia	Cape May, West New Jersey	25
Aug. 1	Sloop Betty	Joshua Byrnes	George Monro David Finney both of Newcastle Abraham Judah of Wilmington Christopher McEvoy George Eccles both of Philadelphia	Wilmington, Newcastle Co.	20
Aug. 1	Schooner Elizabeth & Mary	George Eccles	John Pole of Philadelphia William & Nicholas Moll Samuel Osbourne Philip Gibbs John Slade all of Barbadoes	Philadelphia	25
Aug. 16	Schooner Prospect	William Condy		George Town, Province of Massachusetts Bay	40
Aug. 27	Sloop Mary & Jane	John Slade		Bermuda	25
July 27	Ship Nelly	Ja ^s Gibbon	Mess ^{rs} Walter & John Ever of London John Bell of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1763	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Aug. 26	Sloop Jolly Robin	Henry Ward	George Harper of Barbadoes Thomas Hunt Henry Ward both of Bermuda	Bermuda	40
Sept. 4	Sloop Virgin Queen	James Livingston	James Livingston of Treuton, N. Jersey	Burlington, New Jersey	8
Sept. 5	Snow Nelly	William Downey	Andrew Elliot Robert Ragg both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Oct. 4	Brig't Rebecca	James Lowther	Robert Wain of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	40
Oct. 6	Ship Rebecca	John McClellan	Robert Greenway of Philadelphia	On Delaware	80
Aug. 29	Ship Dennis & Esther	Robert Hardy	Dennys De Berdt of London William Grant of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	180
Oct. 25	Sloop Dove	Jonathan Cowpland	Jonathan Cowpland of Chester, Pa.	Alloways Creek, West Jersey	17
Oct. 31	Brig't Rebecca	Walter Rench	William Plumsted Samuel Millin Thomas Lake all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	35

Oct. 12	Brig't Prince of Wales	Henry Jones	John Hopkins Henry Jones both of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	50
Nov. 2	Sloop John & Elizabeth	Abraham Lord	Abraham Lord of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	8
Oct. 26	Ship Hope	Thomas Glentworth	Samuel McCall, Sr. of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Nov. 3	Ship Susanna	Moses Rankin	Thomas Montgomery of Newcastle County	Marcus Hook, Pa.	80
Nov. 19	Schooner Martha	Silvester Moriarty	Daniel Correy of Philadelphia John Mead a British Subject, residing at Tenereff	Portsmouth, New Hamp- shire	20
Nov. 23	Schooner Dove	William Wallace	Thomas Williams Abraham Hullings Thomas Williams, Junr all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	10
Nov. 5	Ship Fanny	Archibald Gardiner	John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
Nov. 16	Ship William & George	Thomas Dunbar	John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia George Dunlope Hugh Montgomery both of Larn, Ireland	Philadelphia	90

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1753	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Nov. 29	Ship Union	Jonathan Crathorn	William Griffiths Jonathan Crathorn both of Philadelphia John Ayrey Thomas Parr British Merchants, residing at Lisbon	Philadelphia	100
Dec. 3	Sloop Sally	Hance Woolson	Alexander Moore Timothy Brooks Hance Woolson all of Colanzie, New Jersey	Cape May, New Jersey	12
Dec. 10	Sloop Patience	Thomas Green	Samuel Mifflin, Junr Jonathan Mifflin John Mifflin all of Philadelphia	Christeen Creek, Newcas- tle County, on Dela- ware	12
Dec. 10	Ship Ruby	Charles Dingee	Samuel Howell Thomas Preston both of Philadelphia Hugh Mathews Daniel Currey both of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	60
Dec. 10	Sloop Albert & James	John Ptyan		Cedar Creek, West Jersey	15

Dec. 12	Ship Peggy	James Abercrombie	John Dunlap Robert Richie both of London James Abercrombie of Philadelphia Thomas McJunatt David McMurtrie both of Philadelphia Townsend White George Houston both of Philadelphia William Vaughan of Marcus Hook Henry Lysle John Nixon both of Philadelphia Joseph Eastman of Sussex Co. Hugh Mathews Daniel Correy both of Philadelphia Charles Carroll of Dublin William Hall of Salem	Philadelphia	120
Dec. 15	Schooner Braidalbin	Stephen Haines		Philadelphia	15
Dec. 22	Sloop Polly	George Houston		Philadelphia	20
Dec. 29	Schooner Betson & Salley	William Vaughan		Marcus Hook, Pa.	25
Dec. 20	Brig't Penelope	William Greenway		Philadelphia	40
Dec. 7	Sloop Benjamin	Daniel Nunez		Marcus Hook	12
Dec. 22	Snow Mary & Martha	Charles Carroll		Christeen Creek, Newcas- tle Co., on Delaware	60
1764 Feb. 4	Brig't Industry	William Hall		Salem, West New Jersey	40

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1754	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Feb. 5	Brig't Lark	Robert Gardiner	Robert Waln Robert Gardiner	Sussex, on Delaware	40
Feb. 25	Sloop Polly	Thomas Dunn	both of Philadelphia Thomas Dunn	Marcus Hook, Pa.	12
Feb. 28	Sloop Betsy	Robert Lockridge	of Christiana Bridge Robert Lockridge Samuel Laing	New Jersey	10
March 5	Ship Henrietta	John Ross	both of Philadelphia Michael Hillegas Henry Elwes Michael Hulings all of Philadelphia John Ross	Philadelphia	120
March 15	Sloop Polly	Robert Ellis	of Cowes, Great Britain Robert Ellis	Kent Co., on Delaware	15
March 15	Snow Agnes & Ann	Archibald Stewart	of Philadelphia Thomas McLanett David McMurtrie John Pollock	Philadelphia	50
May 1	Ship Tryal	William Cuzzins	all of Philadelphia Abel James of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	140

May 13	Ship Sally	Joseph Riddle	Thomas Lightfoot William Lightfoot both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
May 31	Snow Nancy	Samuel Appowen	Thomas Willing Charles Willing both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
June 19	Sloop Lucy & Henrietta	Daniel De Normandy	John Abraham De Nor- mandy of Bristol	Bristol, Pa.	25
June 18	Schooner Swallow	David Stewart	Andrew Read of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	20
July 2	Sloop Honest Endeavour	Joseph Oliver	Robert Rags of Philadelphia Benjamin Wynkoop of Sussex Co.	Sussex Co., on Delaware	12
July 5	Brig't Cornelia	John Bolitho	Thomas Wynkoop George Smith of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	40
July 11	Snow Swallow	Hugh Wright	William Allen William Humphrys Joseph Turner all of Philadelphia	A Prize Vessel	100
July 5	Brig't Warren	John McPherson	Attwood Shute of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	56

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1764	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
July 25	Ship John and Mary	Joseph Stout	James Child of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	150
July 31	Sloop Three Friends	Walter Westcott	John Trueman Edmund Drowhon Walter Westcott all of Boston	Newbury, Province of Massachusetts Bay	20
July 31	Sloop Isabella	Theobald Butler	Lewis Italian of London	Providence, Rhode Island	20
Aug. 24	Sloop Jimima	Robert Moulder	Robert Moulder of Marcus Hook	Marcus Hook, Pa.	12
Aug. 31	Schooner William & Ann	George Leadbetter	William Lockweems of Prince George's Co., Patuxent River, Md.	South Carolina	15
Sept. 10	Sloop Nancy	Elisha Salter	John Bell of Philadelphia	Cape May, West New Jersey	25
Sept. 20	Brig't Salley	Charles Dingee	Francis Holton Charles Dingee both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	35
Sept. 30	Brig't Polly	Thomas Nusum	Enoch Hobart of Philadelphia Philip Haughton, Senr of Jamaica	Philadelphia	45

Oct.	4	Ship Pennsylvania	Charles Lyon	Abel James Jeremiah Warder both of Philadelphia William Neave Richard Neave both of London Samuel McCull, Junr Charles & Alexander Sted- man all of Philadelphia John Stedman a British merchant, at Rotterdam Hugh Steel of London George Glas of Dundee, North Britain Ephraim Gilbert John Gilbert both of Bermuda Joseph Cushman of Island of St. Christo- phers George Eckles of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	130
Aug.	24	Ship Peggy	Hugh Steel		Philadelphia	190
Oct.	7	Snow Arcturus	Lawrence Brown		Philadelphia	138
Oct.	11	Sloop Wheel of Fortune	Edward Snell		Freetown, Rhode Island	20
Oct.	18	Schooner Free Mason Packet	George Eckles		New England	8

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1754	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Oct. 18	Ship Earl of Holderness	—	Thomas Walker of Philadelphia James Eddy	Philadelphia	—
Oct. 15	Sloop Blessing	John Ryan	John Ryan of Philadelphia	Newcastle, on Delaware	8
Oct. 21	Sloop Endeavour	Sam'l Palmer	Edward Denny, Junr Thomas Denny, Junr both of Barbados	Philadelphia Co.	30
Oct. 25	Brig't Nancy	James Gibbon	Joseph Morris George Robotham William Fisher all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Oct. 30	Sloop Cruel Nymph	Thomas Story	James Allen of London	Philadelphia	10
Nov. 7	Brig't William	Walter Rench	William Plumsted John Gibson	Marcus Hook, Pa.	60
Nov. 14	Ship Southall	Hugh Bowes	Reese Meredith both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	65
Nov. 20	Ship Beulah	John Richee	Samuel Shoemaker Benjamin Shoemaker both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80

Nov.	29	Sloop Musquito	James Coborn	Telemann Cuyler of New York City	Bermuda	20
Dec.	5	Brig't Eagle	James Brown	William Humphrys William Allen Joseph Turner all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Dec.	5	Ship Lord Dunluce	William Osborne	William Golt of Coleraine John Caldwell of Ballinmoney, both of Ireland	Philadelphia	150
Dec.	6	Brig't Cumberland	John Lanes	William Humphrys of Philadelphia John Lanes of Philadelphia Will ^m Burrows Henry Tucker both of Bermuda	Bermuda	35
Dec.	2	Brig't Sally	Thomas Batson	Joseph Richardson Thomas Penrose William Haselton all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	56
Dec.	9	Sloop Dolphin	Jeremiah Hand	Richard Teel Jeremiah Hand both of Cape May	Cape May, West Jersey New	10

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1764	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Dec. 4	Schooner Argo	Bouschier Durell	William Masters of Philadelphia	Newbury, Province Massachusetts Bay	60
Dec. 12	Sloop Musqueto	James Coborn	James Coborn of Philadelphia	Bermuda	20
Dec. 19	Sloop Dolphin	John Austin	William May of Wilmington, Newcastle Co.	New Jersey	20
Dec. 18	Sloop Sally	Nathan Solley	John Austin of Philadelphia Isaac Attmoore Samuel Buntin Nathan Solley all of Philadelphia	Cohansey, West Jersey	14
Oct. 24	Sloop Polly	John Duplissis	Oswell Eve of Philadelphia	Freetown, Province Massachusetts Bay	30
Dec. 17	Ship Attwoods	William Greenway	Attwood Shute of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	65
Dec. 28	Sloop Hibernia	John Hamilton	Hugh Matthews John Reardon John Reily all of Philadelphia	Marshfield, Province Massachusetts Bay	25

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

SOME GENEALOGICAL NOTES OF THE IRELAND FAMILY OF NEW JERSEY.—

Marriages.

- 1727, Sept. 18. Joseph Ireland to Ruth Cordury, of Gloucester Co.
 1732, July 28. Jemima Ireland to Steven Morress, of Gloucester Co.
 1737, Sept. 3. Deborah Ireland to Nehemiah Nicholson, of Great Egg Harbor.
 1744, Dec. 15. Reuben Ireland to Deborah Gandy, of Gloucester Co.
 1746 — Ruth Ireland to Henry Woodward, of Gloucester Co.
 1751, Dec. 2. Jane Ireland to William Harkins, Jr.
 1758, July 24. Hezekiah Ireland to Mary Dickson, both of Great Egg Harbor.
 1760, Aug. 11. Sarah Ireland to Elias Smith, both of Great Egg Harbor.
 1761, March 7. Sarah Ireland to Willoch Paulin.
 1762, July 23. Mary Ireland to Aaron Butcher, of Cumberland Co.
 1765, April 22. Mary Ireland to James Hollinshead.
 1767, April 21. Joseph Ireland to Mary Townsend.
 1770, Feb. 17. Dorcas Ireland to Peter Halter, of Salem.
 1771, July 15. Daniel Ireland to Phebe Steelman, of Gloucester Co.
 1771, Nov. 4. Ruth Ireland to Daniel Edwards, of Salem.
 1773, Nov. 3. Lydia Ireland to James White, of Pittsgrove.
 1773, Dec. 16. Ann Ireland to Jacob Duffel, of Cumberland Co.
 1776, April 24. Joseph Ireland to Judith Johnson, of Cumberland Co.
 1776, May 1. Micajah Ireland to Prudence Bacon, of Cumberland Co.
 1777, March 5. Mary Ireland to Joshua Smith, of Cape May.
 1777, July 31. Phoebe Ireland to John Miller, of Cumberland Co.
 1777, Dec. 13. Jonathan Ireland to Mary Gwin, of Gloucester Co.
 1778, Nov. 25. Deborah Ireland to Owen Shepherd, of Cumberland Co.
 1778, Dec. 3. John Ireland to Elizabeth Price, of Gloucester Co.
 1781, July 2. Amos Ireland to Elizabeth Cordury, of Gloucester Co.
 1784, June 26. Rebecca Ireland to Richard Adams, of Gloucester Co.

Abstracts of Wills.

Amos Ireland, of Great Egg Harbor, proved Jany. 14, 1745; children, Amos, Katherine, Sarah. Son Extr. Invent. filed £170.3.8.

Jacob Ireland, of Hopewell, Cumberland Co., proved Jany. 21, 1752. Wife Mary; children Jacob, Ananias, Isaac, Amos. Extrs. wife and Jacob Gouldin.

John Ireland, of Great Egg Harbor, proved June 2, 1765. Wife Rebecca; children Daniel, Thomas, Jonathan, James. Extr. Gideon Scull. Invent. filed £136.18.1.

Daniel Ireland, of Great Egg Harbor, proved Feby. 17, 1768. Wife Mary; children Ruth, Phoebe, Rhoda. Extrs. Reuben and Thomas Ireland.

Job Ireland, of Cumberland Co., proved Jany. 30, 1784. Wife Elizabeth; children, Daniel, Joseph, John, Ruth (Edwards), Elizabeth, Dorcas. Extr. wife Elizabeth.

ANTAGONISM OF GALLOWAY AND DICKINSON.—The *London Chronicle* of January 5, 1775, contains the following communication:

The cordiality and affection which the American puffers and scribblers say prevailed at the General Congress are known by every honest Philadelphian to be falsehoods. The celebrated Mr. Dickinson, the second-named Delegate for Pennsylvania, cannot have forgotten the thorough caning which he received from Mr. Galloway, the first-named Delegate; nor can Mr. Galloway have forgiven the scurrilous falsities which provoked him to discipline the celebrated Gentleman Farmer, Lawyer, and Patriot. The Public may guess what sort of affection subsisted between the well-dribbed Patriot and his Corrector. . . .

Mess. Low and Cushing would undoubtedly, when they met at Philadelphia most affectionately shake hands, and congratulate each other on the many compliments which formerly had passed between them in writing. Mr. Galloway would forget the scurrilities of Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Dickinson his caning from Mr. Galloway. The New York Delegates would forget how the Bostonites had deceived and betrayed them, and the Bostonites how the New Yorkers had detected and exposed them. All would be harmony and brotherly love among the Delegates. These are some characteristic sketches of the men whom the American scribblers have compared to the ancient Romans for wisdom, dignity, and courage.

A BOSTON SAINT.

LETTERS OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE AND MRS. ELIZABETH FERGUSON.—

DEAR MADAM

I should have done myself the pleasure of Acknowledging your favour of the ultimo long since were it not for the busy scenes then Opening and the hurry ever Incident to the eve of Battle—this I hope will in some Degree exculpate me from a Charge of Neglect which would Otherwise be Inexcusable.

The kind treatment I met with under your hospitable Roof and the easy politeness of M^{rs} Ferguson and Miss Stedman I shall always Remember with pleasure and hope at one day to have in my power to repay some of those favours.

I am happy to Inform you that I am not Wounded but I have lost some Officers whose friendship I much Esteemed and whose Glorious Death is Rather to be Envied than Regreted.

The Right Wing of Our Army met with a Misfortune but our left in Return gave a timely check to the Right Wing of Gen^l Howe which has Obliged him to Remain on the Spot ever since fully Employed in taking care of his Wounded and Burying his Dead.

The Villian who pressed your Cattle is at Carlile. I shall take care to take hold of him as soon as he Returns.

Present my best Compliments to Miss Steadman and M^r Young and believe me yours Most

Sincerely

ANTY WAYNE.

[Sept. 14, 1777.]

GRAME-PARK September 16, 1777

SIR

Having occassion to write a few lines to M^r Budonot, I cannot let my servant be near General Wayne without assuring him that it gave me real Satisfaction to receive a letter from him, after the imminent danger he had been in so lately at Wilmington; And altho' I am truly sorry for the loss of those Gentlemen you mention that fell; I would rather receive that account of them from you, than they should have given such a one of you:

I am much obliged to you for saying that the time you passed at My House was not Dissagreeable to you; And rest assur'd Sir that if in the Hurry of your first coming, any thing might have Occur'd that you could have wish'd Otherwise; nothing was intended. I wish the general Cause of America most sincerely well; and since I have been favord with the Acquaintance of General Wayne I am particularly interested in his Safety; I hope if opportunity offers, he will pop in Grame-Park; which will be the most Convincing proof he can give me that he liked his quarters; I will own I should prefer seeing him without quite as large a Retinue as compos'd his train when he was last here.

M^{rs} Smith, Miss Stedman, And M^r Young Beg their best respects to be made Acceptable to you Sir. If my Servant should meet with any Difficulty in getting to Head-Quarters I should be Obliged to you to put him in the best Mode; and also if you could get him a pass to go to Philadelphia for a Load of furniture that I am axious to have up of M^{rs} Smiths: the Waggon will go loadend with Hay; But perhaps this request is out of your Line; and to give you any particular trouble is far from the Intention of Sir

your most Obedient humble Servant

E. FERGUSSON.

LETTER OF REV. FRANCIS ALISON TO LIEUTENANT ROBERT ALISON, 1776.—

PHILAD^a Sept^r 24 1776

COZEN ROBERT

I wrote you and my son a few days ago, by Capt. Rippey; and shall soon by Colonel Woods of this city. But as the time of Inlistment is almost expired, I expect to see you both due. Your men will be offered each 20 Dollars of bounty to enlist them again; but whether the Regiment will be continued entire, or whether all officers will incline to serve again is uncertain. I think if the whole Battalion were allowed to come home, & to return again, or as many as chose to do it, it would more effectually serve the publick, as many would enlist again on their return; & others would be easily found to supply their places—but of these things I am no longer Judge. Your mother & brother live where you left them, & are well. Frank was out six weeks with that battalion of New London, & is returned; a part of them staid to form a Flying Camp, among whom

was their Colonel Montgomery. Frank was offered a Surgeon's place, but did not accept it, as it must cast him out of his business and draw him from his family & plantation. He has got a Daughter, & Nancey Johnston now Kennedy, has had a son. Walter Tiney & widow Henderson's son, ye one a lieutenant, & the other as Ensign, were taken prisoners on Long Island. I had several letters from you wth I received with pleasure; most of them I mentioned in my last, but am not sure but some of them miscarried; ye last was dated ye 27th of August with a letter to y^r brother which I sent to him. I am sorry that your army are so sickly, & so ill provided wth clothes; your Capt. & I am to spend an hour with some of ye Council of War this evening and we shall represent your case. There are shoes & shirts & stockings & in great plenty in Meas & Caldwell's store, & why should not some be sent to y^r men? I will strive to send you some newspapers by the bearer, Mr Turner,—I wrote you a long letter and sent you a newspaper by D^r Stringer. I have only room left to recommend you to ye Protection of ye Almighty, & to assure you that I am with great respect y^r affectionate uncle

FRANCIS ALISON

TO LIEUT ROBERT ALISON.

RECRUITING ACCOUNT OF LIEUTENANT STEPHEN STEVENSON, OF YORK COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.—

A Recruiting Account of the 9th Penna Reg^t with the Mens names &c. Philadelphia Aug. 5th 1778.

Names.	When Enlisted.	Causalities.
Jos. Stephens	25 July	Sick, absent.
Ralph Willias	26 "	At Camp.
William Beill	3 March	Deserted.
James Steel	16 "	Absent with leave.
Abraham Call	22 "	Deserted.
John Cran	13 April	Camp.
Solomon Brown	17 "	In Jail, York.
Owen Ellis	20 "	Present.
William Kelley	27 "	"
John Faust	12 May	Camp.
William Joans	15 "	Present.
John Carter	21 "	Camp.
W ^m Deen	1 June	Deserted.
John Freeman	11 "	"
Robert Douch	18 "	Camp.
George Mour	19 "	Dead.
Henry Shoults	26 "	Deserted.
James Bartley	26 July	"

PORTRAIT OF MRS. BENEDICT ARNOLD AND CHILD.—By bequest of the late William McIlvaine, Esq., of this city, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received the portrait of Mrs. Benedict Arnold, *née* Margaret Shippen, and child, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence. A photogravure copy of this valuable historical painting will be found in the present number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

SOME MUSTER-ROLLS OF THE NINTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, 1778.—We are indebted to Luther R. Kelker, Esq., for copies of the following Muster-Rolls of the Ninth Pennsylvania Line, Colonel Richard Butler.

A RETURN OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY CAPTAIN JOS. MCCLELLAN FOR THE NINTH PENNSA REGT COMMANDED BY COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER.

Names.	Dates of Enlistment.	Time of Service.		Bounty paid Dollars.	Bounty due Dollars.	By whom Attested.	By whom Mustered.
		War.					
Mathew Craig	Sept 1, 1778	1		120.	.	Patterson Bell Esq	Col. Nichola.
Alex ^r McWilliams	ditto 15 th	1		120.	.	Ditto	Ditto
Alex ^r Granger	Oct ^r 1 st	1		120.	.	ditto	Ditto
James Mitchell	Ditto 1 st	1		120.	.	W ^m McMullin Esq	Ditto
Thomas Fullman	ditto 13 th	1		120.	.	Patterson Bell Esq	Ditto
John Petit	ditto 21 st	1		120.	.	Benj ⁿ Paschall Esq	ditto
Peter Marchant	Nov ^r 1 st	1		120.	.	John Ord Esq	ditto
William Griffin	ditto 4 th	1		120.	.	ditto	ditto
Chist ^o Johnston	ditto 18	1		120.	.	ditto	ditto
Lewis Bertrand	ditto 23	1		120.	.	ditto	ditto
John Conner	Dec ^m 16	1		120.	.	W ^m McMullin Esq	Ditto
John Calbraith	Jany 14	1		60.	60.	Benj ⁿ Paschall Esq	.

Jos McCLELLAN Cap^t 9 Penns^a Reg^t

A RETURN OF THE RECRUITS LISTED BY CAPT JOHN PEASON NINTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT COMMANDED BY
 COLO RICHARD BUTLER.

Names	Station	Dates of Enlistment	Bounty Paid	Bounty Due	Time of Ser- vice	By whom Attested	By whom Mustered	Head Money	Remarks
Archibald M ^c Kendrick	Serjeant	16 th August	120	.	War	Paschall	North	24	
Robert Allen	Private	17 th "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Daniel King	do.	11 th "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Joseph Bendle	"	10 th "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Huse	"	10 th "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Colode	"	22 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Henry Lawrence	"	20 "	120	.	"	Paschall	"	24	
Will ^m Penund	"	18 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
George Leach	"	15 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Joseph Carson	"	20 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Barny Rean	"	17 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Morrison	"	18 "	120	.	"	Heston	"	24	
Patrick Tycart	"	19 "	120	.	"	Paschall	Nichola	24	
James Alexander	"	20 "	120	.	"	"	North	24	
Batson Robinson	"	18 "	60	60	"	"	"	24	
John Rutham	"	31 "	120	.	"	"	Nichola	24	
Pelez Perit	"	7 Sep ^r	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Batson Shampain	"	7 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Henry Barklett	"	5 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Francis Senticia	"	8 "	120	.	"	"	"	24	18 Aug. Deserted.

James Prichard	"	12	"	120	.	"	Ord	"	24	
John Hambleton	Drumr	11	"	120	.	"	Paschall	"	24	
George Douglass	Private	7	"	120	.	"	Ord	"	24	
John Duke	"	12	"	120	.	"	Paschall	"	24	
John Bitonier	"	12	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Turner	"	27	Aug ^t	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Robert Jones	"	16	Sep ^t	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Charles	"	17	"	120	.	"	Fleeson	Bradford	24	
John Byone	"	15	"	120	.	"	Ord	Nichola	24	
Antonio Joseph	"	23	"	120	.	"	"	Bradford	24	
Tho ^s Slown	"	23	"	60	60	"	"	Nichola	24	
William Boruman	"	24	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	Present
Will ^m McCune	"	24	"	30	90	"	"	"	24	On board Col. Knox's Sloop
Hugh Goreman	"	8	Aug ^t	120	.	"	"	"	24	died 24 Aug. in Hospital
John Bryan	"	27	"	60	60	"	Paschall	"	24	5 Sept. Deserted
John Smith	"	30	"	60	60	"	"	"	24	31 Aug. "
Charles Niel	"	10	Septem ^r	120	.	"	Ord	"	24	
George Gilmore	"	5	"	60	60	"	Fleeson	"	24	8 Sept. Deserted
John Camorin	"	28	"	120	.	"	Ord	"	24	
Peter Hout	"	30	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Andrew Lefew	"	30	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Peter Lesure	"	30	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	
John Armstrong	"	30	"	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Joseph Htee	"	3 ^d	Oct.	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Peter Cuze	"	30	Sept.	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Peter Armino	"	1 st	Oct	120	.	"	"	"	24	
Tho ^s Brown	"	17	Aug	108	12	"	"	"	24	Confined in Gaol.

Decemr 24, 1778.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDERLY-BOOKS OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR VALLEY FORGE, Feb. 3, '78.

Major General for tomorrow, Baron De Kalb.
 Brigadier, Patterson.
 Field Officers, Lt. Col. Davis & Major Peters.
 Brigade Major, Benyan.

A report having been circulated that Mr. Jones Dep^y Commiss. General of Issues has granted a pass to a woman to carry thirty pds. Butter into Philadelphia—

The matter has been fully inquired into and appears to be without any foundation.

Parole, *Tyconderoga*; Countersign, *Toledo*.

Note. The above order being the *first* taken by Capt. Fishbourn, now A.D.C. to General Wayne.

The order for February 6, after announcing the sentence of a lieutenant of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment for "behaving unbecomingly the character of an officer and gentleman, in buying a pair of Shoes of a soldier, and frequently sleeping and messing with soldiers," contains the following advertisements:

Strayed or stolen last evening from Moore Hall, a black horse 15 hands high, a small star in the forehead, and one hind foot white, mane plated near the ears. Any person taking him up and returning him to the place above mentioned will be handsomely rewarded.

The Chaplain of the 4th Jersey Regt. has found a Pocket Book, with a small sum of money & some papers. The owner by applying and describing the Book and its contents, may have it again.

In January of 1782 General Wayne was sent by General Greene into Georgia with a very small force to re-establish the authority of the United States within that State. Savannah was the only post garrisoned by any considerable force of the enemy. To isolate this garrison from the rest of the State, and particularly from its Indian allies, the Creeks and Cherokees, in the interior, was Wayne's first object. He took post at Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above Savannah, on the river, and issued the following order:

HEAD QUARTERS,
 DUCKER'S TAVERN, GEORGIA:
 26th of Jan^y 1782.

Countersign, *Gill* . . . Capt., *Gill* for the Day.

Gen^l Wayne having been appointed to the Command of the American Army in Georgia, embraces the Earliest opportunity to call upon the officers of every Rank and Denomination to use every exertion to Guard against the pernicious practice of Marauding, which is as *Disgraceful, as it is unmilitary*: the General therefore, fondly flatters himself that when the Soldiery reflect that they are led forth to protect the lives and property of the Inhabitants & to rescue this Country from British Tyranny, he will not be compelled to the painful and disagreeable Duty of ordering the most Exemplary punishment to be inflicted on any person or persons for a violation of this order.

Until a change of circumstances render an alteration necessary, the following will be the order of Battle:—The Continental Dragoons will form the Right Wing, to be commanded by Capt. Gill; the South Caro-

lina State Dragoons, the left, commanded by Major Moore; the whole under the conduct of Colo. White. Lt. Colo. McCoy's Corps will form the advance, &, if pushed, will retire to the Flanks.

The General has the fullest confidence in the officers & men, who he has the honour to command, & doubts not, should the enemy be hardy enough to face them in the field, that Victory will incline to our Arms: and the foe will be obliged to acknowledge our Prowess. He is also convinced that humanity will pervade the heart of every officer and soldier when opposition ceases.

On the 19th of February he decoyed by stratagem a large party of Indians coming from the interior and captured a considerable amount of provisions they were carrying to Savannah.

HEAD QUARTERS,
EBENEZER 19th Feb. 1782.

General Wayne is extremely happy in having it in his power to assure the worthy Soldiery under his command that their conduct is highly approved of by Gen. Greene & their Country: and that the period is not far distant when a full and comfortable supply of Clothing will arrive for the use of the Army: The situation of Public affairs is also much altered for the better & will soon put it into the power of Congress & the respective States to comply with their contracts and agreements with their officers and soldiers, which he is well convinced will take place the moment circumstances & local situation will permit. In the interim, the General doubts not that the conduct & persevering bravery of every officer and soldier under his command, will be such as to produce a conviction to the world that they deserve the plaudit and bountiful reward of a grateful Country.—

ABSTRACT DEED POLL, GEORGE RANDALL, 1704.—George Randall of or near the Township of Southampton in the County of Bucks, Province of Pennsylvania, Yeoman: recites grant of William Penn, 22d. 5mo. 1684, to said Randall of a Lott in Philad^a in "Breadth nine & fourty foot & a half, and in Length" 306 feet bounded southward with Mulberry street, westward with Nicholas Randall's Lott granted by Warrant 14th. 4mo. 1683. George Randall, purchaser, Mortgaged the Lott 16 Nov. 1684 to "William Smith, Master of y^e Ship called the Merchant of Bristol," together with "his dwelling house thereon for seaven pounds . . . notwithstanding the said George Randall hath neither paid the afores^d sum nor the Interest thereon But hath suffered the s^d House with Improvements to goe all to Ruin. . . . Nevertheless Thomas Paschall of the City of Philadelphia, Pewterer, one of y^e agents of the s^d William Smith is willing to accept of the above Lott of Land in full satisfaction of ye s^d debt." Smith conveys to s^d "Thomas Paschall and one Henry Flower of y^e s^d City of Philadelphia, Barber, agents for the s^d William Smith . . . Lott . . . Between the Third & Fourth Streets from Delaware Front street". . . to said Paschall and Flower for said Smith . . . dated 25 day of 6mo. called August in the 3^d year of Queen Anne A.D. 1704. Signed, the *Mark* of George Randall. Witnessed by "Nicholas Randall; Thomas Marshall, his mark; Thomas Pascall Junear."

The deed is apparently not recorded.

A DESCRIPTIVE MUSTER-ROLL OF THE REVOLUTION.—

A RETURN OF MEN INLISTED BY LIEUT. HENRY PIERCY OF THE 2^D PENNA REGT FOR THE SAID REGT JUNE 7TH 1778.

Mens Names	What Country they was born in	Their Com- plexion	Their Size		Age	Their Speech	Date of Inlist- ment
George Peck	German	Dark	5	6	21 yrs	Broken English	May 4, 1778
Godlieb Cornelius	"	"	5	8	33 "	Very little English	" 14 "
Geo ^s Seidelmeyer	"	"	5	6	40 "	" "	" 14 "
Nicholas Musser	American	Fair	5	10	23 "	" "	" 20 "
Mathias Senger	"	Dark	5	7	23 "	" "	" 20 "
Patriek McQuire	Ireland	"	5	9	42 "	has the brogue on his tongue	June 1 "
George Weaver	German	"	5	7	31 "	Broken English	" 1 "
Henry Cooke	American	"	5	6	20 "	good English	May 22 "
Adam Spindle	"	"	5	8	18 "	" "	June 5 "

HENRY PIERCY Lt 2^d Pen^a Regt.

LIEUTENANT JAMES GLENTWORTH, SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE.—Among the papers filed by Lieutenant James Glentworth, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Line, in making an application for a pension, were the following certificates :

These are to Certify that having been appointed in October 1777, to attend the Wounded Officers, who were at that time or should be brought to the Town of Reading, in consequence of said appointment Lieut. James Glentworth of the Sixth Pennsylvania Reg^t Came under my Care. He received a Wound in his right arm at the Battle of Germantown of which he was confined a considerable, [time] and which in my opinion must still render him incapable of doing the duty of a Militia Man.

JOS. REDMAN.

PHILADA Sept 29 1787

We the Subscribers appointed by the Hon^{ble} Richard Peters, have examined the nature of a wound received by Mr. James Glentworth, in the service of the United States, in his right Arm, by a Musket Ball, by which the Tendons, that move his Fingers are so much injured, that he cannot use them in the profession of a Printer, to which he was brought up. We are of the opinion this disability will exist, and that the pain which he frequently suffers may increase, therefore recommend him as a proper object for a Pension.

W. SHIPPEN,
PLUNK^t F. GLENTWORTH.

PHILADELPHIA May 12th 1804.

THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER."—Having heard several times of late that there are in existence "several original copies" of the lines written on the night of September 12, 1814 (when the British attempted to capture Baltimore), by Francis Scott Key, now known as "The Star-Spangled Banner," and as I am the fortunate possessor of the only document that could exist of these lines,—*the original manuscript*,—I will explain how it seems possible that there could be more than one.

In the letter of the late Chief-Justice Roger B. Taney, which appears as a preface to "Key's Poems," published by Robert Carter & Brothers, New York, 1857, a graphic description is given of the composing and writing and the printing of the song. Mr. Key wrote the lines he had composed under the excitement of the moment, he told Judge Taney, upon the back of an old letter he happened to have in his pocket, and wrote it as it now stands on the night he reached Baltimore,—at the hotel,—and immediately after his arrival. He also said that on the next morning he took it to Judge Nicholson, to ask him what he thought of it; that he was so much pleased with it that he immediately sent it to a printer and directed copies to be struck off in handbill form; and that he, Mr. Key, believed it to have been favorably received by the public.

Judge Nicholson and Mr. Key were nearly connected by marriage, Mrs. Key and Mrs. Nicholson being sisters.

The judge was a man of cultivated taste, had at one time been distinguished among the leading men in Congress, and was at the period of

which I am speaking the Chief-Justice of Baltimore and one of the judges of the Court of Appeals of Maryland.

Notwithstanding his judicial character, which exempted him from military service, he accepted the command of a volunteer company of artillery, and when the enemy approached, and an attack on the fort was expected, he and his company offered their services to the government to assist in its defence. They were accepted, and formed a part of the garrison during the bombardment. The judge had been relieved from duty and returned to his family only the night before Mr. Key showed him his song, and you may easily imagine the feelings with which, at such a moment, he read it and gave it to the public. It was no doubt, as Mr. Key modestly expressed it, favorably received. In less than an hour after it was placed in the hands of the printer it was all over town and hailed with enthusiasm, and took its place at once as a national song.

It is the back of that old letter, unsigned, that Francis Scott Key (my great-uncle) gave to Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson (my grandfather) that I possess, together with one of those *first printed* handbills.

Judge Nicholson wrote a little piece that appears at the heading of the lines, above which he also wrote the name of the tune, "Anacreon in Heaven,"—a tune which Mrs. Charles Howard, the daughter of Francis Scott Key, told me was a common one at that day,—and Judge Nicholson, being a musician among his other accomplishments, and something of a poet, no doubt took but a few minutes to see that the lines given him by Francis Scott Key could be sung to that tune, and, in all haste to give the lines as a song to the public, he thus marked it. I possess this rare original manuscript, kept carefully folded by his wife, Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson, and taken from her private papers by myself and framed.

But the mistakes made arise from the fact that in later years Francis Scott Key made several copies of his song in his own handwriting and signing them for friends. One I know of, in the possession now of his granddaughter, Mrs. R. A. Dobbin, of Baltimore, which he copied in 1848, and another in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. There may be others, but the first piece of paper on which the lines he composed were written on the night of his arrival in Baltimore I have in my possession; the same that Mr. Key himself gave to Judge Nicholson.

REBECCA LLOYD SHIPPEN,
née NICHOLSON.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

THE CONARROE COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.—We take pleasure in announcing that Mrs. George M. Conarroe has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the valuable collection of manuscripts made some years ago by her late husband, a member of the Society.

SWORD PRESENTED TO CAPTAIN H. S. STELLWAGEN, U.S.N., BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—Mr. Henry E. Stellwagen, of Baltimore, Maryland, has presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania the handsome sword of his father, on the blade of which is etched, "Presented by the British Government to Captain Henry S. Stellwagen, of the Navy of the United States of America, in grateful acknowledgement of services to the crew of the British brigantine 'Mercey,' 1864."

A DESCRIPTION ROLL OF RECRUITS ENLISTED FOR THE SECOND REGT. OF PENNA. COMMD BY COL. H. BICKER.

Names	Date of Enlistment	Country	Age	Place of abode	Size	Hair	Complexion	Remarks	By whom Enlisted
John Grimes	Apr. 25 th 1778	Irish	30	Lanc ^r County	5:5	Black	Dark	Sent to Camp	Capt. Rankson
Judwick Wieman	May 5 th "	German	41	Heidleberg	5:7	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
Timothy Swan	Do. 12 th "	Penna.	26	York County	5:10	Light	Fair	On Furlough	Do.
James Smith	Do. 13 th "	English	20	Lancaster	5:8	Black	Dark	Sent to Camp	Do.
George Kusler	Do. 16 "	German	25	York County	5:7	Sandy	Fair	At Lancaster	Do.
John McPherson	Do. 17 "	Irish	31	Lancaster	5:9	Red	Do.	Sent to Camp	Do.
William M. Graw	Do. 22 "	Penna.	38	Do. County	5:8	Dark	Dark	At Lancaster	Do.

I do hereby certify that the Men above named were Voluntarily sworn before me to serve the United States

Witness my hand this 22^d day of May 1778

A. HUBLEY

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ACCOUNT OF RICHARD HUMPTON ESQ^R LATE SUPERINTENDING THE RECRUITING SERVICE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE," on file at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

George Pancake and *William Smith*, both their fines remitted in case of inlisting without Bounty therefore. Feby. 15, 1782.

James McCulloch's corp^l punishment remitted he enlisting without Bounty. March 11, 1782.

Gideon Walker, (York Co.) corp^l punishment and fine remitted if he enlist without Bounty. May 10, 1782.

John Thompson, of Lancaster Co., hath his fine and corpor^l punishment remitted in case he enlist without Bounty. June 18, 1782.

Thomas Bailey, convicted at a Court of Oy & Ter. York Co., May last for passing counterfeit money; his corp^l punishment remitted if he inlist without Bounty or procure a man to serve in the Line during the War. June 22 1782.

Ebenezer or Eleazer Tracey Pennington, of Chester Co., convicted, fine and corp^l punishment remitted if he enlist without Bounty to serve in Penna. Line. Sept 3, 1782.

Geo. Clift, of Bucks Co., convicted of High Treason, pardoned if he inlist and serve to end of War without Bounty or emoluments.

INNKEEPERS ON MARKET STREET, 1795.—No. 8, Thomas Palemer; No. 9, Francis Elliot, between Water and Front Streets; No 58, George Kitts, three houses from the Friends' Meeting-House; No. 64, James McDonald, west of Strawberry Street, near the First Presbyterian Church; No. 80, Michael Kitts, the "Indian King," near Third Street; No. 100, Rachel Greble, a widow; No. 139, Adam Handle, the "King of Prussia," both west of Third Street; No. 140, Mary Nicholas, widow, the "Conestoga Wagon;" No. 164, Ebenezer Branham; No. 171, Alexander Clay, the "Black Horse," all west of Fourth Street; No. 200, George Straley; Nos. 218-220, George Weed, both west of Sixth Street; No. 285, John Dunwoody, the "Spread Eagle," west of Seventh Street. West of Ninth Street the houses were not numbered.

LETTER OF CHARLES THOMSON TO HIS WIFE, 1785.—

[NEW YORK] Wednesday Morning April 6, 1785.

DEAR HANNAH

In the postscript to my last I acknowledged the receipt of your two letters N 17 & 18. As soon as I had sealed my letter I sent Thomas with it to the post office. On his return he called and examined the kitchen. He says it is a very fine kitchen. There is a crane which belongs to the house and a smoke jack, But was told the chain of the jack belongs to the family. He repeated over & over, it is a *fine* kitchen & has a *fine* prospect into the garden and as Thomas from his profession is or ought to be a good judge of a kitchen I am inclined to think it is convenient.

By what I learn the charter is not yet taken from the bank, but that the committee, who were appointed by the assembly to examine it, have reported unfavourably and that leave is given to bring in a bill for repealing the law that incorporated it. However I have no doubt they will carry their point. I am told the principles of the report are alarming & strike at all property. I have not seen it and therefore can say nothing of it. The state is . . . The minds of the people are

not settled down to their condition. Those that have suddenly got wealth or power are grasping at more. Those that have neither are pressing for them not by virtue & the fair deeds and honest paths of industry and frugality, but by knavery and tricking. So that till some have their deserts and others are reduced to their former insignificance I expect little else but confusion.

Hazard the postmaster gen^l has in consequence of the order of C come here and has been trying to get a house. He meets with difficulty & wishes to have leave to reside in Philad^a at least for some time. Whether he will get leave or not I cannot tell. I wonder what Hillegas will do. His salary will not support him here and he will not like to quit his office. I have not heard a word of him. I had a letter from Milligan wherein he says it was the opinion of some that C wants only the papers in the Offices, but not the Officers & wishes to know if that was the case. I told him, the very suspicion was dishonorable and advised him to come forward and bring the papers with him.

You see by the tenor of this letter I write just for the pleasure of writing to you. The ancients had the advantage of us in point of conciseness. When Cicero who wrote almost as often to his Terentia as I do to my dear Hannah had nothing particular to say, he used to make his whole letter consists of these few words. Si vales bene est et ego valeo. Vale. That is, I say you are well, that is well, I am well, farewell. You remember our good friend S. Emlin's sermon when he quoted a scrap of latin and desired the women to apply to their husbands for an explanation of it. As you have not the opportunity just now of making an immediate application to yours, though I hope you soon will, I have sent the translation of mine and conclude in the true Ciceroan stile with most earnest entreaties to take care of your health.

I am

Dear Hannah

with sincere affection

Your loving husband

CHAS THOMSON.

Queries.

WHO WAS THE AUTHOR OF "ADELAIDE," a new and original novel. "By a Lady of Philadelphia." 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1816?

A. J. E.

JAMES SMITH, OF PENNSYLVANIA, A "SIGNER."—Correspondence is solicited from descendants of James Smith, of Pennsylvania, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

REV. FRANKLIN C. SMITH.

SHAWNEE, OK.

Replies.

FIRST NAMESAKE OF WASHINGTON (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXV. p. 287).—A namesake of Washington earlier than the one mentioned was George Washington Robinson, son of Colonel Lemuel Robinson and Jerusha his wife, born July 23, 1775, in Dorchester, Massachusetts, only twenty days after Washington took command of the army at Cambridge. See *Boston Record Commissioners' Reports*, Vol. XXI. p. 184.

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

FISHER AVENUE, BROOKLINE, MASS.

Book Notices.

ALLIED FAMILIES OF DELAWARE. By Edwin Jaquett Sellers. Philadelphia, 1901. 8vo. Indexed. Edition limited to 200 copies. Cloth, gilt top, 170 pp. Price, \$5.00.

The work contains exhaustive accounts, from original sources, of the early history of the Stretcher, Fenwick, Davis, Draper, Kipshaven, and Stidham families. As so little has been compiled concerning Delaware families, the work will be a useful acquisition to the genealogist interested in that field. The book forms a companion work to the following, by the same writer: "Genealogy of the Kollock Family of Sussex County, Delaware," Philadelphia, 1897; "Captain John Avery, President Judge at the Whorekill in Delaware Bay, and his Descendants," Philadelphia, 1898; and "Genealogy of Dr. Francis Joseph Pfeiffer, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and his Descendants," Philadelphia, 1899.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.—Professor Francis N. Thorpe's latest work, "History of the American People" (published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago), is mainly devoted to the history of the development of the political and economic conditions of the country, and has been prepared in his usual able, careful, and scholarly way. It is a field in which the author is always at home. One of the chapters of the work he arranged and read before the members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania last spring, which attracted much favorable comment.

GILLINGHAM FAMILY. DESCENDANTS OF YEAMANS GILLINGHAM.

By Harrold Edgar Gillingham. Philadelphia, 1901. 8vo, pp. 99.

This is another contribution to Pennsylvania genealogy of the descendants of an early settler of Bucks County, many of whom are eminent in their professions and mercantile careers. The compiler has restricted his investigations mainly to the male lines of his own family. A good index aids the genealogical investigator. The edition is limited to two hundred copies, and the few remaining on hand for sale can be obtained by addressing the compiler at Germantown, Philadelphia.

PEDIGREE OF RICHARD BORDEN, WHO REMOVED FROM THE COUNTY OF KENT, OLD ENGLAND, 1637-1638, AND SETTLED AT PORTSMOUTH, RHODE ISLAND. By Thomas Allen Glenn. Philadelphia, 1901. Square folio, pp. 15.

Beginning with Henry Borden, of the parish of Hedcorn, County of Kent, England, who was born 1370-1380, Mr. Glenn has compiled this pedigree to his descendant, Richard Borden, who came to New England 1637-38, and settled at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where he became Treasurer, Commissioner, Deputy to the Assembly, and filled other offices of honor and trust. He also acquired large tracts of land in Rhode Island and East Jersey, those in the latter, near Shrewsbury, being inherited by his son, Francis Borden, from whom are descended the Bordens, Cooks, and other well-known families of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Valuable additions to the pedigree are the exhaustive citations.

The work is typographically a treasure,—heavy laid paper, very wide margins, and fine cover. A limited number of copies are on sale. Address the compiler at 617 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia.

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No. 4.

THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY FRANCIS VON A. CABEEN.

The best introduction that we can give to our subject is in the words of the Rev. John Heckewelder. "All we know therefore of Tamanend is that he was an ancient Delaware Chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being possesses. He was supposed to have had an intercourse with the Great Spirit, for he was a stranger to every thing that is bad."

The first authentic account we have of our hero is in a deed dated June 23, 1683,¹ to William Penn for the land lying along and between the Neshaminy and Pennypack Creeks "for ye consideration of so much wampum, so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking glasses, blankets and other goods as ye sd William Penn shall please to give unto us." And on 2d 6 mo., 1684, "Received moreover all match-coats, stockings, shirts, and blankets, besides several guilders in silver, and I acknowledge I have sold all my land as above.

Tammanens X Mark

¹ Penna. Archives, Vol. I. p. 64.

Sealed and delivered in ye presence of

Lasse Cock

John Blinston

Jos Curties

Indians Present

Richard

Shockhuppo

Mesamequan

Witness

Crilbut Hilleelr

The mark of X Tamanen"

Tamanend's mark is made in imitation of a snake not tightly coiled. On June 15, 1692, he gave satisfaction for all lands belonging to him and others.¹ The records now show that at a meeting of the Council at Philadelphia, July 6, 1694, he addressed them as follows: "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free road to one another, and though sometimes a tree has fallen across it, we have still removed it again and kept the path clear, and we design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you, and do give a belt of wampum."

Continuing our search, we find the following and last authentic account of this great Indian in a deed made July 5, 1697, as follows:² "We Taminy Sachimack and Weheeland, my brother, and Wehequeekhon alias Andrew, who is to be king after my death. Yaquekhon alias Nicholas, and Quenamequid alias Charles my sons for us our heirs and successors grant . . . land between Pemmepack and Neshaminy extending to the length of the River Delaware so far as a horse can travel in two Summer days, and to carry its breadth according as the several courses of the said two creeks will admit, and when the said creeks do branch, that the main branches granted shall stretch forth upon a direct course on each side and to carry on the full breadth to the extent of the length thereof."

Acknowledged in open court at Philadelphia July 6, 1697; recorded in the Rolls Office 7th of 12th month, 1698, in Book E 3, Vol. V. p. 57, etc.

¹ Penna. Archives, Vol. I. p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

In this deed he was designated as the Great Sachem Tamanent. "The name of Tamanend," states Heckewelder, "is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known."

The same authority gives the signification of his name, Tamanend, as *affable*. The legendary accounts of our Saint will appear later on, as they occur in the accounts of the Society that was named in his honor. It is certain, however, that he would not have been selected for canonization in the minds and hearts of his white neighbors if he had not had attributes that raised him in a marked degree above all his nation. One account says that William Penn found him a man advanced in years, of noble mien, of great sagacity, and quick to see the superiority of the whites over his people, and therefore he was anxious to cultivate their friendship rather than wage what his wisdom told him would be an unequal struggle.

The value of real estate in this vicinity in those days may be of interest to the reader, so we give below a list of articles received by the Tamanend family for the land they parted with to Penn, the extent of which, roughly estimated, amounted to three hundred square miles.

LIST.

" 5 p. Stockings	100 needles	10 Glasses
20 Barrs Lead	5 Hatts	5 Capps
10 Tobacco Boxes	25 lbs. powder	15 Combs
6 Coates 2 Guns	1 Peck Pipes	5 Hoes
8 Shirts 2 Kettles	28 yds. Duffills	9 Gimbletts
12 Awles	16 Knives	20 Fishhooks
10 Tobacco Tongs	10 pr. Sissors	7 half Gills
6 Axes	2 Blankets	4 Handfull Bells
4 yds. Stroud Water	20 Handfuls of Wampum" ¹	

¹ Penna. Archives, Vol. I. p. 64.

The Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, who is probably the best authority we have upon the Indians of this section of the country, states that Tamanend's memory was held in the highest esteem by his own people, but that he never heard them say much concerning him, as it was not their custom to talk of their dead except in a very general way, and that no white man that had any regard for their feelings ever broached the subject of their dead to them. The various traditions, both verbal and written, concerning Tamanend emanated from the whites and not from the Indians. We see that between the first record that we have of him in 1683 and the last in 1697 he must have impressed himself strongly upon not only the community but also upon the officials of the provincial government, for in the last account he is described in the deed, which of course was written by the English, as the Great Sachem Tamaniens, and no other Indian is so described; so to have acquired the right to such a title he must have had at least a large part of the attributes ascribed to him. In further corroboration of the way in which his memory was held, we cite the old cannon presented by the Colony on Schuylkill to the Association Battery about 1747, on which appear the words "Kawania che Keekeru" (This is my right, I will defend it). By many writers this motto is ascribed to Tamanend, and justly so, we think, rather than to the Delaware Nation alone, for we would expect just such a sentiment to be chosen by a man endowed with such lofty ideas as these words express.¹ Further, the records of this Society show that their principal day—May 1, or opening day—has been always spoken of by them as Tammany's day. Their tradition is that Tamanend himself made a treaty with the fathers of this Society giving them the right to fish in the waters of the Schuylkill and hunt game upon its banks.

We also find this motto at the top of the title-page of a pamphlet which is in verse: "Kawanio Che Keeteru, a

¹ This was the motto of the Saint Tammany Society. See *Independent*, May 3, 1783.

true relation of a bloody battle fought between George and Lewis in the year 1755. Printed in the year MDCCLVI." Turning over the page, we find "The words I have chosen at the head of my Title Page I am told by a gentleman skilled in the Indian languages is very expressive of a Hero relying on God to bless his endeavors in protecting what he has put under his care." "To form some idea of its signification," he says, "you may imagine a man with his wife and children about him and with an air of resolution calling out to his enemy, All these God has given me and I will defend them."¹

This translation remained unchallenged until 1888, when Dr. Brinton, Professor of American Archæology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania, pronounced the words Iroquois and not Delaware, and at his suggestion they were submitted to Mr. Horatio Hale, who translates them thus: "I am master wherever I am," and in a very able article gives his reasons for their being in this language rather than in the Delaware tongue.²

As to the last resting-place of Tamanend, this is a subject upon which a great deal has been written. The tradition that he is buried by a spring in New Britain Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about three and one-half miles north of Doylestown, near the banks of the Neshaminy, on the farm owned by Enos Detwiler, is generally believed. We would add, in further confirmation of the tradition, that Tamanend ended his life by setting fire to his wigwam.³

In the following lines, which appear in a song published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April 30, 1776, reference is made to his end and also to his great age:

¹ In Hist. Soc. of Penna. Said to have been written by Nicholas Scull.

² American Antiquarian, January, 1886.

³ Magazine of American History, Vol. XXIX. p. 255; also Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania, by Sherman Day; Davis's History of Bucks County; Watson's Annals MSS., p. 498.

“As old age came on, he grew blind, deaf and dumb,
 Tho’ his sport ’twere hard to keep from it,
 Quite tired of life, bid adieu to his wife,
 And blaz’d like the tail of a comit, my brave boys.”

The fact that an old Indian was buried at the place named in 1740 is not contradicted by any of the historians; the only question being as to whether it was Tamanend or some other Indian. The chief argument used by those who thought it was some other than our saint was that he must have been a very old man, and that they should have expected some mention of him by his contemporaries between 1697 and 1740.

We do not think that the absence of mention makes this point good, for any one familiar with the newspapers and few local writings of the period well know that items concerning events or persons of their locality are very few and far between.

The tradition of the “State in Schuylkill,” referred to, is another corroborating the fact that he lived long; for if he gave the right to fish to them when they started their Society, he must have been alive in 1732, which is the date of their birth as an organization.

The high esteem in which the subject of our theme was held is best shown by the transactions of the Society named in his honor.

SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY.

Every organization of men has a reason for its existence, and therefore we are led to investigate the condition of affairs that preceded the birth of the Sons of Saint Tammany, to see, if possible, what were the causes that called them into existence.

The passage of the Stamp Act aroused a storm of protests from the Colonies; and in 1765, soon after its passage, was organized the association of the Sons of Liberty, with headquarters in New York City and branches in every

Colony, including a resident member in London, Nicholas Ray.

The name was first made use of in Parliament in a speech made by Colonel Barré, and was at once adopted by this body of patriotic Americans, whose untiring efforts in arousing their fellow-citizens to maintain their rights at last forced the British ministry to repeal the obnoxious measure. Their action was practically the first union of the Colonies in their opposition to the mother country, and they may well be considered as the "germ of the Revolution."

Colonel William Bradford, in a letter dated Philadelphia, February 15, 1766, to the Sons of Liberty of New York, says, "Our body in this city is not declared numerous, as unfortunate dissensions in Provincial politics keep us rather a divided people. But when the *Grand cause* calls on us, you may be assured we shall universally stand forth and appear what we really are—Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia."

We believe that all the persons mentioned in the following letter were members of this order in Philadelphia.

A letter from one Hughes, who was commissioned to distribute the stamps in Pennsylvania to Penn, the Lieutenant-Governor, has curious passages.

He says he "was waited upon by Messrs. James Tilghman, lawyer, Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, Andrew Call (Archd. McCall?), John Cox, and William Richards, merchants, and William Bradford, printer," etc.

On March 3 one Benjamin Welsh, of Maryland, having had his house and buildings burnt, supposedly by parties who objected to his outspoken opposition to the Stamp Act, wrote to the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia for assistance. The subscription list of those who gave is in existence; but, while some of those on it were unquestionably members of the society, others, we are led to infer, were rather unwilling givers.

The Stamp Act was repealed on the 18th of March, 1766, and on receipt of the news upon this side of the water the

Sons of Liberty, believing that their work had been accomplished, disbanded.

In a letter from their London member, Mr. Nicholas Ray, he says, "Permit me therefore to recommend ten or twenty of the principal of you to form yourselves into a club to meet once a month under the name of Liberty Club and forever on the 18th. of March or 1st. of May give notice to the whole body to commemorate your deliverance, spending the day in festivity and joy."

In the reply from the Sons of Liberty in America, they write, "Your proposal with regard to a number of us forming ourselves into a club we have already had under consideration; but as it is imagined that some inconveniences would arise should such a club be established just at this time, we must postpone the same till it may appear more eligible."

The Sons of Liberty soon found the necessity for renewed action, for it was not long after they had planted their liberty pole on the common in New York in commemoration of the repeal of the Stamp Act before they were called to defend it against the attacks of the British soldiers, instigated by their officers, who showed great resentment against that which they considered was a victory of the liberty-loving colonists over the British government.

In the first of the "Farmer's Letters," which appeared in 1768, John Dickinson writes, "Benevolence towards mankind excites wishes for their welfare and such wishes endear the means of fulfilling them. *These* can be found in liberty only and therefore her sacred cause ought to be espoused by every man on every occasion to the utmost of his power." In the two lines of his song—

"Then join Hand in Hand brave Americans all,
By *uniting* we stand, by *dividing* we fall"—

is the pith of all his letters; it was the motto of the times; it was the slogan which was eventually to lead the patriots to victory.

The non-importing resolutions were made stronger, and their being adhered to by weak-kneed and avaricious brethren and looked after by the patriotic Sons of Liberty forged another link in the chain that was forming to bind the Colonies together. Men now began to talk and write of America. There was much less heard of *the* Colony,—more of the *Colonies*. There had long been a Saint Andrew's Society, founded in 1749 to look after Scotchmen, a Saint David's for the Welsh, and in 1771 a Saint George's Society had been established for Englishmen, promptly followed by the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick for the Irish.

It is true that the bells in Philadelphia had been rung on May 1 for some years in honor of King Tammany,¹ but the American spirit had been born as the natural results of the labor through which the country was passing, and it found expression in the Saint Tammany Society, for Tammany was certainly a full-blooded American.

It is evident that while the friends of liberty and America had accomplished much in the furtherance of their cause, it had been performed generally under cover of secrecy, and it was now felt that the time had come for the organization of a society that could openly have meetings which would unite those whose minds secretly held the thought expressed in later years of America for Americans.

Before giving an account of the first meeting of the Society of the Sons of King or Saint Tammany, held in this city, we must call attention to the fact that the fame of our patron saint had already travelled beyond the land of his birth.

In "Eddis's Letters from America," dated Annapolis, Maryland, December 24, 1771, he writes, "The Americans on this part of the continent have likewise a Saint, whose history like those of the above venerable characters [St. George, St. Patrick, St. Andrew, and St. David] is lost in fable and uncertainty. The first of May is however, set apart to the memory of Saint Tamina on which occasion

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 29.

the natives wear a piece of buck's tail in their hats or in some conspicuous situation. During the course of the evening and generally in the midst of the dance, the company are interrupted by the sudden intrusion of a number of persons habited like Indians, who rush violently into the room, singing the war song, giving the whoop and dancing in the style of those people; after which ceremony a collection is made and they retire well satisfied with their reception and entertainment."

A later writer adds, "This custom of celebrating the day was continued down within the recollection of many of the present inhabitants of this city [Annapolis, 1841]." We have noted this celebration here to show that the fame of Tamanend had travelled from the neighboring Province of Pennsylvania, where he had long been celebrated on account of his services to and friendship for the early settlers, and also to call attention to the custom of those taking part in the affair to decorate themselves with buck tails or buck skins, for the reason that a little later the followers of Tamanend and those subscribing to their ideas were designated in the public prints as "Buck Skins." The first meeting of the Society is recorded in an issue of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, dated May 4, 1772. "On Friday, the first instant, a number of Americans, Sons of King Tammany, met at the house of Mr. James Byrn,¹ to celebrate the memory of that truly noble Chieftain whose friendship was most affectionately manifested to the worthy founder, and first settlers of this Province. After dinner the circulating glass was crowned with wishes loyal and patriotic and the day concluded with much cheerfulness and harmony. It is hoped from this small beginning a society may be formed of great utility to the distressed, as this meeting was more for the purpose of promoting charity and benevolence than mirth and festivity."

The following toasts were drunk on this occasion :

¹ Located on the west side of Tenth Street between Mulberry (Arch) and Sassafras (Race), Deed Book I, p. 36.

1. The King and Royal Family (George III. of England).
2. The Proprietors of Pennsylvania (Thomas Penn and John Penn, son of Richard).
3. The Governor of Pennsylvania (Richard Penn, Lieutenant-Governor, son of Richard Penn).
4. Prosperity of Pennsylvania.
5. The Navy and Army of Great Britain.
6. The pious and immortal memory of King Tammany.
7. Speedy relief to the injured Queen of Denmark (Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. of England, and wife of Christian VII. of Denmark).
8. Unanimity between Great Britain and her Colonies.
9. Speedy repeal of all oppressive and unconstitutional acts.
10. May the Americans surely understand and faithfully defend their constitutional rights.
11. More spirit to the Councils of Great Britain.
12. The great philosopher, Dr. Franklin.
13. His Excellency, Governor Franklin, and prosperity to the Province of New Jersey.
14. His Excellency, Governor Tryon, and prosperity to the Province of New York.
15. The Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., late Governor of Pennsylvania.
16. The Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania (Honorable William Allen, *vice* Kinsey, deceased, 1750 to 1774).
17. The Speaker of the Honorable House of Assembly of Pennsylvania (Joseph Galloway).
18. The Recorder of the City of Philadelphia (William Parr, *vice* Chew, resigned).
19. The pious and immortal memory of General Wolfe.
20. The Pennsylvania farmer (John Dickinson).
21. May the Sons of King Tammany, St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David love each other as brethren of one common ancestor, and unite in their hearty

endeavors to preserve the native Constitutional American Liberties.

The company started off with the regulation toasts of the day, and it was only when they reached the eighth toast that their real feelings show themselves; the ninth was stronger in its sentiment, the tenth rings out quite vigorously for America's rights, but the toast-master evidently thought that it was now time to tone down the enthusiasm, so the eleventh toast sounds well but is perfectly harmless. Then follows a series of toasts to provincial dignitaries until we reach the twentieth, when the real sentiment of those participating crops out in the toast to the Pennsylvania farmer whose letters were then challenging the attention of the world.

In the last toast is the call to unite all parties in a common cause to defend the rights of America against oppression.

After the seventeenth toast we find an asterisk, and the note below says,—

“The kind genius that presides over American Freedom forbade it and the sons of King Tammany appeared as averse to drink it as they would have been to swallow the 5 mile stone.”

The person occupying the office of Speaker at this time was Joseph Galloway, and it must be remembered that the newspaper (*Pennsylvania Chronicle*) in which this account appears was owned by Goddard, so we quote a short biographical sketch of Galloway as follows:

“He was first a Whig then a Loyalist; in 1776 abandoned the Whigs and became one of the most virulent and proscriptive Loyalists of the time.

“In 1766 he connected himself with Goddard and Wharton in publishing a newspaper called the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* . . . the three partners quarrelled, separated on the worst possible terms, and Goddard and Galloway filled the public prints with the vilest mutual abuse.

“They dissolved partnership in 1770.”

From another source we quote the following:

“Fright our poor Philadelphia Galloway
Your Congress, when the loyal ribald
Belied berated and bescribbled?
What ropes and halters did you send
Terrific emblems of his end.
Till least he'd hang in more than effigy
Fled in a fog the trembling refugee.

“Galloway began by being a flaming patriot, but being disgusted at his own want of influence and the greater popularity of others, he turned Tory, wrote against the measures of Congress and absconded. Just before his escape a trunk was put on board a vessel in the Delaware to be delivered to Joseph Galloway Esquire. On opening it he found it contained only, as Shakespeare says, ‘A halter gratis and leave to hang himself.’”

The *Pennsylvania Chronicle* was the only newspaper that gave any notice of this meeting, and we have given the notice in full.

The names of those participating, the hour of the dinner, and the bill of fare are all wanting; but, judging from the entries in the diary of a man about town of those times (Hiltzheimer), we should say that the beverage drunk in the toasts was rum punch.

The next record we find is from the pen of a lady, Miss Sarah Eve, and noted in her journal, under date of May 1, 1773, is the following: “A May morning indeed. . . . This morning was ushered in by the ringing of bells in memory of King Tammany, as he was used to be called, but now I think they have got him canonized, for he is now celebrated as Saint Tammany.”¹

If this May day that our fair diarist notes had been the first one on which the bells were rung in honor of King Tammany, she would most certainly have noted it; so it is fair to presume that it was a custom of long stand-

¹ PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 29.

ing or she would have put a query upon her page as to why they were ringing.

In Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" we find the following circular, dated April 28, 1773.

"SIR.—As all nations have for seven [several?] centuries past adopted some great personage remarkable for his virtues and loved for civil and religious liberty as their tutelar saint, and annually assembled at a fixed day to commemorate him, the natives of this flourishing Province, determined to follow so laudable example, for some years past have adopted a great warrior sachem and chief named Tammany, a fast friend to our fore fathers, to be the tutelar Saint of this Province, and have hitherto on the 1st. of May done the accustomed honors to the memory of so great and celebrated a personage. And for this purpose you are requested to meet the children and associate Sons of Saint Tammany at the house of Mr. James Byrnes to dine together and form such useful charitable plans for the relief of all in distress as shall then be agreed upon."

The names of one hundred and twenty-one gentlemen who intended to participate were also given, and they comprised the most eminent and influential persons in the city, among them Chief-Justice Chew, Rev. Jacob Duché, Rev. Thomas Coombe, Rev. William White, John Dickinson, James Allen and Andrew Allen, Governor William Franklin (of New Jersey), Tench Francis, Joseph Galloway, Governor James Hamilton and his brothers Andrew and William, Dr. Adam Kuhn, John Lawrence, Thomas Lawrence, William and James Logan, Samuel Mifflin and Thomas Mifflin (afterwards major-general and Governor of the State), John Cadwalader (afterwards colonel in the Revolutionary army) with his brother Lambert (afterwards colonel), Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn, Richard Peters, Jr. (afterwards United States District Judge), John Ross, Joseph Reed (afterwards President of the State), David Rittenhouse (the astronomer), Dr. Benjamin Rush, Edward Shippen, James Tilghman, Thomas Willing,

Thomas Wharton, Jr. (afterwards President of the State), and others.

It may be interesting here to follow the political course of the gentlemen mentioned above, for it shows that at the beginning of our differences with the mother country it was not only popular but also considered fashionable to espouse the American side of the controversy, at least until the actual conflict took place.

Chief-Justice Benjamin Chew.—His course was doubtful in the early part of the controversy, and he was claimed by both parties. In 1774, when Washington dined with him, he was Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania. On account of his having held a high office under the crown, and all such having fallen under suspicion, in 1777 he was arrested, but paroled in 1778, and later returned to Philadelphia, but took no active part in affairs.

Rev. Jacob Duché.—He acted with the Whigs until 1777, and then wrote an extraordinary letter to Washington, after which he quitted America for England. In April, 1783, he solicited Washington's influence to effect a repeal of the act that kept him in banishment.

Rev. Thomas Coombe.—Assistant to Duché, supported the Colonies until the Declaration of Independence, but felt that his ordination oath did not permit him to follow the same course after that event. In 1778 he obtained permission to go to New York, from whence he sailed to England.

William White.—Afterwards Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. He remained most loyal to the American cause to the end.

John Dickinson.—Author of the "Farmer's Letters," whose devotion to the American cause is well known.

James Allen.—A son of Chief-Justice Allen, and the only one of them who did not join the royal army. He remained at home, wholly inactive, though his sympathies were supposed to be loyal. He was in declining health in 1776, and died before the close of the following year.

Andrew Allen, a brother of James, was first a Whig, and

was one of the founders of the First City Troop. In April, 1776, he resigned from it, and, while a member of Congress, did not attend its meetings after June, 1776. After the Declaration of Independence he attached himself to the British army, and was with it when it entered Philadelphia.

Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey.—The disgust in which the royal governor was held “arose in part probably from the illegitimacy of his birth, but principally from his time-serving conduct and courtier-like propensities. He was originally a Whig, but became *ex virtute officii* a Tory.”

Tench Francis.—He was true to the American side of the controversy, and is said to have contributed five thousand pounds for the support of the Revolutionary army.

Joseph Galloway.—As we have given an account of this gentleman, we will omit any further mention here.

Governor James Hamilton.—As President of the Council, was chief magistrate a fourth term from July 19, 1773, to August 30, 1773. A few years later he was obliged to witness the destruction of regal and proprietary authority in America, and, forbidden by his years and his loyalty to embark in the Revolution and share the popularity of its leaders, saw in its success the vanishing of his family's claim to office and influence. In August, 1777, he was made prisoner on parole.

William Hamilton.—He graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1762, and took some part in the resistance to Great Britain at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, becoming chairman of the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the City and Liberties; but after the Declaration of Independence and overthrow of the proprietary government he was one of the “disaffected.”

Dr. Adam Kuhn.—Was professor in the College of Philadelphia, and remained true to the American cause throughout the conflict.

John Lawrence.—On September 14, 1767, he was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court. He remained on that bench until the Revolution. On the approach of the

British towards Philadelphia he was put under arrest and gave his parole. He was subsequently allowed to go anywhere within Pennsylvania, and was discharged on June 30, 1778.

Thomas Lawrence.—Sometime mayor of the city; died in 1775.

William Logan.—Took no active part in the times, and died October 28, 1776.

James Logan.—Trustee of Loganian Library. Born 1728, died 1803. Took no active part in the struggle, on account of his years.

Thomas Mifflin.—At the appointment of the first delegates to Congress, Mifflin was one of those chosen, and was the most determined Whig of them all. He was re-elected to the Assembly in 1774, and was sent also to the Congress which met on May 10, 1775. On hearing of the battle of Lexington he urged the people of Philadelphia at a town meeting to persevere in the cause. "Let us not," said he, "be bold in declarations and afterward cold in action."

Samuel Mifflin.—Was loyal to the Americans to the end of the conflict.

John and Lambert Cadwalader, both colonels in the Revolutionary army, fought with great bravery for the cause of independence.

Lieutenant-Governor Richard Penn.—Having no official motives (his brother John being in office at the beginning of hostilities) for reserve, he was even upon terms of familiarity with some of the most thorough-going Whigs. An evidence of this was the pleasantry ascribed to him on the occasion of a member of Congress one day observing to his compatriots that at all events "they must all hang together." "If you do not, gentlemen," said Mr. Penn, "I can tell you that you will be very apt to hang separately."

Richard Peters, Jr.—His military career was short. Congress placed him in the Board of War, where his services were acknowledged by a vote of thanks by that body.

John Ross.—Loved ease and Madeira much better than

liberty and strife; declared for neutrality, saying that, "*let who would be king, he well knew that he should be subject.*"

Joseph Reed (afterwards President of the State).—He was one of the Committee of Correspondence in 1774. He accompanied Washington to Cambridge in July, 1775, and as his aide and secretary remained with him during most of the campaign. He remained in the army until 1777, then became a member of Congress and afterwards President of the Council.

David Rittenhouse.—The distinguished astronomer and member of Congress.

Dr. Benjamin Rush.—He was united in sentiments and affections with nearly all the distinguished patriots of the Revolution, and mixed in the most important councils of the nation.

Edward Shippen.—The breaking out of the Revolution was to Judge Shippen a matter of most serious moment. He was deprived of all his offices under the crown. He was in 1784 appointed judge, and gave entire satisfaction to the people.

James Tilghman.—At the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle his views were liberal, like those of nearly every public man. He desired a repeal of the acts of Parliament generally complained of; he thought the Boston Port Bill an outrage, but condemned the "Boston Tea Party." As the struggle proceeded he shared the loyalist views of his colleagues in office.

Thomas Willing.—Though voting against the Declaration of Independence because he thought America unequal at the time for the struggle, after it was passed supported it loyally to the end.

Thomas Wharton (afterwards President of the State) was a supporter of the American cause until his death, May 23, 1778.

There also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* of May 3, 1773, the following: "Permit a few unfortunate natives of England, who are here confined for debt, to return thro'

the channel of your paper, their grateful acknowledgment to the benevolent Society of the Sons of St. George, established in this city, for their late charitable and generous donation to us, and which was judiciously expended by one of their faithful stewards. At the same time, a considerable number of the most indigent of the confined debtors, deeply impressed with the warmest sense of gratitude, beg leave in this manner, to return their sincere and hearty thanks to the very respectable society of the Sons of St. Tammany, who were assembled the first instant at Mr. Bryn's Tavern to celebrate the day, for the plentiful gift of victuals and beer, which they were pleased to send, and which was faithfully distributed among them."

In carefully scanning the records of the foregoing gentlemen, we find that they were very evenly divided on the issues of the times, which became much more emphasized as the date arrived for the next dinner. May 1, 1774, fell on Sunday, which it is well to note, for that might account for their not having a dinner on that day.

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from page 302.)

FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE.

With respect to Mount Pleasant G. A. has altered his sentiments, since I wrote in August last, he thinks as lands in America are falling in Value and likely to continue so to do, and that there is a greater sum due on the Mortgages on Mount Pleasant than he at first supposed, and that the whole may be lost should it transpire that he was the private purchaser, that for these reasons it will be best should the Place be sold, to sell it for what it will fetch at Publick sale, provided there is a certainty of its selling for as much as will pay the mortgages, and the purchase money which you have paid for his life interest in it, and any ballance that it may bring to be appropriated as you may think proper. But if you should not think proper to put up the Place to Sale, and do not choose to keep the life Interest which you have bought, G. Arnold desires you will be so good as to sell it for as much as you can, and if it should fall short of the sum which you gave, desires you will be so good as to draw upon him for the Ballance, as he thinks it is better to put up with the first loss, than to advance any more money on Mount Pleasant, which he believes will never in future sell for as much money as it will at the present time.—Nor does he choose to risque any more money in America.

My being in a situation to render writing very inconvenient to me, will I am sure plead my apology to my beloved Papa for this letter being written by another person. I am extremely happy to hear by my sister Betsy's letter of June 4th that all the family were well. I shall if possible write to them by my brother, but should it not be in my power, I must request my dearest papa to present my tender love to them. Gen'l A. like-



*Mrs. Benedict Arnold and Child
née Margaret Shippen*

*From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the collection
of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*

wise begs to be remembered to you all in the most affectionate manner.

With every sentiment of love and respect,
Believe me my dear and honored papa
Most truly yours

BRYANSTON STREET,
July 13th, 1785

M. A.

LONDON, March 6th, 1786

I have, my dear and honored papa, just received the enclosed from our Attorney; and though I fear it will be too late for the New York Packet of this month, yet as it is of very material consequence to get the papers from Philadelphia soon, I shall risk sending it to Falmouth, in hopes that something may have delayed the Packet. Our Council give me great hopes that if we get the necessary papers we shall finally gain our cause; I shall be extremely obliged to you, if you will procure them for me, and send them to me by the first conveyance.

I am still in the most unhappy state of suspense respecting the General, not having heard from him since the account of his Ships being lost. Nor am I quite easy about you, and my other dear friends in Philadelphia; the melancholy event that has so recently happened when I last heard from you, makes me extremely uneasy about my beloved Mamma. Her life has hitherto been marked with but few real misfortunes, and being untrained in the School of Adversity, I fear my brother's untimely death will bear hard upon her. Yet I hope she will consider the many blessings by which she is surrounded and endeavor to support herself under this heavy trial.

I assure you, my dear papa, I find it necessary to summon all my Philosophy to my aid, to support myself under my present situation. Separated from, and anxious for the fate, of the best of Husbands, torn from almost every body that is dear to me, harrassed with a troublesome and expensive Law Suit, having all the General's business to transact, and feeling that I am in a strange Country, without a creature near me that is really interested in my fate, you will not wonder if I am unhappy—But I will not distress you my beloved papa with my unavailing complaints which I seldom suffer to engross either my pen or tongue, but deprived of all domestic society, I have too much time to indulge them.

I am now perfectly well; my bilious complaints have been very troublesome since my lying in, about six weeks after the Gen'l left me my physician ordered me to go to Bath, and I was making preparations for that purpose when I received the melancholy accounts of my poor brother's death; this delayed my journey and I soon after found myself recovering so fast, that I entirely gave over the thoughts of it; and I have now quite got the better of my complaint. My children are very well, my little girl is the picture of health, and has never had an hours illness since she was a month old; I still continue to nurse her.

I beg my dearest papa, that you will present my tenderest love to all the family. With unceasing prayers for your, and their health and happiness, believe me

Yours most sincerely and affectionately

M. A.

April 11th, 1786

I was disappointed, my dear and honored papa, in sending my letter by the Packet, it being returned to me from Falmouth. I now enclose the papers, and tho I fear your answer cannot arrive in time, yet I shall be much obliged to you to write as soon as possible. As I do not expect the Gen'l home till June I fear it will be decided before his return.

Believe me my beloved papa, with every sentiment of respect and love

Most sincerely yours.

M. A.

Your affectionate letter, my dear Sister, by Mr. Parker is now before me. Your accounts of our beloved Mamma's health, are very distressing indeed; and her's is a disorder, for which I fear, there is no radical cure. I am much gratified by your earnest solicitations for me to pay you a visit, and hope to accomplish so desirable an event in the Fall. Independent of the happiness it will afford me, I feel it a duty to make every exertion to comply with the wishes of Parents, for whom I feel the highest respect, and tenderest affection. Yet my pleasure will not be unaccompanied by pain; as when I leave you, I shall probably bid you adieu for ever. Many disagreeable, and some favorable circumstances, will, I imagine, fix me forever in England, upon my return to it; while his Majesty's Bounty is continued to me, it is necessary I Should reside in his Dominions.

It gives me great pleasure to hear of your prudent resolution of not increasing your family; as I can never do better than to follow your example, I have determined upon the same plan; and when our Sisters have had five or six, we will likewise recommend it to them.

The situation of my Brother's Affairs is a source of great unhappiness to me, and the little Information we can obtain upon the subject, much increases it. From a want of a thorough knowledge of the abilities and intentions of the Company, Mr. Goodrich's Agent may be pursuing the very measures most injurious to the Interest of his Employer. If my dear Mr. Burd, will add to the many obligations he has confer'd upon me, by giving his advice upon the proper measures to pursue, I shall be forever indebted to him. The loss will not eventually fall upon Mr. Goodrich; but upon me, and my little ones. The three eldest Boys have half pay for life, and in order to put my Children more upon an equality with them, the General has promised, that as soon as that debt is recovered, he will purchase an Annuity for them with part of it, and that the remainder shall be settled upon me. You cannot wonder, my dear Sister, at my anxiety upon this subject, as the fate of my Children depends upon it, My Brother's feelings for his past conduct must be very painful to him—I wish him no greater punishment.

Capt. Wright was so obliging as to forward your letters from New York. The General joins me in affectionate regards to you and Mr. Burd.

Yours most tenderly

M. A.

June 30th. [1788?]

As the time draws near when I hope to be blessed with the society of my beloved Sister, I find my impatience increases—I sometimes fear that it is impossible I shall ever be so happy as to behold my dearest, tenderly beloved parents, and sisters, yet as I have got the better of almost every obstacle to paying you a visit, I ought to anticipate nothing but pleasure—I feel great regret at the idea of leaving the General alone, and much perplexed with business, but as he strongly argues a measure, that will be productive of so much happiness to me, I think there can be no impropriety in taking the ship—I shall probably have some few difficulties to encounter in the domestic line, but every

concern of that kind shall give way—There is an excellent vessel that sails between this place and New York, entirely fitted up for the accommodation of passengers.—It is generally much crowded, but to avoid that inconvenience, the General proposes taking the whole Cabbin for me, if it can be procured upon tolerable terms, in which case, it will be optional with me to admit any other persons—I hope to have this some time in October.

I hope my dear Sister, that I shall not put Mamma to the least additional trouble on my account; it would distress me extremely if I did, in the present state of her health—I cannot *conveniently* go without one Maid and Child, yet if that would enlarge the family too much, I would make my arrangements differently, and leave home only for a couple of months—I am sure when I am with you, that Mamma will find that it is my wish to lessen, not to add to the cares of her family—Pray let me hear from you soon, I am extremely anxious about Mamma, the account you gave me of her situation, has almost broken my heart—She must suffer extremely from the loss of her limbs, as she has been accustomed to so much exercise.

I did not when I began, intend writing more than ten lines, as I have been unwell for two days past, with an extreme headache and slight fever, and am still confined to my room—You will perceive that my ideas are not very clear, but if you can decypher my writing, and I have expressed myself to be understood, it is all that is necessary—I am not writing to a Critic, but to an indulgent, and beloved Sister—

Why do I not hear [from] Sister M—I never for an instant doubt her affection, but pray tell her that she is a sad negligent Correspondent.

A thousand loves to Mr. B. and the family, I wrote to Mamma and Sister some 2 days ago, but was disappointed in sending my letters.

Yours my tenderly beloved sister
with unceasing affection.

M. A.

August 14th, 1788.

ST. JOHN July 5th 1790.

How difficult is it to know what will contribute to our happiness in this life; I had hoped that by paying my beloved friends a last visit, I should insure to myself some portion of it, but I find it far otherwise. The affectionate attention of my friends

has greatly increased my love for them, and of course my regret at this cruel dreadful separation. I shall never forget my dear, my beloved Sister, your tender and affectionate behaviour to me, and that of my more than brother, Mr. Burd, who has endeared himself extremely to me, and of whom I have as high an opinion as it is possible for me to entertain of any human being. For your dear Children, I feel an affection almost parental. I have had the pleasure of receiving your long and charming letter; pray never make an apology for writing such, as an unreserved communication of sentiment, is the only thing that can alleviate the pain of separation. The little anecdotes of my friends and acquaintances, afford me great amusement, and I feel interested in all their little love scenes. I am convinced that Mrs. A. will never think seriously of Mr. Marsden, though she may carry on a little flirtation with him. The all-conquering Miss A. had better accept of Mr. Phillips, as I believe he has one of the best fortunes in New York, and as I have heard it suspected that ambition is her reigning passion, she will probably sacrifice her love to it. Indeed I think connecting herself to our Cousin, to whom we supposed her affections were engaged, would have been extremely imprudent.

I am sincerely grieved to hear of poor Mrs. Chew's misfortune. I think she would be a real loss to her family.

The Influenza has raged here a second time, but not with that violence that it has done with you; it has not in one instance here proved fatal. Our Summer Fogs are just setting in which is in fact the only thing that denotes the season, as we have not left of[f] fires, and have never slept under less than two blankets.

I cannot longer restrain my impatience to see my dear little Boys; we have sent for them home, and I expect them in a fortnight. They have, I fear, suffered many hardships last winter, the woman of the house, where they were boarded, was too indolent to pay attention to them, and they were too young to shift for themselves. I was highly gratified at my dear little nephew's desire to write to me, as it was a strong proof of his affection for me; I shall answer his letter, and beg that he may be permitted to correspond regularly with me. Pray tell my little name-sake that letters from her will be very acceptable, as it will make her remember me, and that I shall always love her very sincerely.

From the present appearance of things there is great reason to apprehend a disappointment in our going home this Fall. For my own part, I have given up every hope of going. There has been a succession of disappointments and mortifications in collecting our debts ever since my return home—but I will not begin to relate grievances, but for a time endeavor to shake off that gloom that has taken possession of me, and for which I have too much cause.

If my Brother's circumstances are as easy at present as you represent, I would not wish the Money made use of for him. It will certainly be best to let him get what he can from Footman, if at any future period he should be in distress, I will most cheerfully contribute to his relief, without suffering myself to consider how much we have lost by him. I could not enjoy the comforts of life, whilst a Brother was wanting the necessities.

I shall be much obliged to you, to purchase for me a piece (18 yards) of the *best* black India lute-string, or mantua—4 pieces of broad French Ribbon, such as was sold at 1 s. per yd., or two dollars the piece—I wish for two pieces of pale blue, 1 piece of white and one piece of Royal Purple, or Garter blue. There is a great difference in the quality of the Ribbons, at the same price. Five hundred of best white chapel needles No. 5, 6, 8 each one hundred and two hundred of No. 7. One box of Anderson's pills; two bottles of good blue dye; 2 boxes of Salt of Lemon, for taking out Iron Mould. If any *elegant* India chintzes are to be got, I should like two short or one long piece. But as two Ships have arrived without any, I doubt your being able to get any. In which case, if any very great bargains should offer pray lay out the remainder of the money in them, or if anything very new and elegant is to be bought that you think I should like, pray purchase it for me,—I leave it intirely to you.

I wrote to you, my beloved Parent, about a fortnight ago; since which, I have been considering a part of your letter, which mentions the great Interest to be got for Money in Philadelphia. You probably recollect my informing you, that we had agreed to leave the product of my Pension untouched, during our residence in St. John, for the purpose of buying an Annuity for my Children:—We have ever since our arrival

here, been endeavoring to purchase well secured Annuities, without success. Money was never so plenty as at present, which makes the difficulty of laying it out to advantage, or procuring a good Interest for it, very great. The Funds produce only 4 per cent; and good Annuities (the lives being insured) will not clear more than 6 per Cent, and are then attended with some unavoidable hazards. I am extremely anxious to place the little Money that we have reserved for my Children, to the greatest advantage, in order to give them a good education, which in this Country is attended with great expence; and to secure to them sufficient to keep them from want, should any accident happen to us. Will you, my dear Sir, give me your Advice and Assistance to effect this desirable end? which would take from me a load, which has long oppressed me. The greatest part of our Income being dependent upon our lives, would make our deaths severely felt by my Children; and untill I know, that in case of such an event, they would be secured from Beggary and absolute Dependence, I cannot know tranquility. Having candidly stated the situation of things here, I am induced to request your attention to placing a sum of Money to advantage in Philadelphia. I have had some thought of writing to Mr. Lea, to intreat him to take £1.000, and employ it in some kind of business, for the advantage of my Children; but have felt delicate about requesting such a favor. You, my dear Sir, can inform me whether such a request would be prudent, and likely to be complied with. We are told that great advantage may now be made of ready Money, with you. If I recollect when I was in Philada. your Bank produced at least seven per cent; and you thought the Money perfectly secure. I cannot however pretend to point out to you, (who are so competent to judge of the matter) the best way to place Money; but if you would have the goodness to undertake the business for me and my Children, I would leave it entirely to your management, and you would relieve a heart, anxiously and tenderly solicitous for the future welfare of those so dear to it.

We understand that Bills are now at Par, *should they continue so, or rise*, and you think it eligible for me to place Money in Philadelphia, I beg you will have the goodness to draw upon me for £2.000. Sterling; or if you would prefer it, on Messrs. Dorset & Co Bankers, New Bond Street, London; you may depend on the Bills being duly honored. Should there being an opening to

employ half, or indeed the whole of it to advantage in business, and Mr. Lea could be prevailed on to take it, I should be happy to have it put in his hands:—But as I before observed, I will leave the direction of it entirely to you; being convinced that you will act for me, as you would for yourself: knowing of how much consequence it is to make some little provision for my Children.

I beg you will have the goodness to write as soon as possible (by the Packet, or otherwise) after you have made up your mind on the business; as till we hear from you, we shall let the Money remain in its present situation (in the Funds, in the name of *my Agent*, for which *I* am credited on his Books) to be ready to answer any Bills you may draw;—and shall not avail ourselves of any thing that may offer for otherwise disposing of it.

Should the public Papers of a few days back reach you, you will observe a paragraph, mentioning that Genl. A. is killed in a Duel, with the Earl of Lauderdale. This was for some time so generally believed, that our friends were flocking to the house, to condole with, and make me offers of service. This circumstance has given me a great deal of pain, as it has made known to Genl. A. what I had hoped he would not hear; which was that Lord Lauderdale had cast some reflections on his political Character, in the House of Lords. I am not without strong fears that he will think it necessary to demand an apology, and resent being refused one. But this is a subject, upon which of course, he is, to me silent; and all that I can obtain from him, are Assurances that he will do nothing rashly, and without the advice of his friends. You may readily conceive that my situation must be a very unhappy one, till the Affair is settled; but I call all my fortitude to my aid, to prevent my sinking under it, which would unman him and prevent his acting himself—I am perfectly silent on the subject; for weak Woman as I am, I would not wish to prevent what would be deemed necessary to preserve his honor.—Lord Lauderdale is at present out of town, but is expected to return in a few days.

I beg my tender love to my dear Mamma, my Sisters and their families. I shall write again by a Ship that is to sail to Philada., the 1st of July, and hope to give you more pleasing intelligence.

Believe me, my beloved Parent, ever most truly Yours.

M. ARNOLD.

I intended to have made this a single letter, but could not effect it. The Genl. always wishes to be included in remembrance to the family.

HOLLIS STREET, CAVENDISH SQUARE, LONDON.

June 26th, 1792.

MY BELOVED AND RESPECTED PARENT;

The anxiety which my last letter must have occasioned, as I then mentioned the probability of a Duel's taking place between the Earl of Lauderdale and General Arnold, I am happy now to have it in my power to relieve; as the affair is settled most honorably for the General, and his conduct upon the occasion has gained him great applause. The circumstances that gave rise to it you may wish to hear: Lord Lauderdale (who is violent in the opposition, and was the only man in the House of Lords who voted against an address of thanks to the King, upon a late proclamation), in an attack upon the Duke of Richmond, respecting the Reform in Parliament, is said to have used the following expressions: "That he did not know any instance of Political Apostacy equal to the Duke of Richmond's, except General Arnold's," and that "the intended Encampment was designed to overawe the inhabitants of the Kingdom, and the Metropolis in particular; and prevent a Reform in Parliament, that the Duke of Richmond was the most proper person he knew of to command it, General Arnold first struck off the list."

Upon the General's demanding an apology for this unprovoked attack upon his character, his Lordship positively denied having made use of the last expression, or any similar to it; the first he acknowledged, and made a kind of apology for it; but it not satisfying the General, he drew up such a one as he would accept, which his Lordship refused to sign.

Lord Hawke (who is a most respectable Peer, and our particular friend) voluntarily offered his services upon the occasion: and as the matter could not be amicably settled, his Lordship waited upon Lord Lauderdale, and a place was named for a meeting. The time appointed was seven o'clock on Sunday morning last—Mr. Charles Fox, as second to Lord Lauderdale; Lord Hawke, the General's. It was agreed that they should fire at the same time, upon a word given, which the General

did, without effect. Lord L. refused to fire, saying he had no enmity to General Arnold. He at the same time refused making an apology, and said the General might fire again, if he chose. This was impossible, but the General desired Lord Hawke to tell Mr. Fox, that he would not leave the field without satisfaction; and that if Lord Lauderdale persisted in his refusal of giving it to him, either by an apology or firing again, that he should be under the necessity of using such expressions to him, as would oblige him to do the latter. Upon this, the seconds had a conference, during which time Lord Lauderdale and the General met; when he told his Lordship that he did not come there to convince the world that he dare fight, but for satisfaction for the injury done his character; and that he certainly would not quit the field without it. After a consultation between Lord L. & Mr. Fox, his Lordship came forward, and said that he had no enmity to General Arnold—that he did not mean to asperse his character or wound his feelings, and was sorry for what he had said. General A. said he was perfectly satisfied with this apology, provided the seconds, as men of honor, declared he ought to be so, which they, without hesitation, did. Before they left the ground, Lord Lauderdale expressed great concern at finding that I had been made unhappy, and begged leave to wait upon me, to make an apology. A variety of circumstances combined to make me acquainted with the whole transaction; what I suffered for near a week is not to be described; the suppression of my feelings, lest I should unman the General, almost at last proved too much for me; and for some hours, my reason was dispaired of. I was confined to my bed for some days after, but am now so much better that I shall go out an airing this afternoon. It has been highly gratifying to find the General's conduct so much applauded, which it has been universally, and particularly by a number of the first characters in the Kingdom, who have called upon him in consequence of it. Nor am I displeased at the great commendations bestowed on my own conduct upon this trying occasion. I wrote you a long letter about ten days ago, upon the subject of the little money that has been received as a provision for my children, which letter I hope you will receive safe. I intended sending a duplicate, but am not at present equal to copying it. I mentioned that we could not, in the Funds, get above 4 per cent for money, and by annuities, insured, not more than 6 per cent; expressed the great

anxiety I should feel until something was secured to my children, as the greatest part of our Income depended upon our lives: (Ah! how lately has one of them been endangered) and entreated your advice and assistance in the disposal of it to advantage. I suggested a wish that Mr. Lea would employ a small sum in business for the advantage of my children, but left the matter entirely to your discretion, and begged that if you were of opinion that it would be better to place the money in Philadelphia, and that it would there produce a good Interest, and be safe, that you would have the goodness to undertake the business for me,—and authorized you to draw upon me, if Bills were at or above Par, on Messrs. Dorset & Co. Bankers, New Bond Street, for £2.000. sterling. I shall impatiently wait your answer, my beloved Papa, as we shall not think of disposing of the money otherways till then. The honorable and advantageous Peace made by Lord Cornwallis in the East Indies, has afforded great pleasure to all *loyal subjects* here. Many people look forward with dread to the 14th of July, as they are fearful of Riots on that day, but I sincerely hope it is without cause.—I beg to be most affectionately remembered to all the family, in which the General begs leave to join.

Believe me, my dearly beloved Parent,

Most truly Yours,

M. ARNOLD.

[July 6, 1792.]

*Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard Arnold, dated
July 28, 1793.*

You request my dear Richard, my influence with your father to induce him to consent to your marrying. With respect to him, I must beg not to interfere ;—but give me leave, as a friend interested for your happiness, to offer you my advice. I should by no means wish you to give up a young lady to whom your love and honor are engaged, and who, from every thing I can hear, is worthy of your affection. But by the love you bear her, let me admonish you not to marry her till you are enabled to support her in a comfortable style. How many people are there who are for years engaged, while prudence forbids an union, who afterwards come together, and are happier for their self-denial, till fortune smiled upon them. You are particularly for-

fortunate in not being severed from the object of your attachments; you can enjoy her society, and your desire to unite yourself to her will stimulate your industry.

By precipitating yourself into matrimony till you are established in business, you would probably render yourself and the object of your regards miserable;—but by your exertions, a short time may make a material change in your affairs, and you will then be enabled to marry her, with a prospect of happiness, and with the approbation of your friends.

*Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard Arnold, dated
August, 1794.*

I am now in a state of most extreme misery, from the report of your Father's being a prisoner to the French at Point-a-Peter, Guadaloupe. It is contradicted by some gentlemen lately from St. Kitts, but your Father's last letter to me, being of the first of June, wherein he says he shall set-off the next day for Point-a-Peter, makes it but too probable, as the French took possession of that Place the 4th of June. We are in hourly expectation of its recapture, till I hear of which I shall not know a moment's peace of mind. . . . I suppose my dear Henry is long ere this in the West Indies; I scarcely know whether or not to wish it, as, though I think his prospects in going very good, yet the fever that rages there proves so fatal to young people, that I dread his falling a victim to it. . . .

We have not heard from poor Ben for a long time past, and have reason to fear he is a prisoner, as about 6,000 English are now in that situation in France, and those who previous to the war resided there; have been told they are very well treated, but I think I have now got things in a train to get certain information of him, and to furnish him with money.

Should you wish to forward me your certificate and draw for your half-pay, I will attend to your business.

Edward, James and George are all at school, and coming on very well; they and Sophia send their tender love to you. The latter is remarkably handsome, and promises to make a very fine woman.

LONDON QUEEN ANN ST. E.

May 2nd, 1796

MY DEAR SIR,

I am sorry to return the bill, drawn by Peter Blight Jany 15th on Isaac Blight, Protested, as it occasions you trouble. I shall send this by the Packet, but if I find any girl about to sail for Philadelphia immediately, I shall send the Bill, Protest, &c. by her.—

I am now pursuing your plan of abstinence, which is the only one recommended to me by an eminent Physician, whom I have consulted. He orders me to eat not one half of my usual quantity of food, and to lessen my drink in the same proportion. The quality of the food he thinks it unnecessary to attend to, the quantity only being material.—I am to take no kind of medicine, and never fatigue myself with exercise.—Following these instructions he warrants a cure. Nobody to look at me, could suppose I wanted the advice of Medical people, as my appearance indicates the most florid health, indeed I possess it to a great degree, and when I do not attempt walking am perfectly well, this exercise occasions my limbs, and indeed my whole body, to swell, and causes a general fullness.—My appetite is uncommonly good, and my digestion such, that I never find any quantity or quality of food disagree with me.

I am sorry to find you still affected with your headaches. A draught of water, as hot as it can be swallowed, has a surprizing good effect, after eating too freely, and my Medical friend says he has no doubt but that you would find it wonderfully efficacious. It is meant to wash, not empty the stomach, and strengthens, instead of weakening it.—It is not unpleasant, and I know a Gentleman who has cured himself of a violent bilious complaint by the daily use of it.—I am extremely impatient for the arrival of your picture, which I hope is on its way. You could not have bestowed upon me a more valued gift.—Repining is useless, but it is surely a hard lot to be so separated from all my relations: do not suffer absence to weaken your affection for me, and believe that though fate has deprived me of the happiness of contributing to the comfort of your latter days, I could sacrifice almost my life to render them easy, and free from care and pain.—Have the goodness to remember me most affectionately to my dear sisters and their families in which mine beg to

join, with respectful regards to yourself.—With the warmest sentiment of duty and affection, believe me, my beloved Parent,

ever Yours

M. A.

I cannot express to you, my dear Sir, the high gratification you have afforded me, by your goodness in sending to me your valuable picture; the sight of it occasioned sensations I never before experienced; and though I scarcely had it out of my hand the whole of the day I received it, I could not rest without getting up twice in the night to look at it. After this I need not say that I see a strong likeness, but I wish it was a more favorable one, the eyes, particularly the right one, are very bad, and the heavy brow very unlike yours. I have been advised to have the eyes altered, but shall not trust it out of my possession. And as I see a strong resemblance, when I cover the eyes, it is invaluable to me.

I hope you have long ere this received Blight's Bill and Protest, which I sent by the Ceres, bound to Philadelphia. I am very sorry that you should have so much trouble, but hope that you will have no difficulty in recovering it. I shall be much obliged to you for another Remittance, as soon as it is convenient to you, as I assure you we find it difficult to bring the year about, at the present extravagant rates of every article of life. Every thing has risen in proportion to Bread and Meat; all Schools have increased their price accordingly, and in short a thousand a year is not equal to six hundred a little time ago. I am almost sick of the struggle to keep up an appearance, which however is absolutely necessary, in this Country, to bring forward a young family.

Mr. Foster very obligingly delivered himself, your letter and picture; he appears to me to be a sensible, pleasant man, though his manners are not highly polished. I should be sorry that my dear Sister Lea should ever alter her state, as I think her society a great acquisition to you, and Matrimony is but a Lottery. I am happy to find that you propose moving into your old house, where you will find yourself more at home, than you can ever do in any other. I will not touch upon politics, as it is your wish that I should avoid the subject, when writing to you.

My family are all well, and desire to unite with me in every expression of affection and duty to you.

Believe me, my dear Sir, Yours most truly.

M. A.

NEW BARN, CHIGWILE ESSEX.

July 29th 1796.

LONDON, GLOUCESTER PLACE, May 20, 1797.

Under the pressure of bodily and mental suffering, I have long but in vain looked for the solace of a letter from my beloved and respected Parent. Your last was dated in July '96, which I answered very fully by the October packet and repeated the most material contents in several subsequent letters. As every sentiment of mine towards you must ever be dictated by the most ardent affection, I cannot believe that I have given you any cause of displeasure, and fear that illness or misfortune have occasioned your silence.

I informed you, my dear Sir, that I was then laboring under the effects of a violent attack in my head, that had nearly proved fatal; every precaution has been used to prevent a return of it, and the remedies, though violent, have been successful, as I think myself materially better: But have had a series of illness in my family for many months past; we are now all tolerably well.

Nothing can be so gloomy as the present state of our public affairs. I look forward to a Revolution in this Country, and consequently a deprivation of our support from Government. My spirits are much broken, and I think I could be contented in a very humble retired situation; but to see my Children's rising prospects blasted, would fill me with the keenest anguish. I sincerely wish that America may not be involved in a War with France; it is here thought inevitable, but I trust much to the moderation and good sense that has been so often evinced in your councils.

I am sorry to hear Nancy Allen so severely censured by those who come over, and write from America. I hope the accounts are exaggerated, otherwise her character is entirely destroyed. Her connections here are very violent in their condemnation of her; but say the fault originated with Aunt L—— I understand that much pains have been taken, to gain your sanction.

June 2nd.

Since writing the above I have had the pleasure of receiving your welcome favor of April 6th, with a Bill for £140, which I believe is accepted. I am greatly disappointed at being obliged to relinquish the hopes I had formed, of having my Brother's debt compromised, which it is our wish should be done, in any way you think proper, I will not however, my dear Sir, urge you upon a subject that is painful to you; nor whatever my own difficulties may be, will I involve my Brother in distress; for whose sake as well as my own I was anxious to have the Bond cancelled. While Genl. A. and myself live, we have the power of acting with lenity; but should any accident happen to him, the settlement of his affairs might fall into hands less disposed to forbearance.

I was yesterday gratified by the sight of the Cup & Cover and Stand that was given to the famous Member of Parliament of our name in the reign of George the 1st. I heard of its being at a Silver Smiths, and hoped it might be for sale; in which case, I should have endeavored to have obtained it, in exchange for some of my most useless plate, and have presented it to you, to whom it would have been valuable. I find however that it was sent by Col. Labourne to be re-gilt, who values it highly. It is very handsome; the inscription "A Legacy from the Duke of Buckingham & Normandy to the worthy Mr. Shippen." Its weight 160 oz.

I have just received a duplicate of yours of 6th April. Our political affairs have now arrived at a crisis. The Mutineers at the Nore have got the entire command, and the Red Flag of Defiance is now displayed on board of twenty-two Ships of the Line, and smaller armed ships there. Government are at length determined to use severe measures, and I think a few days will determine the fate of this Country. You must suppose it is a moment of the most anxious solicitude to me. Be so good as to present our affectionate love to all the family, and believe me, my beloved Parent;

most truly Yours,
M. ARNOLD.

Your letter, my beloved Parent of Dec. 30th [1799] has afforded me more real happiness, than any I have ever received from you. I sincerely rejoice to find that you have conquered

those complaints in your head which were not only troublesome but dangerous. May Heaven long preserve a life so truly valuable. I am glad to find that you are appointed to fill so honourable a situation and think there is very little reason to apprehend any failure of intellect, to incapacitate you from long continuing in it. I am sorry I suggested the idea, so late, of making a little advantage of the low price of Bills, but I less regret it, as I feared from your former letter that you did not quite approve of the plan. I mean at all events to preserve that Money sacredly for my Children, and should be glad to avail myself of any opportunity of increasing it, and trust that you will embrace any plan that *you think eligible* for that purpose. In the mean time, I highly approve of your idea of getting in all the Money that remains in private hands, and investing it in some stock; not only as it produces a better Interest, but as it will afford you the power of availing yourself of any opportunity of turning the Money to advantage. I am glad to hear that my dear Sister is likely to settle her daughter so much to her satisfaction; the young couple have my sincere wishes for their happiness. I shall write to my dear Niece soon; but regret my inability to make her such a Bridal present, as would be gratifying to my feelings.

I am about experiencing a very severe trial, in the separation from my beloved Edward who goes this Spring to India, in the Engineer line; which, next to a Writership is the best; the latter required more money than we could spare. He will go with Lord Cornwallis's interest and patronage; which will I trust insure his success. James is very eligibly situated at Gibraltar. His pecuniary advantages are nearly equal to a Captain's in the line, and we are assured that no young Officer ever received such attentions as he has done there; he is a great favorite of General O'Hara's, the Governor, and General & Mrs. Grinfield who are there, are our particular friends.—I feel myself, my dear Sir, particularly blessed in my Children; and can with truth assure you, that neither of these young men have ever given me a moment's uneasiness, from any misconduct of any kind. My dear Girl is better than she has been; nothing but the most unremitting attention has saved her life; I trust a continuance of it will restore her to health.

The Bill for £150 I received in September, it was duly paid,—of which I wrote immediately to inform you.

I am sincerely sorry to hear of the death of General Washington. I admired his public, and revered his private Character. I fear that America will sustain an irreparable loss in him, as he appeared to possess the happy talent of uniting all Parties.

I shall be much obliged to you to inform me, whether the lands on the River Susquehanna will be eventually holden under the Pennsylvania or Connecticut Grant, and what you suppose to be their value.

I shall write to my Sister soon; my head which is too full of blood, will not admit of my writing more than one letter at a time.

All my family beg to unite with me in respectful and affectionate regards to you, and love to all the family. Believe me my beloved Parent, most tenderly and truly Yours.

M. A.

GLOUCESTER PLACE. LONDON.

Feby. 5th [1800.]

Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Mrs. Burd, dated May 10, 1800.

Wholly engrossed in my own cares, I fear my beloved friends that I have been too negligent in not writing to you. The heavy hand of affliction has been upon me, and has most severely wounded me, by the alarming situation of my Dear Girl; whose health we had hoped was much improving, when about ten weeks ago she was seized with a kind of Paralytic stroke, which deprived her of the use of her legs, and extended up her back. After some severe remedies of Blistering &c., she was in a degree restored to the use of her limbs, but one leg still remains without any sense of feeling;—after trying every means to restore it, the medical men ordered her to the sea, for the purpose of using the warm sea bath. My much loved friends, the Misses Fitch, having lately lost their Father and mother, (whose death beds I attended and soothed their dying moments) finding a change of scene necessary to them, have taken a house at Brighton, for the purpose of taking my dear girl with them, feeling for her an almost parental affection. She is still with her Governess there, and though much better able to walk, still finds the numbness continue. I dread another attack which might prove fatal.

My darling Edward leaves me in about ten days, to try his fortune in the East. His death could scarcely be a more severe stroke.

My little dear James has been selected in a very flattering manner from his brother officers at Gibraltar to go upon the service of the march of Malta. The high compliments paid him upon the occasion and his own anxiety to go, in some degree reconcile me to it; but a tender mother's fears are all alive.

I sincerely congratulate you my dear Sister B. upon your daughter's marriage; May every blessing attend her.

I am anxious to hear from you all, not having had that pleasure since December.

May 20th.

Not knowing of an opportunity of sending my letter to my beloved friends, I have left it unfinished; one now offering by the Factor to New York, I embrace it, though I am not very equal to the task of writing at present.

My dear Edward's baggage is on board and a day or two must separate us probably forever. He is one of the most excellent of human beings, and has never from any misconduct given me one moment's uneasiness. Think then what I must suffer at losing him; but I trust, though I must suffer, he will be the gainer, as he goes out under many advantages, having Lord Cornwallis's and other good interest.

My dear James from whom I had letters yesterday was just embarking upon the expedition against Malta, as second in command in the Engineers, selected from several elder officers. It is thought a great thing for him. He is a great military genius and I have no doubt will acquit himself well.

My dear girl is still at the sea, which in point of health has been of great use to her, but she has still no feeling in one leg.

I am very anxious for letters from you and most sincerely hope that your silence does not proceed from as an unpleasant a cause as mine.

The price of every article here is enormous; Meat 1 shilling Sterling per lb. Bread 4d. do. Butter 1s. 3d. ditto, Potatoes 2d., and every thing else in proportion. Should the present season prove unfavorable, we shall have a famine.

I was very sorry to hear of General Washington's Death; nobody in America could revere his character more than I did.

With our most affectionate regard to all the family, believe me my beloved friends ever yours.

LONDON June 29th, 1801

DEAR SIR,

It is the request of my tenderly beloved friend, your deeply afflicted daughter, that I should inform you of the melancholy change which has taken place in her situation by the death of her ever dear & sorrowed husband—Gen'l Arnold died on the 14th instant at half past six in the morning—you probably will have heard before this reaches you—that his health had been in a declining state for several months—but the danger which awaited him, his poor wife was not fully aware of—from the flattering assurance constantly given her—by the Physician who attended that *He* saw no cause for apprehension, for a week before he died, he was extremely ill—His complaints (supposed to be occasioned by repeated Gout) were a tendency to a general Dropsy, and a disease in the Lungs—I *think* you are not a stranger to my name, as the strongest attachment has subsisted between your estimable daughter and my family for many years—it may therefore be a satisfaction to you to know that my sister & myself were with Mrs. Arnold when her husband expired—that we shall not be separated from her for sometime—and that there are not any attentions which friendship & affection can suggest to sooth & soften her sorrows, which shall be omitted—so far as lies within the compass of our abilities—She evinces upon this occasion—as you know she has done upon many trying ones before—that fortitude & resignation, which in a superior & well regulated mind *only* is capable of existing—Her health will I hope be preserved from suffering lasting injury by going as is her intention to a quiet retired situation in the country—as soon as our Loved friends remains are consigned to their last mansion.

Her Sophia and son George are already there—the former I am happy to say is at present in very good health—with a prospect of its being permanent—if this sad stroke does not destroy it—When removed to the calm serenity of the country—I hope it will not be long before my beloved Mrs. Arnold will acquire sufficient improvement to write to you herself.

My sisters and my particular Regards to you and your family.

I remain Dear Sir

With esteem and respect

ANN FITCH

No letters have yet been received from Mr. Arnold from India—or any accounts from Mr. J. Arnold since Mrs. Arnold wrote to you—the little William is quite well.

LONDON, GLOUCESTER PLACE.

Aug 15th, 1801

As I have ever had reason to believe my dear Mr. Burd that you felt a sincere affection for me, though circumstances did not admit of your giving frequent opportunities of evincing it, I feel myself encouraged to call upon you as a friend, in my present unhappy situation.—In addition to the loss of a Husband whose affection for me was unbounded, I have to deplore being left in very embarrassed circumstances, with a little dependant family.—The last unfortunate speculation entered into of fitting out a privateer, has involved us in many difficulties; and there is every reason to fear, that the property here will be insufficient to pay the Debts;—Upon my Brother's Debt therefore I must greatly depend for the means of getting forward my Children, which in this Country cannot be done without money.—It will even amount to upwards of four thousand pounds sterling. Although even the interest has heretofore been most usually withheld, I cannot suppose but that my present unhappy situation will be taken into consideration, upon this occasion.—Have the goodness, my dear Mr. Burd, to tell me candidly what dependence I may reasonably place upon this resource.

From the situation of affairs, many of the accounts relative to the Vessel are not yet come from Portugal, it is impossible to ascertain the debts, which I fear will prove so great, as to oblige me to give in upon both, an account of money due to the Estate.—My Brother's Debt must of course be included.—I suppose he will find means, as he has heretofore done, of making the payment, and in this case, unless relieved by my dear Father's justice I fear my family must be the sufferers.—Let me entreat you to give me your advice upon the painful occasion.—I never stood

so much in need of support,—and never felt myself so helpless.—My health is impaired by long anxiety of mind, and loss of rest, and my former strength of mind, and energy have entirely forsaken me, and indeed I sometimes fear that my reason will give way.—My sufferings are not of the present moment only,—Years of unhappiness have past, I had cast my lot, complaints were unavailing, and you and my other friends, are ignorant of the many causes of uneasiness I have had.—My situation is now changed, in a pecuniary point of view, most unfavorably, but as my ambition has sunk with my fortune, I would, were it not for my Children, sink into total obscurity, upon the bare necessities of life.—But the duty I owe to them calls upon me for exertion, I have met with much kindness here, and I trust that those dear relations, upon whom I have a stronger claim, will not be backward in affording me all the consolation in their power.—It is for your advice and assistance in this important business of my Brothers, only that I apply to you.—You are, I am aware, delicately situated between us, but upon your well known justice I rely, and I trust I may also place some dependance upon your affection.—Mine for you has been unshaken.—

Pray remember me most tenderly to my beloved Sisters and your family, and believe me most sincerely

Your affectionate & afflicted

M. ARNOLD

Letter from Mrs. Arnold to her Father, Fall of 1801.

A great press of business this week leaves me but little leisure for letter writing; yet desirous of availing myself of this opportunity by this packet, I trust my beloved Parent, and very dear Sisters will excuse my addressing them all in one letter. I feel extreme solicitude respecting you, from the accounts we have of this dreadful malady the Yellow Fever, having again assailed your City;—God grant that they may be exaggerated, and that you may be far removed from the scene of danger. The kindness of Mr. Bond and Mr. Coxe, in furnishing us with the power of writing by the Packet, without trouble or expense, let me entreat some one of the family to avail themselves of it monthly, if it is only by writing a few lines; the short sentence “we are well,” would afford me gratification. My returning health & serenity of mind will I am sure my beloved friends,

be a source of great comfort to you, and would have been more so, had you witnessed my late sufferings. It would be impossible for me to describe them & the more so, as I am convinced my reason was affected. I look back with thankfulness for my preservation;—a preservation from worse than death.—But indeed death itself had nearly been the consequence of the despairing state to which I was reduced; for at one period, when I viewed everything through a false medium, I fancied that nothing but the sacrifice of my life would benefit my children, for that my wretchedness embittered every moment of their lives; and dreadful to say, I was many times on the point of making the sacrifice. Nothing more strongly proves to myself the deprivation of my reason; for situated as they are my life is most valuable to them, as the remainder of my days will be devoted to them & their advancement & welfare. My present feelings are not wholly unattended with danger, as I have frequently in the course of every day a confusion in my head resembling what I can suppose would be the sensations of anybody extremely drunk, and very desirous of concealing their situation. The contrary opinions of medical men of eminence to whom I have applied, are extremely unsatisfactory, and harassing to me, some say that my past complaints & present feelings proceed from fullness, particularly of the vessels of the head; others that they are wholly nervous, occasioned by the long loss of rest, anxiety of mind; the irreparable loss of a most tender and affectionate husband, and the total change of my circumstances, and mode of living. Under the divided opinions of the faculty I have nothing left but the exercise of my own judgment, which leads me to observe the medium between full & very low living, to keep regular & early hours, to mix with cheerful & rational society, to make the best of my little income, and to be thankful for the blessings yet left me; among the greatest of which is the uncommon excellence of my Children: the partiality natural to a Parent may lead you to suppose that mine influences me in my favorable opinion of them; but when I assert that two of my Sons have arrived at the age of manhood, without having by any misconduct, given me an hour's uneasiness; and that my third Son is exactly treading in their steps, you will not think it a vain boast, when I do justice to their worth. And my dear girl is, in point of disposition, temper, rectitude of conduct, & goodness, all that a fond Mother

can wish her, with a pleasing person, and cultivated and well regulated mind.

I have many friends whom adversity has tried and proved; and I trust that my Character is so firmly established, that notwithstanding the great change in my situation, I shall not lose my rank in society, except among the gay and very fashionable part of my acquaintance, to whose pleasures I cannot administer, and with Characters of this description I have no longer a wish to associate.

LONDON, BRYANSTON STREET.

June 2nd, 1802

How shall I, my beloved and respected Parent, thank you for your goodness to me? I have been for these few months in a most wretched state, owing to a complaint, which they call —, but which has appeared to be one of a much more serious nature, I am now getting better, and great hopes are given me that I shall get quite well.—To tell you, my dear Sir, the different forms my complaint has taken, would be impossible, sometimes I have been in the deepest distress, and sometimes in a state of irritation not to be described, at present I am neither one or the other, but have a total loss of memory, as far as relates to present occurrences, and I cannot connect things, or make any arrangements.—This is certainly a state of great hazard, particularly having so much responsibility upon me,—but I hope I shall soon be better if I am able to get into the Country, which I trust your liberality will justify me in doing with prudence.—I have been obliged lately many times to quit town for a short time and I believe it was of use to me.—I know every thing depends upon my keeping up, and as far as in my own power, I shall certainly make the exertion to do so.—I have not for some months past, my dear Sir, been able to do business, my friends, particularly Mr. Coxe have made great exertions for me, but it has, I am convinced, suffered very much, but this cannot be helped, it has pleased the Almighty to visit me with an affliction most severe.—Should it be His pleasure to restore me, my gratitude to Him will be unbounded.—

The Bill to Miss F. has been received. I do not know for what purpose I wished it sent to me, but believe I requested it

when I did not very well know what I did.—Your kind present also has been received, for which I am truly grateful.—You need not, my dear Sir, fear that my Sons will occasion me any unnecessary expense; they are both of them excellent and have long since given up their Pensions for the use of the younger branches of the family.—Miss Fitch has received a letter from my darling Edward, saying that he has just received a Newspaper account of the loss he has sustained, that he knows not how his Father has disposed of his property, but that if he left him anything, he begs her, in his name, to relinquish it for the benefit of his Mother and family.—Poor fellow he knows not the distressed circumstances in which his father died.—He adds that he shall henceforth consider William as his own, and provide for him.—God grant that he may have the means.—James is equally good and noble; indeed I am much blessed in my children.—My dear Girl continues extremely delicate, and her constitution has suffered a great shock from the loss she has sustained and the situation in which I have been, but should it please God to restore me wholly I trust she will recover.—I have got into a small, but very neat house, where I trust on a future day I may be comfortable.

I shall write soon to my beloved Sisters, whose affectionate letters I have received.—My Sister Burd's of March 22nd is the first line I have had from her since my misfortune, the one she mentions from Mr. Burd has never come to hand, which is very unfortunate, for should it become necessary to account to his Creditors, for my not taking steps to recover my Brother's debt, his letter might have been my justification.

I cannot, my dear Sir, form any plans for my future residence till I see how this business will terminate, if I could quit London I should prefer going to some Country town, but perhaps to get my boys forward my presence here may be necessary.—But you may be assured my beloved Parent that I will take no measures that are not directed by Prudence.—Some weeks ago I was not able to write even a common note, now I can do it without difficulty, for many months past I have been unable to read and now cannot connect two sentences, but I flatter myself that I shall again acquire it,—with my memory. And now my beloved and respected Parent, may the Blessings of Heaven attend you all.

M. A.

Letter from James R. Arnold to Mrs. Arnold.

NORTH SHIELDS, June 30 1802.

I return my most hearty thanks to the Almighty, my tenderly beloved Mother, for the fair prospect there seems to be of your perfect recovery. Nothing on earth could afford me such real happiness. I hope to hear that Dr. Vaughan has recommended change of air, and that you propose passing the summer out of Town. Miss Fitch mentions having recommended a voyage to Tinmouth—The Voyage, I believe would be of very great service; but the place, I can by no means recommend. It certainly is near the sea, & you may bathe, but there is literally no other amusement. There are no rooms, no raffles, not at this time of the year are there any plays or assemblies. The people who come here to bathe are mostly from Newcastle; & being in trade, have of course very little time to spare; they do not associate with the Military; indeed from the specimens I have seen of them, I feel by no means anxious for their acquaintance. The parties that come only remain a few weeks, & are then relieved. I believe I could provide very genteel accommodations for you, but I think the description is *quite* sufficient.

Pray, my dearest Mother, do not distress me by again mentioning drawing upon you. *At least* let me *try* if I cannot live upon my pay. Provisions are tolerably cheap in this part of the world, & there really are no inducements to be extravagant. You already have my promise to ask for your assistance if I want it; but I beg you will not press me to this measure, till it is really necessary.

I have taken a very genteel lodging here, I am about a mile from Tinmouth, to which this situation is far preferable. At this time of the year, lodgings are a vast deal dearer than in the winter, owing to the great demand by bathers. I pay 12s. 6d. a week—for which I have two very good rooms, & bed & table linen found me. This is thought, for the season very cheap. If I am here when the season is over, I am to have them for half a guinea, but I shall then most probably live in Tinmouth where I shall be able to get rooms for 7 or 8 Shillings. Now, they are dearer in Tinmouth than they are here, as that is nearer the bathing place.

I expect Major Hockings here tomorrow, & when he comes

we shall be very busy. There is a large Storehouse in Tinmouth to which we are going to make a very considerable addition & there are also some little things to be done on the coast, which I fancy it will fall to my lot to execute; in this case I shall have some little travelling, which at this time of the year will be pleasant; & as the Board makes an allowance upon these occasions, it will be no material extra expence.

Miss Fitch tells me that the Swedish Capt. has arrived & has commenced an action. I rejoice, however my dearest Mother, to find that this has not had the effect upon you which it would have had a short time ago; & that you are determined to bear with fortitude whatever may occur. Continue my beloved Mother, in this resolution, & remember that in a very few years all earthly events will be of no avail. But for the sake of the family, I trust things will yet turn out favorably; & that we shall all pass many happy days together. Remember me most kindly to Mr. Coxe & family. At present I have nothing to trouble him with, but in the event of there being any prize money I shall perhaps request his assistance. I long to hear that you have got rid of your colds & left London.

Tho' the weather has been bad it is now extremely fine. I find the bathing extremely cold after the Mediterranean, but it is very pleasant. The accommodations for the ladies are excessively bad. I certainly shall not ask leave to come to Town unless it should be necessary, particularly as there is some chance of your leaving it. Pray do so if circumstances will permit; you have no idea how happy it would make me, & I am sure it would do you all a vast deal of service. How are poor little Liss & dear Sophia? give them a thousand kisses for me. George, I suppose will soon be with you for the holidays. I am extremely anxious to have something fixed upon for him. I am delighted with the pleasant accounts from worthy Edward. I believe India is the country to grow fat in. I shall give Sophia an epistle very shortly. Adieu, my tenderly beloved Mother. God Almighty bless you all, most sincerely prays your most dutiful & affectionate Son.

J. ARNOLD.

I have not been able to find a house for our friends. This part of the Country is not very favorable for that purpose. But I have ordered some inquiries, tho' yet without success.

Letter from Mrs. Arnold to her Father.

I have passed much of my time for the last twelve months with different friends in different parts of the Country; this change of scene has contributed more than any other thing to the restoration of my health and spirits; and has given me an opportunity of forming some judgment for the regulation of my future residence.

The Country in England with a certain Establishment is delightful; but to go into it with a confined Income, unknown and unable to associate with the most respectable part of its inhabitants would be extremely painful to me and would be too lonely for either my dear girl, or myself;—A Country Town would be still worse, very few affording that society I could tolerate, it being chiefly composed of Card playing, tattling, old Maids, and people wholly unaccustomed to genteel life.—Under these circumstances, I believe London will be the most eligible situation for me, where I am known; and I trust, respected; and where I really believe that those who know how to manage, may live as cheap, as in almost any other part of England.—The want of a Carriage I shall most feel; not only in point of comfort, but respectability. I have been endeavoring so to economize, as to enable me with prudence to keep one for three or four Months in the Winter; but I fear it will not do;—every article of life keeps up at a most astonishing price; and the long desired Peace, has failed to bring with it those advantages, that we had in expectation.

I know my dear friends, that it will give you pleasure to hear that I have been successful in a plan that I had formed for George's advancement. There is a new Royal Military College, lately established, under the patronage of the Duke of York, and many of our first Military Men; its present members are confined to one hundred; twenty of whom are to be nominated by the East India Company, for their Service.—I have been extremely desirous of getting George in this number, as they take rank in India, immediately upon their Admission into the College; have the best Masters that can be procured, and half of the Expence borne by the Company. The numbers being so limited, it has required great interest to procure it: after trying for two months, I despaired of success; when last week, I received a very friendly letter from the Marquis Cornwallis, saying

that he had at length been so fortunate as to obtain it for me, and George goes this day to the India House to undergo an Examination. I have no fears of his not acquitting himself satisfactorily. I have not lately heard from Edward;—James is in Northumberland, constructing some works, near Tinmouth Castle, where his curiosity has been greatly gratified, by meeting underground, with Rooms, Staircases, &c. not known of, and supposed to have been built in the seventh Century.

You will have heard that poor Mr. & Mrs. Coxe have at last lost their darling Daughter; a stroke more severely felt from their sanguine expectations of her recovery: I have been greatly shocked lately at poor Mr. Montgomery's death; you may recollect him in the College at Philadelphia,—he afterwards married a Miss Delancy of Maryland.—He had arrived here at great Church preferment, which has rendered his circumstances extremely easy. He left London last year for a good living, in Hertfordshire; whether his secluded situation in the country, after being accustomed to much society, or any other circumstance operated upon his mind is not known; but after sending his Wife and Children to the neighboring Village, to see a company of strolling players, he hung himself. I had a great regard for him, and greatly regret his death, and the manner of it.

I am surprized, when I look back, to see how much I have written without stopping;—but habit has rendered the employment much more easy.

Adieu, my beloved Parent, and dear Sisters, may every blessing attend you.—Believe me most tenderly and truly Yours.

M. ARNOLD.

BRYANSTON STREET, LONDON.

October 5th, 1802.

Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard and Henry Arnold, dated November 5, 1802.

I early informed you, that in undertaking the settlement of the most troublesome business that ever devolved upon a female, I had not been actuated in the smallest degree by the hope of benefiting myself or my children; that I was induced to do it only from respect to your Father's memory—the certainty that I could do more justice to others than any other person could, and the wish to prevent all private letters from falling into the hands of strangers. . . .

But thanks to the goodness of God, I am restored to serenity and the power of exertion, and I shall perseveringly go on in the arduous task I have undertaken; the only recompense will be the consciousness that I have done my duty.

I have been under the necessity of parting with my furniture, wine, and many other comforts provided for me by the indulgent hand of affection; and have by these sacrifices paid all the *ascertained* debts, within a few hundred pounds, and hope to be enabled to discharge the remainder, and to pay a part of the legacies, provided a demand to a large amount, made by a *Swede* for the detention of his Vessel, is not substantiated. I have a hint that this has been decided against us; if so, I have the mortification of knowing that neither myself nor my children will ever have the value of a guinea from their dear Father's property, and that even the uncommon liberality of my Sons in giving up their pensions for the use of the family, has been of no avail. But these things are wisely ordained by the Almighty for some good purpose, and His justice and mercy we cannot doubt. A few months will bring things near to a close, when I will give you every particular.

While I have the means of preventing it, I will never suffer the sister of my husband to want, and shall supply her from my own little income with what is necessary for her. I approve highly of her residing with you in future. . . .

My dear Edward is one of the most noble of youths; he writes sanguinely of his prospects in India; from his pay he insists upon taking upon himself the entire expense of little William's education; he had before made over his pension irrevocably to his sister. Dear James is equally generous and disinterested, and is now living with great difficulty upon his pay, that his pension may be appropriated to the use of the family. My dear girl is all that is amiable and excellent, and George and William promise fair to emulate the example of their elder brothers. Such children compensate for a thousand ills. . . .

Your poor Father thought these lands (in Canada) an object, and expended a great deal of interest and trouble in procuring them. Every thing depends upon their judicious location. . . .

I am now living in a very small house in Bryanston Street, using furniture purchased from Carlow, (a servant) who is now a more independent woman than her mistress. . . . My Father is very good to me; but for his aid, I should have suffered still

more wretchedness. He and my sisters are very desirous of my going to reside with them, but my anxiety to get your little brothers on in life, will deprive me of this gratification. I have placed George at the New Royal Military College, to which he was appointed (through the interest of the Marquis Cornwallis) by the India Company, who will pay half the expense of his education, he being designed for their Service. It is a most excellent Seminary, and embraces every part of education necessary to form the soldier and the gentleman.

I shall write to your aunt by this Packet.

BRYANSTON STREET, LONDON, Jany. 5th 1803.

Your welcome letter my beloved and respected Parent of Nov. 30 was delivered to me last evening by Mr. Cox at whose house I was upon a visit. The commendations you so encouragingly bestow upon my conduct are extremely grateful to me; and the more so, from the consciousness of their being not wholly undeserved. I have gone through many painful and distressing scenes, which had nearly overpowered me; but I am now thanks to the goodness of God enabled to bear the great change in my situation with fortitude; and regret the deprivation of many of the comforts I have been accustomed to enjoy, only as they affect my children and retard their advancement in life. But I am very thankful for the blessings still spared me, and have great satisfaction in informing you my dearest Sir, that my exertions in the laborious task I have undertaken have been so far crowned with success; that I have paid every *ascertained* debt due from the Estate of my late lamented husband, within four or five hundred pounds, and this I have the means of discharging. I will not attempt to describe to you the toil it has been to me; but may without vanity add, that few women could have effected what I have done, And to you, my dear Parent am I indebted for the ability to perform what I have done, as you bestowed upon me the most useful, and best education that America at that time afforded.

As I am sure you must be interested in all that relates to myself, and my family, I will from time to time fully communicate to you my situation, my plans and prospects. In the moment of despair, I placed myself in a house rather too small for comfort, or perhaps to keep up a proper appearance; but having

fitted it up with extreme neatness, and some taste; and seeing no reluctance in my friends in a superior line, to visiting us here, I shall probably be induced to continue here, as I stand at an uncommonly low rent; that and the Taxes upon the house, not exceeding £56 a year. I now feel the disposition, as well as the propriety, on account of my children, of mixing with the world, as keeping up an interest for them, is the only chance of their advancement, and I must endeavor to do it in the most respectable manner in my power, always keeping in view, the absolute necessity of living within my little income.

I must mix with Society in a way not very gratifying to my vanity, or the natural ambition, which I confess has often annoyed me, but I have the satisfaction of knowing that I stand well with the world, and that the change of my circumstances can never be imputed to any imprudence of my own. I have well weighed the propriety of quitting London, and retiring into the country,—the experience of many of my friends convinces me that the saving to be made in doing it, would be very inconsiderable, and by no means equivalent to the sacrifice of friends, and of connections that may be hereafter useful to my children; among them I am estimated for myself, which in addition to my former situation, will insure me respect:—Among strangers, I should be rated according to my present means of appearance, which would place me in a very inferior rank in society, which my pride could but ill brook.

In accomplishing the desirable end of paying all the debts, I have been under the necessity of paying for the furniture, Plate, and every article even to clothing; that could come under the denomination of assets; the former were disposed of, with the lease of the house, at nearly the valuation. The Plate I have a little pride in keeping; and the other things are necessary to myself & my dear children. I have an expectation of recovering about £300 from a business still undivided—this, if no fresh demand arise, must be appropriated, as far as it will go, to the payment of the annuities, in the meantime I am under the necessity of supporting the sister of my husband, but conceiving this a duty, I do it with cheerfulness, more especially as I trust it will preclude the necessity of my being *obliged* to take any measures to distress my brother. I have within a small sum, paid the Legacies to the General's sons in Canada, which I was fortunately enabled to do under the description of debts—he

having accepted Bills to nearly the amount; this was very satisfactory to me, as it was the only thing that preserved them from utter ruin, or prevented their being thrown into a Jail. I have the most gratefull and affectionate letters from them expressive of the sense they entertain of my conduct to them. I have sent out directions to Canada to have the Lands granted by the Government, located. I do not know whether they will be of any benefit to my family, but I think it right to take the chance of their being so. I presume from your not mentioning the subject, that I am never to expect to derive any advantage from the Mount Pleasant Estate; I should like however to know in what manner it has been disposed of. My health is tolerably good; and I endeavor to keep up my spirits as well as I can. My solicitude for my children renders this rather a difficult task, and the unprotected state in which they would be left by my death, is a constant source of anxiety to me. My dear girl is extremely delicate, and particularly feels the close confinement, the weather at this season of the year occasions without a carriage. My boys are getting on as well as I could expect. I am highly delighted with the College in which I had the good fortune to get George placed, and he has distinguished himself there in a way to induce the Governor to send me the most flattering reports of his conduct. I feel much obliged to you my dear Sir for any attention paid to the affairs of Mr. Coxe, who has been a steady and useful friend to me. I hope his long clouded prospects are beginning to brighten. They have borne their various misfortunes with wonderful resignation and are deserving of a happier lot. Report has again all but actually married my dear Sister Lea,—from her I do not expect to hear whether it is to be depended upon; but I am sure you will have the goodness to communicate to me intelligence so interesting. I think was I so happily situated as she is, I should be very fearful of risking a change. Knowing a Parent's feelings & how interesting every little circumstance is, relative to those we tenderly love, I will make no apology, my dearest Sir, for entering so minutely into my own affairs. I shall write to my sisters by this Packet. My darling children join me in most respectful love to you.—Believe I am, my Parent,

very tenderly,

Your affectionate and sincere

M. ARNOLD.

Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard and Henry Arnold, 1803.

I feel gratified by your affectionate anxiety for me, and am happy to have it in my power to relieve it, by assuring you that I am infinitely better, and thank God, restored to a good degree of comfort. . . . A variety of the most agonizing scenes, followed by a press of the most harassing business, had nearly subdued that fortitude which never before forsook me.

The excellence of my children is a never-failing source of delight to me, and the kindness I experience from my friends, tends to make me much less sensible of the material change in my situation.

The Situation of your dear Father's affairs has made it necessary for me to have the most trifling article disposed of, or valued and paid for by myself—this has extended even to his clothing.

The *Suede* has not withdrawn his claim—but does not press it with much vigor. . . .

I shall send you by Mr. Morley some of your dear Father's hair, his seal with his Arms, and sleeve-buttons, knee and shoe-buckles, &c., &c., which as having been long worn by him, will I doubt not be valued by you.

CHAMBERS FARM EPPING July 3 1803

I hope, my beloved sister, that my hearing from you so much less frequently than formerly, is not to be attributed to your solicitude respecting my dear niece, whose health I was truly grieved to hear, was in a very delicate state. The nature of her complaints I have not heard, but hope that they are not serious, probably they would be wholly relieved by her being in the family way. Please present my most affectionate love to her, and assure her of my warm regard, and wishes for her recovery and happiness.

I have been much of an invalid lately, and have found it necessary to consult our two first medical men, in the female line, Doctors Denman & Clarke. They have ascertained it to be a complaint of the womb, which requires the greatest care and attention to conquer, if it can ever be effected.—It is now several weeks since I have eaten animal food, or tasted wine, beer, or any thing heating,—and I am obliged to keep almost constantly in a recumbent posture.—This I found, in town, extremely irksome,

and with cheerfulness accepted an invitation from my old and steady friend, Mrs. Shedden, to come out here with my children, where I am quite at home and enjoy my sopha, surrounded by a large and friendly family, and being at a large farm house, I have the advantage of a milk diet in the greatest perfection.—I shall never be able to walk much, as that kind of exercise will increase my complaints, to that in a carriage I must be indebted to my friends.—Every evil that attends me is greatly increased by my solicitude for my children and their happiness and well being is so dependant upon my existence.

My dear James is now waiting for a Convoy to the West Indies, having been under orders for that place for some time.—He is now at the Isle of Wight, passing his time away pleasantly at Mr. Goodrich's, the elder Brother of Mr. Shedden, within sight of his ship, which lays at the Motherbank.

I have been a great sufferer, my beloved Sister, for the last three years, but can thank God, though laboring under apprehensions for myself, restored to a perfect serenity of mind, and a degree of contentment, that some time ago, I thought it impossible for me ever to regain.—I shall now go on, I hope, persevering by "doing my duty in that state of life, in which it has pleased God to call me."

The kindness I have, and still continue to receive from my friends here, is very uncommon, and certainly to that I am greatly indebted for my recovery from that low wretched state, which had nearly overpowered me.

You find that we are again plunged into the horrors of War, but we are united hand and heart, to oppose our perfidious enemy, the effects of which will be most severely felt by those situated as I am upon a very confined income, but I should and do most cheerfully contribute my little aid, in support of a Government, from which I derive my means of living.

My plans for the Summer are still unfixed.—I have been here three weeks, and shall perhaps continue during the greater part of little William's holidays.—I have several invitations to my friends in the Country, which I shall accept, if my health will admit of it.—There are few places where I can be so much at my ease as here, where I was brought in a coach, so fitted out, as to enable me to perform the whole journey laying down.—My complaint is quite local as my general health was never better.—

I must bid you adieu, my dear Sister, as I have several letters

to write, and pursue this employment, while laying down.—
Tender love to all your dear family, and believe me, my beloved
Sister, most affectionately Yours

M. ARNOLD

I have this instant received the enclosed note, my dear Sister, from my good friend Mrs. Coxe, it proves her affection for me, and I am sorry to say her own deplorable situation.—I am grieved to find that they are disappointed in their sanguine expectations with respect to some property in America. It would be a great gratification to me should the interest of any of *my* friends there be successfully exerted for the benefit of this truly worthy family.

Extract of a Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard and Henry Arnold, dated July 27, 1803.

God knows how it will terminate; I am endeavoring to prepare my mind for the worst, but when I reflect upon the unprotected state of my children, whose welfare so greatly depends upon my exertions for them, I am almost deprived of that fortitude so essential to my own support. . . .

I have from time to time given you an account of your dear Father's affairs. I have nearly accomplished what I am convinced no other person could have done—the payment of all the just debts.

I have lately had several demands made upon me on account of the *Vile Privateers*, which I know not whether I can resist, or even if they are just.

The claim of the Swede for the detention of his vessel and total loss of his cargo, is in the Court of Admiralty.

You can form not the smallest idea of the trouble and perplexity in which I have been involved. The only reward is, the having saved you from distress, and the gratification of having paid all your dear Father's just debts, so that no reflection on that score can ever be cast upon his memory.

I am uneasy at not hearing from your aunt for a long time; I am fearful she may be in distress for money. I have written repeatedly to her, and requested her to draw on me for twenty-four pounds which I will endeavour to allow her annually.

I have heard lately from Edward, who had just had a severe action with the army of one of the native chiefs. James is now

on his passage to the West Indies; George is at the Royal Military school, and if I live, will go to the East Indies next year. Your sister is with me, and little William goes to the school at which all his brothers were educated.

*Letter from Mrs. Arnold to Richard and Henry Arnold, dated
August, 1803.*

I have the greatest satisfaction in informing you that the long pending Admiralty case of the Swedish ship is decided, and in our favor. Their claim was for the loss of the ship, cargo, and two years detention. Had they succeeded, ten times the property I have would not have satisfied their demand.

Upon this decision every thing depended, and until it was given it was impossible to bring the business to a close. . . .

Although I have suffered, in my choice of evils, almost beyond human endurance, I now repent not at having made it.

To you I have rendered an essential service; I have rescued your Father's memory from disrespect, by paying all his just debts; and his Children will now never have the mortification of being reproached with his speculations having injured any body beyond his own family; and his motives, not the unfortunate termination will be considered by them, and his memory will be doubly dear to them.

It has been a dreadful business, and minute as I have been in my detail, it is quite impossible for you to form an idea of what I have had to encounter, besides the sacrifice of all my accustomed comforts. I have not even a tea-spoon, a towel, or a bottle of wine that I have not paid for. But having nearly completed my great work, I was beginning to enjoy some degree of comfort, to which however my ill health is a great interruption.

And now to the important business of the Canada Lands. I am very glad to hear that the difficulty of the grant is overcome—more particularly as I understand, that if they are judiciously located they will certainly be of considerable value.

I always feel a peculiar degree of solicitude to hear from you at this Season, my beloved Parent, as the Summer so frequently

produces that dreadful Fever. Though we find that it is raging with violence at New York, we are taught to hope that it has not extended its influence to Philadelphia.—May God preserve you all.—

The arrival of several Packets, without a line from any of the family has caused me great disappointment; I have many months ago informed my Sisters of my alarming indisposition, and should have been soothed by the affectionate sympathy of Sisters so beloved. It is nearly eight months since I was distressed with an internal complaint, of which I did not think seriously, till finding it increase, I consulted a man of the first eminence here, in the female line, who pronounced that it was a complaint of long standing, most serious in its nature, and would require the utmost attention for a length of time. I was prohibited the use of any kind of animal food, wine, or even small beer and was entirely confined to a recumbent position. Finding no amendment after rigidly pursuing this plan two months, my friends urged a consultation of the most able men. There was but little variance in the opinion I had already had of the mode to be adopted to, if possible, avert the dreaded evil, a Cancer, and I have steadily pursued the plan laid down for nearly six months.—I have lately been much worse, in consequence of a very large tumor having formed which broke and discharged an immense quantity. To prevent another is now the great object, but I am not much encouraged to hope for success. I have experienced the most uncommon attention from my friends, which has enabled me to pass a great part of the Summer in the Country, which was deemed absolutely essential, and which I could not otherwise have accomplished.—I made my journeys in a Coach, laying down, and was indulged with laying constantly upon a sofa.—Indeed the posture has become so natural to me, that I always write, and work in it.—I have not walked two miles for the last six months, my kind friends give me frequently an opportunity of taking the air, in the only way in which I can do it.—I will not, my dear Parent, comment upon my present unpleasant situation, or future sad prospects.—

You will see by our Papers, that the crisis is fast approaching that is to decide the fate of England; this is the month when Bonaparte threatens us.—God know how it is to end.—

I beg to be remembered most affectionately to my dear Sisters;

and am my, tenderly beloved Parent, most sincerely & truly
yours

M. A.

BRYANSTON STREET
Nov. 2nd, 1803

BRYANSTON STREET May 14th [1804]

Yours, my beloved Sister, of March 20th afforded me great gratification, as the long silence of my family had been a source of great uneasiness to me, and preyed upon my spirits, when I conceived my situation to be such as to render it probable I could never, in this world, hear again from you. I have been indeed very near death, my dear Sister, and my complaints are such, as to give me but little hope of long continuing an Inhabitant of this world.

I have gained more strength in the last six weeks than I could have expected, considering my total confinement to the house, in a recumbent position, and that I get no sleep but what is procured by opium, administered in various forms. It is four months since my violent attack; for nine days I lay with every appearance of a Corpse, and as cold in the extremities as you ever felt one; with faintings, whenever moved. Most violent remedies were used internally, with constantly applying cloths, dipped in iced water, to my body, without the effect of stopping the complaint, till exhausted nature worked her own cure. It was so long before I recovered strength, and I was distressed with so great a difficulty of breathing, that it was greatly apprehended that I had water upon my chest; which however was not the case. At the expiration of seven weeks I was put into a Carriage, and taken out for a quarter of an hour; this was repeated for some days, but it produced symptoms too alarming to make it prudent to continue it, and it is now seven weeks since I have been able to take any other air, than what my little House afforded me. But I could submit with great patience to this confinement, and even the extreme pain I always endure, when not under the effects of opium, was there any prospect of its terminating favorably. My only chance is from an internal operation, which it is at present dangerous to perform. I trust I bear this heavy affliction with great resignation; and I do not suffer my spirits to overcome me. I have much to be thankful for;—most particularly for the very uncommon attention and

kindness that I hourly experience from my numerous friends; indeed a general soli[ci]tude has been shown for me. I have the best advice that London can afford, and am constantly attended by two of the most eminent Physicians. . . .

Though in a very contracted stile, I have every comfort necessary to my situation, for which I am indebted to the great liberality of the best Sons in the world, who contribute their little mite to render me so. I have a great many invitations from my different friends to divide my Summer among them; but I greatly fear that a removal will be scarcely practicable.

My dear George will leave me, for India in a few weeks; he will go under many advantages, and my situation greatly reconciles me to his going. My beloved Edward has been a sharer in the honor of all those brilliant victories in India, obtained by General Lake, and as a cavalry Officer, was exposed to great danger, which God be praised he escaped, except a wind wound, which much bruised his arm, and his horse touched in many places. I trust his conduct will lead to something advantageous to himself, as Genl. Lake, after the action, gave him a Cornetcy in an old Regt. of the King's Dragoons for George, who would probably have been a Lieutenant by the time he arrived, with pay and emoluments of £540 pr an. But I am this day going to send on his resignation of it, by the advice of all my friends; the Company's service being preferable, as attended with more permanent advantages. My dearest James is Stationary Commanding Engineer at Barbadoes, as well as Adjutant which gives him many advantages, particularly most capital quarters, immediately over the Sea, a circumstance of infinite importance to his health. Nothing can be going on better than all my Children, and you do not know how high their characters stand.

I am sorry to find that our dear father is involved in any contest with the Assembly; though I am convinced his Character can never be affected by it.

The life of our good King has never been in danger; we have had greater apprehensions on account of his mind; he is better, but it is feared that the difficulties attending the arrangement of the present change of Ministry may have an unfavorable effect upon him.

You wish my dear Sister to know whether my pension would be affected by his death; I should much fear that it would as it would of course cease; and its renewal would depend upon the

whim of his Successor, who at present shows no disposition to respect the wishes of his Father, and with whom I have no interest.

I am gratified my beloved Sister at your renewed invitations to me to visit you; nothing could afford me greater gratification; but the Almighty has willed it otherwise, by inflicting upon me my present calamity. This letter has been written at different times, and entirely whilst laying down.—Yesterday after writing two pages, I fainted away.—My dear girl is but indifferent; she is too much aware of the blow that probably awaits her.—I rejoice that your darling child is spared to you.

Pray present my tenderest regards to all the family and believe me, my truly beloved Sister, ever Yours

M. A.

LONDON, July 5th 1804

DEAR SIR—

I wrote you some time past, by desire of your dear daughter Mrs. Arnold, respecting the then situation of her very ill health—an interval of seeming change for the better afterwards occurred, that gives much hope to her friends, and which, I fear, induced Mrs. Coxe to mention it to her Father in a more favorable light than has since been verified—Indeed, from the facts I was myself privately in possession of from Dr. Denman, the most eminent in his line, I had every reason to believe her case hopeless, but did not disclose this to Mrs. C. or any Friend, lest it might, ultimately get to her ears—it was of the utmost consequence, even to her strong and even mind, to keep this from her, as it might throw an immediate despair upon her, and check those absolute attentions to her Children which were so necessary at the moment of shipping George off for India to join his Brother Edward—As I foresaw, her complaints have increased, and, I much lament, appear, from some late & present attacks, to be coming forward to that crisis, which must terminate, sooner, or later, the existence of one of the finest women I know—This sad reflection, my dear Sir, cannot affect you more as a Father, than it does me, who feel for her all the affections & interest of a Father & Friend—I therefore think it my duty, both to you, to her, & her children, to apprise you of this her real situation, that, as I have hinted before you might think proper to make such dispositions in favor of her, or, in case of

any accident to her, so likely to be apprehended, in favor of her children, as to such share of your Estate, as you meant she should have partaken of, in proportion to the rest of your children—You will have the goodness to ascribe to the true motives, *love & Friendship* for your Daughter & her Children, the liberty I have taken to hint her *real* situation to you, that you may adopt such measures in your Will, as may meet the certainty, of her, not very distant dissolution, unless a kind of miracle should intervene against the private opinion of the best informed of the Faculty—and she has the *best*—At this moment (for I visit her every day) she is very ill with a third attack, which, tho better, has exhausted her to a degree that alarms us much.—This, perhaps, has been much increased from taking a last & final adieu of her son George, who we yesterday shipped off for Bengal in the ship Baring as a Cadet in the India's Company service, where, when he arrives, he takes rank from 15 & half, as a Cornet, and will join his Brother Edward, who has been with Gen'l Lake in all his brilliant campaigns in India, with much honor to himself—George is a young man of the first order in genius & spirit, so much so, as to have acquired the *most distinguished* honors at the Military Institution at Marlow it could bestowe, and goes with same eclat from the India House in its service, as particularly recommended by Gen'l Harcourt, the head of that college.

James, as Lt of Engineers, and as selected, has distinguished himself, in the late capture of Surinam, greatly to his honor & Future rising fame—I enclose a letter from Col. Shipley to Gen'l Morse, which speaks more than I can say in his favor—I will only remark that the copy is in *Sophia's Hand writing*—She is, dear Girl, more worthy of your notice & attentions, than any other of the family, tho all most meritorious—she is the most amiable & correct of her sex I ever saw.—leave her not, my dear Sir, in distress, for should she lose her Mother, much, you know, drops with her—the boys are provided for & can & ought to shift for themselves—a Girl cannot—her Brothers are the most kind & affectionate and throw all into the scale they can from their Pensions & pay in her favor, but you may easily imagine this to be limited & precarious—I confess to feel most deeply interested for her perfect independence—this will rest with you—and to you I leave every proper precaution to insure its provision—You will excuse me, when I declare to feel for

her in particular and indeed for all of the rest, the most parental affections & Solicitude.

Thinking thus, and also favored with the most particular confidence of your Daughter Mrs. Arnold, I take the liberty to express my sentiments on an occasion that, I fear, may bring on the most melancholy feelings from us all—I therefore repeat, that I feel it a duty to inform you, truly, of her present situation—your Daughter now lies on a sick bed, very painful & alarming, not able to partake of the least exercise, such is the nature of her complaints—I need say no more to a Father—I saw her *this day* on her sopha, reclined & looking so ill as to shock me—She was not able to write to you or would have done it—She begged me to say for her all duty & affection to you & her sisters—

Tho surrounded with many friends, she is kind enough to look up to me with particular confidence—I shall from every affectionate motive, watch & attend her to the last—a few months I fear must decide—

I am, Dr Sir, with every respect & regard
your most obed't serv't

DAN'L COXE

JUDGE SHIPPEN.

I have received your affectionate letters, my beloved and respected Parent, with their enclosures which have been duly honored by acceptance.—I return you my sincere thanks for your very acceptable present, which came most opportunely, having been obliged to incur a great many unavoidable expenses from fitting out my dear George, and a long illness.—

The affectionate interest you and my dear Sisters express for me is very gratifying to my feelings.—I wish I could give as favorable an account of myself as you have been taught to expect, but my situation is extremely critical, my recovery appears greatly to depend upon an operation, which hitherto it has been impossible to perform without the most imminent danger of immediately putting a period to my life. I am to have a consultation in a few days.—I had wished it was over, before I wrote to you, but am fearful of rendering you uneasy, by my silence—My general health is improved, since I last wrote, which is an extraordinary circumstance, considering my entire

confinement to the house, and that I am obliged to keep myself constantly under the effects of opium, to relieve a pain, which would otherwise be intolerable, and to procure me a little sleep, which I never get in a natural way.—Could I get into the Country, I am sure I should be better, this, the uncommon kindness of several of my friends, would enable me to do, were I able to bear even a short journey, but at present I am quite unequal to it.—

We have been so long threatened with invasion, that we begin to think nothing of it.—Our internal situation is, in my opinion, a cause of much more serious alarm.—The precarious situation of the King.—The decided part taken against him by the Prince of Wales, with the instability of our present Ministry are causes of serious anxiety.—But I trust we shall yet be preserved.

Mr. Livingston, your Minister to Paris, called upon me several times, during his stay in London, where he was not very well received.—He appears completely to have adopted French principles, and French ideas.—I have written this in great haste, and am always obliged to write while laying down, which is indeed almost wholly my position.—Pray remember me most tenderly to all the family, and believe me, my beloved Parent, most truly and affectionately

Yours M. A.

BRYANSTON STREET
July 15th [1804.]

GLOUCESTER PLACE, Dec. 25th, 1804.

MY DEAR AUNT;

I sincerely thank you for your kindly affectionate Letter which I take the earliest opportunity of answering. Had the state of mind permitted it, I should probably have written sooner, but my sufferings have been so acutely agonizing, that every power was suspended. I heartily thank God however that I am sufficiently better to be able to resume my pen, though my deep rooted sorrow will I fear ever attend me. I however feel the duty and benefit of submission to the Will of the Almighty, and am fully convinced, that how trying soever I find the dispensation, it has been ordered in goodness, wisdom & mercy, and I trust in another world, I shall be made a partaker of that Bliss which *she* doubtless now enjoys. My dear Grand-papa has given me an affectionate invitation to make America

my future residence. And most willingly, from the strong desire I feel to know himself & all the family should I accept his offer, did I not feel myself bound to this country by the strong tie my poor dear Brothers are to me, especially my little orphaned William, so young, so destitute, as he is left, looking now solely up to me. I grieve there is this heavy drawback, on what I should otherwise have esteemed so great a comfort in my now truly forlorn situation, especially as I had hoped all once existing prejudice had found an end, & that my *little* Brother, at least, could not have been obnoxious while thus young. I have written to Grandpapa, however and told him that should he have an earnest desire to see me for a twelvemonth, as belonging to her who was so deservedly dear to him, I should feel strongly induced to pay him a visit for that time and at or about the end of that period, I shall be expecting the return of my beloved James to England, who will need the accustomed sympathy of his sister, to enable him to bear the woeful change in his loved Family.

I feel truly grateful to you for the affectionate interest you take in me, & shall ever love you tho' we may never meet. My dear Miss Fitch has been more to me than I could ever have expected, or hoped. She desires me to present her best regards to you. I passed five weeks with her in the country & have since been nearly ten in London, with the best friend, & one of the best women in the world, an old Lady of 76 years of age, of a high family, and large fortune, who in goodness and charity is one of the brightest ornaments of this country. I consider it a signal instance of the mercy of God, His having raised me up such a comforter, she was at one time, the only person who knew how to compose my perturbed spirit. I go again into the country to another much valued friend in a few days where I shall remain till I again hear from Philadelphia. My poor little brother is with me for the Holidays. He unites with myself in begging affectionate remembrances to all our dear Aunts, Uncles, and Cousins, and I am my dear Aunt,

Your much attached and dutifull niece,

SOPHIA M. ARNOLD.

(To be continued.)

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN LACEY.
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued from page 354.)

The Regiments or Battalions of the Army were sometimes called Battalions & sometimes Regiments, the Military establishment of America was in its Minority, very few of her officers knew any thing about military matters, they were generally the Sons of Farmers or Machanicks, who had quit the Plow or the Workshop, enterprising youth roused from their domestic occupations to defend their Country against the Strong and Iron hand of Tyronny, that threatened to enslave them. Their Fathers who presided in Councils and who made the appointments were equally unversed in Military system, neither of them even possessing the knowledge of the Tichnical or appropriate Names of the Orders and establishments of the Army. Several officers however, who had served in the British Army had joined the American Standard, among whom was our present Chief Commander Gen^l Gates—such men ought to know better than to confound the names of Battalions & Regiments together, as we find it in his Gen^l Orders—sometimes by one and sometimes by the other, which discovers a great want of system in the mind of the Gen^l. It was also frequently used by S^t Clear, who had also been a British officer. It might be overlooked in Wayne, who had never before seen service. Conceiving their ought to be a distinction and that two names so opposite to each other could not mean one and the same thing—it became a topic of inquiry among the Officers, when we were lead to understand. According to the Orgination of the British & Prution Armies, a Regiment consisted of two Battalions, and that to call a whole Regiment a Battalion was very unmilitary and incorrect. That a Regiment was Commanded by a Colo^l or

Lieu^t Colo^l and two Majors, and a Battalion by a Major only—a Regiment thus organized containing two Battalions, called first & second. Our Regiments containing Eight Companies, was commanded by a Colo^l, Lieu^t Colo^l and one Major, and were they properly Organized, would have been divided into two segments or Battalions, the first to be commanded by the Lieu^t Colo^l the second by the Major. Here the British had the better of us in the exchange of Prisoners, as they had very few Colo^{ls} their Regiments being Commanded by Lieu^t Colo^{ls} only. I have been led to make these remarks on Account of the giving of the Gen^l Orders to the Army at this place, in which I find frequently inserted Colo^l Wayne's Regiment—Colo^l Wayne's Battalion, the same of Colo^l S^t Clear's Battalion &c. See Gen^l Orders viz—Ticonderoga.

HEAD Q^{RS} Sept^r 24th 1776—

Capt^a Craig of the 2nd Battalion of Pennsylvans is appointed Lieu^t Colo^l of that Batt^a in place of Colo^l Wood Preferred—Cap^t Butler is app^d Major of the same Battl^a—Cap^t P. Frazier of the 4th Battⁿ. of Pennsy^a is appointed Major in the same, in place of Maj. [Haussegger] Promoted.

The first & 2^d Pennsy^a Regiments were raised in the Autom of 75. Col^l Bull was the first Colo^l appointed to the first Regiment & S^t Clear to the Second—Bull got into disgrace by selling Furlous to the men & from some other degrading conduct while the Regiment lay in the Barracks at Philad^a, and was compelled by the officers to Resigne. Colo^l De Haas was appointed in his place, on which occurrence S^t Clear became the elder Colo^l, was appointed a B. G. after the Troops returned from Ticonderoga from Canada.

The other 4 Pennsy^a Regiments were raised the Winter following—Cap^t Willits Company of the 1st Regiment and Mine of the 4th were raised in Bucks County—they were both fine Companies—I had exerted myself very much to get a full and Compleat Company—they were nearly all young Men, and it was allowed to be one of the best look-

ing Companies belonging to the Regiment before they left long Island. They are now so reduced in point of numbers & best looking Men I feel but little Pride in owning them and less in belonging to the Reg^t. It was a happy event that our Duty of Guard & Fattigue occupied all our time, and had little leisure to reflect. I was almost Constantly on Command, either on Picket Guard or fattigue Parties in repairing the old French Breast Works, which we compleated on the 13th Sept^r as will appear by Colo^l Wayne's Regimental Orders, viz.

TICONDEROGA, Sept^r 14th 1776.

Colo^l Wayne is happy in having it in his power to return his most sincere thanks to the Gentleman Officers & Soldiers of his Battⁿ for the ready Cheerfulness and Industry with which they have Executed the work in front of their Encampment, Works at once Extensive and Formidable, and which he is well assured they will at all times and at every hazard defend.

The Colo^l's next wish is to see the officers and soldiers as comfortably accommodated with regard to their encampments and Lodging as the Nature of the Campaign will admit—and therefore requests the Captains of each Company, previous to any other business to see that Compleated as soon as possible. He is very sorry it was not in his power to issue this Request sooner, but that he could not do consistent to Gen^l Gates's Orders, and his own Duty—he therefore hopes that no officer will think hard of their being retarded of Accommodating themselves, as it was occasioned purely on the Acct. already mentioned.

In order to show more explicitly the Duty and business of the Arme^y I shall copy a few extracts from the Gen^l, Brigade, & Regimental Orders of the day as they occurred.

HEAD QUARTERS TICONDEROGA Sept^r 21st 1776.

Parole, Adams.

Counter Signe, Lynch.

In consideration of the Troops having been Constantly employed in the Public Works every Day without intermis-

sion ever since their arrival at this Camp, The Gen^l orders all Work but that of the Equipment of the Vessels, Gun Carriage Makers and blacksmiths to cease for tomorrow; these shall be indulged hereafter. Divine Service to be performed in Every Brigade at Eleven o'clock in the forenoon tomorrow where the whole are to attend with their Arms and Accoutrements in good Order.

Colo^t Waynes Orders.

The 4th Battalion are to be all under Arms on Sunday next at 9 o'clk A.M.—and as Soap is now plenty and new Shirts ready to be delivered to such Companies as are in want, no excuse can be admitted for appearing dirty or indecent. All Officers and soldiers will be particularly careful on that Day to appear on the Parade as neat as possible, for which purpose the Officers will see that the Men have their hair well *Powdered*, and neatly tied & pleated. They will also every Morning and Evening in place of Maning the lines, be training their People in the Manual exercise Wheeling, Firing by Grand & Sub-Divisions & Forming the line of Impression. The Officers will be punctual in turning out all the Soldiers as well Servants as others Morning & Evening.

HEAD QUARTERS Sept^r 25th 1776.

Parole, Ward.

Countersign, Boston.

Gen^l S^t Clairs Brigade to Furnish daily at Head Quarters 1 Captain, 2 Sub^s, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 1 Drum 1 fife & 48 privates to serve as a fattice party under the Orders of the Deputy Qt^r Master Gen^l.

Various frauds, impositions and abuses being every Day committed by Traders, Hucksterers coming to this Camp, the Q. M. G. and his assistants are immediately to regulate the prices to be paid for the several commodities brought to sell, particularly Garden stuff, Venison, Cheese, butter, and all other manner of Eatables. For the Future any persons bringing any of the above articles immediately for sale are to carry them to the foot of the Glasses of the Old Fort,

where the Market is constantly to be held. Should any person or Persons be detected Monopolizing or Forestalling the market they will be punished by a Court Martial and have all their Goods seized for the Sick in the Hospital. The Market is to be opened every Day at 8 o'clock and to be allowed to continue to sunset.

Field officer of the Day, tomorrow, Lt. Col. Irvine,
 Brigade Major of the Day, Ryan.

Brigade Orders.

For Guard; 1 Sergt.; 1 Corpl.; 1 Fife; 31 privates: for
 Fattigue, 30 privates.

Regimental Orders.

For Piquet Guard, Cap^t Lacey,
 Ens^a Wallace,
 Ens^a Standly.

After Gen^t Orders.

The Surgeons and Surgeons Mates of all the Regiments to attend at the Medicine Store tomorrow morning between 8 and 10 o'clock in order to receive their Proportion of Old Linnen, which is to be converted into lint and returned to the Store.

The above comprises the Orders for one Day, viz. the 25th of September—I give it to show the compleat Order of the Day.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 11th 1776.

The long stillness and seeming supineness of the Enemy strongly indicates that they are meditating some stroke of Importance, it therefore behooves every Officer and Soldier of this Armeý to be exceeding vigilant and elert, particularly when on duty. The Officer of the Day at Ticonderoga as well as at M^t Independence are by their examples to give life and spirit to the Guards under their inspection, the Grand and visiting Rounds are upon no account to be

neglegent of their duty observing to be particular attentive to the sentries & Guards from four in the Morning until broad day light. As the Campaign is drawing towards a close the Gen^l is anxious nothing disgraceful to the Troops under his command should Tarnish that good behaviour they have hitherto shown.

In order to show the high sense Military Men entertain of their Honour, by voluntary doing an Act beneath the duty appertaining to their Rank as Officers, I shall insert an extract of the decision of the following Court Martial. If the commission be a voluntary act shall be thought so degrading to the Honour of an Officer—what must be the Feeling of the Mind of an Officer, to be compelled by his Commanding Officer to do the duty inferior to his Station, and what must still aggravate the degradation and increase the severity of his punishment, as was in my case, to see an inferior officer placed over me, to command my own Company, while I was to act as a Volunteer under his command. A Punishment of so high a grade inflicted without a tryal, by the mere Arbitrary Order of the Commander of a Regiment, acknowledging at the same time that I had not intentionally committed any crime—I presume has not a parrell of Wanton and despotic Tyranny, in the annals of the Revolutionary War.

HEAD QUARTERS, TYCONDEROGA, October 3^d, 1776.

At a Continuation of a Gen^l Court Martial of which Major Morris president in place of Lt. Col. Johnston, who was taken ill, L^t Whitney of Colo^l Wheelocks Regiment, was tryed for infamous Conduct in degrading himself by voluntary doing the duty of an Orderly sergeant in violation of his Rank as an Officer—Is found guilty and sentenced to be severely reprimanded by Gen^l Brickett at the head of his Brigade.

The Gen^l Approves the sentence of the Court Martial and orders it to take place accordingly.

For some time we had been anxiously waiting the approach of the Enemy, who from the reports of our scouts and spies, were made to believe they had a fleet of armed vessels nearly ready to commence offensive operations, their Troops at Oix Noix and Ile a Mott waiting the Orders to advance. Gen^l Arnold had proceeded some distance beyond Crown Point into the Middle of the Lake with twelve or 13 sail of Armed Sloops Gunboats &c., suffered the British Fleet of superior Force, to pass in the night along the East shore of the lake unobserved—placing themselves between him & Crown Point. On discovery the next morning Gen. Arnold ordered his fleet to make the best of their way to the entrance of the Straits at Crown Point, keeping up a running fight by the British ships in the best manner they could. The Enemy persieving their intention, met them, when a very warm and spirited conflict ensued, some of the American Ships were taken, some drove on shore were set on fire by the Crews who escaped by land to Tyconderoga, a few only made good their way by hard fighting and superior sailing got safe to Tyconderoga. Our loss was considerable in killed wounded and prisoners, but of which I never learnt the amount.

After the defeat of the Fleet, the British Army advanced on Crown Point. It was said Arnold & all the Crews of the other Vessels fought well, but to great disadvantages each making the best of his way—the fastest sailer leaving his dull comrade to contend alone with the united force of the enemy as well as they could—under such discouraging events, wat but defeat and disaster could be expected.

In my humble opinion Arnold acted unwise by placing himself so far from Crown Point, in the Middle of the lake, subjecting himself thus to be cut off from a retreat & without the requisite Guard or look out Boat to suffer the Enemy to pass him unnoticed—secondly by his too precipitated flight, leaving the Enemy to cut up his Vessels in detail, when in my opinion a better way would have been to have fallen back & formed his little Fleet in the Western

Cove of the lake adjoining Crown Point, where he might have rode in safety, protected from the shore by the advance of our Main, or part of the Army to that station, waiting for a fair wind, or some favourable event, to pass round the Point into the Straights of the lake leading to Tyconderoga, or for fighting the Enemy to better advantage. Here I consider two great errors were committed by our Commanders, thus leaving the Enemy to take possession of a very advantageous position without an effort to prevent it. Had we met him here, we might have prevented his advance, at least on the west side of the lake: beside this was the only place our Fleet could act to advantage against the Enemy, or in our defence, as the lake was so narrow between Crown Point & Tyconderoga the vessels would be attacked from the shore, and no room for them to work in. After the Defeat Gen^l Gates contented himself by issuing the Following Gen^l Order, thus leaving the Enemy to take peaceable possession of Crown Point and to establish themselves there, from whence we were assailable by land & water—A good road might easily be open'd in the West side of the lake to the old French lines in a very short time, the distance only six miles, and on this rout they were daily expected.

HEAD QUARTERS TYCONDEROGA October 14th 1776.

Parole, Watterbury.

Countirsine, Wigglesworth.

Lieut. Peter Hughs of the first Battalion of Pennsylvaniens is appointed to act as Aid de Camp to Major Gen^l Gates during the absence of Major Walter Stewart.

As every Regiment and Corps are well acquainted with their Alarm Posts, the Gen^l expects the Troops will be Alert in Marching to support the Works they are severally intended to defend, he has the utmost dependance upon the Bravery and fidelity of the whole Army and believe when called to Action they will shew themselves worthy of the Noble cause they are engaged to defend. He tenders his thanks to Gen^l Arnold and the officers, seamen & marines of the Fleet for their Gallant defence made against the

great superiority of the Enemies force, such magnanimous behaviour will establish the fame of the American Army throughout the Globe.

HEAD QRS TYCONDEROGA Oct^r 15th 1776.

Parole, Washington.

Coun^r, Lee.

As there are not Intrenching Tools sufficient to employ the whole of the Men off duty, the Gen^l expects that the Commanding Officers of Regiments will order one third of their men off duty to be paraded at 7 o'Clock every morning for fattigue who are to be kept constantly at work untill 10 in the forenoon, one third more to relieve the first party at 10 o'Clock, who are to Work untill one in the Afternoon, the other third to relieve the second party at one & to work untill five in the Evening. This Order to be constantly and regularly obeyed untill Countermanded. The Gen^l is very unhappy to see the want of that Spirit, Alertness and industry, so necessary for the immediate Completion of the Forts and Redoubts to prevail so shamefully in this Army. The Fleet have acted a Noble part, let it not be said hereafter that the Cause of all America was injured by the supineness of the Northern Army.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 17th 1776.

Partrole, M^tGomery.

C. S., Essex.

The Commissary is immediately to issue One half Gill of Rum to every non commissioned officer and Soldier now in Camp, & should the bad weather continue untill evening, he is then to issue one half gill more. A detachment of a Captain three suboltrens, three Serjeants and One Hundred Rank & file to parade as soon as possible from Colo^l Brewers and Colo^l Willards Regiments with Axes, who are to proceed to cut down the Trees across the Crown Point Road.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 18th '76.

P. Jersey.

C. S. Day.

The Commissary to supply all the empty Casks he has in store, that will hold Water to such Regiments as have no

Water convenient to their Alarm Posts, these to be kept filled with fresh Water, that the Troops may have a supply ready when wanted. A quantity of Rum to be ready at hand to be delivered according to Orders.

As the Enemy can have no reasonable hope of defeating this Army, unless the Troops posted in the Redoubts, and the advanced Guards suffer themselves to be surprised, The Gen^l strongly recommends it to all the Officers & Soldiers to exert their utmost Vigilance whilst on duty, never omitting the smallest attention to every approach of the Enemy, and constantly giving the most vigorous opposition to all their attempts.

Colo^l Maxwell's Regiment is without delay to Join Colo^l Winds Regiment on the side of Ticonderoga. The proper ground for their Encampment will be shown them by the D. Q. M. G. The Commissary to issue one half Gill of Rum to every non Commissioned officer & Soldier now in Camp at one o'Clock this Afternoon.

Brigade Orders.

The Scouting Parties in future are to remain as a Covering party for those who are Cutting the Trees across the Crown point Road.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 19th '76.

P. Carlisle.

C. S. Adams.

Lieu^t Colo^l Baldwin first Engineer will take the direction of the Works upon the side of Ticonderoga with the following Assistants under him—Major Pain, Cap^t Newland, Lieu^t Dallas & Ensign Parrit.

Lieu^t Colo^l Pallisier, second Engineer will take the Command & direction of the Works on the side of M^t Independance, with the following Assistants under him, Major Dalazine, and any two other Gentlemen that the Colo^ls upon that side shall recommend.

This arrangement being settled and the particular Works to be compleated determined upon the Gen^l has no doubt but the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence

will be made with that Animated Zeal becoming Soldiers who are also free Citizens of America.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct. 20th '76.

As it is uncertain on which of Our Posts the Enemy may make his principle attack, the Gen^l Desires and expects that the Officers and Men fit for Duty in the Regiments on both sides the Lake, will hold themselves in instant readiness to March or embark for whatever part of the Camp may Need their support.

HEAD QUARTERS 21st Oct. '76.

The following arrangement of the Surgeons of the Army is to take place in case of Action viz.

Doctor Kennedy, Burnet, Taylor, Jackson, Sibley & Picker to attend at the Old Fort with their Mates. Doctor Johnston, Holmes, Ellison, Harvey, and Stewart with their Mates to attend at the place appointed near Colo^l Wayne's Markee, with all their Instruments. All the Surgeons and Mates on M^t Independance to attend Doc^r Potts, at the General Hospital on the Mount. Colo^l Maxwell's Battalion is to join and do duty with Gen^l S^t Clair's Brigade.

HEAD Q. Oct. 26th '76.

In case of a Gen^l alarm one Gun will be fired from the Jersey Redoubt to be answered by one Gun from the Main Battery in the French Lines, which is to be answered by one Gun from the upper redoubt on M^t Independance, when every Regiment and Corps is to repair to their Alarm Posts. The Commanding Officer of Artillery on each side is to take care that a Man is constantly ready in the different Redoubts to give the Signals.

Brigadier Gen^l Arnold will take the Command of all the Troops in the flat Ground North of Ticonderoga and of the Vessells which Guard the Boom, the Stone Redoubt upon the Point included.

Brig. Gen^l St. Clair will take the Command of the French lines advanced posts and Works depending thereon.

The Brigades upon M^t Independance upon the Signal of a Gen^l Alarm being fired to repair to their respective alarm posts & receive and obey the orders of Colo^l Stark, Colo^l Patterson & Colo^l Poor.

The Brigade late Gen^l Arnolds is to be joined by Colo^l Motts & Colo^l Swifts Regiments of Militia & to be under the Command of Colo^l Poor.

HEAD Q. Oct^r 27th '76.

All the Troops off duty to be under Arms at One o'Clock at their respective alarm posts when upon a Signal given by firing one piece of Cannon from the N. E. angle of the Coveret Way of the Old Fort, the whole will give three Cheers, for the Glorious success with which it has pleased providence to bless the Arms of the United States on the 18th Instant in defeating the Army of the Enemy near West Chester in the State of New York.

As the Enemy's attack will most probably be Rash & Sudden, the Gen^l Earnestly recommends to every Commanding Officer to be deliberate and cool in suffering his men to fire, never allowing them to throw away their shot in random or unsoldierlike manner. One close well directed fire at the distance of eight or ten rods will do more towards defeating an Enemy, than all the scattered and random shots fired in a whole Day.

The Commanding Officers of Artillery will give proper directions in this respect to all under their Command. The good effects of a due observance of this Order will, with the favour of Heaven secure us Victory.

Brigade Orders.

Gen^l S^t Clair is sorry to have observed that in some of the Corps of his Brigade, few of the Officers appear at the Alarm post with the Men in the Morning—Can they expect such a piece of Negligence will not be followed by them—is their any hardship to which the soldiers are necessarily exposed, that the Officers would not wish to share with

them, and set them the example with bearing with cheerfulness & Fortitude, or can they reasonably expect that their Ardour so necessary at Present can be kept up without it. He hopes this will be sufficient to prevent such negligence for the future and expects that at All times when the Brigades are under Arms the Officers will be at their proper Posts. Should any be found so lost to all sense of duty as to disregard this caution they must expect to be tryed and punished for disobedience of Orders. The Commanding Officers of Regiments are to be carefull in reporting all such delinquents under their Commands.

On the morning of the 28th of October, word was brought by our Scouts and look out Boats on the lakes, that the Enemy were approaching, both by land and Water. A Gen^l Alarm was fired, and every one hurried to his post. All was bustle, the whole camp presented a terrific blaze of Fire Arms issuing from every quarter to prepare for Battle, which was momentarily expected to commence. Collem after Collem presented their fronts along the lines, with fixed Byonet, whose glissining fire Arms reflecting the bright raise of the Sun presented a luster from their tablits more radiant than the sun itself—what mind could resist a flash like this. The sounds of the Drums to Arms, the reports of the Alarm Cannon, and the crye of the Seargents to the men in hurrying them from their Tents of *Turn out, Turn out*, would make even a Coward brave. These were, however, the times that tryed mens souls, & here only, the sunshine & summer soldier sunk from the expected conflict. I will throw a vail over some names who but the evening before bosted over a Glass of Grog, what feats they intended to do on the approach of the Enemy, now sunk with sickning apathy within the cover of their Tents & Marquees, never appeared to head their Men, leaving that task to their Subalterns to perform. On finding at last the Enemy had made a Halt, and that this movement was only to cover a reconitering from them, they came out as boald soldiers

as ever, complaining only of a little sick headache. On the day after the before mentioned reincounter, Gen^l Gates the Commander in Chief issued the following Gen^l Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS Oct^r 29th '76.

The Gen^l returns his thanks to the Officers and Soldiers of the whole Army for the alert and spirited manner with which they proposed to face the Enemy yesterday. And particularly to the Regiments of Reed, Poor & Greateon, for the dispatch they made in crossing the Lake immediately on their being ordered to Reinforce the French lines & Redoubts.

This Order is a proof of the Activity and ready willingness of the Troops; they were indeed in high Spirits, and seem to vie with each other who should first arrive at their respective alarm Posts. I viewed the Men and observed their Countenances with pleasure, to be animated and not a ray of fear depicted in the face of any of them, and am confident had the Enemy made an attack at that time, they would not have dishonoured either themselves or their Country. Their view however, was otherwise, perhaps to trye us, and to make a view of our Camp, situation & Strength, no doubt Gen^l Burgoin who commanded at Crown Point, was with his suit on the Point of some of the Mountains with Glasses overlooking our Encampment, Fortifications & Troops, and not very well liking our position and appearance, towards the close of the Day the British Army retired, not having come nearer to us than what we call half way Point, three miles from Ticonderoga, but from which we & they had a fair view of each other. As the Enemy approached our Scouts & Pickets, retired without firing. Within supporting distance of our lines, they halted for their reception. Nothing worth noticing after this affair took place between the Enemy and Our Army, and on the 13th. of November we rec^d information they had evacuated Crown Point and gone Over the Lake

toward S^t Johns, giving up the further contest for the Present. In the afternoon of the same Day Gen^l Gates issued the following Orders.

HEAD QUARTERS, Nov^r 13th 1776.

The first Battalion of Pennsylvanians, the first and second of the New Jersey Regiments to be taken off Duty and prepare to embark for Fort George, as soon as the Batteaus arrive that will be appointed to carry them over the Lake. The Commanding Officers of Regiments, are to be answerable for any damage that is done to any of the Hutts or Buildings belonging to their Respective Regiments or Corps. The Troops that return home should be careful to preserve every thing that can in the least Degree be usefull to those who remain here. Those Corps which leave the Army are to return in all their Ammunition to the Commissary of Artillery. The Guards are to be lessened agreeably to a Detail given to the Majors of Brigades this Day.

Here ended the Northern Campaign for the year 1776. The Troops began to prepare for their return to their respective Homes & States; from this time nothing was heard but congratulations on the termination of the Campaign, and speedy return to their Homes. Colo^l Wayne Ordered one Officer from each Company to leave Ticonderoga and return to Pennsy^a to recruit to fill up the Regiment on the New Inlistments for during the War. The remainder of the Regiment whose times did not expire untill February were to stay here. The Command at this place was given to Wayne by order of Gen^l Gates.

Conceiving the time had now arived, and this a fair opportunity I resolved to leave the Army according to my former resolution. I was reported as one of the Officers to return; Wayne being willing thus to get rid of me, agreed to my departure. In a few Days after we left the Encampments, crossed Lake George in Batteaus, proceeded on through Albany, and down the North River by water about sixty Miles when we struck across the Country to avoid the

Enemy—came through the Town of Asopus and hit the River Delaware some distance above the Blew Mountain, crossed it and continued our course through Pennsylvania, passed the Wind Gap in the Blew Mountain, came by Nazareth & Bethlehem, crossed the Lehigh River at the last mentioned place, and after travelling a few miles I left the other Officers, came to Durham, and from thence took the Main Road through Bucks County to my Father's in Buckingham Township where I once more arrived in safety about the first of December, the Family all well.

At Asopus I purchased a Horse, and having rode the remainder of the way was very little fatigued, but much pleased on getting home, and from under the Power of such a Tyrant as Colo^l Wayne, who I was determined to keep clear of for the remainder of my life, conceiving his Arbitrary and despotic conduct to be worse than the Chains of the Enemy we were opposing. I was however, greatly alarmed on finding the Enemy had persued Gen^l Washington to Trentown in the state of New Jersey, where they had gone into Winter Quarters. The Gen^l with the remnant of his Troops had crossed the Delaware, and were encampd along the Western border of that River from Bristol to Coryel's Ferry, & scattered all through the Country.

The first thing after my return was to enquire after my old Friend Colo^l Housiker, and learning his Regiment was stationed some distance up the River Delaware on the Pennsylvania side, I hastened to see him. He was much pleased or appeared to be so, to see me. I informed him of my determination to leave the Army, and as he was acquainted with Colo^l Wayne's Conduct to me, I wished him, as he had professed to be my friend, to advise me what he thought I had better do, and how I ought to Act. He candidly said altho he had advised me to continue in the Army while at Ticondiroga, the same causes could not operate in my present situation, that I might now leave it with reputation, having served out the Campaign. To remain under Colo^l Wayne, I had no prospect of peace or

happiness, that he was my Personal Enemy, would oppose all perferment, and might have it in his Power to do me a serious injury, and thought I had better resign. He said many other things derogatory to the American Army and extolled that of the British. I found before I left him that he was disgusted, and determined to leave the Army himself before long. I left him the Night before the Capture of the Hessians at Trentown, and never saw him afterwards; unfortunate and unhappy man, in a few days from that time, he went over to the Enemy between Trentown & Princetown.

My Friends & Relatives being all disaffected to the American Cause, and Friendly to the British, laboured with me to abandon the American Army. My Uncles assured me they would procure me a Commission of a field Officer—that is a Major or Colo^l if I would go over to the Enemy and join their Army—four of my Cousins Chapmans had already gone. That it was impossible to oppose the prowess of the British Arms, that America would be conquered by them, and that every one found in Arms would be hung or Banished the Country. That now was my time to come off safe, which if I neglected to do or refused to do, I never would have another opportunity. My Uncles urged that I had nothing to expect from such hot headed men as composed the American Army Officers, and having learnt the ill treatment of Colo^l Wayne to me, pressed me hard to follow their advice; but their intreaties were all in Vain, I had entered into the American Cause on principle, was a Patriot from motives of the purest kind, my integrity was not to be shaken, I remained firm, and told my Uncle Abraham, who said he was authorised by my other Uncles to advise with me, that I was determined to persue the cause I had embarked in, and from which nothing but Death could detach me, firmly determined to rise or fall with the Liberty and Independance of my Country. My Uncle dispared of gaining me over to his cause, made me promise not to betray him, and keep what he had said to me, a perfect secret, as he had been induced to do it from

motives of the purest affection, of love & Friendship. Here ended all treaty of the kind between us forever. I had one Relative, an Uncle by my Father's side, John Wilkin-son Esq^r, who married a sister of my Father, a man of Property, sound sense and unblemished Character, he was indeed a Friend to his Country, a uniform Whig, had taken an early part on the side of Liberty, was in the Convention in forming the Constitution of the State, and now was a Member of the Assembly from Bucks County. Conceiving his Council more congenial to my own inclination, I was determined to follow it and resigned my Commission to the Council of Safety, still setting in Philad^a. To which I attached a narrative of Colo^l Wayne's treatment to me, and stating that alone as the only cause of my Resignation, and for abandoning the Arme^y. My resignation was Received, and I again retired to the level of a private Citizen. It was with regret I gave up a military life, as I had become attached to it, made some progress in the Military Science, and the Discipline of an Arme^y.

(To be continued.)

DEAN TUCKER'S PAMPHLET.

"A LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN LONDON TO HIS NEPHEW IN NORTH AMERICA," 1766.

(Continued from page 322.)

But as you Americans do not chuse to remember any thing, which we have done for you;—though we, and our Children shall have Cause to remember it till latest Posterity;—let us come to the Topic, which you yourselves do wish to rest your Cause upon, and which you imagine to be the Sheet Anchor of your State Vessel. "You are not represented; and you are Two Millions: therefore you ought not to be taxed." We are not represented; and we are Six Millions: therefore we ought not to be taxed. Which now, even in your own Sense of Things, have most Reason to complain? And which Grievance, if it be a Grievance, deserves first to be redressed.¹ Be it therefore supposed, that an Augmentation ought to take place in our House of Commons, in order to represent in Parliament the prodigious Numbers of British Subjects hitherto unrepresented. In this Case the first Thing to be done, is to settle the Proportion. And therefore if Two Millions (the Number of Persons actually represented at present) require Five hundred and Fifty-eight Representatives (which I think is the Number of our modern House of Commons) how many will Six Millions require?—The Answer is, that they will require One thousand Six hundred and Seventy-four Representatives. Now this is the first Augmentation, which is to

¹ By all means redress your own Grievances. If you are not just to your own People, how can we trust you? We ask no Representation among you. But if you have any thing wrong among yourselves, rectify it, and do not make one Injustice a Precedent & Plea for doing another. That would be increasing Evil in the World instead of diminishing it. [B. F.]

be made to our List of Parliament Men. And after the Increase, we are to be furnished, by the same Rule of Proportion, with Five hundred and Fifty-eight more from the Colonies. So that the total Numbers will be TWO THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT!¹ A goodly Number truly! and very proper for the Dispatch of Business! Oh, the Decency and Order of such an Assembly! The Wisdom and Gravity of Two thousand, Seven hundred and Ninety Legislators all met together in one Room! What a Pity is it, that so hopeful a Project should not be carried into immediate Execution!²

But, my noble Senator;—for certainly you yourself must figure away in such an august Assembly;—permit an old Man to reveal one Secret to you, before you proceed any farther in your representing Scheme: viz. That the Complaint itself of being *unrepresented*, is entirely false and groundless. For both the Six Millions at home, and the Two Millions in the Colonies, are all represented already. This perhaps may startle you: but nevertheless this is the Fact. And though I have hitherto used a different Language merely to accommodate myself to your Ideas, and to confute your Folly in your own Way, I must now tell you, that every Member of Parliament represents you and me, and our Interests in all essential Points, just as much as if we had voted for him. For though one Place, or one Set of Men may elect, and send him up to Parliament, yet, when once he becomes a Member, he is then the equal Guardian of all.³ And he ought not, by the Duty of his Office, to shew a Preference to his own Town, City, or County, but in such Cases only, where a Preference shall

¹ You need not be concern'd about the Number to be added from America. We do not desire to come among you.—But you may make some Room for your own additional Members by removing those that are sent by the rotten Burroughs. [B. F.]

² This Banter very useless & silly. [B. F.]

³ In the same Manner M^r Dean, are the Pope & Cardinals Representatives of the whole Christian Church. Why don't you obey them? [B. F.]

not interfere with the general Good. Nay, he ought in Conscience to give his Vote in Parliament against the Sense, and against the Instructions of his Electors, if he should think in his Conscience, that what they require, is wrong in itself, is illegal or injurious, and detrimental to the public Welfare. This then being the Case, it therefore follows, that *our* Birminghams, Manchesters, Leeds, Halifaxes, &c. and *your* Bostons, New-Yorks, and Philadelphias, are all as *really*, though not so nominally represented, as any Part whatsoever of the British Empire:—And that each of these Places have in Fact, instead of one or two, not less than Five hundred and Fifty-eight Guardians in the British Senate.¹ A Number abundantly sufficient, as far as human Prudence can suggest, or the present imperfect State of Things will permit, for the Security of our Rights, and the Preservation of our Liberties.

But perhaps you will say, That though it may be a Senator's Duty to regard the Whole rather than a Part, and to be the equal Protector of all;—yet he will, in fact, regard that most, which can best promote his own Interest, and secure his Election another Time. It may be so:—For who can guard against all Possibility of Danger? And what System can there be devised, but may be attended with Inconveniences and Imperfections in some Respect, or other?—Nevertheless, if your general Objection proves any Thing, it proves a great deal too much: For it proves, that no Man ought to pay any Tax, but that only, to which the Member of his Town, City, or County hath particularly assented:—because all other Members being chose by other Persons, and not by him, and perhaps by Persons of an oppo-

¹ What occasion is there then, my dear Sir, of being at the Trouble of Elections? The Peers alone would do as well for our Guardians tho' chosen by the King or born such. If their present Number is too small, his Majesty may be good enough to add 558, or make the present House of Commons & their Heirs Male Peers for ever. If having a Vote in Elections would be of no use to us, how is it of any to you.—Elections are the Cause of much Tumult, Riot, Contention & Mischief; get rid of them at once & forever. [B. F.]

site Interest, are therefore not *his* Representatives, and consequently not the true Guardians of *his* Property.—Being therefore *without a Representative* in such a Parliament, he is under no Obligation to obey its Laws, or pay any of its Taxes,¹

Where now, my Friend, will you turn? And what can you do, to extricate yourself from the Difficulties which arise on all Sides on this Occasion? You cannot turn about, and say, that the other Representatives, whom this Man never chose, and for whom he had no Vote to give, and against whom perhaps he had particular Exceptions, have nevertheless a Right of taxing him, because he makes a Part of the Body Politic *implied* in, and concluded by the rest;—you cannot say this, because the DOCTRINE of IMPLICATION is the very Thing to which you object, and against which you have raised so many Batteries of popular Noise and Clamour.² Nay, as the Objection is entirely of your own making, it must go still further: for if your Argument is good for any thing, it ~~is~~ as good for North America as it is for Great Britain: and consequently you must maintain, that all those in your several Provinces who have no Votes³ (and many Thousands of such there are) and also all those Votes, whose Representatives did not expressly consent to the Act of your Assemblies for raising any of your own provincial Taxes,—ought not to be compelled to

¹ You seem to take your Nephew for a Simpleton, Mr Dean. Every one who votes for a Representative knows & intends that the Majority is to govern; and that the Consent of the Majority is to be understood as the Consent of the whole & that being ever the Case in all deliberative Assemblies. [B. F.]

² How far, my dear Sir, would you yourself carry the Doctrine of Implication. If important Positions are to be imply'd when not express'd, I suppose you can have no Objection to their being imply'd where some Expression countenances the Implication. If you should say to a Friend, I am your humble Servant, Sir, ought he to imply from thence that you will clean his Shoes? [B. F.]

³ No Freeholder in North America is without a Vote. Many who have no Freeholds have nevertheless a Vote, w^{ch} indeed I do not think was necessary to be allowed. [B. F.]

pay them. These now are the happy Consequences of your own Principles, fairly, clearly, and evidently deduced: Will you abide by them?¹

But however, not to push you into more Absurdities of this Kind, let us wave the present Point, and come to another. For, after all your doleful Complaints, what if it should appear, that these Five hundred and Fifty-eight Parliamentary Guardians, who represent you only by *Implication*, have, in Fact, been *kinder* and *more bountiful* to you Americans, than they have been to their own British Voters, whom they represent by *Nomination*? And, what if even this Argument, so full of Sorrow and Lamentation, should at last be retorted upon you, and made to conclude, like all the rest, the very Reverse of what you intended? This, I believe, is what you little expected: but nevertheless, this is the Case. For if there be any Partiality to be complained of in the Conduct of the British Parliament, it will appear to be a Partiality in Favour of the Colonies, and against the Mother Country.—Do you demand my Authority for this Assertion? I will give it you: The Statutes of the Realm are my Authority; and surely you cannot demand a better. By these then it will appear, that a Colonist, and consequently subordinate to the Mother Country in the very Nature of Things, is nevertheless put upon a better Footing, *in many Respects*, than an Inhabitant of Great Britain. By these it will appear, that the Parliament, like an over indulgent Parent to a favourite, froward Child, hath been continually heaping Favours upon you, which we were not permitted to taste. Thus, for Example, you have your Choice, whether you will accept of my Price for your Tobacco,—or after bringing it here, whether you will carry it away, and try your Fortune at another Market:² but I

¹ Not of our Principles but of what you are pleas'd to imagine such.
[B. F.]

² A great Kindness this, to oblige me first to bring it here that the Expence of another Voyage & Freight may deter me from carrying it away, & oblige me to take the Price you are pleas'd to offer. [B. F.]

have no alternative allowed, being obliged to buy yours at your own Price; or else pay such a Duty for the Tobacco of other Countries, as must amount to a Prohibition.¹ Nay, in order to favour your Plantations, I am not permitted to plant this Herb on my own Estate, though the Soil should be ever so proper for it.² Again, the same Choice, and the same Alternative are allowed to you, and denied to me, in regard to Rice; with this additional Advantage, that in many Respects you need not bring it into England at all, unless you are so minded.³—And what will you say in Relation to Hemp? The Parliament now gives you a Bounty of 8 l. *per* Ton for exporting your Hemp from North America;⁴ but will allow me nothing for growing it here

¹ You lay a Duty on the Tobacco of other Countries, because you must pay Money for that, but get ours in Exchange for your Manufactures. [B. F.]

² Tobacco is not permitted to be planted in England, lest it sh^d interfere with Corn necessary for your Subsistence. [B. F.]

³ Rice you cannot raise. It requires 11 Months, your Summer is too short. Nature not the Law denies you this Product. [B. F.]

⁴ Did ever any North American bring his Hemp to England for this Bounty? We have yet not enough for our own Consumption. We begin to make our own Cordage. You want to suppress that Manufacture & would do it by getting the raw Material from us: You want to be supply'd with Hemp for your Manufactures, & Russia demands Money. These were the Motives for giving what you are pleased to call a *Bounty* to us. We thank you for your Bounties. We love you & therefore must be oblig'd to you for being good to yourselves.—You do not encourage raising Hemp in England, because you know it impoverishes the richest Ground; your Land Owners are all against it.—What you call Bounties given by Parliament and the Society are nothing more than Inducements offered us, to induce us to leave Employments that are more profitable & engage in such as would be less so without your Bounty; to quit a Business profitable to ourselves and engage in one that shall be profitable to you;—this is the true Spirit of all your Bounties. Your Duties on foreign Articles are from the same Motives. Pitch, Tar & Turpentine used to cost you 5£ a Barrel when you had them from Foreigners who us'd you ill into the Bargain, thinking you could not do without them. You gave a Bounty of 5/ a Barrel to the Colonies, & they have brought you such Plenty as to reduce the Price to 10/ a Barrel. Take back your Bounties when you

in England; nay, will tax me very severely for fetching it from any other Country; though it be an Article most essentially necessary for all the Purposes of Shipping and Navigation. Moreover in respect to the Culture of Raw Silk, you have an immense Parliamentary Premium for that Purpose; and you receive farther Encouragements from our Society for Arts and Sciences, which is continually adding fresh Rewards:—but I can receive no Encouragement either from the one, or from the other, to bear my Expences at first setting out;—though most undeniably the white Mulberry-Trees can thrive as well on my Grounds, as they can in Switzerland, Brandenburgh, Denmark, or Sweden, where vast Quantities are now raising. Take another instance: Why shall not I be permitted to buy Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine,—without which I cannot put my Ships to Sea;—and Indigo, so useful in many Manufactures;—why shall not I be permitted to purchase these Articles wherever I can, the best in their kind, and on the best Terms?—No, I shall not; for though they are all raw Materials, which therefore ought to have been imported Duty free, yet I am restrained by an heavy Duty, almost equal to a Prohibition, from purchasing them any where, but from you:—Whereas you on the contrary, are paid a Bounty for selling these very Articles, at the only Market, in which you could sell them to Advantage, viz. the English.¹

please, since you upbraid us with them. Buy your Indigo, Pitch Silk & Tobacco where you please, & let us buy our Manufactures where we please. I fancy we shall be Gainers.—I am sick of these *forged Obligations*.

As to the great Kindness of these 558 Parliamentary Guardians of American Privileges, who can forbear smiling that has seen the Navigation Act, the Hatter's Act, the Steel, Hammer & Slit Iron Acts, & numberless others restraining our Trade, obstructing our Manufactures, & forbidding us the Use of the Gifts of God & Nature. Hopeful Guardians truly! Can it be imagined that if we had a reasonable Share in electing them from time to time they would thus have us'd us? [B. F.]

¹ Those who have not the Statutes at large, may see the Things here referred to, and many others of the like Sort, in Crouche's or Saxby's Book of Rates.¹

¹ See the Statutes too for the Navigation Act. [B. F.]

Much more might have been said on this Subject: and the like Observations might have been extended to the Sugar Colonies. But I forbear.—For indeed enough has been said already (and as it exposes our Partiality and Infatuation a little severely, perhaps too much)—in order to prove to the World, that of all People upon Earth, you have the least Reason to complain.

—But complain you will: And no sooner is one Recital of imaginary Grievances silenced and confuted;¹ but, like the Hydra in the Fable, up starts another. Let us see therefore, what is your next Objection, which I think, is the last, that with all your Zeal, and Good-will, you are able to muster up.—“The Inexpediency and Excessiveness of such a Tax! a Tax ill-timed in itself, and ill digested! unseasonably laid on! and exceeding all Rules of Proportion in regard to the Abilities of those, who are to pay it!”²

Now, my Friend, had there been any Truth in these Assertions, which I shall soon make to appear, that there is not;—but had there been;—the Plea itself comes rather of the latest, and out of Place, from you;—from you, I say, who peremptorily object to the very Power and Authority of the British Parliament of laying *any internal* Taxes upon the Colonies, great or Small, or at any Time seasonable, or unseasonable. And therefore, had you been able to have proved the *Illegality* of such a Tax, it would have been quite superfluous to have informed us afterwards, that this Usurpation of your Rights and Liberties was either an excessive, or an unseasonable Usurpation. But as you have failed in this first Point; nay, as all your own Arguments have proved the very reverse of what you intended;—and very probably, as you yourself was not originally quite satisfied with the Justice of your Cause;—and must have seen abundant Reason before this Time to have altered your former hasty, and rash

¹ It is your Confutations that are imaginary. [B. F.]

² All these Objections were only to show how unequal the Parliament was to the Business of Taxing the Colonies if the Right had been with them, from their Ignorance of Circumstances & Abilities. [B. F.]

Opinion;—I will therefore wave the Advantage, and now debate the Point with you, as though you had acknowledged the Parliamentary Right of Taxation, and only excepted to the Quantum, or the Mode, the Time, or the Manner of it.¹

Now two Things are here to be discussed; first, the pretended *Excessiveness* of the Tax; secondly, the *Unseasonableness* of it. As to the Excessiveness of the Stamp Duties, the Proof of this must depend upon the Proof of a previous Article, viz. the relative Poverty and Inability of those, who are to pay it. But how do you propose to make out this Point? And after having given us for some Years past such displays of your growing Riches and increasing Magnificence, as perhaps never any People did in the same Space of Time; how can you now retract and call yourselves a poor People? Remember, my young Man, the several Expostulations I had with your deceased Father on the prodigious Increase of American Luxury. And what was his Reply? Why, that an Increase of Luxury was an inseparable Attendant on an Increase of Riches; And that, if I expected to continue my North American Trade, I must suit my Cargo to the Taste of my Customers; and not to my own old-fashioned Notions of the Parsimony of former Days, when America was a poor Country. Remember therefore the Orders given by him, and afterwards by you, to have your Assortment of Goods made richer, and finer every Year. And are your Gold and Silver Laces;—your rich Brocades, Silks, and Velvets;—your Plate, and China, and Jewels;—your Coaches and Equipages;—your sumptuous Furniture, Prints, and Pictures.—Are all these Things now laid aside? Have you no Concerts, or Assemblies, no Play Houses, or Gaming Houses now subsisting? Have you put down your Horse Races and other such like Sports and Diversions? and is the Luxury of your Tables, and the Variety and Profusion of your Wines and Liquors quite banished

¹ We see in you abundance of Self Conceit, but no convincing Argument. [B. F.]

from among you?¹—These are the Questions, which you ought to answer, before an Estimate can be made of your relative Poverty, or before any Judgment can be formed concerning the Excessiveness of the Tax.

But I have not yet done with you on this Head. For even though you were poor (which you know, you are not, compared with what you were Thirty Years ago) it may nevertheless happen, that our relative Poverty may be found to be greater than yours. And if so, when a new Burthen is to be laid on, the proper Question is, which of these two Sorts of poor People, is the best able, or, if you please, the best unable to bear it?—especially if it be taken into the Account, that this additional Load is an American Burthen, and not a British one. Be it therefore granted, according to what you say, that you are Two Millions of Souls: be it also allowed, as it is commonly asserted, that the Public Debt of the several Provinces amounts to about 800,000 l. Sterling: and in the next Place, be it supposed, for Argument's sake, that were this general Debt equally divided Among the Two Millions, each Individual would owe about the Value of Eight Shillings. Thus stands the Account on one side.² Now we in Britain are reckoned to be about

¹ This should be a Caution to Americans how they indulge for the future in British Luxuries. See here British Generosity! The People who have made you poor by their worthless I mean useless Commodities, would now make you poorer by Taxing you: And from the very Inability you have brought on yourselves by a Partiality for their Fashions & Modes of Living, of which they have had the whole Profit, would now urge your Ability to pay the Taxes they are pleas'd to impose. Reject then their Commerce as well as their pretended Power of Taxing. Be frugal & industrious, & you will be free.—The Luxury of your Tables, which could be known to the English only by your hospitably entertaining, is by these grateful Guests now made a Charge against you, & given as a Reason for taxing you. [B. F.]

² I have heard, M^r Dean, that you have studied Political Arithmetick more than Divinity, but by this Sample of it I fear to very little purpose. If personal Service were the Matter in Question, out of so many Millions of Souls so many Men might be expected, whether here or in America. But when raising Money is the Question, It is not the Number of Souls but the Wealth in Possession, that shows the Ability. If we were twice as numerous as the People of England it would not follow

Eight Millions of Souls; and we owe almost One hundred and forty-four Millions of Money: which Debt, were it equally divided among us, would throw a Burthen upon each Person of about 18 l. Sterling. This then being the State of the Case on both sides; would it be so capital an Offence? would it be High-Treason in us to demand of you, who owe so little, to contribute equally with ourselves, who owe so much, towards the public Expences;—and such Expences too as you were the Cause of creating?¹ Would it be a Crime of a Nature so very heinous and diabolical, as to call forth the hottest of your Rage and Fury? Surely no:—And yet, my gentle Friend, we do not so much as ask you to contribute equally with ourselves, we only demand, that you would contribute *something*.²—And what is this something? why truly it is, that when we raise about Eight Millions of Money annually upon Eight Millions of Persons, we expect, that you would contribute One hundred thousand Pounds (for the Stamp Duty upon the Continent alone, without comprehending the Islands, cannot possibly amount to more) I say, we expect, that you should contribute One hundred thousand Pounds to be raised on Two Millions: that is, when each of us pays, one with another, Twenty *Shillings* per Head, we expect, that each of you should pay the Sum of One Shilling! Blush! blush for shame at your perverse and scandalous Behaviour!³—Words still more keen, and perhaps more just, are ready to break forth, through an honest Indignation:—but I suppress them.

that we are half as able. There are Numbers of single Estates in England each worth a hundred of ours, the best in N. A. The City of London alone is worth all the Provinces of N. America. [B. F.]

¹ This Lie is forever repeated by these Writers. [B. F.]

² The Colonies have ever been willing & ready to contribute in Proportion to their Ability, & have done it in various ways. [B. F.]

³ Blush for shame at your own Ignorance M^r Dean, who do not know that the Colonies have Taxes & heavy ones of their own to pay, to support their own Civil & military Establishments! and that the Shillings should not be reckon'd upon Heads, but upon Pounds. There never was a sillier Argument. [B. F.]

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND "LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE."

(Continued from page 365.)

OAK HILL, Aug^t 5. 1828

DEAR SIR

I had the pleasure, on my return from the University of Virg^a, to receive your favor of the 29th ulto, and regret very much, that I have not been able to find, a copy of my letter to General La Fayette, inviting him, in compliance with a resolution of both houses of Congress, to make his late visit to our country. On my return from N. York, I had not time, to make the necessary examination of my papers, but since my return from the University, I have made a thorough search, and find the enclosed, only, which acknowledges the receipt of my letter, and informs me of a previous answer, which he had given to it. As I came through the city, I left a note for the dep't of State, requesting that a search might be made in it, for a copy of my letter with his answer, and have since been informed, that they have not been found. I am satisfied that they were either deposited there, or among the archives of the Executive, in the house of the President. In this, I am the more confirmed, from the circumstance, of having found among my papers here, the letter which I now enclose, relating to the same subject, but of a less official character. After perusing it, you will return it to me at your leisure. All that I can do, to promote your object, will be, if you will be so kind, as to forward to me, the copy which you have in French, to translate it for you into English. As I wrote the original, I presume, that a mere sketch of the ideas, will enable me to reduce it, into the proper form, or so nearly to it, as to make any deviation, altogether immaterial.

In recurring to my correspondence with Gen'l La Fayette,

my feelings have been much excited, because I have been carried back, to a very distant period, & in pursuing it, have reviewed the state in which I found his family in France, on my arrival there, in 1794; his wife being then in prison, in Paris, under the reign of terror, and he, at Ollmutz, under that of despotism. My correspondence with her, & his aids de camp, in regard to her deliverance from prison, and escape from France, to participate in his fortune, & with his aids, in what related to himself, cannot be read, even by an indifferent person, without great sensibility.

with very sincere regard I am

Dear Sir yours—

JAMES MONROE.¹

MERIDIAN HILL

WASHINGTON 20 March 1829

THOMAS NEWTON ESQ^R NORFOLK VA.

MY DEAR SIR

I received your very kind Letter, dated on the day of the commencement of the new Administration and having had then a remnant of occupation postponed the answer due to it from day to day till it were ingratitude to delay it any longer. On taking leave of public life I cannot forbear to reciprocate the farewell of one with whom I have been a fellow Servant of the Nation now upwards of twenty-five years, and of whose political career and conduct I have so constantly witnessed the firmness and the integrity. If it has been truly said by a Roman Classic "*idem velle, et idem nolle, eademum est amicitia*"—the political friendship between you and me, is of long and uninterrupted standing—I can scarcely remember the occasion upon which a difference of opinion upon objects of any material importance has occurred between us—I hope you are still destined long to retain your Seat in the House and should witness cheerfully the Reform which should restore you to the Chair of the Committee of Commerce.

¹ Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Your native Commonwealth is also about to reform her Constitution—I shall observe with great interest the changes of policy as they proceed in that "*magna parens virum*."—Her Constitution is doubtless susceptible of improvement; especially in the application of the principle of Representation—When the political Bark is launched it is not always easy to see at what Port the gale and the wave may land her—May it be in the Haven of Harmony; of Prosperity, and ready acquiescence in the lawful authority of the Union.

With my fervent good wishes for your individual happiness I remain

Dear Sir, your constant friend

J. Q. ADAMS.¹

(PRIVATE.)

WASHINGTON 13 Mar'h 1837

SIR

I take the liberty to introduce to your notice, my Nephew Lieut Robert C Buchanan recently returned from Florida, where he served throught (*sic*) the Campaigns until disabled by loss of health—He was the friend and companion of poor Izard, and was with him when he died—

We are desirous that he should obtain something in the line of his Profession in Washington; and on the strength of former acquaintance, I am induced to recommend him to your attention—

Col. Twiggs, and Col. Cutler, will be his vouchers for good conduct—

I sieze the occasion with pleasure to offer the sentiment of respect of

LOUISA C. ADAMS.²

Addressed

J R POINSET Esq.

Hon^d by Mr Buchanan

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

MY DEAR MADAM

HERMITAGE Janry 17th 1829

I have received by the hand of our mutual friend M^{rs} McLamare, the inestimable book which you were kind enough to present to me, to console me under my present affliction—I thank you kindly for this precious gift, & receive it as the highest evidence of your friendship, not only for me, but the dear partner & solace of my life, who, providence has taken to that clime where the wicked disturb not, “and the weary are at rest.”

Could this world compensate her loss, it might be found in the reflection, that her virtues, her piety & christianity, has ensured her that future happiness, which is promised to the deciples of Christ—The valuable book you have presented teach me, that the feeling of resignation to the dispensation of providence, is only the feeling of despair, when unsupported by his grace—that grace which has taken from me the dear partner of my bosom, and admonishes me by its sudden, solemn, & afflictive influence that I must soon follow her—your invaluable present will aid me in my preparation to unite with her in the realms above never to be seperated.

I pray you to accept my sincere thanks for your kind present, with the assurance of my high respect friendship & esteem.

ANDREW JACKSON¹M^{rs} FOGG

Nashville

MY DEAR SIR,

HERMITAGE June 13th 1824

I received your kind & affectionate letter of the 21st ult^o through Judge Overton; for which receive the warmest assurances of mine, & my dear Husbands thanks.

It is a source of great pleasure to us to know that you are blessed with health, & the comforts of life; but above all that you have an amiable, & an excellent partner, without whom prosperity wants the charm of happy contentment,—with whom the ills of life whether in the shape of

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

sickness, or adverse fortune, become admonishing lessons from the Father of all mercies, & strengthen us in the hopes which are realised in the kingdom of Jesus—May you & your amiable lady feel such hopes in prosperity.

I saw a few days since your little daughter Mary. She is a beautiful, & promising girl; & enjoys good health. I shall never fail to attend to her with all the care in my power—Her Grandmother & family, who are well, treat her with great kindness & attention—

Be pleased to present me, with M^r J, to your lady, & accept our united prayers for your mutual health, & happiness.

RACHEL JACKSON.¹

JNO. M. A. HAMBLEN, Esq^r.

WASHINGTON Dec^r 27, 1839

DEAR SIR

The office of Attorney Genl. of the U. States has become vacant by the resignation of M^r Grundy. Although I have no reason to suppose that it would be desirable to you to change your present position in the public service, I have nevertheless felt it to be my duty to offer the seat in my Cabinet which has thus been placed at my disposal for your acceptance, and to assure you that it will afford me sincere pleasure to learn that it will be agreeable to you to accept it;—a sentiment in which those who would be your associates, will, I am confident, cordially participate.

Would you decide otherwise, the occasion will have been presented, & cheerfully embraced, to express the high sense I entertain of your talents and also my confidence in your patriotism, & friendship for the administration.

Please to let me hear from you at your earliest convenience, & believe me to be,

Very respectfully, &

truly your friend

& obedient Serv^t

THE HONBLE

M. VAN BUREN²

JAMES BUCHANAN.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

NORTH BEND (O) 20th Dec^r 1833

MY DEAR SIR

By the command of one of the Souv'reigns of the Nation you represent in the Grand Council of Potentates I enclose you herewith a letter for him & some for other dignitaries which be pleased to deliver to him on his arrival at the capital.

You will see by the papers that the McLean flag has been hoisted in Cincinnati & some other places in Ohio. It will I think wave triumphant in that State I can form no opinion as to the other Western States.

I am D^r Sir

With great Regard

Your Hum Serv^t

W. H. HARRISON¹

P. S. Will you have the goodness to introduce Benjamin to Judge Wilkins of your house & say that it was at my request & that I make the further one to him to introduce Benjamin to Mr. Muhlenburgh of the H. of R. from Pennsylvania.

Addressed,

HON^{BLE} JOHN TYLER ESQ

of the Senate

U. S.

Washington D. C.

NORTHBEND Febr^y 13th 1852

SIR,

I now will comply with your request, would have done so sooner, but for my Indisposition—perhaps it will not now, be too late—altho it would be quite as pleasing to *me* should it be so, I only wish to perform my Duties in a plain unpretending way—Wishing that every blessing may be yours, Believe me your Friend

ANNA HARRISON²

CHARLES L. THEIL, ESQ^R

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

VIRGINIA
SHERWOOD FOREST CH^s CITY C. H.
March 27. 1855.

DEAR SIR :

I commanded a company of Riflemen during the war of 1812—which after serving with the 52 Regiment of Virginia Militia for a month at Williamsburg and Providence Forge in the county of New Kent, was transfer'd to the 2^d Elitè corps of Virginia at Charles City Court House under the command of *Col.* afterwards *General* Moses Green, where I also serv'd a month as appears by my muster roll of file among the army returns which I presume are in the possession of your office—seeing that by the action of the last Congress I am entitled to land bounty and presuming that no other evidence is necessary to entitle me to it than a reference to information already before you, I respectfully solicit your attention to the claim.

I have the honor to be

Truly & Resp^{ly} y^r

JOHN TYLER ¹

P. S. You will find my servant *William* most probably entered *William Short*—also on the muster roll—He acted as my *Bowman*—Is he not entitled to a grant of land? If so I should be *highly* gratified to hand his patent to him—

The Commissioner—

MY DEAR MRS. MADISON

I cannot express my surprize and sorrow last night to hear from Annie what serious effects had resulted from the accident which befel you a few nights since—In answer to all my enquiries I have been informed the accident was slight and you were *quite well*—

May I hope to see you if I call to-morrow? I am literally overcome with the fatigues of last nights reception or I would beg to be admitted today.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Let me know, Dear Mrs. Madison, your true condition by my Brother, who bears this to you, and believe me most sincerely

Your anxious friend

JULIA GARDINER TYLER¹

PRESIDENTS MANSION

Wednesday Feb^y 5th

MRS. MADISON

WASHINGTON CITY March 19th 1847

GENTLEMEN.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your excellent edition of the "Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," which you have presented to me.

Its general perusal cannot fail to increase the public admiration of the wisdom, and self sacrificing patriotism, of the illustrious founders of the free Government, under which it is our happy lot to live. The design and execution of the work, and the reduced price, at which you offer it to the public, must commend it to general favour, and will I am persuaded obtain for it, a wide circulation.

Thanking you for the copy which you have presented to me,

I am With Great Respect

Your Ob^t Ser^t,

JAMES K. POLK.²

TO MESSRS

THOMAS COWPERTHWAIT & Co.

Philadelphia.

MY DEAR SIR,

Allow me to make my grateful acknowledgments to you and to assure you of my appreciation, for the kindness, you & your family have extended to my niece Mrs. Fall.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

To day I conclude, that she is with you enjoying the pleasure of your hospitable home. With that dear little child *Sadie*, who has long anticipated the visit. I do trust they may add to your pleasure.

Although advanced in years, I yet take much interest in the affairs of the country, what do you think of the political situation of the day?

I must make an apology, for this intrusion on your time, with a note without interest, but with many thanks, I am most respectfully,

& truly y^r

MRS. POLK.¹

"POLK PLACE"

Oct. 26, 1876

Addressed

MR. A. WELCH,
Chestnut Hill,
Philadelphia,
Pa.

WASHINGTON March 20th 1849

HON. J. M. CLAYTON

DEAR SIR

The communication of this day signed by Mess^r Meridith, Ewing and Johnson with your remarks embraced therein, on the subject of the appt of gov^r for Minesota has just reached me; in reply I beg leave to say, no nomination has been made to fill the place of the individual who was rejected for that situation; nor will there be until I can consult with the Cabinet touching the same—

Very respectfully

Your ob^t serv^t

Z. TAYLOR.²

P. S.

At the last meeting of the Cabinet it was determined not to meet again until tomorrow evening; would it not be

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

well to meet this evening at 8 o'clock P.M. to arrange the matter in question, if so, please notify the other gentlemen.

Z. T.

MR. FRENCH

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your note of this evening I beg leave to say that Col. Bliss inadvertently omitted dating the invitation intended for you, and as he is absent this evening, I hasten to say that the invitation is for six o'clock on Thursday next. Another one will be sent to you on Monday, and in the mean time you will please excuse this awkward oversight.

Very respectfully yours

BETTY T. BLISS¹

Saturday evening.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(To be continued.)

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOUNDING BY THE
"SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOS-
PELS IN FOREIGN PARTS," LONDON, OF THE
MISSIONS AT READING AND MORLATTAN, BERKS
COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY B. F. OWEN.

(Concluded from page 382.)

READING 25 June 1765

REV^D SIR.

I was honoured wth your Favours of June last, & communicated the Contents to my Parishioners which has produced the effects set forth on their Petitions herewith transmitted, by which you'll be pleased to find they have at last Resolved to provide Churches & to Increase my Salary when they are finished. . . .

This Town has a promising prospect of Thriving now that it is Recovering fast from the Ruins of an Indian war which almost from its beginning has lain hard & nigh upon it. And for Health, Pleasantness & Convenience for Trade there is no Inland Town perhaps in America equal to it. And that it will deserve the very particular care of the Society to have our Church established upon some firm Foundation in it; I doubt not in the least & wherein my warmest tho' weak Endeavours can be subservient so desirable & necessary an End I trust they shall never be wanting.

The sooner you can Return an answer to the Petitions from this Mission, it will be ye more agreeable, as the people will do little in the State of Suspense they are till then, when I hope they shall find Encouragement to proceed Unanimously in their Undertakings. The Proprietors of this Province have given orders to Grant a Lot of

Ground in this Town for building an Episcopal Church when desired, & one Mr. Jones is to grant for its use forever five Acres of Land about two miles Distance from Town, which tho' of little value just now, may yield something sometime hence.

That I may, in some Measure, merit the approbation of the Venerable Society, & y^e people committed to my care is my most hearty desire.

I am most Respectfully Rev^d Sir

Your most Obliged & very hum^l Serv^t

ALEX^r MURRAY.

The REV D^r BURTON.

PHILADELPHIA 8 January 1768.

REVEREND SIR,

Sir William Johnson it seems, has for some time expected two Clergymen from ye Society for the proposed Mission at Johnson hall & Schenectady, but having no accounts of any being ever yet appointed, as appears by some letters of his lately to D^r Smith & Mr. Barton, wherein he signifies that "if they cannot be got soon, they will come too late": Accordingly they have been pleased to Recommend me to him for one of the Missions in case ye Encouragement is suitable and to this they expect a particular answer from Sir William after he has communed w^t ye people concerned in these Missions, that there may be no mistakes in the Out-setting, which are too common in this part of ye World, & breed such uneasiness afterwards as defeats ye great end of a Mission; so that one can hardly be too careful in fixing his Terms if he reasonably hopes to continue long in one place & be useful in his holy calling; which in prudence, should be as far removed as possible from all occasions of dispute & discontent upon account of Salary or such like temporal considerations, especially amidst the Great Body of Dissenters in America.

Should Sir William then settle the Preliminary Article to ye peoples Satisfaction & mine I would be glad to know whether it would be agreeable to ye Society that I should

remove from Reading to either of these New Missions, they have been so indulgent formerly to promise me a Removal to some more Encouraging place, & as I have reason to believe that Sir William will settle every thing to my mind, I hope they will in that event appoint my Translation. This application may be thought premature, but the design of it is to prevent farther loss of time in having these places supplied & as Sir William has them so much at heart, & is so warm a Friend to ye Church, it were a pity his Expectations should be disappointed, therefore allow me to crave an Answer with all convenient speed. Should I settle at one of these places I would strive to supply the other occasionally till a fit person for it was got. Upon Receipt of Sir William's Answer to the Rev^d D^r Smith upon this Subject I'll immediately determine on accepting or not, & shall not fail to write you again accordingly. Submitting the whole to the Society's Judgment, I am wth all deference Rev^d Sir

Your most obliged & very affe^t Brother
& humble Serv^t

ALEX^r MURRAY.

The REV^d D^r BURTON.

READING 25 Sep^r 1768

REV^d SIR

About three weeks ago I Received your Letter of 26th March last; & in Obedience to the Society's Instructions shall lay their Proposals for Augmenting my Salary before my different Vestries once more, but I'm confident they are not able to comply wth them as the Rev^d D^r Smith assures me he informed you some time ago, & by whose Advice I accordingly drew my last Bill for £40.; for the Acceptance of which I offer the Society my most grateful acknowledgments, as also for their agreeing to my Removal to Johnson-hall or Schenectady; the last of which Sir William Johnson was desirous I should accept of, as he did not doubt but the people there would Contribute something handsome towards y^e support of One so well Recommended by D^r Smith and Mr. Barton; But as he did not say how

much nor what Security the people would give The Doctor thought it proper to have satisfaction in these particulars & so wrote Sir William last Spring to that effect, but has never Received any Answer; Since then Sir William has been mostly from home & constantly engaged in Indian Affairs: Let me then be no hinderance to the Settlement of either of these two places. The number of my Parishioners here, & those of y^e Country Church amounts to 330, & several Dissenters besides Associate wth us both on Sundays & Holy Days.

The Communicants since Christmas 1766 have increased from 6 to 14; & accordingly I now dispense the Eucharist thrice a year on the principal Festivals. Since then also I have Baptized 25 Children & 4 Adult persons, and have at last established the practice of catechizing the younger people after the Sermon in Church, which excites in them a Commendable Emulation, improves y^e Hearers in General, & stimulates ye Parents & Schoolmasters in particular to double y^r diligence in a Course of private Instruction. Hence all concerned strive to obtain ye public Approbation & escape public Censure. Each Class have y^r Task Assigned them from time to time, wth a Repitition of all y^e Catechetic Exercises at stated Seasons. This method I trust in God will make some lasting Impressions of Christian Knowledge upon their tender minds; & ye Older people are indeed so very Ignorant that there is hardly any other way they can bear to be instructed in, but this thro' their Children & with their proficiency, to do them justice, they are much delighted; & to forward their Education I must be soon obliged to apply to the Society for some Small Tracts, of which I shall send you a List.

What Relates to the providing a Church a Parsonage house & Glebe here, I can just now say little about, till I can have a full Meeting of both Vestries, who must soon enquire into the State of the Lottery which was drawn last year for Building some Churches here & in other parts of this province; and at same time I shall modestly intimate

the Proposals for Increasing my Salary, & in the Interim only draw for the sum originally granted me.

I hope the Venerable Society will believe that I use my best Endeavours to promote the pious Ends of my Mission, notwithstanding of all the Unjust & Ungenerous Animadversions which are now a throwing out from y^e Printing-press against our Church & Clergy, by her Old Inveterate adversaries the Oliverian Independants, & a Sect of High-flying Presbyterians, who dread Bishops in America because the fast Friends of Monarchy & Subordination, as their Fathers felt about a Century past; but let me forbear at present, & subscribe myself

Rev^d Sir

Your most affectionate Brother
& very humble Servant

ALEX^R MURRAY.

The REV^D D^R BURTON.

READING 23 March 1771

REVEREND SIR.

The State of my Parish is chiefly the same that it was last year I wrote you, on the Number of Communicants are increased to 22 . . . The Number of my Parishioners are 325 of which I baptized 7 Children & 5 besides from the upper Parts of Philadelphia & Chester Counties. As to the building of a Church here, we have but lately Received the last part of the Lottery money that fell to the share of this place, & the First part, which was lent on Interest, till the whole should be got, is to be immediately demanded, that we may buy materials this year to be in Readiness to build the next at farthest. The Lottery money wth Interest amounts to £271.10. of our Currency. There was £40. besides which fell to St. Gabriel's Church at Molatton; this is already applied towards repairing the same. . . .

Reverend Sir

Your most obliged &
Very humble Serv^t

ALEX^R MURRAY.

REV^D D^R BURTON.

READING 26 March 1772.

REVEREND SIR,

I have hardly anything new to communicate concerning my Parishioners: They continue Orderly & Quiet, amidst the Clamor & Noise Contention & Evil speaking of the German Colonists, who are the Body of the people in this Frontier County, & are every now & then at Variance with one another or with their ministers; to the Great Scandal of Religion, & their Various Professions, which are chiefly Lutheran and Calvinist, & are both equally distant from our Church; the Former as well as the Latter admitting Presbyterian Ordination, & both use Organs, Violins & ye Like in their Worship. The Lutherans of this Town are just now a Suing & Execrating one another on the Occasion of Electing a minister & this satisfaction they frequently indulge themselves, being fonder of New Clergy than New Clothes, which they are Parsimonious enough to wear Threadbare, & when they are Ripe for a Change of Pastors, they make them do so too, & so starve them out of place with Cold or Hunger. Their Subscriptions are scanty at Best, & these may Continue or withhold annually at pleasure; for in their Language they *Hire* a Minister generally for no longer than a year, which renders his Office as Contemptible as Poor. Their Elections are like Polish Diets; they meet again & again, & as often dissolve in Confusion, till at last tired out, they submit to any Measure or any Minister for a Time, which makes ye Settlements short lived & Unsatisfying & Vacancies long. These sad Effects of Anarchy too evidently shew the necessity of some Ecclesiastical Government in these parts of y^e World. Must not Christianity in such circumstances suffer in the Eyes of the Heathen, whose Morals it should mend, not Corrupt? Besides the Members of our own Church are no more than Men, & may be brought to think the more Lightly of Religion & its Ministers; especially in those places where they are comparatively but a small number. Has France or Spain, Russia or Turkey left their Religions in such a Distracted State as ours in British

America? I address a Wise & Zealous Advocate for an American Episcopate; "Judge you what I say."

I expect we shall be in condition next Summer to Build a Church here which is much wanted. The Number of my Parishioners are 307, of whom 22 are Communicants. I have baptized last year 20 Children, 7 of whom belonged to one Family in Chester County. . . . I am with all due Respect

Reverend Sir

Your most obliged hum^l Serv^t

ALEX MURRAY.

REV. D^R BURTON.

READING 26 March 1774.

REVEREND SIR.

This District of my Mission still feels the Loss it sustained last Year by the Death of some of its Principal Members: However the Remaining few are desirous to do their Best to get a Church built, & have exchanged the Lot of Ground. The Proprietaries of the Province had allowed them in Town for another much more convenient, but £115. dearer than that, which makes them put off Building till next Year, that they can collect as much Money as will defray Additional Expence. The number here Old & Young, is only 127, but they are an Orderly well disposed people; as those truly are in the Country District of Molatton, who are 170 in all. These have repaired their Old Church, and are very constant Attenders of it.

The Communicants in both Parishes are 19. The Children I Baptized last year are 15. . . .

I am with all Respect

Reverend Sir

Your most obliged & very
humble Servant

ALEX^R MURRAY

REV. D^R DANIEL BURTON.

ASSESSMENT OF DAMAGES DONE BY THE BRITISH
TROOPS DURING THE OCCUPATION OF PHILA-
DELPHIA, 1777-1778.

(Concluded from page 335.)

LOWER MERION.

Hugh Jones, Jun^r, Assessor.

Brooke, Jonathan	£22	10	—
Bicking, Frederick	28	5	—
Crickbaum, Philip	55	6	9
Davis, James	26	10	6
Elliot, Robert	52	2	6
Evans, Peter	80	18	—
Fimple, John	9	3	6
Fimple, George	76	8	6
Goodwin, Thomas	56	19	—
Grover, Joseph	7	2	6
Grover, John	92	1	—
Grover, John	61	8	—
Goodman, John	54	10	9
Hidely, Leonard	66	11	1
Holland, Robert	300	—	—
Jones, Jesse	287	7	1
Jolly, Catherine	218	5	6
Jones, Francis	90	16	8
Jones, Hugh	60	—	—
Jones, Israel	237	15	—
Klein, Michael	16	7	6
Llewellyn, John	20	—	—
Morgan, Thomas	218	9	—
Matson, Jacob	74	3	9
Oliver, Mary	52	7	3

Roberts, Daniel	£6	12	6
Roberts, Algernon	25	—	—
Stadleman, William	160	3	2
Smith, Michael	451	6	5
Sheets, Catherine	14	—	—
Sturgis, Jonathan	205	6	—
Smith, William	50	17	6
Sheetz, John	19	14	—
Trexler, Peter	90	17	6
Thomas, David	6	2	—
Wayne, Mary Anne	1	10	4
Wells, Samuel	16	12	9

LOWER SALFORD.

Jacob Reiff, Assessor.

[No return.]

LIMERICK.

Conrad Boyer, Assessor.

[No return.]

MONTGOMERY.

Jenkin Etans, Assessor.

[No return.]

MARLBOROUGH.

Andrew Reed, Assessor.

[No return.]

MOYAMENSING.

Adam Bole, Assessor.

Bole, Adam	£128	18	9
Carls, Mary	577	—	6
David, Widow	95	—	—
Fisher's, John Est ^e	135	—	—
Honeycomb, Joseph	294	5	9
Hall, Thomas	295	—	—
Hill, Catherine	70	—	—
Rose, Peter	83	5	—
Reinbow, Michael	61	—	—
Varrence, Lawrence	1171	9	9
Vaney, Sebastian	9	—	—
Young, George	356	5	—

MORELAND.

Robert Whitten, Assessor.

Ayres, Samuel	£8	—	—
Bilew, Daniel	35	14	—
Buskirk, Garret	7	9	6
Boutcher, John	112	5	—
Boutcher, Joseph	70	—	—
Boutcher, Samuel	402	10	—
Blake, John	75	10	3
Cox, Joseph	15	—	—
Duffield, Joseph	10	9	3
Durland, John	8	8	—
Dyer, James	176	17	6
Fulton, James	38	17	—
Fetters, Rachel	49	15	—
Flintham, John			
Hogeland, John	120	—	—
Hisler, Nicholas	69	14	6
Krewson, Derrick	77	2	—
Krews, Simon	24	7	6
McCluer, John	11	8	9

McVeagh, Charles	£15	—	—
Pennington, Charles.			
Summers, Martin	53	5	—
Staats, Peter	8	8	8
Swift, John	35	—	—
Sommer, John	91	—	—
Swift, Samuel Jun.	70	19	6
Tillyer, William	250	—	—
Wynkoop, Garrett	26	—	—
Wynkoop, Philip	7	—	—
Wynkoop, Cornelious	30	—	—
Wollard, James	17	12	—
Wynkoop, John	119	14	—
Whitten, Robert	92	2	—
Yerkes, Jacob	18	—	—

NORTHERN LIBERTIES, (East.)

Thomas Britton, Assessor.

Ashton, Andrew	£40	—	—
Brown's, William Est ^e	520	15	—
Bruester, Samuel	4243	—	—
Beckley's, Henry Est ^e	154	3	3
Baker, James	76	12	6
Brand, Jacob	38	18	3
Baker, Mary	129	15	—
Brahl, Lewis	298	7	—
Brown, John	445	—	—
Brown, Peter	3110	—	—
Baker, Jeremiah	43	10	—
Budd, Levy	280	19	6
Ball, William Esq.	1385	3	—
Croston, Anne	102	10	—
Cooper, Isaac	371	15	—
Coates, William	425	11	6
Coats, Isaac	721	—	—
Endress, Zachariah	929	—	—

Eyre's Jehu Est°	£3899	14	5
Faunce, Henry	230	—	—
Faunce, Widow Est°	60	—	—
Forster, Widow	113	8	—
Forepaugh, George	120	—	—
Grice, Francis	320	—	—
Garling, George	138	2	6
Guiry, Mathias	283	2	8
Gibson, Anna	510	8	—
Hobbis, Henry	20	—	—
Hidlen, Elizabeth	41	12	—
Herberger, George	45	—	—
Hewson, John	285	12	—
Hopkins, Thomas	519	10	—
Jones, Benjamin	37	10	3
Jacobs, John	184	15	—
Knight, Peter	787	—	—
Kressel, John	42	5	—
Lazer's, Conrad Est°	671	—	—
Laub, Peter	46	5	—
Leib, George	135	13	4
McClain, Eliz ^a , & Holwager, Eliz ^a	120	4	—
Miller, Jacob	940	—	—
Nelson, Mary	1000	—	—
Norris's, Isaac Estate	4637	10	—
Poht, Mary	240	—	—
Penn, Richard, & Sarah Master's Est°	1562	10	—
Pearson, William (Deceas'd) Est°			
Rush, Joseph	53	10	10
Shilack, Albertus	43	15	—
Smith, Samuel	161	12	6
Shorty, Christopher	270	2	—
Stock, Philip	287	—	—
Strieby, George	25	—	—
Sahler, Mathias	48	15	—
Schreder, Jacob	200	—	—
Saltar, Thomas	700	—	—

Sheets, George	£118	10	—
Stonemetz, Peter	182	17	6
Salsberry, William	250	—	—
Treichel, Elias Lewis	1000	—	—
Winkler, Ludwick	18	—	—
Whitener, Christopher	24	15	—

NORTHERN LIBERTIES, (West.)

Henry Neglee, Assessor.

Alberger, Adam	£55	16	—
Bergman, John	1261	10	—
Binder, Jacob	67	10	—
Britton, Thomas	474	—	—
Dover, Frederick	199	10	4
Davis, Mary	325	17	6
Esher, Conrad	79	17	6
Fisher, Lewis	166	2	—
Funk's, Joseph Est ^e	803	19	6
Grace, John	56	10	—
Gerlach, Widow Est ^e	66	15	2
Graag, Bartholomew	50	7	6
Garratt, Marcus	497	9	6
Hiltzheimer, Jacob	191	15	8
Hinkle, Christopher	61	7	—
Irvin, Archibald	39	15	—
Kattly, Steward	36	—	—
Kraft, Michael	260	—	—
Kling, John	810	—	—
Lamberger, John	170	—	—
Marker, George	722	—	6
Miller, John	53	19	9
Masters, William	4890	—	—
Mowrer, Jacob	41	2	6
Neglee, Henry	404	—	—
Potts, Hester	289	12	4
Roll, Godlieb	150	—	—

Reitz, Casper	£23	5	—
Smith, Peter	348	19	7
Schrank, George	444	8	9
Stenshman, John	113	7	6
Stout, Peter	85	19	8
Sell, Solomon	132	—	—
Shaw, Thomas	299	1	6
Smith, Michael	16	18	—
Taylor, Michael	406	15	—
Waggoner, Philip	266	12	6
Worrell, James	581	—	—
Wood, Joseph	458	7	—
White, Sarah	484	5	—
Watkins, Joseph	47	—	—
Weidman, John	687	12	6
Weisbard, Adam	7	19	—
Young, Conrad & Peter	220	—	—
Zink, Godlieb	140	16	3

NEW HANOVER.

Tobias Yerger, Assessor.

[No return.]

NORRINGTON.

Jacob Auld, Assessor.

Boyer, Abraham	£46	18	—
Bartleson, Eliz ^a	110	17	6
Bartleson, Jane	58	—	—
Boulton, Isaac	122	15	—
Bull, John	2030	15	—
Curry, Robert	40	—	—
Chaine, John	150	5	—
Conrad, Dennis	46	5	—
Couch, Daniel	17	8	6
Coulston, David	5	17	—

Dewees, William	£329	17	6
Evans, Jacob	60	—	—
Jordan, Robert	37	5	—
Jordan, James	76	—	—
M ^c Farland, Arthur	150	—	—
M ^c Cammon, Alexander	152	—	—
M ^c Cammon, John	63	10	—
M ^c Harg, Thomas	14	10	—
Mathias, Peter	75	17	6
Norman, David	203	11	—
Painter, Adam	10	5	—
Pownel, George	45	17	6
Pawling, Henry	138	—	—
Porter, Stephen	125	—	—
Rooke, Thomas	46	5	6
Roberts, Joseph	82	2	6
Rhoads, Ezekiel	65	15	—
Shannon, John	81	—	—
Stuart, Christopher	203	15	—
Supplee, Andrew	87	17	6
Supplee, David	41	5	—
Thompson, Hannah	807	—	—
Tyson, Joseph	102	4	—
Universities Estate—late John Bull's	1000	—	—
Wood, Josiah	404	15	—
Zigler, Andrew	43	5	—

OXFORD.

Thomas Bristol, Assessor.

Ashbridge, Elizabeth	£125	1	—
Buzby, Isaac	88	10	—
Bristol, Thomas	25	10	—
Buzby, Joseph	34	2	6
Dover's, William Est ^d	270	11	3
Freeburn, Hill	17	—	—
Folckrade, Jacob	65	7	6

Folckrade, George	£51	13	3
Fismire, Christian	25	—	—
Hovensock, Daniel	10	7	3
Harrow, John	164	7	6
Hartley, Henry	57	17	6
Holt's, Adam Est ^e	60	15	—
Judah, Serock	17	17	—
Knowles, John	627	1	6
Keen, Mathias	166	11	—
Leshar, Jacob	35	7	6
Meyer's, Yost Est ^e	23	—	—
Meyer, Jacob	62	—	—
Morton, Isaac	122	15	—
Martin, Alexander	66	—	—
Neff, Jacob	81	17	3
Nesmith, Arthur	40	—	—
Peart, Thomas	47	—	6
Slushman's, John Est ^e	29	—	—
Thomlinson, Joseph	78	18	4
Worrell, Isaih	5	—	—
Zebely, Jacob	55	12	6

PLYMOUTH.

Zebulon Potts, Assessor.

Arndt, Peter	£15	—	—
Armstrong, Simon	36	10	—
Bell, Rees	34	15	—
Crawford, Andrew	277	1	6
Callender, Conrad	62	5	—
Colley, Alexander	8	5	—
Coulston, John	40	5	—
Coulston, Barnabas	31	15	—
Cowden, Samuel	25	3	4
Davis, John	55	—	—
Davis, Marcey	9	—	—
Davis, John	11	—	—

Dull, Frederick	£13	—	—
Deheaven, Andrew	85	6	6
Fitzwater, Joseph	77	14	6
Kent, Joseph	16	16	10
Kazer, Mary	22	18	—
Lisle, Alexander	8	10	—
Levering, Wickard	180	—	—
Potts, Zebulon	115	—	—
Peterman, Jacob	20	18	6
Robinson, James	18	12	—
Rex, Jesse	7	10	—
Sheppard, James	68	15	—
Vanpelt, John	6	—	—
Wager, Jesse	5	12	6

PASSYUNK.

Henry Magg, Assessor.

Baker, Joseph	£370	1	—
Berkenbiel, Christian	128	—	—
Berkenbiel, Anth ^r & Geo: Gray's Est ^e	1077	17	6
Bost, Michael	125	2	—
Burkhart, Daniel	545	6	6
Coppel, Elizabeth	206	5	—
Cleckner, Casper	121	15	—
Deshong, Frederick	308	5	—
Everly, John	267	10	6
Fister, Jacob	56	—	—
Frederick, George William	113	10	—
Garret, Adam	119	—	—
Grover, Christian	2216	9	—
Getz, Michael	42	10	—
Hannis, John	780	—	—
Lodge, Jacob	113	15	—
Lohman, William	900	10	—
Lutz, Christian	189	2	6
Leshar, Widow	164	10	—

Leshner, George	£314	11	—
Lownes, Joseph Est*	130	11	3
Messemer, John	79	—	—
Maag, Henry	156	10	—
Miller, John	254	10	—
Motes, Jacob	175	—	—
Peltz, John	451	15	—
Shoester, Martin	50	13	4
Shisler, Godfrey	137	12	6
Shear, Barbara	30	—	—
Sees, George	330	18	—
Swaab, Adam	496	16	—
Sink, Jacob	297	5	—
Simon, John	63	5	—
Trine, Jacob	158	3	4
Tustin, Samuel	43	12	6
White, John	23	4	6
Word, Ludwick	119	15	—
Young, Philip	110	15	—
Young, Christian	324	16	—
Young, Francis	265	2	6

PROVIDENCE.

Benjamin Dismant, Assessor.

Boutersway, Wendle	£81	7	—
Davis, Elijah	100	—	—
Edwards, John	67	5	—
Edwards, Jun.	44	2	6
Francis, Arnold	121	15	—
Heilig, John	47	8	—
Nelson, William	8	—	—
Pawling, Isaac	57	5	3
Pawling, Nathan	24	6	—
Teany, Henry	31	—	—
Vaux, James	96	15	—

ROXBOROUGH.

Michael Righter, Assessor.

Bigony, John	£54	—	—
Bower, Charles	12	—	—
Barndoller, John	32	5	—
Crawford, Hugh	50	17	6
Cook, Anthony	15	—	—
Gilbert, Jacob	58	2	6
Holeget, John	7	12	—
Levering, Enoch	196	15	—
Levering, Nathan	137	18	4
Levering, William	121	16	—
Merker, Conrad	17	12	—
Righter, Michael	39	10	—
Righter, Daniel	3	—	—
Reabin, Nicholas	25	—	—
Righter, John	68	17	6
Smick, Lewes	18	—	—
Smith, Michael	13	15	—
Snyder, Adam	28	7	6
Taylor, Jonathan	49	9	2
Wood, Andrew	252	17	—

SOUTHWARK.

Samuel Murdock, Assessor.

Allison, Robert	£790	—	—
Barrett's, Edward Est ^d	455	3	2
Church, Samuel	159	10	3
Carr's, Patrick Est ^d	508	5	—
Carson, Robert	570	—	—
Cassin, Joseph	44	—	—
Dennis, Richard	5622	5	8
Davis, Thomas	33	5	—
Drewry, William	1525	18	—
Fullerton, William	1863	9	6

Goodwin, George	£2000	—	—
Hardie, Robert	332	—	—
Hornecker's, Marcus Est ^e	238	—	—
Inglis's, John Est ^e	77	6	—
Jones, John	2625	16	—
Johns, Matthew	199	10	—
Knox, Robert	2335	—	—
McMullen, William Esq ^r	299	—	—
McClasky, James	14	11	—
Morton, John	70	—	—
Morris, Luke	1222	—	—
Matson, Peter	149	6	—
Pearson, Anthony	186	19	—
Penrose, Isaac	1125	—	—
Pendergast, Martin	157	3	8
Smith, John	397	—	—
Turner, Joseph	1191	16	—
Wharton, Joseph Dec ^d Est ^e	225	—	—

SKIPPACK.

Walter Johnson, Assessor.

[No return.]

SPRINGFIELD.

Baltzer Hydrick, Assessor.

Bisbing, Bernard	£20	—	6
Coombe, Thomas	501	12	6
Fye, Andrew	8	15	—
Henritz, Henry	49	19	9
Hydrick, Abraham	10	12	6
Hydrick, Baltzer	9	15	—
Heyberger, Andrew	13	7	6
Kerger, Jacob	53	17	—
Narecker, Jacob	45	10	—
Ottinger, William	138	17	6
Peterman, Philip	44	13	—

Snyder, Catherine	£9	—	—
Stoad, John	249	5	—
Woolery, Weckerly	11	3	6

TOWAMENSING.

Henry Smith, Assessor.

[No return.]

UPPER SALFORD.

Philip Fisher, Assessor.

[No return.]

UPPER MERION.

John Johnson, Assessor.

Bartleson, Cephus	£127	10	—
Billsland, Henry	15	19	4
Crawford, William	30	—	—
Colflesh, Henry	37	12	6
Colflesh, Henry Jr.	3	—	6
Davis, William	4	2	1
Eastburn, Benjamin	119	14	6
Eastburn, John	43	1	9
George, George	80	—	—
Inglis, John	42	8	5
Johnston, John	269	17	11
Knight, Isaac	340	16	9
M ^c Fee, Daniel	12	5	—
Matson, Isaac	64	3	2
Matson, Peter	26	3	9
Priest, Absolom	59	9	6
Roberts, John	34	4	6
Shurr, Michael	42	15	—
Sturgis, Anthony	46	18	10
Sturgis, John	106	4	10
Willets, Amos	16	1	6
Yocum, Hannah	3	10	—

UPPER DUBLIN.

John Mann, Assessor.

Berney, John	£7	—	—
Major, Peacock	13	—	—
Nash, Hannah	36	—	—
Nash, Joseph	220	15	—
Wright, George	66	15	—

UPPER HANOVER.

Michael Roeder, Assessor.

[No return.]

WORCESTER.

Henry Conrad, Assessor.

Wentz, Peter	£125	—	—
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WHITEMARSH.

William Johnson, Assessor.

Bower, Andrew	£3	3	9
Culp, Leonard	55	—	—
Deager, Ludwick	34	8	9
Ettris, John	61	—	—
Everly, Israel	11	2	6
Frees, George	12	7	—
Frees, George	32	7	6
Houser, Jacob	112	12	6
Hitner, William	4	15	—
Hopkins, Edward	6	—	—
Kittler, John	46	7	6
Maulsby, Hannah	22	14	10
Steer, Christian	263	5	—

WHITPAIN.

Daniel Yost, Assessor.

Elles, Isaac	£30	—	—
Favoritz, Frederick	21	—	6
Knox, Andrew	200	—	—
Knox, David	175	—	—
Knox, Samuel, Deceased	75	—	—
M ^c Glathery, John	45	—	—
Wentz, John	40	—	—
Zimmerman, Christopher	24	—	—

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.

(Continued from page 416.)			
<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>
1755 Jan. 3 Schooner Hannah	Jonathan Copeland	John Mifflin, Junr Jonathan Mifflin both of Philadelphia Jonathan Copeland of Chester, Pa.	Marcus Hook, Pa.
Jan. 6 Sloop Nepton	Samuel Chester	Samuel Chester of Philadelphia	West Jersey
Jan. 7 Ship Whitehill	Joseph Arthur, Junr	Robert Field John Kanton Abel James all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
1754 Dec. 10 Brig't Esther	Joseph House	Joseph House of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
1755 Jan. 17 Snow Dorothea Sophia	Michael Burke	Thomas Kirwin Michael Burke both of Dublin, Ireland	Philadelphia
Jan. 19 Sloop Susannah	John Esdaile	Henry Elwes Michl Julings Michael Hillegas all of Philadelphia Jnr ^e Ross of Cowes, in the Isle of Wight	Philadelphia
			Tons 25
			10
			90
			35
			60
			24

Jan. 28	Sloop Adventure	Alexander Kennedy	Joseph Horsey Alexander Kennedy both of Philadelphia	Cedar Creek, Province of West Jersey	10
Jan. 20	Sloop St. Andrew	Henry Allen McDoughall	James Allen of London John Inglis of Philadelphia Attwood Shute of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	15
Feb. 3	Brig't Kensington	William Cuzzins	Edward Cathrell both of Philadelphia Richard McWilliams of Newcastle Co.	Philadelphia	60
Feb. 5	Snow Barbadoes Factor	Joseph Greenway	James Simpson of Liverpool	Philadelphia	50
Feb. 6	Brig't Peggy	George Houston	John Mifflin, Junr Jonathan Mifflin both of Philadelphia	Newcastle, on Delaware	40
Feb. 13	Sloop Nelson	James Simpson	James Pemberton Samuel Enlin, Junr Thomas Crosby all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook	12
March 3	Snow Rebecca	James Lowther		Philadelphia	50
March 6	Brig't Hannah	William Snook		West New Jersey	55

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1755	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
April 21	Ship Hope	John Bolitho	Benjamin Shoemaker Edward Pennington Tho ^s Clifford Samuel Shoemaker all of Philadelphia	—	80
May 6	Ship Boyne	James Godfrey	John Erwin of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
March 24	Ship Swanzey	Edward Vaughan	William Griffiths of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90
April 26	Brig't Sarah & Katherine	William Condy	William Fisher Charles Jones Joshua Howell all of Philadelphia	George Town, Province of Massachusetts Bay	40
May 20	Ship Elias	Robert Hardie	Anthony Stocker of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	120
May 21	Ship Delahanty	William Blair	William Correy William Blair both of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	60
May 16	Brig't Penelope	Henry Lisle	Henry Lisle of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	40
June 6	Brig't Rebecca & Susanna	George Nicholson	Robert Wain of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90

June 9	Sloop Hunter	John Duplissis	Cornelius Kollock of Maryland Oswell Eve Henry Ash both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	20
June 6	Brig't Sally	Joseph Brown	Samuel Mifflin of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
June 13	Brig't Minerva	William Morrell	Enoch Hobart William Morrell both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	30
June 14	Sloop Charming Sally	Randal Wilson	Benjamin Fuller Randal Mitchell Hugh Donaldson all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	25
June 10	Schooner Mary	James Miller	Jonathan Arnold of Connecticut Hugh Wright James Miller both of Philadelphia	Marblehead, New England	20
June 13	Sloop Fanny	Michael Kelley	Edward Warner of St. Christophers	Bermuda	20
June 9	Snow Muggy	William Allison	John Meas of Philadelphia Henry Bonnin of Antigua	Philadelphia	60

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1755	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
June 26	Schooner Pitcher	David Dewar	William Plumsted of Philadelphia	A Foreign built vessel, seized by the Collector of the Port of Newcas- tle on Delaware, & legally condemned Philadelphia	30
May 30	Ship Arethusa	James Young	Charles & Alexander Stedman James Young all of Philadelphia		90
July 5	Sloop Sally	John Jauncey	John Jauncey of New York City Robert Field	Province of New York	30
June 27	Ship Euryale	John Campbell	of Philadelphia William Masters of Philadelphia	Taken from the Subjects of the King of France by Ship Wilming- ton, Jn ^o Sibbald, Com- mander Philadelphia	100
July 19	Ship Adventure	John Cowan	James Wallace Thomas Wallace both of Philadelphia		60
July 21	Sloop Diamond	Isaac Comron	Henry Sparks Robert & George Sparks all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12

July 28	Bright Sea Flower	James Sample	George Jackson of St. Christophers	Portsmouth, New Hamp- shire	60
March 8	Sloop Joseph	John Clowes, Junr	John Clowes, Junr of Lewes	Sussex Co., on Delaware	20
Aug. 16	Schooner Endeavour	Hugh King	John Clowes, Senr William Clowes Purnall Johnson Hugh King both of Sussex Co., on Delaware	Lewes, on Delaware	12
Sept. 3	Ship Severn	Samuel Appowen	Thomas Willing of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
Oct. 18	Sloop Polly	Francis Stacpoole	Francis Stacpoole of Ireland	Connecticut	35
Oct. 25	Sloop Humbird	Paul Bunker	Zacheus Macey Jonathan Burell Richard Chadwick Paul Bunker all of Nantucket	Nantucket Island	50
Nov. 4	Sloop Speedwell	Thomas Williams	Thomas Williams James Selh both of Philadelphia	Murthekill, Sussex Co., on Delaware	10
Nov. 6	Ship Elliston	James Marsh	William Lightfoot Thomas Lightfoot both of Philadelphia	Connecticut	60

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1755	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Nov. 13	Ship Ann	George Fortin	Joseph Norris George Robotham William Fisher all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook	70
Nov. 17	Sloop Little Patty	Gurney Wall	Gurney Wall of Philadelphia	Wilmington, Newcastle Co.	20
Dec. 10	Ship Five Friends	Alexander McMillan	William Petrie Alexander McMillan both of Jamaica	New England	70
Dec. 17	Sloop Schemer	Alex ^r Sage	Thomas Gilbert Edmund Kearny both of Philadelphia	Marshfield, Province of Massachusetts Bay	25
Dec. 12	Snow Dunbar	Samuel Montgomery	James McCulloch William Correy Samuel Purviance all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90
Dec. 20	Schooner Peggy	William Connyngam	Hugh Wallace of Jamaica John Wallace William Connyngam Boyd Porterfield Alexander Hutchinson all of Glasgow, North Britain	Philadelphia	15

1756

Jan. 22	Brig't Friendship	Daniel Rees	John Baynton James West Henry Drinker Abel James all of Philadelphia	P ^a	90
Jan. 15	Sloop Mermaid	Thomas Rimmer	William Morris, Jun ^r of Wilmington	Salem County, West Jer- sey	20
Feb. 11	Sloop Speedwell	Ralph Walker	Archibald Little of Wilmington Daniel Few	Wilmington	30
Feb. 25	Sloop William & Sarah	Christopher Sinnott	John Crampton Honour Fleming of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	15
Feb. 28	Sloop Salley	Jonathan Jourdan	Abraham Judah of Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	Salem, New Jersey	10
March 1	Sloop Salley	Charles Ross	Alexander Reynold of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	12
March 2	Snow Unity	Magnus Bell	Abel James Jeremiah Warder Henry Drinker all of Philadelphia William Neave Richard Neave both of London	Philadelphia	50

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775. — *Continued.*

1766	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
March 5	Sloop Friendship	Jacob Spike	Jacob Spike of Philadelphia	Kent County	8
April 2	Sloop Polly	Robert Shubert	Joseph Donaldson William Geddis of Somerset Co., Maryland (George Noarth of Philadelphia)	Philadelphia	20
April 7	Brig't Ann	Nathaniel Magee	James Coales of Bristol, Great Britain William Fisher of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
April 20	Brig't Otter	George Rankin	Samuel Howell of Philadelphia William Neave Richard Neave both of London	Marcus Hook	50
April 22	Sloop Polly	Benjamin Canby	Benjamin Canby of Wilmington	Christeen, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	12
April 27	Snow Charming Hetty	Blathwait Jones	William Griffiths of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	65
May 3	Schooner Nancy	George Hueston	Abraham Judah of Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	Hampton, Colony of Vir- ginia	20

May 16	Ship Ann & Elizabeth	Samuel Chancellor	Alexr Stedman George Smith Richard Hill Charles Stedman all of Philadelphia William Adams of Kent Co., on Delaware	Philadelphia	100
May 17	Schooner Catherina	John Drought	James Child of Philadelphia Thomas Willing of Philadelphia William Correy William Wisher	Cedar Creek, Sussex Co., on Delaware Marcus Hook	12
May 26	Snow Corsley	Moses Bartram			100
June 11	Brig't Severn	Samuel Appowen		Philadelphia	70
June 15	Snow Industry	Samuel Nuttle	Mima Edwards, Widow Samuel Purviance all of Philadelphia David McMurtrie Wm Freeman Thomas McJanett all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
June 24	Ship Birmingham	Archibald Stewart		Philadelphia	70
June 29	Sloop Christiana	John Lea	John Lea of Wilmington Richard Grimes of Philadelphia Charles Dingee of Philadelphia	Wilmington	18
July 1	Sloop Dove & Olive	David Correy		Philadelphia	5
July 5	Schooner Mulberry	Charles Dingee		Lewis Town, Sussex, on Delaware	10

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—*Continued.*

<i>1766</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Sept. 10	Sloop Indian Queen	Ricloff Albertson	Ricloff Albertson of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	16
Sept. 13	Sloop Dove	Henry Rothwell	Jonathan Copeland of Philadelphia	Bermuda	15
June 24	Ship Myrtilla	Richard Buddin	James Pemberton Peter Reeve Richard Buddin all of Philadelphia Elias Bland of London Rees Meredith Samuel Neave both of Philadelphia William Child of Philadelphia Samuel Land of Newcastle, on Dela- ware	Philadelphia	75
July 5	Ship Rebecca	Hugh Bowes	Jacob Bright of Trenton, West New Jer- sey Robert Waln of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
July 21	Sloop Leinston	William Child		Sussex Co., on Delaware	10
July 14	Sloop Ann	Samuel Land		Marcus Hook	10
Aug. 24	Brig't Lark	Robert Gardner		Philadelphia	75

Aug. 30	Snow George	Robert Hardie	Anthony Stocker of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70
Aug. 30	Sloop Patty	Samuel House	Gurney Wall Richard Footman William Richie all of Philadelphia	Wilmington, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	20
Sept. 10	Brig't Hannah	James Coborn	Jonathan Mifflin John Mifflin, Junr both of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	50
Sept. 16	Schooner Rebecca	John Riche	James Berry of Kent Co., on Delaware Alexr McFarland	Lewis Town, Sussex Co.	10
Sept. 17	Sloop Polly	John Hodson	John Hodson Josiah Wallace both of Kent Co., on Delaware	Marcus Hook	10
Sept. 17	Schooner Young Man's Endeavor	Jonathan Robinson	Jonathan Robinson John Hodson both of Kent Co.	Kent Co., on Delaware	8
Sept. 17	Schooner Speedwell	David Pleasonton	David Pleasonton of Kent Co.	Kent Co., on Delaware	18
Sept. 20	Sloop Happy Return	Tobias Gilder	Tobias Gilder of Duck Creek, Kent Co.	Little Creek, Kent Co., on Delaware	20
Sept. 21	Ship Molly	David Gregory	John Meas of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

1766	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Aug. 13	Brig't Grace	John Richey	Charles Cox of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Oct. 13	Sloop Mayflower	Jn ^o Murry	Jn ^o Murry Charles Stedman John Phillips all of Philadelphia	Accomack, Virginia	15
Oct. 18	Brig't Betsy Ballard	Terence Connor	Charles Batho Daniel Curry both of Philadelphia Hugh Parker of Jamaica	Marcus Hook	35
Oct. 19	Schooner Tamzen	Isaac Comron	Isaac Comron of Philadelphia John Adams of Lewes, Sussex Co., on Delaware	Philadelphia	10
Oct. 27	Brig't Mercury	Hugh Wright	John Gibson W ^m Allen Joseph Turner John Mifflin John Stampfer W ^m Humphreys all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	70

Oct. 19	Sloop Elizabeth	John Pyne	Matthew Thomas of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	20
Nov. 22	Brig't Margery	Peter Spence	Luke Thomas of New York City	Philadelphia	30
Nov. 26	Sloop Ann	William Carpenter	W ^m Morrell of Philadelphia	Cohanzie, New Jersey	7
Nov. 22	Sloop Arcadia	Thomas Derrick	William Carpenter of Newcastle, on Delaware	Marcus Hook	7
Nov. 24	Brig't Nancy	Daniel Stewart	David Derrick of Marcus Hook, Pa.	Salem, New Jersey	60
Dec. 1	Ship Union	James Cowen	Thomas Willing Robert Morris both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Dec. 6	Pilot Boat Jane & Elizabeth	Ralph Loftis	Jonathan Craythorn of Philadelphia	Lewes, on Delaware	5
Dec. 6	Ship Hayfield	Rob't Henderson	Waddell Cunningham of New York	Philadelphia	100
			Ralph Loftis of Philadelphia		
			Thomas Mulford of Duck Creek, Newcastle Co., on Delaware		
			Redmond Conyngham John Maxwell Nesbitt & George Bryan all of Philadelphia		

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.

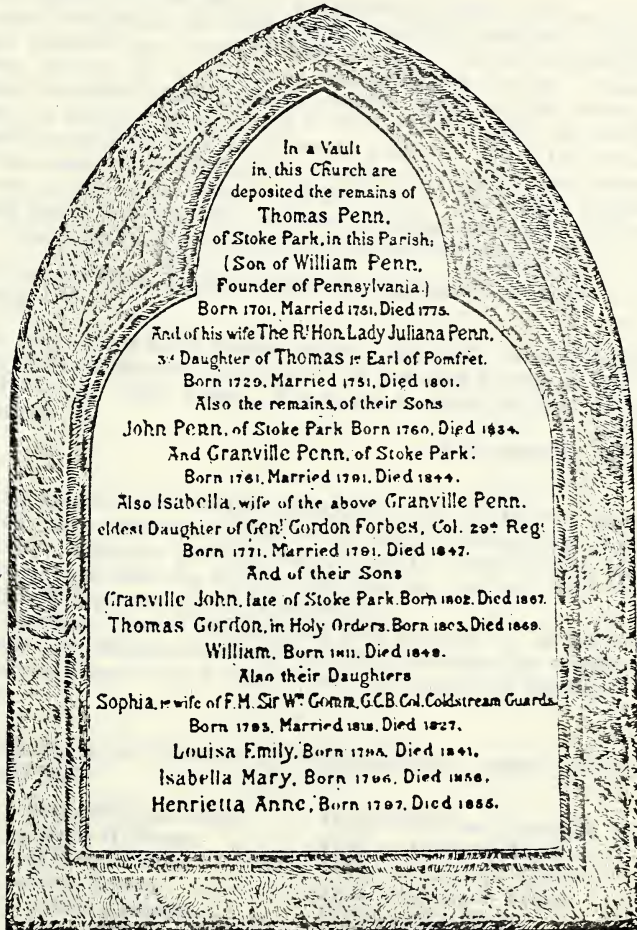
1756	Venda	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Dec. 14	Brig't Neptune	James Godfrey	Joseph Richardson of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Dec. 15	Schooner Swallow	James Thompson	James Thompson	Lewes, on Delaware	8
Dec. 16	Schooner Betty & Nancy	Henry Draper	Henry Draper of Lewes, super Delaware	Sussex Co., on Delaware	10
Dec. 16	Ship King George	John Hamilton	Andrew Gregg James Thompson William McKean all of Londonderry, Ireland	Philadelphia	100
Dec. 24	Brig't Tom	Edward Clegg	Samuel Carson of Philadelphia Thomas Wallace of Philadelphia	New Jersey	60
Dec. 23	Snow Hill	Andrew Dresson	Reese Meredith Samuel Neave both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

STOKE POGES.—Additional note to page 466 of Vol. XXIII. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.



On September 4, 1901, I visited Stoke Poges, going by rail from London to Slough, driving thence to Stoke Poges and Stoke Park, and

returning by way of Eton and Windsor. In doing so I ascertained the following facts :

1. *Stoke Poges* is the name of the parish in which is the celebrated old church of St. Giles, in the churchyard of which Thomas Gray, the poet, wrote the *Elegy*, and is buried. It is also the name of the post-office. The village consists of a long street with straggling houses, each built at some distance from the other. It is called "*Stoke*" for brevity. In the church is the mural tablet, a memorial to the Penn Family, of which a photographic fac-simile appears on page 575.

2. *Stoke Park*, the name of the principal estate in the parish of Stoke Poges, belonged to the Penn family from 1760 until 1848. It is about two hundred yards from the old church. The old Manor House, or what remains of it, is also in the immediate vicinity. Stoke Park, which contains about thirteen hundred acres and the finest herd of deer in England, now belongs to Wilberforce Bryant, the head of the match-manufacturing firm of Bryant & May. He is the present lord of the manor of Stoke Poges. The Duke of Leeds is the patron of the living of the parish church of Stoke Poges. Mr. Bryant bought Stoke Park about 1888 from Mr. Coleman of "*Coleman's Mustard*" fame. It is plainly visible from Windsor Castle, and *vice versa*.

3. *Stoke Place*, another estate in the parish, belongs to Colonel Howard Vyse.

4. *Stoke Court* is the present name of the estate upon which the cottage of Gray, the poet, once stood. It was then known as the "*West End Farm*," Stoke Poges. The house in which he lived is not now standing.

WM. BROOKE RAWLE.

RULES FOR CONVERTING STERLING INTO CURRENCY AND CURRENCY INTO STERLING, 1789.—"To make Sterling into New York currency: Take the Sterling amount and the third of that, add them together; and then the third of that amount, and add them together, which will give the amount in currency.

"To reduce New York currency into Sterling: Take the currency amount and deduct one-fourth from it; then take the remainder and deduct one-fourth from it, which leaves the amount in Sterling."

1789.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS AT PHILADELPHIA, UNDER THE CROWN, 1682-1775.—

1682.—Major William Dyer.

1686.—James Williams.

1692.—William Clarke.

1698.—John Bewley.

1703.—Robert Assheton.

1704.—John Moore.

1727.—Grosvenor Bedford.

1727.—John Moore.

1733.—Peter Evans.

1743.—William Alexander.

1745.—Abraham Taylor.

1748.—Alexander Barclay.

1751.—Abraham Taylor.

1762.—John Swift.

1772.—Robert Bayard.

1772.—John Patterson.

1773.—Zachariah Hood.

1774.—Lachlane Maclean.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR THOMAS DONGAN TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM PENN, 1683.—

NEW YORK Dec 23^d 1683

SIR

I give you my hearty sincere thanks for kind entertainment, I am afraid this winter season will not give me leave to see my good friends in your Province and I very much wish for an opportunity to do it. there is noone more resolved and fixed, to demonstrate himself ready to do all offices of friendship, than I am, being very much obliged by you, to do so I have written to his Royall Highness, and tho as much as I could in your consideration yet far short of y^e character you merit. this messenger stays and I have no longer time then to assure you of my unfeigned services & Respects and that I am effectively &c

Your most Humble and affectionate Sert.

THO DONGAN

Capt Talbot is going away to morrow morning
for
Govern Penn Pennsylvania

PAY-ROLL, THIRD BATTALION PHILADELPHIA COUNTY MILITIA, 1780.—

We the undernamed subscribers do acknowledge each of us the receipt of the several sums annexed to our names of Llewellen Young Esq. Sub. Lieutenant of the third Battalion of the Philad^a County Militia in part of Pay advanced to each of us for turning out in our Classes to serve two months from the date hereof as Witness our Hands this 7th Day of August 1780.

John Long.	John Frailey.	W ^m Platt.
Henry Smith.	John Lane.	* John George. ¹
Titus Roberts.	* Is. Widdows.	Joseph Heller.
* Daniel Culley.	Jonathan Kite.	Adam Keller.
* John Gravel.	Mathew George. ²	Griffith Reese.
* Samuel Lees.	* John Wolfong.	Samuel Rambo.
Andrew Yokum.	Daniel Rice. ³	* Michael Smith.
* John Latch.	* Daniel Fisher.	* Zachariah Long.
John Bright.	John Elliot.	W ^m Torbet.
Charles Jolly.	George Savage.	George Morton.
Laurence Justice.	Samuel Taylor.	Benj. Laseur. ²
David George (?) ⁴	Moses Davis. ⁴	Gunner Rambo.
Jesse Rambo.	* Sam ^l McCoy.	John Wood.
* David Macky.	Thomas Martin. ⁴	* W ^m Stewart. ⁴
* Christopher Owmer. (?)	* George Helmbold.	* Christopher Wilson.
* John Garret.	* Peter Lascum.	John McBride.
* John Porter.	Jacob Baylor.	George Davis.
David Jurdon.	* Abraham Lincoln.	* Tho ^s Cammel.
John Bryan. ⁵	W ^m Gloner.	Josiah Pawling. ⁶
Joseph Jones.	Joseph Price.	Jacob Naygley.
Jacob Latch.	In. Roberts. ⁷	

* Made their mark.

¹ "Gone for his Brother."² Substitute.³ Served 23 days in the year 1777, in his tour of duty.⁴ "Own gun."⁵ In John Stewart's Class.⁶ "Turn out in the Troop of hars in the County."⁷ Substitute for Samuel Holstein.

SIZE ROLL OF CAPTAIN LIEUTENANT JOHN STOYS' COMPANY, SECOND REGIMENT PENNA LINE, 1780. —

Names	Age	SIZE.		Trade	WHERE BORN.		
		Feet	Inches		State or Country	Town	County
Robert McKillip, Sergt	26	5	5	Cooper	Ireland	Cushindall	Antrim
Andrew Ralston, Sergt	25	5	9½	Farmer	Pennu.	Northumberland	North ^h
George Roberts, Corp ^t	40	5	10	do	England.	Hertfordshire	
Robert Herring, Corp ^t	31	5	7	do	Scotland.	Aberdeen	
Robert McLaughlin, Corp	22	5	8	do	Pennu.	Chester	Chester
Isaac Garrison, Drumm.							
William Johnston, Fife	10	4	3½			Wilmington	New Castle
David Alsbaugh	19	5	8	Farmer	Pennu.		Berks
William Butler	40	5	6½	do	Ireland.	Prim	Meath
George Courad	57	4	10	Baker	Germany.	Zweybruck	York
Andrew Dihuan	26	5	6½	Wheelwright	Pennu.	Northumberland	North ^h
Cornelius Dwyer	25	5	8	Distiller	Ireland.	Antrim	Antrim
Francis Ditts	20	5	6	Weaver	Pennu.	York	York
Godfrey Dovey	66	5	10	Farmer	Germany	Elurich	
John Frazer	16	5	2	do	Scotland	Inverness	
John Faraday							
John Gracely	38	5	2	Yeoman	Germany	Saarbruck	
William Gristock	23	5	6	Farmer	England	Sommersetshire	
Nicholas Grenewald							
George Helm	63	5	3¼	Hosier	Germany		

Thomas Jennings	43	5	6½	Bricklayer	Ireland	Sligo	Sligo
Francis Keel	63	5	4½	Weaver	Germany		
Thomas Three (?)	30	5	6	Farmer	Ireland		Dublin
Henry Muskeborough	22	5	8	Tailor	Penna.		
James McCoy							
Adam Musketness	27	5	8	Cooper	Penna.	Lancaster	
Balzer Maze	18	5	7½	Farmer	Penna.	Lebanon	
James Martin	26	5	5	Chandler	Ireland.		Down
Thomas Mulser	17	5	7½	Yeoman	Penna.		Lancaster
Patrick McSay	28	5	5	do	Ireland	Belfast	Antrim
Peter Messersmith	21	5	6	Wheelwright	Penna.	Lancaster	
John Notestein	25	5	6½	Farmer	Penna.		Northampton
Michael Ryan	18	5	6½	Farmer		Chester	Chester
Michael Redman	73	5	2	Yeoman	Ireland	Reading	
Gerard Riddle	32	5	4	do	do	Limerick	Munster
Philip Smith	20	5	1½	Sadler	Penna.	Philadelphia	
Stoffel Stainliver	23	5	6	Farmer	do	Lancaster	
James Steed	24	5	11	Blacksmith	New Jersey	Morristown	Philadelphia
Jacob Shiefley	20	5	10	Farmer	Penna.		
Hugh Turk	43	5	6	Farmer	Ireland	London	
Benjamin Tagg	22	5	6½	Farmer	England		
John Wimley	61	5	2	Farmer	Ireland	London	Donegal
William Wilkons	58	5	6½	Farmer	England		
Michael Wheelant							
Robert Young	28	5	2½	Plasterer	England	London	Middlesex.

PAY-ROLL OF THE HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT, Continental Army, transcribed from the original filed in the Pay-Office.—

PAY ROLL OF THE OFFICERS OF THE HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES—EXCLUSIVE OF NORTH & SOUTH CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA, 1782.

Names	Rank	Com- mencement of Pay.	When left service & the reason.	Pay per Mo.
John Cochran	Director	Jan. 1		\$150.
James Craik	Phy ⁿ to Army	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	140.
Malachi Treat	Phy & Sur. Gen.	do	Reduced Feb. 1 1782	140.
Malachi Treat	Hosp. Surg.	Feb. 1	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	120.
William Burnet	Phys & S. Gen.	Jan. 1	Reduced Feb. 1 1782	140.
William Burnet	Hosp. Surg.	Feb. 1	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	120.
Charles McKnight	Phy & Sur. Gen.	Jan. 1	Reduced Feb. 1 1782	140.
Charles McKnight	Hosp. Surg.	Feb. 1	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	120.
Samuel Adams	do	Jan. 1		120.
William Eustis	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	120.
David Townsend	do	do		120.
Joseph Young	do	do		120.
James Tilton	do	do	Deranged Dec. 2 1782	120.
Henry Lattimer	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	120.
Barnabas Binney	do	do	Deranged Dec. 31 1783	120.
John Warren	do	do	Deranged Jan. 9 1783	120.
Bodo Otto	do	do	Deranged Feb. 1 1782	120.
George Draper	do	do	ditto	120.
Goodwin Willson	do	do	ditto	120.
Daniel Jennifer	do	do	ditto	120.
Samuel Edmondson	do	do	ditto	120.
George Campbell	do	do	ditto	120.
John Cowell	Mate	do	Deranged Dec. 1 1783	50.
Frederick Otto	do	do	Resigned Dec. 10	50.
Ebenezer Stockton	do	do	Promoted July 10	50.
John Duffield	do	do	Promoted Oct. 1	50.
Henry Moore	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
John G. Wright	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
John Coventry	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
Daniel Shute	do	do	Promoted Ap ^l 14 1782	50.
Jacob V. Egbert	do	do		50.
Samuel Woodruff	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
George Stevenson	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
William P. Smith	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
Abijah Cheevers	do	do	Resigned June 30 1782	50.
Thomas Waring	do	do	Resigned May 5 1782	50.

PAY-ROLL OF THE HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT, ETC.—*Continued.*

Names	Rank	Com- mencement of Pay.	When left service & the reason.	Pay per Mo
Stephen Graham	Mate	Jan. 1	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	\$50.
John Darcey	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
Michael Detrick	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
William Cogswell	do	do		50.
Francis Hagan	do	do		50.
Joseph Prescott	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
Thomas Bond	Purveyor	do		120.
Isaac Ledyard	Asst. do	do	Deranged July 23	75.
Edward Williams	Clerk	do		60.
John De la Mater	do	do	Resigned July 1	60.
Luke Hunt	Storekeeper	do	Resigned May 20	60.
Minnie Voohris	do to Army	do		60.
William Hazel	Clk Pury'or	do		60.
Andrew Craigie	Apothecary	do		130.
William Johannet	Asst. do	do	Deceased May 17	75.
Josiah Root	Apo. Mate	do	Resigned Aug. 18	50.
Andrew Caldwell	do	do		50.
Thomas Pruden	do	do	Resigned June	50.
Francis Wainwright	do	do		50.
John Brown	Steward	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	50.
James Lamb	do	do		35.
John Scott	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	35.
Thomas White	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	35.
Thomas Walcott	do	do	Discharged Aug. 30	35.
Frederick Wendt	do	do		
John Forbus	W ^d Master	do	Promoted March 1	25.
John Forbus	Steward	do		35.
John Vredenburgh	W ^d Master	do	Promoted Aug. 1	25.
John Vredenburgh	Steward	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	35.
Christian Kirkopp	do	do	Deranged Dec. 1 1783	35.
Daniel Hendry	W ^d Master	do		25.
William Duncan	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	25.
Jonas Dix	do	do	Deranged Nov. 3 1783	25.
James Brunton	do	do		25.
David McFee			Deranged Dec. 1 1783	21.

Pay Office New York,

October 20, 1785.

JOSEPH HOWELL JUN^R

Asst. Comm. Acct.

A ROLL OF RECRUITS IN CAPT. MATHEW SCOTTS COMPANY, 13th Penna. Regiment, commanded by Col. Walter Stewart, March 31, 1778. —

Names	Enlisted	Country.	Place of Abode.	Age.	Complexion.	Hair.	Size.
Patrick Dongan,	Feb. 15.	Ireland.	Cumberland Co.	21	Fair.	Sandy	5 ft 6 in.
Mathew Horner,	Feb. 13.	do.	Shippensburg.	26	do.	Black	5 ft 8 in.
John Otney,	Feb. 15.	France.	Cumberland Co.	20	Yellow.	do	5 ft 6 in.
Henry Miller,	March 23.	Germany.	do.	24	Dark.	do	5 ft 5 in.
Richard Star,	" 14.	Ireland.	Shippensburg.	20	Brown.	do	5 ft 2 in.
John Fiday,	" 2.	do.	do	35	Fair.	Brown	5 ft 6½ in.
Peter Miller,	Feb. 6.	Germany	Westmorland Co.	30	Black.	Black	5 ft 5½ in.

This is to Certify that the above named Men were solemnly Sworn before me to Serve the United States of America for during the War, and that they were enlisted by Capt. Mathew Scott of the 13th Penna Reg^t. Given under my Hand the 31st day of March 1778.

WILLIAM HENRY.

A PARTY OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY LIEUT. JAMES McCULLOCH FOR THE 5TH PENNA. REGT, COL. FRANCIS JOHNSTON.—

Names.	Dates of Enlistment.	Where Enlisted.	By whom Mustered.	Causualties.
David Wills	April 22, 1779	Hanover		Deserted Dec. 20.
Musgrove Hary	Sept. 15	Philada	L. Nicola.	Present.
Albion Guest	" 23	Lancaster	W ^m Henry	" "
John Barns	" 29	"	"	"
James Oglebee	Oct. 5	"	"	"
Andrew Culp	" 7	"	"	Deserted Nov. 7.
John Hutchinson	" 14	"	"	Present.
John Marrs	" 15	"	"	Sick in Lancaster.
James Green	Nov. 2	Yorktown	L. Nicola	Present.
Joseph Reinley	" 14	Hanover	"	"
Joseph Wiman	" 15	"	"	Sick in York.
Quilar Bailey	" 15	"	"	Present.
Gustavus Rosewell	" 16	"	"	Present.
Thomas Carson	" 22	Littles Ford	"	in hand cuff
John Tulley	" 29	"	"	Sick in York
William King	" 30	Lancaster	"	Present
Abraham Shaw	Dec. 6	"	"	"
John Martin	" 10	"	"	"

JAMES McCULLOCH

JANY 19, 1779.

Lt 5th Penna.

MARYLAND MILITIA OFFICERS, 1776-1783.—From documentary evidence in our possession we are enabled to supply the following names and other data of Maryland militia officers which do not appear in the "Muster Rolls and other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution, 1775-1783," recently published by the State of Maryland.

Baker, Francis, First Lieut., Capt. John Dougherty's Co., 4th Battl'n. Talbot Co. Militia. Commissioned May 15, 1776; resigned Aug. 13, 1776.

Benton, Vincent, Capt. 5 Battl'n. Militia. Aug. 29, 1777.

Bond, Richard Jr., First Lieut., Capt. John Oglevie's Co., Elk Battln. (Cecil Co.) Militia. June 7, 1781.

Bowie, William Sprigg Second Lieut., Jany. 5, 1776.

Breveard, Thomas Captain (Cecil Co.), 18th Battl'n. Militia. Jany. 3, 1776; resigned Feb. 5, 1776.

Brown, Nathan Ensign, Capt. James Bordley's Co., Queen Ann's Co. Militia. March 16, 1776.

Cannon, John Second Lieut., Capt. Brittingham Dickinson's Co., Baltimore Town Militia. May 19, 1779. Ensign, Aug. 29, 1777.

Carmichael, Richard B. Captain, vice John Dames, 20th Battl'n. Queen Ann's Co., Militia. April 5, 1780; resigned June 19, 1780.

Colegate, Richard First Lieut., Capt. John Cockey Owing's Co., Baltimore Co. Militia. (Soldier's Delight Battalion.) June 5, 1776.

Corington, Edward Ensign, Capt. Samuel Ridgeway's Co. 5th Battln. Queen Ann Co. Militia. April 20, 1780.

Davis, Robert P. First Lieut., Capt. Samuel Watkins Co., West River Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 17, 1781; resigned April 12, 1781.

Dent, John Brigadier General Militia, Jany. 3, 1776.

Dorsey, Greenberry Captain, Harford Co., 23^d Battln. Militia, Col. Aquilla Hall. Jany 3, 1776; resigned Dec. 19, 1777.

Dorsey, John Worthington Capt. Elk Ridge Co., Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 1, 1778.

Dorsey, Thomas Colonel Elk Ridge Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 1, 1778; resigned June 11, 1778.

Edmondson, Pollard, Jr., First Lieut. 4th Independent Co regular troops. Jany 24, 1776.

Erreckson, Charles Ensign, Capt John Rowles Co. 20th Battln. Queen Ann's Co. Militia. June 29, 1780.

Geoghan, Robert Ensign; Capt. Richard Stringers Co. 22^d Battln. Maryland Militia. Aug. 28, 1777; resigned April 13, 1781.

Gittings, James Lieut. Colonel, Gunpowder Battln. Baltimore Co. Militia. Aug 30, 1777; resigned Feb. 17, 1780.

Grason, Richard Ensign, Capt. John Blakes Co. 20th Battln. Militia. Aug. 29, 1777; resigned June 17, 1780.

Haddaway, John Ensign, Capt. Dawson's Co. 38th Battln. Militia, Talbot Co. April 9, 1778; resigned June 15, 1780.

Harris, David First Lieut., Capt Benjamin Griffith's Co. Baltimore Militia. Sept. 25, 1780.

Hawkins, Josias Colonel, 12th Battln. Militia, Charles Co. Jany. 3, 1776; resigned Sept. 23, 1783.

Holmes, William First Lieut., Capt. Josiah Shaw's Co., 25th Battln Militia, Prince George Co. Sept. 5, 1777; resigned Dec. 17, 1777.

Kerr, David First Lieut., Capt. George Watts Co., Ann Arundel Co. Militia. Feb. 22, 1776; resigned April 2, 1776.

Kerr, John First Lieut., Capt. Thomas Wilson's Co., 20th Battln. Queen Ann Co. May 21, 1776; resigned Aug. 1776.

Lambden, Robert Ensign, Bayside Co. Talbot Co. Militia. Jany. 3, 1776.

Lawrence, Benjamin Second Lieut., Capt. Richard Owing's Co. Baltimore Co Militia, (Soldier's Delight Battln.) June 5, 1776.

Marshall, Benjamin 7th, Lieutenant Calvert Co. July 1, 1777; resigned Oct. 2, 1780.

Nichodemus, Conrad Captain, 2^d Battln. Washington Co. Militia. June 22, 1778; resigned Nov. 2, 1780.

Owings, John Cockey Captain, Baltimore Co. Militia, (Soldier's Delight Battln.) June 5, 1776; resigned March 19, 1781.

Parker, William Ensign, Capt Stewarts Co. Snow Hill Battln. Worcester Co. Militia. Aug. 30, 1777; resigned April 21, 1781.

Rumsey, Benjamin Colonel, 8th Battln. Militia, Harford Co. Jany. 3, 1776; resigned Jany. 15, 1777.

Simmons, William Captain, West River Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 1, 1778; resigned Aug. 4, 1780.

Smith, Archibald Ensign, Capt. Robert Handy's Co. Winomoco Battln. Worcester Co. Militia. Sept. 22, 1777; resigned March 12, 1781.

Smith, Charles Sommerset Captain, 12th Battln. Charles Co. Militia. Jany. 3, 1776.

Stewart, John Captain, Snow Hill Battln. Worcester Co. Militia. Aug. 30, 1777; resigned Feb. 23, 1781.

Thomas, Samuel W. Second Lieut., Capt. Richard B. Carmichael's Co., 20th Battln. Queen Ann's Co. Militia. April 5, 1780; resigned June 17, 1780.

Warfield, Benjamin Captain, Elk Ridge Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 1, 1778.

Warfield, Charles Ensign, Capt. Benjamin Warfield's Co. Elk Ridge Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. March 1, 1778.

Waters, Peter Lieut. Colonel, Princess Ann Battln. Somerset Co. Militia. Aug. 30, 1777; resigned Oct. 24, 1780.

Watkins, Thomas Captain, South River Battln. Ann Arundel Co. Militia. Sept. 6, 1777; resigned June 30, 1780.

Wilkinson, William Captain, Baltimore Co. Militia. Feb. 4, 1777.

Yeates, Thomas Captain, Baltimore Militia. Sept. 25, 1780; resigned Oct. 10, 1780.

Auchenlich, Henry Third Lieut. Ship Defence, Maryland Navy. April 6, 1776.

Hynson, John Second Lieut. Galley Independence. Oct. 3, 1777; resigned Sept. 3, 1778.

J. W. J.

ABSTRACTS OF SANDERS WILLS.—

John Sanders, of Greenwich Township, Gloucester County, N. J., dated March 2, 1780.—Daughter Elizabeth, wife Elizabeth, son Solomon Lippincott Sanders, daughters Sarah, Deborah, and Mary, son John, brother Thomas Sanders. Probate September 11, 1780. Liber No. 22, p. 237.

Elizabeth Sanders, of Greenwich Township, Gloucester County, N. J., dated November 7, 1785.—Daughters Sarah, Deborah, Mary, son John, father Solomon Lippincott, uncle Joshua Lippincott, son Solomon Lippincott Sanders, brother Jacob Lippincott. Probate February 3, 1786. Liber No. 28, p. 117.

Egbert Sanders, of Saddle River, Bergen County, N. J.—Wife Messey, cousin Peter Corter, brother Peter, brother Nicholas, cousin John Sanders, dated August 23, 1796. Probate September 23, 1796. Liber No. 35, p. 346.

BAPTISM OF A SLAVE OF WASHINGTON.—In the Register of Baptisms of Bruton Church, Williamsburg, Virginia, is the following record:

"October 4, 1767. Baptisms of Slaves. Susannah, daughter of Hannah Belonging to Coll. George Washington."

PETITION AGAINST FORESTALLING IN PHILADELPHIA, 1778, copied from the original at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, by Luther R. Kelker, Esq.

To the Honourable the Representatives of the Freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met—

The Petition of sundry Inhabitants of this City

Humbly Sheweth

That a number of persons in this City and Liberties have lately taken up the Business of purchasing and storing large quantities of Flour and some other of the necessaries of Life which they have by various artifices raised to so great a price as to make the Poor almost clamerous and must in the end be attended with bad consequences. We therefore pray that the House would take into their consideration the forestalling of Flour &c. and pass such law for preventing the same as to them may seem meet.

PHILAD^A December 5th 1778.

William Coats	W ^m Allen	Christ ^a Pechin
W. Masters	Thomas Hazlewood	Nathan Boys
W ^m Potts	Stephen Beasley	Sam ^l Caldwell
W ^m Coats	W ^m Moore	W ^m Pollard
Christian Piercy	Peter Young	And. Bunner
George Leib	Jos. Cowperthwait	John Wildcocks
John Thompson	Jos. Bradford	W ^m Hardy
Paine Newman	Geo. Cotton	W ^m Armstrong
Charles Souder	Jas. Long	George Evans
Tho ^s Humphreys	James Loughhead	Hugh Montgomery
Manuel Eyre	George Ord	Davison Durham
John Smith	James Josiah	James Rowan
Robert Allison	James Skinner	Sam ^l Moore
Benj Paschall	Isaac Snowden	Francis McAlister
W ^m Heysham	George Schlosser	Will ^m Rush
John Brooke	Christ ^a Schneider	Frederick Kuhl
R ^l Sewell	John Kling	George Honey Jr.
Presley Blakiston	Robert Curry	Edward Pole
White ^d Humphreys	Matthew Jackson	Cad ^r Dickinson
Nicholas Forsberg	William Gamble	Will. Adcock
John Cornish	Joseph Ker	John Wilson
Jedidiah Snowden	Thomas Willis	W ^m Hollinshead
John Barnhill	Philip Boehm	Caspher Weest
Isaac Roush	George Seitz	Anthony Wilkinson
Peter Conver	John Linington	George Willson Jr.
Tho ^s Corgal	James Byers	Tho ^s Palmer
Samuel Conty	W ^m Eckbart	Samuel McLane
John Fromberger	John Stille	Peter Cooper
James Byrne	Adam Hill	Jacob Godshalk
Jonath ^a Cowpland	Paul Fooks	Charles Willson Peale

THE SOCIETY OF CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLICANS, 1805.—Those Citizens who are in favour of the *Proposition* for forming "THE SOCIETY OF CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLICANS," are requested to meet at the White Horse Tavern, in Market-street, at 6 o'clock of the evening of Thursday the 21st instant; when the draft of a Memorial and Remonstrance

to the Legislature, against the existing Project for calling a State Convention, will be reported for consideration.

Philadelphia, March 16, 1805.

A. J. DALLAS,	SAMUEL MILES,
WM JONES,	SAMUEL WETHERILL,
GEORGE LOGAN,	GUY BRYAN,
RICHARD BACHE,	CHANDLER PRICE,
PETER MUHLENBERG,	MANUEL EYRE.

A GENEALOGICAL INCIDENT.—It is the unexpected that very often happens in matters genealogical as well as in affairs of every-day life, and that those who search for their family line without the success they desire may be encouraged, I venture to write of an incident that has recently come to my knowledge.

A lady of Philadelphia who for some reason or other was unable to trace her own lineage for more than one or two generations was inspired to trace that of her husband. With this end in view she visited a certain New England village and, suffice it to say, learned from the town records that her husband's family for several generations were eminently respectable and patriotic. As she was about leaving the neighborhood she said to her companion, "I have never been able to trace my family, although I have tried in many ways. Have you ever heard of any of the Blanks living in this locality?"

The reply was "Yes, the old homestead is about a mile and a half from here and we'll drive over." So over they went, and on the way had the good fortune to meet the present owner, a man of the same name, who had abandoned the old place for a smaller and newer house, some ten miles away. He said they could get into the house without any difficulty, as the doors were not locked, and, as was afterwards learned, it had become a sort of half-way house for tramps or other homeless persons who were glad of the shelter.

Our Philadelphia lady and her companion proceeded on their way and soon came to the old homestead, which in its day had been quite pretentious, indicating that the original owners had possessed considerable wealth and refinement. The old house, however, was little more than a ruin, as the sides bulged out from settling and decay. On entering, nothing was found of especial interest until they reached the attic. There they found a miscellaneous lot of books, old papers, chairs, and china that would make the heart of the ordinary collector rejoice. One old book without covers, which lay sprawled out in the dust on the floor, proved to be the old family Bible containing the family record for several generations. After recovering her breath from this discovery, the lady saw on the floor what appeared to be an old moulding board about twenty inches square, and on turning it over was amazed to see before her a portrait in oil of her ancestor, in which the family features were so marked that there was no mistaking it; besides, as the lady from Philadelphia said, "There, we never knew where the red hair in our family came from." The portrait told the story, for this particular ancestor had red hair.

It is unnecessary to add that this portrait will adorn one of the delightful homes of Philadelphia, and that its gracious mistress is very happy in its possession, as well as that of numerous old teapots and the

family Bible. It is, however, difficult to express one's opinion of the man who in this age would deliberately abandon such family treasures.

While this may read somewhat like a romance, it is vouched for by one who was there.

W. D. K.

EXTRACT FROM THE NATURALIZATION PAPER OF REV. JOSHUA KOCHERTHAL.—We are indebted to Luther R. Kelker, Esq., for a copy of the naturalization paper of the Rev. Joshua Kocherthal and his Palatine associates, on file in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The original is in Latin. In our translation of the genealogical portion of the document the Scriptural names are given in their English forms, though of course there is no distinction in the Latin between Mary and Maria, Anne and Anna. German names are kept in the original form. The word "and" is frequently supplied:

"We are anxious for those beloved by us: Joshua Kocherthal and Sibyl Charlotte his wife; Christian Joshua his son and Benigna Sibyl and Susanna Sibyl his daughters; Lorentz Schwisser and Anne Catharine his wife, and John his son; Heinrich Rennan and Joanna his wife; and Lorentz and Heinrich his sons; Susanna Liboschain, Mary Joanna Liboschain; Andrew Volck and Anne Catharine his wife; George Jerome his son; and Mary Barbara and Anne Gertrude his daughters; Michael Weigand and Anne Catharine his wife; Tobias and George his sons; and Anna Maria his daughter; Jacob Weber and Anne Elizabeth his wife, and Eva Maria and Eva Elizabeth his daughters; John Jacob Pletel and Anne Elizabeth his wife, and Margaret Anne Sarah and Catharine his daughters; John Fischer and Mary Barbara his wife; Melchior Gulch and Anne Catharine his wife, Heinrich his son, and Magdalene his daughter; Isaac Turk Petro Rose and Joanna his wife; Mary Wemarin and Catharine Wemarin her daughter; Isaac Feber and Catharine his wife and Abraham his son; Daniel Fierr and Anna Maria his wife, and Andrew and John his sons; Hubert Hubertson and Jacob his son; and Hermann Schuneman: which persons are German Lutherans, reduced to extreme poverty by very frequent incursions of the French into the Palatinate in Germany, and recently have fled into this our Kingdom of Great Britain to the end that they may inhabit our Province of New York in America, and that they themselves may be and will be, and each one of them may be and will be, natives (*indigine*) and lieges of us, our heirs and successors in our Kingdom of Great Britain."

LIST OF RECRUITS FOR THE 13TH PENNA. REGT, COL. WALTER STEWART, BY CAPT. MATTHEW SCOTT, JULY 17, 1778.—

Christopher Keckler,	April	9.	
Andrew Young,	"	18.	
James Craig,	"	29.	Deserted.
William Tompkins,	May	20.	
David Hannah,	"	15.	
Cornelius Hutchinson,	"	25.	
Andrew McCartney,	"	27.	
Joseph Reed,	"	31.	
Henry Collins,	June	1.	
William Bryan,	"	13.	
MATT. SCOTT, Capt ⁿ			

RECRUITING OFFICERS DETAILED FOR GENERAL WAYNE'S DIVISION PENNSYLVANIA LINE.—Officers' Names and the places they intend to recruit in for Gen^l Wayne's Division, 1778.

1st Penna Line.	Capt. Thomas Buchanan, Cumberland Co.
2d do	Capt. John Bankson, Lancaster Co.
2d do	Lieut. Henry Piercey, Lancaster Co.
4th do	Lieut. Thomas Campbell, York Co.
4th do	Lieut. Samuel Gray, York Co.
5th do	Lieut. James McCullogh, York Co.
5th do	Lieut. James Forbes, Lancaster Co.
7th do	Lieut. Thomas McCoy, Cumberland Co.
8th do	Capt. Michael Huffnagle, Lancaster Co.
8th do	Capt. Nehemiah Stockley, York Co.
11th do	Capt. John Harris, Northumberland Co.

RETURN OF NAMES AND RANK OF THE OFFICERS OF THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, WITH DATES OF COMMISSIONS. Philadelphia May 8, 1781.—

Colonel.—Thomas Proctor, Resigned April 18, 1781.

Lieut^t Col.—Thomas Forrest, Dec. 2, 1778.

Major.—Benjamin Eustace.

Captains.—Andrew Porter, Jany. 1, 1777.

Isaac Craig, March 3, 1777.

Francis Procter, Jr., July 16, 1777.

Charles Turnbull, July 16, 1777.

Patrick Duffy, March 3, 1778.

William Ferguson, April 14, 1778.

John Bryce, June 1, 1778.

Robert Coltman.

Worsley Emes, Sept. 27, 1780.

Capt^t Lieutenants.—James McClure, Jany 1, 1777.

William Powers, Jany 1, 1777.

Thomas Douglas, April 14, 1778.

William Martin, June 1, 1778.

James Lloyd, Feb. 9, 1779.

Robert McConnell, June 3, 1779.

James Smith, June 3, 1779.

Jesse Crosley, Feb. 11, 1780.

John Stricker, Feb. 11, 1780.

Mathew McGuire, Feb. 11, 1780.

First Lieut^{ts}.—Joseph Austin, May 1, 1778.

Samuel Doty, Nov. 9, 1778.

John B. Webster, May 11, 1779.

Samuel Story, May 13, 1779.

Second Lieut^{ts}.—Robert Parker, Feb. 1, 1777.

Ezra Patterson, Feb. 1, 1777.

Ezekiel Howell, Feb. 1, 1777.

N.B. Major Eustace promoted from Col. Crane of the New England State.

Capt. Simonds transferred.

[The Return is endorsed, "Return of the Officers of the 4th Regiment of Artillery."]

RETURN OF MEN INLISTED BY LIEUT. HENRY PIERCY FOR THE 2^D
REGT. OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1778.—

Archibald Murphy,	Aug. 2.		
Henry Kister,	" 9,	at Philada.	
John Maloney,	" 11,	" "	
George Kiddle,	" 12,	" "	
John Dunham,	" 12,	" "	
Garret Fegan,	" 12,	" "	
Christ ⁿ O'Neal,	" 13,	" "	
Garret O'Farrel,	Sept. 7,	" "	
Benj ⁿ Ashton,	" 9,	" "	
Nicholas Kesler,	" 11,	" "	
Lawrence Legard,	" 15,	" "	
John Jones,	" 3,	" "	
James Potter,	" 12,	" "	
William Perry,	" 15,	" "	
Peter Cline,	Aug. 21,	" "	
John Warner,	Sept. 15,	" "	
Elias Armstrong,	" 9,	" "	
George Eckstone,	" 16,	" "	
John Keyler,	Oct. 3,	" "	
George Goznel,	Sept. 22,	" "	
Joseph Roberts,	Oct. 9,	" "	
John Chapman,	" 30,	" "	
John Stone,	Sept. 28,	" "	
John Billow,	Oct. 12,	" "	
John Campbell,	Nov. 17,	" "	
Thomas Green,	" 18,	" "	
Thomas Warren,	" 19,	" "	
Thomas Smith,	Aug. 12,	" "	
John Chattin,	Sept. 16,	" "	
John Collins,	Oct. 24,	" "	
Daniel Vance,	" 21,	" "	
Thomas Ramsey,	Nov. 20,	" "	

HENRY PIERCY, *L'*

MUSTER ROLL OF LIEUT. WILLIAM WITHERS' COMPANY OF RANGERS
in the service of the United States of America at Fort Pitt, 1779.

Lieutenant.—William Withers.

Sergeants.—Peter Rust, Feb. 25.

William Constable, Feb. 25. On command with
Major Taylor.

Edward Mullen, Sep. 17.

Leonard Boyer, Oct. 24.

Corporal.—John Barnard, Sep. 17. On command with Major
Taylor.

Fife & Drum.—John Cain.

Thomas Bagzell, sick in Hospital Fort Pitt.

Privates.—Patrick Grogan, Aug. 14. Sick, present.

Roger Tole, Aug. 15. do

Eli Davis, July 25. do

James Dinnen, Sept. 18. Present.

<i>Privates.</i> —Joseph Mattenly,	Oct. 30.	Present.
John Villett,		do
John Biggs,		do
Jacob Fare,		do
Henry Gibson,		do
Nehemiah Handly,		do
Benjamin Furr,		do
John Howell,	Sep. 15.	do
George Field,	Aug. 15.	do
Abraham Buckley,	Oct. 27.	do
Jonathan Green,	Sep. 15.	On command with Major Taylor.
John Patch,	Oct. 24.	Present.
William Merryman,	Oct. 26.	do
David Cole,	Oct. 24.	do
Daniel Keeth,	Oct. 25.	do
Samuel Stephenson,	Oct. 24.	do
Elias Lacefield,	July 25.	Deserted.
Jonathan Hilton,	Aug. 9.	do
Daniel Oliver,	Aug. 13.	do
John Murphy,	Aug. 10.	do
Elijah Killburn,	July 25.	do
Jeremiah Craven,	Oct. 25.	do
Samuel M ^c Pharrow,	Oct. 24.	do
Amos Hague,	Oct. 29.	do
Thomas Jefferies,		do
John Whitton,		do
James Johnston,		do
Henry Johnston,		do
David Johnston,		do
John Bean,		do
John Llewellyn,		do
Nicholas Trammer,		do
Jonathan Davis,		Died Dec. 9.
John Jewell,	Aug. 9.	" Nov. 10.
John Bailey,	Aug. 19.	" Jany. 20.
Charles Bland,		" Nov. 13.

Fort Pitt 14th Feby. 1779. Then mustered Lieut. W^m Withers
Comp^y as specified in the above Roll.

W^m AMBERSON,
D. M. M.

A LIST OF THE POOR ASSOCIATORS IN STRAUSBURY TOWNSHIP,
LANCASTER COUNTY, who went to the Camps in the Jerseys in Col.
John Ferree's Battⁿ in the month of August 1776, . . . and relief ex-
tended to their distressed families.

John Botts, left a wife and five small children.

John Mace, left a wife and several small children.

Martin Kochersberg, left a wife and two small children.

Abraham Bowman, left a wife and children.

John Glass, left a wife and several small children.

Jacob Miller, left a wife and children.

Nicholas Mackey, left a weakly wife.

Martin Burd, left a wife and several small children

Robert Charlton, left a sickly wife and child.

Valentine Myer, left a wife and two children.

William Dowland.

Ludwig Stotz, left a wife and children.

John Kraemer, left a wife and child.

James Patton, left a wife and child.

Samuel Finley, left a wife and child.

John Manley, left a wife and large family.

Jacob Froelich, left a wife and children.

Jacob Young, left a wife and two children.

Peter Holl, left a wife and several children.

David King, left a wife and several children.

Mathias Truckebrod, left a large family.

John White, left a wife and five children.

James Cavanaugh, left a wife and children.

James Trum, } Went to Flying Camp and left their old and lame
Charles Trum, } father and mother.

William Logan, left a wife and child.

EVERHARD GRUBER.

ROLL OF RECRUITS FOR THE THIRTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE.—
The following persons were Recruited by Lieut. William Moore, 13th
Penna. Reg^t, Philada. May, 1777.

John Hagerty	March 11, 1777	William Jones	March 17, 1777
Daniel M ^c Entire	" " "	John Cook	" " "
James Duffy	" " "	Michael Tink	" 18 "
William Price	" " "	John McCowan	" " "
Robert Peelan	" 14 "	Thomas Wallace	" " "
William Moarns	" 12 "	George Helm	" " "
James Moore	" " "	Robert Negiton	" " "
Charles Cowan	" 13 "	John Henry	" " "
William Butler	" " "	Stephen London	" " "
John M ^c Clean	" " "	William Johnston	" 22 "
Anthony Pelser	" " "	John Thompson	" " "
Charles Carter	" " "	William Harner	" " "
John Awl	" 16 "	John Gracely	" 23 "
Samuel Wood	" 17 "	Christian Winters	" " "
Patrick Weldin	" " "	George Conrad	" " "
Michael Kennedy	" " "	Daniel M ^c Neal	" " "
John M ^c Quade	" " "	Jacob Hotter	April 4 "

WM MOORE
Lt 13th Reg^t

CAPTAIN JAMES LEE'S COMPANY OF ARTILLERY, 1779; enlisted in
Philadelphia for the war.

A Return of Captain James Lee's Company of Artillery, commanded
by the Hon^{ble} Brigadier Gen^l Ordinance, Henry Knox.

Captain, James Lee.

Capt. Lieut, William Power.

Lieut Samuel Douty.

Drum.
John Scourse.

Fife.
William Ellis.

Leonard Broom,
John Hyer,

Sergeants.
Jacob Spiegel,
Francis Stewart.

James Little,
Owen McCarthy,

Corporals.
John McDonald,
John Neville,
Joseph Oliver.

Samuel Essop,

Bombardiers.
George Gadsby.

Rudolph Essling,
Joshua Fletcher,

Gunners.
Charles Proud,
Joshua Williams.

John Caldwell,
Peter Gainer,
William Gele,
Peter Gordon,
Samuel Kenpies,
Robert Learon,

Matrosses.
William McMathews,
Patrick McNuth,
Patrick McCaffrey,
William Robinson,
James Robinson,
Patrick Riley,
Edward Wallace.

WILLIAM POWER,
Capt. Lieut.

West Point 17th August 1779. Personally appeared Capt. James Lee & made oath that the above is a true return of the Company of Artillery under his Command.

H. KNOX,
Brig. Gen^t Artillery.

War Office, 4th Sep^t 1779. The above is a true Copy from Brig. Gen^t Artillery—the original return filed in this Office.

BEN. STODDART, *Secy.*

RETURN OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY LIEUT. JAMES McCULLOCH
FOR THE 5TH PENNA. REGT., PHILADA., JULY 27, 1778.

Samuel Sterrit,	April 12.	Deserted May, 1778.
John Watt,	" 13.	Deserted.
Matthew Durham,	May 1.	
James Heslit,	" 9.	
William John,	" 26.	
Michael Deburgh,	" 26.	
John McClean,	" 26.	Deserted July 12.
John Collin,	" 27.	On Furlough.
John Haherty,	June 1.	
Robert McDonald,	" 1.	
John Jones,	" 25.	
Frederick Lockhart,	" 28.	Deserted July.
Jacob Rosewell,	" 28.	
Frances Minzes,	July 1.	

Peter Thompson,	July 1.
Joseph Perry,	" 2.
Nathaniel Wichtright,	" 25.
John James,	" 25.
Edward Davis,	" 25.

JAMES McCULLOCH,
Lieut 5th Penna. Reg^t.

- MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY JOHN CLEMENT, J. P., 1799-1801.—
- 1799, Nov. 23.—*John Copeland* to *Mary Moore*, both of Newton Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- 1800, Jany. 8.—*James Rogers* to *Rebecca Grant*, both of Little Egg Harbor Township, Burlington Co., N. J.
- Jany. 19.—*Isaac Briant* to *Rachel Matlack*, both of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- Jany. 30.—*Peter Farrow* to *Rebecca Tilbert*, both of Gloucester Co., N. J.
- Feby. 9.—*John Cheeseman* to *Mary Pearce*, of Gloucester Township.
- Feby. 13.—*Andrew Lee* to *Elizabeth Waters*, both of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- March 10.—*Webster Thomas*, of Gloucester Township, to *Sarah Miller*, of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- March 20.—*Hezekiah Shivers*, of Newton Township, to *Rebecca Kay*, of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- March 23.—*Joshua Brick* to *Hannah Elfretch*, both of Newton Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- June 15.—*Joseph Hustis* to *Tamer Cox*, both of Newton Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- June 21.—*David Hurley* to *Hannah Hillman*, both of Newton Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- June 25.—*Joseph Webb* to *Rebecca Copping*, both of Gloucester Township and County, N. J.
- Oct. 12.—*Benjamin Bond* to *Ann Sharp*, of Eavesham Township, Burlington Co., N. J.
- Oct. 16.—*Casper Souder*, of Philadelphia, to *Sarah Kimble*, of Gloucester Township and County, N. J.
- Nov. 10.—*Thomas Rodger* to *Mary Broderick*, of Chester Township, Burlington Co., N. J.
- Dec. 3.—*Robert Gilmore* to *Elizabeth Barthomoly*, of Newton Township.
- Dec. 4.—*John Pearce* to *Elizabeth Haines*, of Chester Township, Burlington Co., N. J.
- Dec. 18.—*Samuel Waters* to *Barbery Denny*, of Newton Township.
- 1801, Jany. 8.—*Martin Overs* to *Sarah Hurst*, both of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
- Feby. 12.—*John Eastlack* to *Rebecca Matlack*, of Newton Township.
- Feby. 19.—*Aaron Hughes* to *Rachel Madeira*, of Gloucester Co., N. J.

- 1801, March 9.—*John Collins* to *Mary Willshier*, of Gloucester Co., N. J.
 April 9.—*Samuel Clement* to *Abigail Stackhouse*, of Newton Township.
 July 11.—*John Whiteman*, of Philadelphia, to *Mary Roberts*, of Gloucester Township and County, N. J.
 Aug. 13.—*Godfrey Page* to *Mintee Harrison*, of Gloucester Co., N. J.
 Oct. 13.—*Isaac Irens* to *Amy Hopper*, of Waterford Township, Gloucester Co., N. J.
 Oct. 15.—*Josiah Matlack* to *Sarah Ellis*, of Waterford Township.

Queries.

FARRAR.—Who were the ancestors of Major John Farrar, of Framingham, Massachusetts, major of the Third Regiment of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, Militia in 1757? Had a brother Joseph and a sister Margaret. Was twice married: first to Martha Swift, second to Deborah Winch.

W. H. ABBOTT.

SAUGERTIES, NEW YORK.

CHANCERY LANE, PHILADELPHIA.—In Watson's Annals, first edition (1830), page 266, it is stated that "When lawyers practised in the old Court-House, lawyers Ross [John Ross] and Lawrence [] held their offices in the small alley since [called] *Chancery Lane*—a name derived from them."

Can any of the Magazine's readers supply the full name of and identify the Lawrence in question, or indicate where on this street their offices were located?

LEGAL ANTIQUARIAN.

TAYLOR.—Can you tell me who were the parents of Robert Taylor, a major in the Second Battalion of Davis's Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, Militia, 1777 and 1778? Whom did he marry, where reside, and what became of his descendants? A son went West and settled in Ohio.

WILLIAM HENRY.

Book Notices.

HISTORY OF THE BRINGHURST FAMILY, WITH NOTES ON THE CLARKSON, DE PEYSTER, AND BOUDE FAMILIES. By Josiah Granville Leach, LL.B. Philadelphia, 1901. Royal 4to, pp. 153. Illustrated. Printed for private circulation.

The Bringhursts of the United States are descended from the Bringhursts of Leicestershire, England, the earliest mention of their name being found prior to the year 1260. John Bringhurst, whose widow and children emigrated to Pennsylvania about 1700, was a son of Thomas Bringhurst, a physician and surgeon of London. He married Rosina Prache, of German birth, whose father had been a clergyman, but later joined the Friends and removed to England. Their children were Rosina Elizabeth, who married a son of Richard Dungworth; John, from whom

descend the Wilmington, Delaware, branch, who married Mary Claypoole, and became an overseer of the poor and an overseer of what is now the William Penn Charter School; Barbara, who married William Morrison; and George, who married Anna Ashmead, and became the head of the Germantown branch of the family. In the eight generations compiled by Colonel Leach will be recognized the names of those who have been prominent in civil and military life, in the law, in medicine, and in manufactures and mercantile pursuits. The book is profusely illustrated: for a frontispiece the Brighthurst arms in colors; portraits; fac-similes of letters to Dr. Joseph Brighthurst from John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Fulton, and Henry Clay; three letters of Washington; the journals of John Brighthurst, Jr., ending in the year 1746, and Joseph Brighthurst, 1750-1810; a power of attorney of Dr. Thomas Brighthurst, the grandfather of the emigrants, dated 1660; and the seats of members of the family in various States. The head- and tail-pieces and the initial letters are from original designs. Following the notes on the allied families of Clarkson, De Peyster, and Boude is a very comprehensive index. The book is handsomely printed on special made paper, and is from the Lippincott press.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 1901. Illustrated. Vol. VI., 8vo, pp. 346. Price, \$5.00.

Since the year 1894 the Rev. Horace E. Hayden has edited the publications of this Society, and the present volume cannot fail of an enthusiastic reception by the larger public as well as by his own growing audience. Especial attention is called to the following papers: "Investigation of the Buried Valley of Wyoming;" "Sketch of Ralph Dupuy Lacoe;" "Centennial of Luzerne County, 1786-1886;" "Colonel Isaac Barré;" "Early Settlement of Dallas Township;" "Records of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilkesbarre, 1803-1829;" and "A Pioneer Settler of Susquehanna County."

From the Report of Mr. Hayden as Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, we learn that nineteen hundred and thirty-five books and pamphlets were added to the library in the year 1900, and that the investments have been increased from four thousand five hundred dollars in 1893 to sixteen thousand one hundred and sixteen dollars,—an extremely creditable showing. An exhaustive index of names has been appended to the volume.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Baltimore, 1901. Illustrated. No. 9, pp. 190.

It is gratifying to note the interest which has attended the efforts of the energetic gentlemen who are developing the history of the Jews in America through the publications of their Historical Society. The volume under notice contains the following valuable papers of special interest to students of history: "The Early Jewish Settlement at Lancaster, Pennsylvania;" "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement: whence came the First Jewish Settlers of New York?" "The German-Jewish Migration to America;" "Francis Salvador, a Prominent Patriot of the Revolutionary War;" and "Notes on the History of the Earliest German-Jewish Congregation in America."

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