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John Hazelwood

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The
Pennsylvania
Magazine

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXVI.

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THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
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VOL. XXVI.

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No. 1.

COMMODORE JOHN HAZLEWOOD, COMMANDER OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION.

BY JOSIAH GRANVILLE LEACH, ESQ.

John Hazlewood, one of the most noted naval officers of Pennsylvania in the Revolutionary War, was born in England about 1726, and became a mariner, and in early life settled in Philadelphia. In 1753 he was in command of the ship "Susanna and Molly;" in 1762, of the ship "Greyhound;" in 1763, of the brig "Monckton;" in 1771, of the ship "Sally;" and in 1774, of the ship "Rebecca." The latter was one of the largest ships sailing at that time from Philadelphia, and in all of these Captain Hazlewood traded with foreign ports, chiefly those of England. When, at the outbreak of the Revolution, it became necessary to organize naval forces for the defence of the Colonies, recourse was had for naval commanders to the captains in the merchant marine, there being none others at hand whose training in any way fitted them for such service. Philadelphia was exceptionally fortunate at this period in having among her citizens many sea-captains of large experience, and she furnished for service in that great struggle a number of men who made records that would have done honor to the most thoroughly trained officers in the best naval forces of the

world. Of such may be mentioned Stephen Decatur, Thomas Truxton, Charles Biddle, Nicholas Biddle, John Barry, and John Hazlewood.

Commodore Hazlewood's earliest known service in the Revolution was in 1775. In July of that year the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety adopted measures for the defence of the Delaware River. The naval part of the defence was the construction of war-ships, floating batteries, and fire-rafts, and the sinking of obstructions in the river, known as *chevaux-de-frise*. By December 28 ten fire-rafts had been constructed, and Captain Hazlewood was appointed commander over the fleet of rafts. In May following he was selected by the Council of Safety "to survey the river from Billingsport to Fort Island," and also "to Survey the Channel on the East side of the Barr opposite to Fort Island," and in June he was ordered to "construct and immediately employ persons for building an additional Guard Boat for the use of this Province," and on the 21st of that month the Council of Safety

Resolved, That John Hazelwood, Esq'r, be appointed Captain and superintendant of the Fire Vessels & Fire Rafts, and to the Guard Boats, and that he be allowed for his Services 36 Dollars p month & 4 Rations, to commence the day of his first appointment, being the 28th of December last.

In July, 1776, he was one of the "committee" of three sent to Poughkeepsie, New York, to devise plans for the obstruction of the navigation of the North River by fire-vessels similar to those in use on the Delaware, and the "Secret Committee" mentions that Captain Hazlewood had "fitted out a fire vessel in a martial manner," while the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York voted him the thanks of that body and the sum of three hundred dollars for services rendered in this direction, and on October 10, 1776, the Continental Congress recognized the importance of this service by voting him and the two other members of his committee "pay for preparing six sail of fire

ships at New York." At a later date, precisely when is not known, he was promoted to commodore in the Pennsylvania navy, and he is so styled in the proceedings of the Supreme Executive Council, August 26, 1777, when the Naval Board recommended to the Council that they make Commodore Hazlewood "an extra allowance for his great trouble and extra attention" in "attending and directing fire ships and rafts," to which the Council responded by ordering that he be paid one hundred pounds for his "extra service," etc. Eleven days later the Council bore strong testimony to the eminent fitness of Commodore Hazlewood for the highest rank in its navy by placing him in actual command of the naval force of the State. Howe's army was at this time advancing into Pennsylvania and his fleet was expected up the Delaware, and the Council

Ordered, That on the present emergency, when the Enemies' Army endeavouring to penetrate to this City, may be aided by a Fleet in the Delaware, the actual Command of the Naval force be committed to John Hazlewood, Esq'r, as Commodore in this Department, on account of the Age & infirmities of Tho's Seymour, Esq'r, his superior Officer, as it is manifest to Council that Commodore Seymour, in the present State of his Health, cannot be capable of that vigour & activity which are essential to the service at this time of danger, in which the most strenuous efforts of the stoutest will be necessary.

On the day this appointment was made the Council informed the State Navy Board of their action in the following words:

As Council cannot justify to themselves or to the State, that the actual command of the naval force should continue in the hands of Commodore Seymour, whose health is very uncertain and whose age is far advanced, they have resolved to commit the real command of the same to Commodore Hazlewood, as you will find by a copy of the resolve inclosed.

Five days later the battle of Brandywine was fought, and on the 26th of that month (September) the British entered Philadelphia. A portion of the British fleet entered the Delaware, and shortly afterwards Lord Howe sent a flag to

Commodore Hazlewood, demanding a surrender of the Pennsylvania fleet, promising his Majesty's pardon should he comply with the demand. The commodore replied that he would not give up the fleet, but would defend it to the last, which reply came to the attention of Congress, and that body, on October 17, adopted the following resolution :

Resolved, That Congress highly approve of the brave and spirited conduct of Commodore Hazlewood, and the other officers and men concerned in the defence of the river Delaware, and of their undaunted perseverance and resolution to maintain that pass to the City of Philadelphia to the utmost extremity.

On October 22 a British land force, under Count Dunop, made an attack on Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, and at the first sound of the count's cannon, the British fleet, consisting of the "Augusta," a new sixty-four-gun vessel, the "Roebuck," forty-four guns, the "Merlin" frigate, the "Liverpool," and several other vessels, attempted to make its way up the river to assist the attack. The fleet under Commodore Hazlewood immediately engaged these vessels and drove them back. Going down the river, the "Augusta" and "Merlin" ran aground, hearing of which, the commodore hoisted signal to engage, and the action soon became general. The "Augusta" took fire and blew up and the "Merlin" was burned by her crew. Congress took early notice of this event, and honored the commodore with a sword for his gallant conduct, as appears from its vote of November 4, 1777 :

Resolved, That Congress have an high sense of the merit of Commodore Hazlewood, commander of the naval force in the Delaware river, in the service of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and of the officers and men under his command, in their late gallant defence of their country against the British fleet, whereby two of their men of war were destroyed, and four others compelled to retire ; and that an elegant sword be provided by the marine committee, and presented to Commodore Hazlewood.

A land attack by the British for the reduction of Fort Mifflin soon followed, during which the fleet was actively

engaged, losing in one day thirty-eight men killed and wounded. The fort was captured on November 16 and on the 18th a council of war convened by General Washington was held on one of the commodore's ships, at which Major-General Arthur St. Clair, Major-General Baron de Kalb, and Brigadier-General Henry Knox recommended that the commodore "with the first favorable wind to attempt passing up the River past the City of Philadelphia to such place as he judge proper." This was accomplished on the night of the 21st, when twelve armed boats, thirteen galleys, province sloop, ammunition sloop, convention brig and accommodation sloop, one provision sloop, two flats with stores, and one schooner passed the city without having a shot fired at them, and took refuge in the Delaware above Burlington. The history of this fleet from this time forward is briefly told in the "*Pennsylvania Archives*," Second Series, Vol. I. pp. 235, 236, and an interesting account of its previous service and engagements, after the British came up the Delaware, is told in a letter from Commodore Hazlewood to President Thomas Wharton, Jr., under date of December 1, 1777, printed in the "*Pennsylvania Archives*," Second Series, Vol. VI. pp. 47-50. In August, 1778, the Assembly of Pennsylvania determined that a large State navy was unnecessary, and recommended that the greater part of the same be disbanded. Such disbandment followed, and Commodore Hazlewood—he being the last to hold that rank—and many others officers were discharged.

In the summer of 1779 Commodore Hazlewood was one of the committee of citizens chosen at a public meeting in Philadelphia to raise, by house-to-house subscription, money for the support of the army. In 1780 he was appointed Commissary of Purchases for the Continental army, in the city of Philadelphia, an office of great trust, involving the handling of large sums of money. On one occasion (September 7, 1780) the Supreme Executive Council ordered that an order be drawn in his favor for one hundred thou-

sand pounds for purchasing supplies. In December of the same year he was appointed Receiver of Provisions for the Pennsylvania militia.

Of Commodore Hazlewood's life subsequent to the war but little is known, except that April 11, 1785, he was chosen one of the port wardens of Philadelphia. In 1772 he was one of the founders of the St. George Society, and from 1779 until 1783 was a vestryman of Christ Church. He died at Philadelphia on the 1st or 2d of March, 1800, aged seventy-four, and was buried on the 3d of that month in the graveyard of St. Peter's Church.

Captain Charles Willson Peale, artist and patriot, thought Commodore Hazlewood worthy for his collection of American heroes, and the portrait painted by him was purchased by the city of Philadelphia and placed in Independence Hall.

Commodore Hazlewood married (1), August 10, 1753, Mary, daughter of Charles Edgar, a merchant of Philadelphia. She died December 1, 1769, aged thirty-six years, and he married (2), July 17, 1771, Esther, widow of Samuel Leacock and daughter of Plunkett Fleeson, Esq. The children that he is known to have had are,—

1. Thomas Hazlewood, born August 30, 1757; died in 1788; was captain in the Pennsylvania navy in the Revolution.

2. Frances Hazlewood, born January 15, 1775; died young.

3. Susan Hazlewood, died September 19, 1794.

4. John Hazlewood, a lieutenant in the artillery company raised in Philadelphia in 1794, and in service in the Western Expedition of that year. He survived his father only a few weeks, and was buried in St. Peter's church ground, April 13, 1800.

5. Ann Hazlewood, living at the date of her father's will, February 22, 1799.

THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY FRANCIS VON A. CABEEN.

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 451.)

The newspapers of the time had long accounts of "The Bull Baiting in Parliament," as the attack of Wedderburn upon Franklin before the Privy Council was called.

On Tuesday, May 3, a very exciting event took place in Philadelphia in consequence of the publication of the above facts, and as it shows the feelings of the populace, we give a very full account taken from a newspaper of the day following:

"Yesterday about four o'clock in the afternoon the effigies of Alexander Wedderburn, Esq., convicted of traducing the American Colonies and insulting their Agent before his Majesty's Privy Council for doing his duty, and of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Governor of Massachusetts Bay convicted of an attempt to incense Great Britain against her Colonies, were put into a cart and conducted through the streets of the City. On the breast of Wedderburn the following label was fixed:

"**THE INFAMOUS
WEDDERBURNE.**

A pert prime Prater of a scabby Race
Guilt in his Heart and Famine in his Face!

(CHURCHILL altered)

Similis Proteo mutet—et fallacior Catalina
Hunc vos Bratanni cavete!"

"He availed himself of the licence of the bar to insult the venerable Dr. Franklin, whose knowledge in philosophy, universal benevolence, just sentiments of liberty and inde-

fatigable labors to promote harmony between Britain and her Colonies entitle him to the esteem of the learned of every nation, the love of all good men and sincere affection of every honest Briton and American.

“But the base born solicitor who attempted to turn his learning, benevolence and patriotism into ridicule is (like Hutchinson) a parricide of the first rank, who would sacrifice his country, his liberty and his God and delight in the carnage of the most faithful British subjects in America to gain promotion at court. Such horrid monsters are a disgrace to human nature and justly merit our utmost detestation and the gallows to which they are assigned and then burnt with electric Fire. With several others and the following lines from Hudibras.

“ ‘So a wild Tartar, when he spies
A man that’s handsome, valiant, wise
If he can kill him thinks t’inherit
His wit, his beauty, and his spirit,
As if just so much he enjoy’d
As in an other is destroy’d.’

“On Governor Hutchinson’s heart was fixed the following label. ‘Governor Hutchinson, whom we now consign to the gallows and flames as the only proper reward for double dealing and treachery to his native country.’

“After being exposed for several hours they were hung and burnt in the evening amidst a vast concourse of people who testified their resentment against the originals with the loudest acclamations.”¹

As our Society was yet but an infant in comparison with some of the others that met at regular stated intervals during the year, and as the aims of its members were, as we believe, very pro-American, as against the mother country, the exciting times upon which they were just entering may, along with desertions from their ranks, have prevented

¹ Penna. Gazette, May 4, 1774.

their holding a meeting as usual. Or it may be that, owing to their previous chronicler, Goddard, having left the city early in the year, no one took the trouble to send an account of their proceedings to the papers. Certain it is that we have searched in vain in the prints of this year for any notice of them.¹

Graydon, in his *Memoirs*, speaking of the winter of 1774-75, says, "But a period was now approaching which tended equally to interrupt the pursuits of pleasure and of business. . . . The ministry seemed resolved upon enforcing their assumed right of taxing the colonies, and there was an equal determination on the part of America to resist the pretention. . . . But waving analogies, that may be fitter for illustrations than arguments, the merits of the question were, I think, on the side of the colonies; and the inference that the authority contended for by Britain would ultimately reduce them to vassalage was by no means chimerical.

"This being generally perceived and assented to, a great proportion and perhaps a great majority of the most wealthy and respectable in each of the provinces was arrayed in opposition to the Ministerial claim. I speak of the early stages of the contest. In Pennsylvania this was certainly the case, though as to the extent to which the opposition should be carried, there was doubtless a great diversity of opinion; Many sincere Whigs considering a separation from the Mother country as the greatest evil that could befall us. The Merchants were on the Whig side with few exceptions; and the lawyers, who, from the bent of their studies, as well as their habit of speaking in public were best qualified to take a lead in the various assemblies

¹ "ANXIOUS INQUIRIES OF THE SUNDAY DISPATCH, p. 34.—Subscriber wishes to know the origin of Tammany Society?

"It was originally instituted as a benevolent society on the commencement of our Government in order to protect our red brethren and induce them to enter into treaties of peace with us and give up a savage border warfare. They were originally called Sons of Liberty and Friends to the Constitution and Union of the States."

that became necessary, were little less unanimous in the same cause."

That the Tammany Society was in existence in 1775 we can infer from the following poem that was addressed to it, and we must frankly add that this is the only record we can find of it in this year.

"*The Address of Liberty, to the Buckskins of Pennsylvania, on hearing of the intended Provincial Congress.*

"Fair Liberty, dear Goddess Bright—
 Wishing to set the *Pennites* right—
 Thus from her Throne, in candid Strains,
 Addressed her Pennsylvan Swain.
 Can public Virtue by me stand,
 See Faction stalking through the Land?—
 Faction that Fiend, begat in Hell—
 In *Boston* nurs'd—here brought to dwell
 By *Congress*, who, in airy Freak,
 Conven'd to plan a *Republic*?
 Will Helmsmen let the Ship of State,
 Meet with so dire, shipwreck'd a Fate?
 Can Judges, fam'd for Probity
 Sit tame Spectators by, and see
 The Laws oppugn'd by Committee—
 Who Laugh at Courts, and Loyalty?
 Can peaceful *Quakers*, honest Church,
 See Congress leave them in the Lurch,
 And o'er their Heads such Vermin perch!
 Stop Independents! Stop, I say!
 You mean to fight—to run away;
 The *British Thunder* you defy,
 And right of Parliament deny;
 Revile the kind Peace making *Gage*,¹
 Who with great Prudence would assuage
 The fires lit up by H—k's Rage,²
 Which unto civil Wars must tend,
 Unless the Olive Branch we send
 To gen'rous *Britain* your best Friend.
 Stop, Independents, stop, I say!
 Attend to my instructive Lay!

¹ General Gage, commander of the British forces in America.

² John Hancock.

Fysham must swing on yonder Tree¹—
Dear Friends, an Englishman you'll see,
Traytor to his King and Country!
With Rope adorn'd on gallows high,
He'll kick in Air, in Company
With the *Pennsylvan Farmer John*,²
And Charley T——, a Rebel Son,³
For Crime by Statute called Treason,
Which they committed without Reason
Well read in Law *John* seem'd—Oh, Shame!
Not so was it with poor *Fysham*!
For ignorant, alas, was he,
Ignorant as e'er Man could be!
(Ignorance, *know ye*, in Law's no Plea)
But Farmer *John* inveigled him,
And *Charles* united in the Scheme;
But Peace the Wight enjoyed—dying—
Both were by his side a crying,
When Rope about his Neck was fix't,—
He clearly saw they would be next
Tuck't up aloft on self-same Tree,
That he, alas, must hanged be!
View, Friends, this sad Catastrophe,—
Three Rebels hanging on one Tree—
Dead as Door Nails—hung for Treason,
Which they committed out of Season,—
Lives lost—Estates confiscated—
Their Fam'lies left discomfited,—
A horrid Scene, a dismal ditty—
Good lack-a-day—what a Pity!
Poor *Fysham* formly, we're told,
Sold goods to *France* for Sake of gold,
'Tis true he did, in Time of War,
Yet he escaped from Rope or Tar;
But he's o'ertak'n, Hemp has reach'd him—
For *old* sin his, weight has stretch'd him.—

¹ Captain William Heysham, member of Fort Saint David Society (State in Schuylkill, page 402); also Hiltzheimer, page 26; also Directory, signed Non-Importation Resolutions, member of the City Committee of Correspondence.

² John Dickinson, author of the "Farmer's Letters."

³ Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress.

View, my Readers, this sad Picture !
 Hang they will your Gen'ral Stricture.
 Unnat'ral Deaths some Folks must dye,
 Sic transit gloria mundi.
 Ah, me ! Deluded, hoodwink'd Cits,
 Rouse from your Sleep, resume your Wits !
 Honor the King, obey my Laws !
 Don't *forfeit* Life and Lands for Straws !
 Had those mad Bandits been discreet,
 They ne'er had stretch'd in hempen Sheet.

" From the Temple of Liberty

" January 7th. 1775."

It may not be out of place here to give a short account of the temper of the times at this period.¹ The news of the battles of Lexington and Concord had been given to the public in an extra edition of the newspapers on April 27.² The feelings of the people of the city were so much inflamed by the news of the conflicts in Massachusetts that a self-exiled Tory from this Colony, arriving in the city on May 4, found great difficulty in securing lodgings when he made himself known to the people from whom he sought shelter. His friend, on receiving him, remarked, " We will protect you, though a Tory."³

We find in a newspaper dated Tuesday, May 2, 1775,⁴ that on the Saturday previous the Military Associators met and determined that each ward of the city should form one or more companies of soldiers. Then follows a list of those already formed, and the article closes as follows: " In short Mars has established his empire in this populous city, and it is not doubted but we shall have in a few weeks from this date 4000 men well equipped for our defence or for the assistance of our neighbors. Several gentlemen who measured the ground on which the people stood at the meeting on Saturday are of the opinion that their number amounted to eight thousand."

¹ May, 1775.

² Postscript Penna. Gazette.

³ Ward's Diary, p. 26.

⁴ Penna. Evening Post.

On the next page is the following advertisement: "All persons who have Fire Arms by them are desired to give public notice thereof and dispose of them at a moderate price to those who want them. It is supposed that there are considerable numbers in this city which were used on board vessels during the War."

We can see that it was hardly a time for dinners and jollifications, but rather for action; so, for the time being at least, our members were the followers of King Tammany as against King George. The warlike conditions of the times urged them to remember that when their liberties were attacked they must, like their patron, be prepared to defend them.

The next record we find is the following poem, which seems to us to prove that at the time of its publication our Society was still in existence or the newspapers would hardly have thought it worth while to print it, for in those days they were not much given to taking up space with matter of local interest. It is also interesting to note the fact that in the introduction its members are referred to as Sons of Liberty. This may have been merely a generic term for all lovers of the American cause, but we rather think not, and that the editor knew what was most likely known to the majority of the people of the time, that the moving spirits in the Tammany Society were those who were either members of the Sons of Liberty or at least held their pronounced views. That the followers of Tammany were the ones for whom the poem was published is shown, first, by the sentence "and thinking it will suit extremely well for the first of May," which day was the one always celebrated by this Society. Secondly, in the last line the poet says, "And hail ev'ry first of Sweet May, my brave boys."

"The following humorous song was solely intended for the American Tragi-comedy entitled *The Fall of British Tyranny, or American Liberty Triumphant*, of five acts which is now in the press, and will be published speedily. Having been favored with a sight of the manuscript and thinking it will suit extremely well for the first of May, the printer has

prevailed upon the author to let him insert it in the Evening Post on the eve of that day for the entertainment of his jovial readers, and Sons of Liberty.¹

“The First of May, A new Song in Praise of St. Tammany, the American Saint—

“Tune, The hounds are all out &c.

“Of St. George or St. Bute, let the poet laureat sing,
Of Pharaoh or Pluto of old,
While he rimes forth their praise, in false flattering lays,
I'll sing of St. Tamm'ny the bold, my brave boys.
Let Hibernia's sons boast, make Patrick their toast,
And Scots Andrew's fame spread abroad,
Potatoes and oates and Welch Leeks for Welch goats,
Was never St. Tammany's food, my brave boys.
In freedom's bright cause, Tammany pled with applause,
And reason'd most justly from nature ;
For this, this was his song, all, all the day long,
Liberty's the right of each creature, brave boys.
Whilst under an oak his great parliament sat,
His throne was the crotch of the tree,
With Solomon's look, without statutes or book,
He wisely sent forth his decree, my brave boys.
His subjects stood round, not the least noise or sound,
Whilst freedom blaz'd full in each face ;
So plain were the laws, and each pleaded his cause,
That might Bute, North and Mansfield disgrace, my brave boys.
No duties nor stamps, their blest liberty cramps,
A King, tho' no tyrant was he ;
He did oft' times declare, nay sometimes would swear,
The least of his subjects were free, my brave boys.
He, as King of the woods, of the rivers and floods,
Had a right all beasts to control ;
Yet content with a few, to give nature her due,
So gen'rous was Tammany's soul ! my brave boys.
In the morn he arose, and a hunting he goes,
Bold Nimrod his second, was he ;
For his breakfast he'd take a large venison stake,
And dispis'd your flip-flops and tea, my brave boys.
While all in a row, with squaw, dog and bow,
Vermilion adorning his face ;

¹ Penna. Evening Post, Tuesday, April 30, 1776.

With feathery head he rang'd the woods wide,
Sure St. George had never such grace, my brave boys :
His jetty black hair, such as Buckskin saints wear,
Perfumed with bear's grease well smear'd,
Which illum'd the saint's face, and ran down apace,
Like the oil from off Aaron's beard, my brave boys.
The strong nervous deer, with amazing career,
In swiftness he'd fairly run down,
And, like Sampson, wou'd tear wolf, lion or bear ;
Ne'er was such a saint as our own, my brave boys.
When he'd run down a stag, he behind him wou'd lag,
For so noble a soul had he !
H'd stop, tho' he lost it, tradition reports it,
To give him fresh chance to get free, my brave boys.
From his quiver he drew forth an arrow so keen,
And seiz'd fast his imperial bow ;
It flew straight to the heart, like an Israelite dart ;
Could St. Andrew ever do so, my brave boys ?
With a mighty strong aim, and a masculine bow,
His arrow he drew to the head,
And as sure as he shot, it was ever his lot,
His prey it fell instantly dead, my brave boys.
His table he spread, where the venison bled ;
Be thankful, he used to say ;
He'd laugh and he'd sing, tho' a saint and a king,
And sumptuously dine on his prey, my brave boys.
Then over the hills, o'er the mountains and rills,
He'd caper, such was his delight ;
And ne'er in his days, Indian history says,
Did lack a good Supper at night, my brave boys.
On an old stump he sat, without cap or hat,
When Supper was ready to eat ;
Snap his dog, he stood by, and cast a sheep's eye,
For venison's the king of all meat, my brave boys.
Like Isaac of old, and both cast in one mould,
Tho' a wigwam was Tamm'ny's cottage,
He lov'd sav'ry meat, such that patriarch eat ;
Of ven'son and squirrel made pottage, my brave boys.

.

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.

What country on earth, then did ever give birth,
 To such a magnanimous saint?
 His acts far excel all that history tell,
 And language too feeble to paint, my brave boys.
 Now to finish my song, a full flowing bowl;
 I'll quaff and sing the long day,
 And with punch and wine paint my cheeks for my saint,
 And hail ev'ry first of Sweet May, my brave boys."

Further, in looking at the play¹ itself, which was published later in this year, we find that the prologue was spoken by a character called Mr. Peter Buckstail² (another name for a Son of Saint Tammany). The remarks spoken just before the song by a player called Roger are as follows: "Roger—With all my heart! Most delightful harmony! This is the First of May! Our shepherds and Nymphs are celebrating our glorious St. Tammany's day: we'll hear the song out and then join in the frolick, and chorus it o'er and o'er again. This day shall be devoted to joy and festivity."³ The above facts, taken together, we think make good our claim that our Society existed at this time. The times were becoming more exciting, for on May 1 a very hotly contested election was held in Philadelphia,⁴ and the Committee of Safety passed a stringent resolution concerning paroled prisoners; at the same meeting they passed the following: "The Sisterhood of Bethlehem having presented this Board with a quantity of linen rags for the benefit of such as may be wounded in the service of this country. Resolved: That this instance of their humanity be thankfully acknowledged."⁵

While, as we have said, we have no doubt of the existence of the Sons of Saint Tammany at this period, it may have seemed to them that the times would hardly justify

¹ "The Fall of British Tyranny, or American Liberty Triumphant."

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴ Marshall's Remembrances, p. 77.

⁵ Penna. Evening Post, May 4, 1776.

their meeting in a festive manner, and the papers, on their part, hardly thought it necessary, after publishing the above poem, to take up further room when their space was needed for more stirring items of news.

It may be well to see what other societies were doing in the years 1775 and 1776, and by referring to their records we find that "The Sons of St. George did not meet after April 23rd. 1776 for seven years and they began to feel the effects of the times in 1774, few joining the Society."¹

Saint Andrew's Society had only seven present at their meeting in 1776.

The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick continued to hold their meetings until December, 1775, though their records show that they held a meeting in 1776 and expelled Thomas Batt for taking an active part against the liberties of America.

These societies were organized for benevolent purposes, held monthly meetings, and were not instituted, as the Tammany Society was, for patriotic and social ends with charity as a side issue; hence we can understand that if the troublesome times interfered with the above societies, they were more than likely to prevent the social feature of Tammany being recognized, while the patriotic organization still existed even if its numbers had been reduced by desertions from its ranks caused by the approach of hostilities.

Under date of April 14, 1777, we read in the newspapers of that date a resolution of Congress concerning the threatened invasion of Pennsylvania. On April 22 an order from the Committee for the removal of stores from the Delaware for fear of their falling into the hands of the British. On April 26 people bringing provisions into Philadelphia are allowed to take them out again if the place they take them to is one of safety. Instead of an account of a meeting of the Saint Tammany Society on May 1 of this year, we find in the papers of the day following an order from the

¹ Historical Sketch of the Society of the Sons of Saint George, p. 11.

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

Pennsylvania War Office for an assessment of blankets upon the people.

“PENNA WAR OFFICE—May 2nd., 1777.

“TO THE PUBLIC.

“The Hon. Maj. Gen’l. Schuyler having informed this board that a considerable body of Continental Troops by the want of blankets, are retarded from joining His Excellency, Gen’l. Washington, and requested our aid in collecting a quantity from the inhabitants immediately. We cannot doubt but every loyal subject of the United States that are well attached to the cause of America will spare all blankets (receiving the value of the same) for the use of the Troops which they conveniently can. And as the making an assessment of blankets has been recommended by Congress as a measure that would be more just and equal to the inhabitants in general than to oppress the generous and benevolent only, by voluntary contributions. This Board have, therefore, by virtue of the authority given them by Congress and the emergency of the case ordered such assessment to be made, and they earnestly request the aid of all friends to their country in carrying the said assessment into execution, as the health of the Army, a consideration deserving the utmost attention, depends upon it.”

As the above measure affected every one and brought home to all a very keen sense of the war times they were living in, we thought it well to insert it here, so as to make it clear why our Sons of Saint Tammany did not meet. Many citizens had left the city for other places considered less likely to be attacked, such as Lancaster, and more were preparing to follow. We know that some of those who dined with the Society at Byrn’s Tavern in 1773 were now with Washington at Morristown, New Jersey, waiting and watching for the next move of the British, fearing that at any moment they would be called to defend not only the sentiments they toasted at their last dinner, but their very firesides.

To show that this fear of invasion was pretty generally felt, we give the following card that appeared in the papers in the early part of May of this year :

“TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNA.

“As you seem to be apprehensive that the enemy will come into the State, if you wish to prevent such an evil prepare with the utmost spirit and vigor to fight them and you will preserve your peace and safety.

“Be assured that the infamous Torries are spies upon all your conduct and give information thereof to the enemy who will determine to come or not to come as you are prepared or not prepared to fight them.

“Your path of duty is plain and easy—act as becometh men with spirit and vigor, and your City and Country will remain in safety.

“A SOLDIER.”¹

In the winter and spring of the year 1778 our members who had espoused the cause of their country were compelled to follow the example of their patron and live in huts at Valley Forge, with hardly any more protection from the weather than he and his warriors had and certainly with less food, while their late brethren who had cast their lot with the invaders were assisting them in preparing, not for the feast of Saint Tammany, but for that remarkable performance the Meschianza. It is true that on May 1 news had reached head-quarters at camp of the treaty between France and the United States, and of course the news was whispered around among the most prominent of the army. So on this feast day of their saint his followers had to be satisfied with a repast that filled their hearts with hope, while their stomachs had to be satisfied with flour and water baked over their camp-fires. On June 18 of this year the British army evacuated Philadelphia, never to return, and soon the refugees returned to their more or less damaged homes,

¹ Penna. Evening Post, May 8, 1777.

resuming as best they could the interrupted thread of their lives.

On May 1, 1779, we find by the public prints that Saint Tammany had once more resumed his sway, and that his broad spirit had animated his votaries to invite the followers of foreign saints who were loyal to the American cause to dine with his sons at his feast; and while we have no detailed account of the dinner, there is no doubt that his saintly influence inspired them all to put forth more active exertions in behalf of his beloved country, America.

The following is the notice of the dinner:¹

“The sons of St. Tammany and their adopted brethren of St. Patrick, St. Andrew and St. George, are desired to meet this day being the first of May at the Theatre in Southwark² at two o’clock. Dinner on the table at three o’clock. N. B. The dining at the late Proprietors³ being inconvenient the Theatre is preferred to any other place.”

How tantalizingly short the notice is! no account of the toasts, songs, or speeches, or even the names of those present, all of which information would have given us a slight glimpse of the real feeling of the times as held by the true lovers of their country.

One thing, however, it shows,—namely, that the organization had survived desertion from its ranks as well as temporary expulsion from its home.

Like the followers of the saints of old, treason in their midst might divide them, war might scatter them, but at the first favorable opportunity they would gather together to worship at the shrine of their patron, who stood for freedom, liberty, and independence.

The selection of the Southwark Theatre as the place for holding this dinner seems to us to have been dictated by a wish on the part of the members of the Society to enter a

¹ Penna. Packet, May 1, 1779.

² Situated at South and Apollo Streets.

³ Evidently Springettsbury is meant, and must have been used as a house of entertainment after it had been confiscated.

protest against the extravagances of the times, for they abandoned a place having at one time some reputation,¹ and selected one for their dinner that had little or none. This seems to have been their first step in democracy, while in later years their distinguishing characteristic was democratic freedom or simplicity.

Search as we may in this year (1780), the only mention we can find of the name Tammany or Buckskin is the noting of the arrival at Philadelphia of the schooner "Buckskin," from Havana, after a long and tedious passage owing to severe gales of wind.² Adverse weather was certainly pursuing the cherished desires of our Whigs, whether members of the Saint Tammany Society or not. The Continental currency had depreciated to such an extent that General Washington, writing from his head-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, to a friend, says that "he doubted if a wagon load of Continental money would now buy a wagon load of food." The situation of the country was considered so serious by the authorities of Pennsylvania that they thought an appeal to heaven a necessity to assist the country in its troubles, so they appointed April 25 as a fast day. In view of the above state of affairs, it may not have seemed to the followers of Saint Tammany that it would be proper to have a public celebration and jollification when they all felt that their hopes and expectations were in such jeopardy. Three years later our Society was spoken of as the Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany, and its members then assembled at the country-seat of Mr. Pole. In view of this, it is well to note that there appeared in the newspapers³ of this year an account of the meetings of "The Constitutional Society." The notice of its second meeting this year, under date of February 3, is as follows: "The Constitutional Society meet on Saturday evening next, the 5th. inst. at six o'clock precisely at the Dutch Lutheran School House in Cherry Alley.

¹ Westcott's *Historic Mansions*, pp. 415, 423. Situated on the north side of Buttonwood Street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets.

² Penna. Packet, February 22, 1780.

³ *Ibid.*, 1780.

Edward Pole, Secretary. N. B. The room will be accommodated with a good fire in the stove." The members of the society continued to meet every ten days or two weeks at the same hour and place until March 18, when the place was changed to "Mr. Kidd's School House in Vidells Alley near the Golden Fleece in Second St. a few doors below Chestnut St." Then, on April 1, they met at the Court-House at the same hour "on particular business," and on April 22 at the State-House, "when a question of considerable importance will be debated." On May 20, the last notice of them,¹ they met as above. From the foregoing we are led to think that this society was either our Sons of Saint Tammany under another name, or that it was the nucleus around which the Saint Tammany Society gathered on great occasions. Most likely the members of the Constitutional Society were the real active political workers of the larger Tammany organization. Certainly it is a curious coincidence that their secretary's country-seat should be taken within three years as the meeting-place of the followers of our saint, and we hardly think that this meeting-place would have been chosen without it being very well understood by all that the two societies were to all intents and purposes one and the same. The lines between Whigs and Tories were very strictly drawn at this time, as is shown by the following: "Dec. 12th. A Hint—It is expected that no man who has not taken a decisive part in favour of American Independence will *in future* intrude on the dancing assembly of the city, such characters are either too detestable or too insignificant for Whig Society. The company of those who were so insensible of the rights of mankind and of personal honour, as to join the enemies of their country on the most

¹ In the United States Magazine of 1779, p. 99, is a notice of this society: "Resolved by the Constitutional Society of Philadelphia that two persons be appointed to prepare and deliver on the 4th of June [?] next, the anniversary of our glorious Independence, the one an oration on the advantages of that Independence; the other an Eulogium in memory of those brave men who have fallen in defence of our rights and privileges."

gloomy moment of the revolution cannot be admitted. The subscription paper thro' accident has been handed to some characters of this description."¹ The spirits of our Whig friends had evidently been cheered by the hopeful news from the Southern army, and they were therefore more ready to yield to a little recreation at this time than during the darker days of the past spring.

While the British captured the city of Philadelphia in 1777, and held it until June of the year following, our French allies certainly had possession of the hearts and minds of the citizens of this city during the year 1781. The principal social events were either given by or to the French officers, and "the most Christian Monarch Louis XVI." held as high a place in the estimation of all lovers of American independence as did the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental army. Notices of the Constitutional Society now disappear from the newspapers and contemporaneous prints, and there is no mention of the followers of Saint Tammany. All the social functions noticed, with the exception of a dinner given by citizens on February 3 to the officers of the army and navy,² were in honor of the French alliance. Where we would expect to find an account of a dinner given in honor of our saint, there appears instead the following account: "Friday last, May 4th., the Chevalier De La Touche, Captain of the Herminious frigate, gave on board his vessel an elegant entertainment to his excellency the President, and the honourable members of Congress, to his excellency the President, and the honourable Vice-President and council of the State: in presence of his excellency the Chevalier De La Luzerne, Monsiur De Marbois, M. Holker and a great number of military and civil officers, and gentlemen of both nations. On his arrival and departure, the President of congress was saluted by thirteen guns. The frigate was elegantly decorated, and all her colours flying afforded a pleasing sight to several thousand

¹ Penna. Packet, December 12, 1780.

² Ibid., February 3, 1781.

of people standing on the shore. After dinner the following toasts were drank: ¹

	Guns fired.
I. The United States of America	21
II. The King of France	21
III. The King of Spain	21
IV. The Queen of France	21
V. The United Provinces of Holland	13
VI. The State of Pennsylvania	13
VII. General Washington and the Army	13
VIII. General Rochambeau and the French Army	9
IX. Generals Greene, Lafayette, Steuben and their Troops	9
X. Admiral Destouches and the French Fleet	9
XI. The American Ministers in Europe	9
XII. Success of the Campaign	9
XIII. Eternity of the Alliance	9

“The elegance of the entertainment was universally admired, and the novelty of a ball on ship board was commented on.” ²

¹ Penna. Packet, May 8, 1781.

² Freeman's Journal, May 16, 1781.

(To be continued.)

POPP'S JOURNAL, 1777-1783.

BY JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN.

[In the city library at Bayreuth there is a manuscript with the formidable title "History of the North American War, especially of the part taken in it by the two regiments from Bayreuth and Anspach, described by one who served in the Bayreuth Regiment, named Stephan Popp, from 1777-1783. I was twenty-two years of age when we marched to America." At the close of the Journal there follows a song in eight verses on the marching forth of the Bayreuth troops, and then a curious "Prayer on the Transfer of the Bayreuth-Anspach lands to Prussia." On the right hand is a column with the Lord's Prayer divided in an arbitrary fashion, on the left an address to King Frederick William the Second of Prussia. If that is read alone, he is praised; but if the lines be read so as to include those of the Lord's Prayer, the whole meaning is changed into a bitter attack on the Prussian annexation. Then follow two entries, one dated August 9, 1795, the other May 25, 1796; so that the writer seems to have been alive at that time. Bound up with this manuscript are three maps in pencil: one of the Hudson from Fort Constitution to Esopus, and a legend that it shows the operations of General Clinton in September and October, 1777, when he seized Forts Constitution, Montgomery, and Clinton, and destroyed them, while General Vaughn seized and burnt Esopus and brought away 400 head of cattle and 400 sheep; 100 rebels were killed and 300 captured, with 100 cannon, 12,236 pounds of powder, 1852 cartridges, much provision, and the chain stretched across the river; the loss on the royal side included Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 2 majors, the Polish Count of Grabowsky, Clinton's adjutant, 4 officers, and 41 privates; 13 officers and 144 soldiers wounded and 20 missing. The second map is a plan of the landing of General Howe and his brother at the point where the Elk River falls into the Chesapeake, and the advance of General Knyphausen to Cecil Court-House, and another column under Lord Cornwallis to Head of Elk, the two corps joining at Pencader September 3. The Americans left their position near Wilmington, the English came through Newark and camped at Hockessen. General Washington left his camp and seized the heights of the Brandywine. On September 11 the two armies met and the Americans retreated to Chester, then crossed the Schuylkill. The Americans lost 300 killed, 600 wounded, 400 prisoners, and 11 cannon. The

English lost 1 brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 14 subalterns, and 133 soldiers killed; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 23 captains, 38 lieutenants, 15 ensigns, 64 subalterns, 6 drummers, and 790 soldiers wounded, and 1 captain and 19 soldiers missing; altogether 1118 men. The map covers the territory from below Salem, on the Delaware, and Georgetown and Baltimore, on the Chesapeake, to Chester and Ephrata and Manheim and Lancaster and the Susquehanna, and has a small sketch of the positions of the Americans and English at the battle of the Brandywine, on September 11, 1777.

The third map is a plan of Philadelphia and vicinity as far as Frankford, Germantown, Merion, and Darby, and of the attack on Fort Red Bank on October 22, and the works on Fort Island, with the following legend: "Philadelphia and neighborhood: 1. Philadelphia, with the lines of the Americans surrounding it. 2. The position of General Washington's camp between Germantown and the Schuylkill. 3. Engagement of October 4, to the loss of the Americans. 4. Crossing of the Delaware by Colonel Donop at Cooper's Creek to dislodge the Americans from their entrenched position. 5. Fort Red Bank, with the unsuccessful attack in which Colonel Donop and Lieutenant-Colonel Minnigeroda were wounded. 6. Fort Island. 7. Fort Mud Island, where the Delaware is blockaded by a Spanish barrier and sunken ships." They are evidently the work of a good German military engineer. A copy of this manuscript with the maps is in a private collection in Philadelphia.]

1777. *January 26.*—Lieut. Col. Schlammersdorf [of the Guards] at 7 P.M. gave orders to Major von Seybothen¹ that all leaves should be recalled and all preparations completed by working day and night, so as to be ready to move on a moment's notice.

February 2.—Orders were issued that the Regiment should be ready to take the field in three weeks,—Col. von Voit² was assigned the command, and directed to fill the ranks with young men from all the villages in the neighborhood. This excited the laments of fathers, mothers and families, who came every day to bid farewell to their sons, brothers

¹ Franz Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Christian von Seybothen.

² When Colonel August Valentin Voit von Saltzburg took command of the regiment it consisted of five companies, including one of light infantry, one of grenadiers, and one of artillery.

and friends. Some of the soldiers were glad, and I was of the number, for I had long wanted to see something of the world. Others were filled with grief and sorrow at leaving home, and there was on their side sighing, while I and those of my way of thinking were enjoying the prospect of leaving our mother country for the new world.

February 27.—At 6 P.M. we received our first English supplies and pay for five days in advance.

February 28.—Reveille awakened us for our new service and the Generale was beaten to begin our march—that night the Regiment was quartered one half in Mückendorf, the other half in Streiberg.

March 1.—Marched to Burgersdorf.

March 2.—To Fürth.

March 3.—To Ketteldorf.

March 4.—To Anspach, where after inspection by the Prince, we were quartered on the citizens, remaining until—

March 7—when we marched to Birnheim.

March 9.—To Ostenheim.

March 10.—Put on board boats at Ochsenfurt, but so closely packed that many of the men both of the Anspach and Bayreuth regiments had to stand up all night. We sang hymns and had prayers.

The next day we were put on board ship and many of the men threatening to refuse, the non-commissioned officers were ordered to use heavy whips to enforce obedience, and later to fire on the malcontents, so that some thirty men were wounded,—this so angered their comrades that they made a sharp attack on the Yägers and drove them off with the bayonet. Many men deserted from both Regiments, but six of them were recaptured and sent along to America. At last the Prince came on board and asked the men if they were not willing to go,—no one said no,—then he asked what they wanted, and there was a long string of requests, which the Prince said he would satisfy. Then we started on our voyage, in boats enough to make us comfortable, the Prince accompanying us.

March 14.—At Hanau we got on larger ships.

March 15.—We reached the River Rhine.

March 16.—We sailed down the Rhine.

March 25.—We took the oath of allegiance to the British King after reaching Nymwegen.

March 27.—Went on board the English ships.

March 28.—Were supplied with bedding for our sea voyage; each man got two heavy blankets, 2 light blankets, 2 straw sacks, 3 pillows filled with hair,—after seeing us supplied and settled on board ship, the Prince bade us good bye and returned to his home.

March 29.—Early in the morning we heard the sailors busy over our heads, but no soldier was allowed to go up on deck,—we were moved out to sea, and waited until

March 31.—when the anchor was lifted, and we sailed for Portsmouth, England,—the sea grew rougher, the land disappeared, the men were suffering from sea sickness, and many of them vowed to sin no more if they could only get safely on shore again.

April 3.—We reached Portsmouth and stayed there five days, waiting for Hessian recruits.

April 7.—Our Fleet of 16 ships under escort of a 74 gun ship sailed on signal.

May 2.—We reached the Azores.

June 3.—We reached the harbor of New York, after much stormy weather on the voyage.

June 4.—The birthday of King George the 3^d was celebrated by guns fired on all the men of war and ships in the harbor,—over 300 in all.

June 7.—We landed on Staaten Island and went into Camp. Hardly had we settled for our first night on shore, before there was heavy firing, but nothing came of it.

June 11.—We marched to Amboy and joined the army of Gen^l Howe, meeting many German and English regiments on the way.

June 12.—Made camp in Amboy, all looking hopelessly wasted and neglected.

June 14.—The Hessian Yägers joined us.

June 22.—The English army returned from Brunswick, which they had burned down, and we marched back to Staaten Island.

July 23.—Alarm of an attack by the Rebels—they lost 300 prisoners and many wounded and killed, many too were drowned in crossing the river.

August 24.—The Prisoners of War were taken to New York.

September 4.—A captain and 30 men deserted from the Rebels and enlisted in the British Army.

September 11.—The Grenadiers made a foray in Jersey and brought back many head of cattle and negroes.

September 19.—Six of our deserters were brought from Germany and rejoined us.

October 11.—The rebel Fort Montgomery was captured, —our Grenadiers lost Capt. von Eckert, who was buried in the German Evangelical Church in New York.

October 15.—Went on board ship to sail up the North River to Albany to help Gen' Burgoyne, who is besieged near there.

October 17.—He was obliged to surrender, having no supplies and no prospect of succor.

October 22.—We returned to New York.

October 26.—Again embarked, part of a fleet of 40 sail under cover of 2 Frigates.

October 29.—Sailed from Sandy Hook.

November 9.—Reached the River Delaware.

November 12.—Sailed up to Fort Billings [Billingsport] which was cannonaded by six English men of war for three days and nights, until it surrendered.

November 18.—Landed on the Jersey shore.

November 21.—Marched into the country, seizing many head of cattle, but not venturing too far on account of the Rebels.

November 25.—Moved near Fort Redbank, which had been lost by Col. Donop, owing to his attempt to take it

against too large a force,—he lost 180 men and 23 officers of the Hessian Regiments. We were 6000 strong with many ships in the River. The Rebels burned their ships and abandoned the Fort, so we were ferried over the river, and with flags flying and bands playing marched through Philadelphia, but saw few people except negroes.

December 4.—Gen^l Howe with a force of from 12 to 13000 men moved out to Germantown.

December 5.—We moved into the Camp of the English troops.

December 8.—Gen^l Howe returned with a large supply of cattle, provisions and cannon captured from the Rebels.

December 13.—We were quartered in old empty houses on Front St., the rooms were large, well papered, but very cold, having no stoves to heat them.

December 22.—Moved across the Schuylkill in very cold weather,—lay all night in the open, although it was snowing, and our supplies of food were very scanty.

December 28.—Returned to our old quarters in the city.

1778. January 12.—The English Major Zeidharss O. Terwey took command [?].

February 4.—A Rebel Picquet of 30 men were taken prisoners and with 30 captured officers brought into the city from the outposts.

March 28.—Col. von Eyb of the Anspach Reg^t came from New York with recruits from New York.

April 16.—Major v. Seyboth was made Colonel, and my Captain v. Beust¹ Major of the Reg^t.

April 16.—Gen^l Clinton came from New York and took command of the entire English army.

May 11.—Col. v. Eyb and Lt. Sichart left for Germany.

May 19.—Marched to Germantown and joined the English force there after 4½ hours of heat and dust which exhausted our men,—Germantown is half an hour long and full of Germans.

¹ Ernst Friedrich Carl von Beust, who was captured with the regiment at Yorktown.

June 8.—Marched outside the city to be reviewed by Lord Cornwallis.

June 10.—At 2 A.M. left Philadelphia and embarked on a sloop the Betsy.

June 11.—Passed Newcastle.

June 18.—Arrived in the Hudson River, passing Staaten Island, anchored off New York, lay there until the 20th,—then moved through the East River to Long Island,—which supplies New York with food, for it is a fruitful country, rich in harvests of grain, fruit, cattle. The people are mostly Hollanders, loyal to the Crown and neutral in the War. We lay near Hell Gate where Capt. v. Molitor's¹ servant fell overboard and was drowned. We were well fed and had beer every day, but the musquitoes were dreadful.

July 9.—Sailed through Long Island Sound to Newport, in Rhode Island, where we landed.

July 15.—Marched through the city and went into camp just beyond. The country is poor, but the fishing is the great industry. There are many wealthy people, and the women very handsome.

July 20.—Crossed over to Connanicut Island.

July 29.—Returned to the mainland, on the report of a French fleet in sight,—all the batteries were fully manned.

July 30.—The French fleet came into the harbor.

August 5.—Many ships sunk in the harbor to keep out the French,—3 Frigates were burned.

August 8.—8 French men of war engaged in a heavy cannonade with the British ships and forts. Our fleet was busy signalling and many Rebels crossed at Bristol.

August 10.—The French fleet left the harbor under heavy fire and sailed away.

August 11.—Encamped on Tammany Hill² and made a strong position. Many of the Anspach Regiment deserted,

¹ Christian Theodor Sigismund von Molitor, who surrendered at Yorktown.

² Tammany Hill covered the left flank of the British line.

rather than work hard, but we exchanged shots with the Rebels who were also strengthening their position.

August 14.—Had a violent storm of rain and wind for forty-eight hours, the worst in all my campaigns.

August 17.—The Rebels, 20,000 strong, under Gen^l Sullivan were in full view.

August 19.—Moved to the rear of Tammany Hill to escape the heavy fire of the Rebel guns.

August 20.—The French fleet returned,

August 22.—but sailed away again in the night.

August 29.—A sharp engagement with the Rebels, at 7 A.M. Adjutant General Lt. Milzenburg gave us orders to march, and we soon came in view of the enemy, protected by stone walls,—we exchanged musketry fire until the cannon were in position and opened on them,—the enemy fell back and we drove them to Windmill Hill, inflicting a heavy loss on them.

August 30.—The enemy left the island, although we had only 6000 men, far less than their force.

September 1.—Gen^l Clinton came with a fleet and troops to strengthen the British force, but as usual too late.

September 3.—He sailed away again with ships and men.

September 6.—Corporal Lindemeyer¹ of Capt. v. Beust's Company was made 2nd Lieutenant.

September 19.—Admiral Byron arrived with a fleet of 10 men of war, 7 Frigates and some small Galliot,—I was on board the Admiral's ship with the Band of our Regiment.

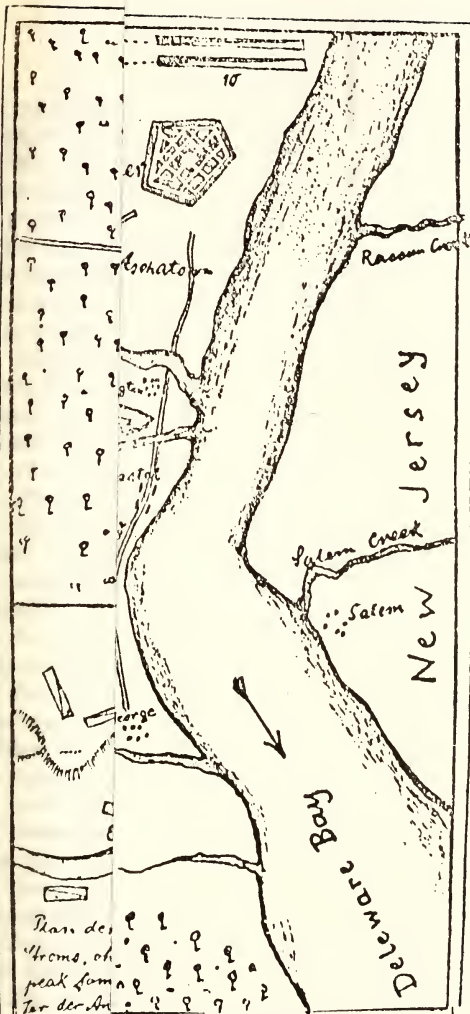
October 11.—300 Recruits joined with 20 officers, among them Lt. Frederic Nagler and Chaplain Erb² and Captain von Dieskau.

October 18.—The chaplain preached from the 37th Psalm.

October 29.—Went into winter quarters in Newport, in old empty houses, very badly suited, and the food worse,—little bread and that made of rice and Indian corn meal,—instead of meat bad fish, and of that not enough to thrive on and too

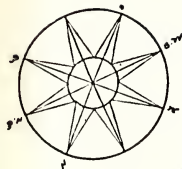
¹ Johann Hermann Lindemeyer.

² Chaplain Johann Georg Philip Erb.



Plan der
Horns, ob
peak Sam
Tar der An

nach der haben die Amerikaner einen
beide Korpsen erhalten, auch sind 11 Ko-
rporal den den der Englische Verlust 1 Briga-
der sind Lieutenants, 2 Fährdricks, 14 Unter-
ton brach Lieutenants, 1 Major, 23 Capitains
höhen bef. Tambor u. 790 Gemeine. an Vermissten
Armeen u.
tirade (9)



The Viddy Liberty

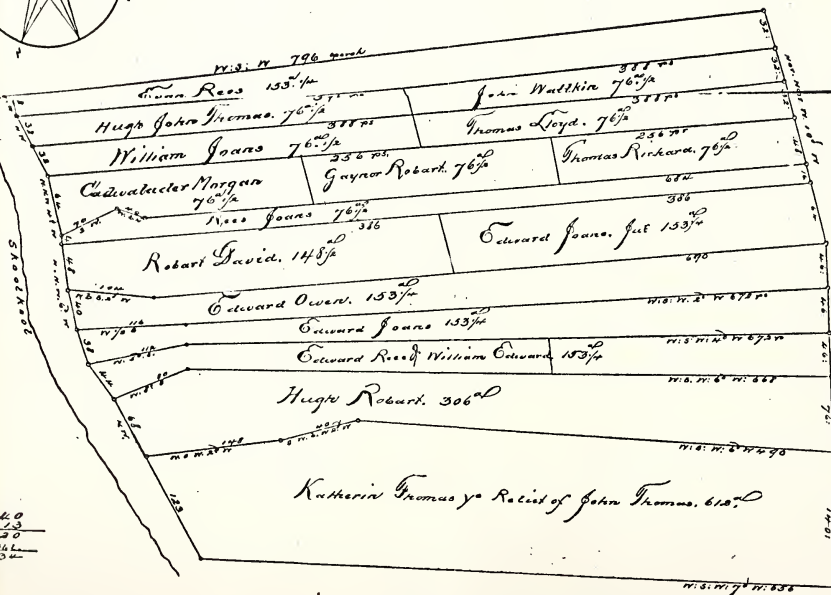
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24
24
24

Charles Lloyd

Thomas Lloyd

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40
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120
94
30

Viddy Land

much to die of starvation. We had to bake our own bread out of wretched corn.

December 14.—Admiral Byron sailed for the West Indies. It began to snow on Christmas night and continued until the 27th, the snow lay 3 to 4 feet deep, the cold was very severe, nine men of one of our regiments were frozen to death, twenty-three men had their hands and feet badly frost bitten, —a woman with two little children was frozen to death in her house. Even the supply of drinking water was frozen.

December 29.—Marched out into the country,—could buy only frozen potatoes at 2 Spanish Dollars the bushel,—fortunately a boat brought meat and rum which helped us to stand the cold.

1779. January.—We got little food and that very poor.

February 19.—A supply of food from New York.

March.—Half of the Regiment was sick with scorbutic diseases and many died.

April 26.—Our arms and equipments arrived at last after being a year and more on the way.

June 10.—Captain v. Seitz¹ was promoted to be Major of the Anspach Regiment.

July 7.—Moved our Camp from Tammany Hill nearer to the town, and protected and decorated it with boughs and a hedge row.

September 18.—Received orders and got ready to embark

October 16.—on a fleet of transports for New York.

October 22.—A Fleet of over 100 sail carried the entire army to New York.

October 31.—Landed and went into camp in the Bowery —very cold in our tents.

November 19.—Salutes fired in honor of victories in Georgia and the West Indies.

November 22.—On account of the cold broke camp and were quartered in an old brewery on the North River.

¹ Captain Friedrich Philipp von Seitz, of the Grenadier company. He was captured at Yorktown. The account of his death at sea is related farther on in this journal.

December 14.—Our invalids were sent back to Germany.

December 21.—Alarm caused by a rebel attack at Paulus Hook, which was resisted successfully.

1780. January.—The North River was frozen so hard that heavy guns were carried over the ice,—the cold weather lasted all the month.

January 12.—An English sentry was frozen to death on his post. Many soldiers were frost bitten in their quarters.

January 15.—On report of a spy that the Rebels were moving on Amboy a large force was prepared to move there.

January 16.—A force from several regiments moved to Paulus Hook and through Bergen and captured a rebel picket of 30 men.

February 22.—A rumor that the English had captured a Spanish fleet from Mexico for Cadiz with gold and silver to the value of £6 millions.

March 24.—Marched to Hackensack in New Jersey, plundered and destroyed and brought back gold and silver ware and furniture and clothing.

March 25.—Started for Morristown, but the enemy attacked us in force costing us some killed many wounded and more prisoners.

April 8.—Went to Hackensack for hay and straw.

May 10.—Reviewed by Gen^l Knyphausen and many other officers.

May 26.—Received news that Gen^l Clinton had captured Charleston in South Carolina with Gen^l Lincoln, 6000 men, 200 cannon and many ships.

June 4.—Celebrated the birthday of King George the 3rd of England.

June 6.—Gen^l Knyphausen led a force of 6 to 7000 men over Staaten Island to attack the rebels at Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

June 7.—Attacked the enemy with heavy loss on both sides,—moved to Springfield, destroying houses on the way, but losing many officers and men, especially of the German forces and in the Anspach Reg^t.

June 8.—It took 3 boats to carry the wounded to New York.

June 17.—Moved again under Gen^l Knyphausen.

June 19.—Were inspected and reviewed by Gen^l Clinton.

June 23.—Attacked the enemy beyond Elizabethtown, drove them, but they stood up manfully like good soldiers with their light cannon, until our heavy guns and large force pushed them on both flanks back to Springfield, where we burned houses and churches,—in one a hundred wounded,—but a spy brought word that Gen^l Washington was on his way from Morristown with reinforcements, and on our way back we lost many men, from 4 to 500,—while the Rebels lost 400 killed and 300 wounded. Among our's were Capt. v. Roeder and Lt. Diemer.¹ We fell back all night, hungry and thirsty and tired, to Staaten Island, but a heavy thunder storm kept us from rest.

June 25.—Moved by water to King's Bridge and Fort Knyphausen and bivouacked at Phillippspoint,—sheltering ourselves from the great heat by boughs.

July 1.—Received our tents from New York—went into Camp and extended our lines from the North to the East River. Many of the Anspach and some of our Regiment deserted.

July 20.—Moved camp to Bloomingdale.

July 24.—Marched to New York and went into camp in an orchard in the Bowery,—the shade of the trees was a great protection from the hot sun.

July 25.—Gen^l Hÿhner² died and was buried the next day with great military service.

¹ Captain Friedrich Wilhelm von Roeder and First Lieutenant Just von Diemer.

² "On Tuesday the 25th inst. departed this life, Major General De Hayne, of the army of his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in the 60th year of his age, and 42d of his service in the armies of his Prince. He went with his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, upon the last successful expedition against the rebels in South Carolina, and returned to this after the reduction of Charles Town; but while there, he was attacked by a consumption, which eventually carried him off, to the

July 27.—Paymaster Herrenbauer¹ of our's died.

August 2.—A deserter Glatz of the Eyb Regiment, and 8 days later one of the Anspach Regiment were shot.

September 22.—Great celebration in New York of Lord Cornwallis' defeat of Gen^l Goetzsch [Gates ?] in South Carolina and the capture of his colors and cannon.

September 25.—Gen^l Arnold of the Rebels arrived in New York on a shallop.

October 9.—Gen^l Arnold was gazetted a Brigadier General in the British army.

October 15.—The Rebels hung Major Andre, Adjutant General, at Washington's Camp at Tappan, to our great grief. He ventured in other clothes than his uniform into the Rebel Camp, to spy out their strength at Fort Mifflin [West Point] and to see where their Regiments were posted, so as to determine where it was best to attack them,—this he had discovered and was on his way back when at the last of the Rebel outposts he was stopped and asked what he was doing there,—he said he was the son of a gentleman living near the river, but the guard said he knew no one of the name he gave,—he offered money, as much as \$1000, but the men took him to the post headquarters, there he was searched, and in his shoes were found the plans of the Fort,—he was tried by a Court Martial, found guilty of being a spy and was hanged,—he behaved with

inexpressible regret of all the gentlemen of the British and Hessian army here, by whom his merit, as a most gallant officer, polite gentleman, and sincere friend, was highly valued. The many virtues he possessed endeared him to all who had the honour to be intimate with him, and his death is universally lamented. Last Wednesday afternoon his funeral was attended by all the general officers in this garrison, amongst whom were his Excellency Lieutenant General Robertson, and Major General Tryon, Patison, Philips, Lossberg, and Hackenberg. The regiment of Donop, and a company of Anspach grenadiers, with three pieces of cannon, (from each of which three rounds were fired) marched to the place of interment, where his remains were deposited with the honours of war."—*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 31, 1780.

¹ Herrenbaur had formerly been adjutant of the regiment.

According to A Warr^t from Capt. Thomas Holmes Survey^r Gen^l. Bearing dat the 21st of 4th mo 82
directed unto me for the Subdividing of 2500 Acres of Land for Edward Jones & Company upon the
west side of Dkootkoot above-fule Contiguous unto the City Liberty I therfor laid out and subdivided the said
quantity of Land ^{2nd of 1st mo} in the before mentioned place and unto every man by proportion as by these several figures doth
now at large Appear with their bounds and courses entred in y^e 2^d figur. by a scale of 80 perch or an inch,
Dⁿ. Powell

First of Warr^t. per me dat. 24th 6th 82 directed to Ashcom
after y^e Warr^t. from y^e Geo^d. datd 22nd 1st mo 83. y^e further thⁿ. how abt to pay,

great bravery, and said if he had a thousand lives he would give them all for the Crown of England and Great Britain.

October 18.—150 recruits joined us,—they left Anspach on March 3rd.—We got orders to go into winter quarters.

October 19.—Quartered in the same Brewery—Lippner's—where we spent the winter a year ago. The Anspach Regiment was quartered in a church in Bloomingdale.

November 12.—A fleet of 200 ships with provisions arrived from England.

November 23.—An alarm on Staaten Island, that the Rebels were coming from Amboy with 8000 French from Rhode Island, and we were all in readiness to move, but nothing came of it.

December 25.—A boat with 19 men was lost in a heavy storm in the East River.

1781. January 2.—The Rebels came in a Flag boat from Sandy Hook with 40 men and 4 cannon, up in the night to try to seize Gen^l Clinton at his Head Quarters near the North River, but they were discovered and captured.

January 17.—Gen^l Arnold in a fleet of 40 sail with a body of troops mostly volunteers [Free Corps?] sailed for Virginia to land and seize that region.

January 24.—Invalided and disabled soldiers sent back to Germany.

January 25.—The Rebels made a foray in our lines, captured many prisoners and cattle and plundered and burned our barracks at Marjffina [?].

February 4.—Gen^l Clinton announced the safe arrival of Gen^l Arnold in Virginia, and his capture of Richmond with many magazines.

February 13.—A spy arrested in New York with letters hidden in his wig and the lining of his hat.

March 18.—News that war had begun against Holland, Admiral Rodney captured the island of Eustachie, and an English fleet had sailed to the East Indies to seize the Dutch islands there.

April 28.—Great bonfires in Fort George in honor of Lord Cornwallis' victory over Gen^l Greene in South Carolina.

April 29.—Received orders to sail to Virginia and

April 30.—went aboard ship, making with the English troops a fleet of 30 sail.

May 1.—Dropped down to Staaten Island,—the 43rd Reg^t embarked with us.

May 13.—Our fleet now counted 40 sail,—of these 13 men of war,—one of them the London with 104 guns.

May 14.—The frigate Rohbook [Roebuck] after a long chase captured an American vessel full of meal.

May 19.—Arrived in Chesapeake Bay,—in a heavy fog, and it was 12 hours after the other ships.

May 20.—Saw the coast of Virginia,—on one side Hampton, on the other Newport news,—sailed up the James River,—with fine farms on both banks, and rich crops of corn, tobacco, cotton [?] and orchards.

May 22.—Heard of the death of the British General Phillips.

May 25.—Ordered back to Chesapeake Bay.

May 27.—Landed at Norfolk and pitched our camp at Portsmouth,—plenty of fish and oysters, and caught crabs after the rain in our tents [?]. Norfolk was a pretty town, but it was burned down by the Rebels.

June 11.—A negroe was arrested for poisoning our wells, by his master's order,—who escaped,—many of the English soldiers died. In Portsmouth Lord Cornwallis had over a thousand negroes, employed to cut wood, work on the trenches etc.

June 20.—Gen^l Leslie issued an order cautioning the soldiers against exposing themselves by day to the sun or by night to the heavy dew. We were ordered to send every 8 days 100 men to protect the lines at Great Bridge, 12 miles out,—with its 4 guns, sheltered in a heavy forest.

June 26.—A force of 30 of our men were sent to attack a rebel outpost 30 miles from Norfolk—it was taken with 20 prisoners and 4 guns dismounted.

July 11.—Made a raid into the country and brought back cattle and other provisions.

July 15.—Went aboard ship and were kept for 12 days moving and anchored alternately.

July 29-31.—Reached Yorktown,—a little village,—most of the owners of the houses had left them,—opposite is Gloucester.

August 1.—Landed and went into camp. Lord Cornwallis was already here with most of his army,—only a small force left in Portsmouth.

August 11.—Trenches dug and lines thrown up in Gloucester,

August 24—and in Yorktown too,—but there are reports that we are in a very bad situation.

August 26.—A French Fleet has arrived from the West Indies,—men of war and transports with troops—day and night we are at work strengthening our lines,—have hardly time to eat and little food,—but we are getting ready to make a stout defence.

August 31.—The French ships are in full view—landed many troops from Rhode Island—French soldiers and rebels are marching from the James River and Williamsburg, we are in daily expectation of an attack by land and by water,—our ships landed all their stores,—their guns put on our lines, fire ships got ready,—every preparation made as rapidly as possible.

September 2.—Four French men of war guarded all the approaches. Much sickness in our force—1300 said to be in the hospitals.

September 4.—Lt. Schühardt¹ of our's died. Our camp moved forward, so as to be out of reach of the heavy guns of the French men of war.

September 14.—The woods in our front cut down to prevent the enemy from attacking our position. All roads blocked. Tarleton's Corps and the Light Infantry sent out every day on patrol.

¹ Second Lieutenant Carl Gottfried Schuchard.

September 19.—Reports that the enemy had sent a large force by small boats from Baltimore. Many houses torn down to strengthen our lines. Palisades and deep trenches put in front. Powder magazines protected. All preparations made for a stout resistance.

September 22.—At night 5 fireships were started to attack four French ships, but the French raised anchor and moved out, while the fireships burned up and did no harm,—the Captain is reported to have set fire to them too soon.

September 28.—Alarm in camp of an attack,—struck our tents, sent all baggage into the town.

September 29.—One of our men killed and two wounded—many of the English and Hessians too,—at night moved into our lines, as the enemy was advancing on them,—3 of our men deserted to them.

September 30.—A wounded rebel Colonel captured by our light horse. The rebels made three attacks on our right redoubt, but were driven back by our batteries and the fire of our frigates,—with heavy loss. The French sent a flag of truce asking leave to bury the dead and carry off the wounded,—this was granted, provided they came without arms,—this they agreed to, and the dead were buried, the wounded removed to Williamsburg where there were hospitals,—their loss was over 440,—we have had a trying month,—much labor and little food.

October 1.—The enemy strengthened his lines, working day and night,—but had no guns in position, so with our's we fired and destroyed as much of their work as possible, but we had no rest—always waiting for the alarm.

October 9.—Still no firing by the enemy, although we kept discharging our guns at them,—the French protected their lines with sand bags, our batteries too were sheltered. Deserters came over, telling us that Gen^l Washington had come from Jersey by way of Baltimore, with 8 to 10000 men, regulars and militia, and had joined Gen^l Greene,—the French were commanded by the Count Rochambeau, the Marquis de la Fayette, the Prince of Saarbruck [Deux-

Ponts]—15,000 strong, some German Regiments among them.

October 9.—At 3 P.M. the enemy opened from their left a heavy cannonade on our right—with a battery sheltered in a wooded hill, 18 and 24 pounders. At night their right opened fire on our left, and set on fire a frigate, which was burnt up.

October 10.—The heavy fire forced us to throw our tents in the ditches,—the enemy threw bombs, 100, 150 and 200 pounders,—their guns were 18, 24 and 48 pounders,—we could find no refuge in or out of the town,—the people fled to the water side and hid in hastily contrived shelters on the banks, but many of them were killed by the bursting bombs. More than 80 were thus lost, besides many wounded and their houses utterly destroyed. Our ships suffered too,—under the heavy fire, for the enemy fired in one day 3600 shot from their heavy guns and batteries. Soldiers and sailors deserted in great numbers,—the Hessian Regiment v. Bose lost heavily, although it was in our rear, in the second line, but in full range of the enemy's fire,—our two regiments lost very heavily too,—the Light Infantry posted at an angle had the worst position and heaviest loss,—sailors and marines all served in defending our lines on shore.

October 11.—A transport ship was fired by the enemy's guns and burned.

October 12.—Another transport ship burned.

October 13.—The enemy lessened their fire, but worked steadily strengthening their lines, bringing them nearer and nearer, and armed another battery with 16 heavy guns, 36, 42 and 48 pounders.

(To be continued.)

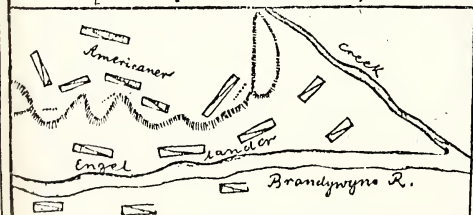
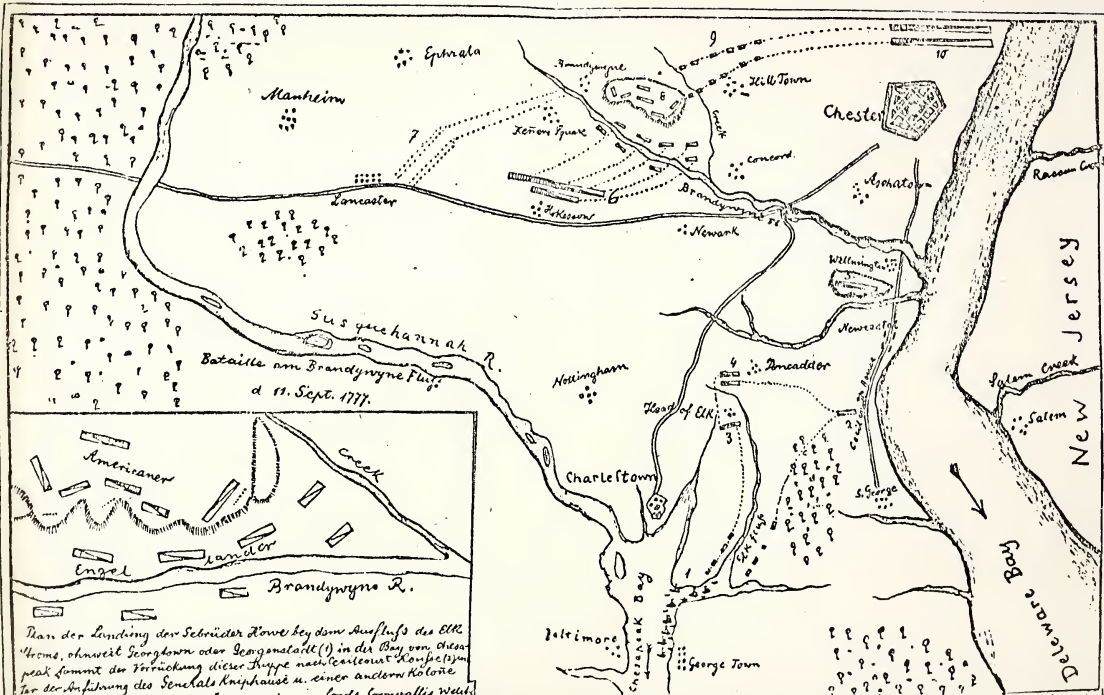
THE LANDS OF EDWARD JONES AND COMPANY IN
MERION.

BY BENJAMIN H. SMITH.

An original draft and return of survey on file among the records at Harrisburg, a copy of which is herewith reproduced, is of interest and value as showing the first subdivisions of the tract the outlines of which are represented on Holme's map of the Province of Pennsylvania and designated as the land of "Edward Jones and Compañ 17 Families," and on the original draft of the Welsh Tract "Edward Joans and Company Containg 2500 acres being 17 devisions." Attached to the draft is the certificate of David Powell, deputy surveyor, to the effect that the land was "laid out and subdivided" 1 mo. 25, 1684, in pursuance of a warrant from the Surveyor-General dated the 24th day of the same month. We have some evidence, however, that the tract was subdivided nearly two years earlier by Charles Ashcom, then a deputy surveyor, for a note below the certificate reads "first p War^t per me dat^d 24th 6^{mo} 82 directed to C Ashcom" and "After p War^t from y^e Gov^r dat^d 22^d 1^{mo} 83." In a letter from Edward Jones to John ap Thomas, dated "Skoolkill River y^e 26th of y^e 6 mo 1682," the first survey by Ashcom is evidently the one referred to in the following passage :

"Y^e name of town lots is called now Wicoco ; here is a Crowd of people striving for y^e Country land, for y^e town lot is not divided, & therefore we are forced to take up y^e Country lots. We had much adoe to get a grant of it, but it Cost us 4 or 5 days attendance, besides some score of miles we traveled before we brought it to pass. I hope it will please thee and the rest yt are concerned, for it hath most rare timber, I have not seen the like in all these parts, there is water enough beside. The end of each lot will be on a river as large or larger than the Dye at Bala, it is called Skool Kill River. I hope the Country land will within





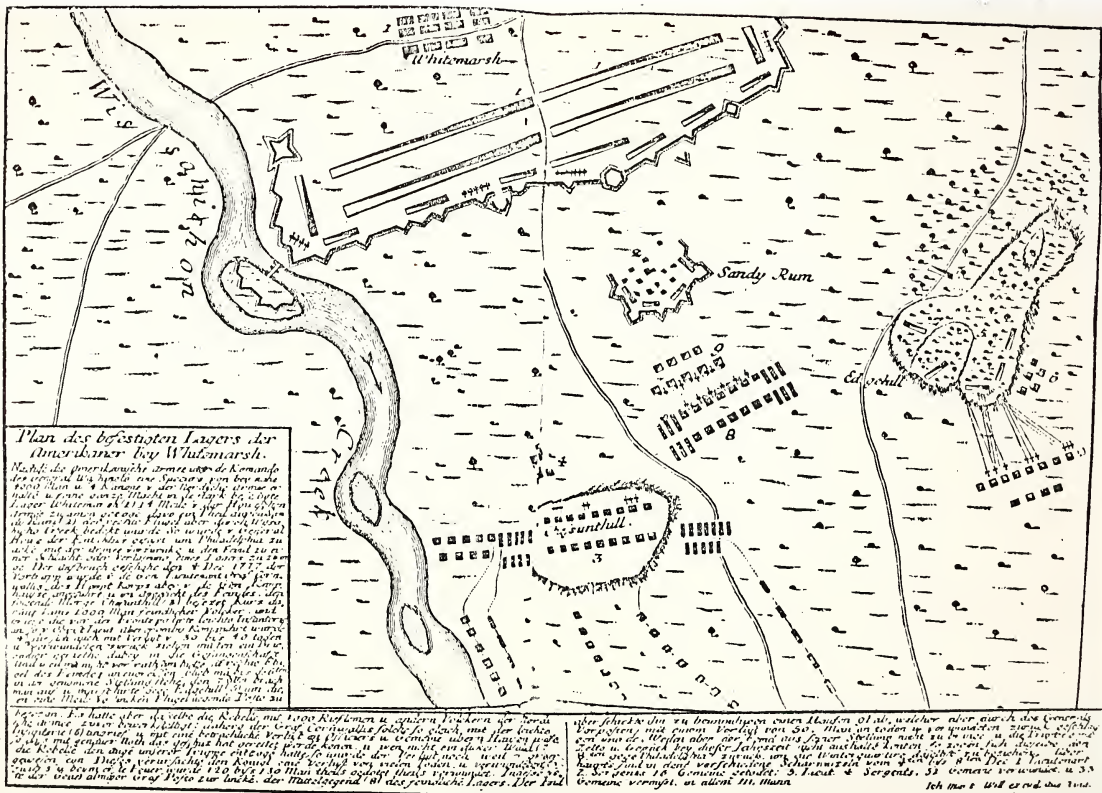
Man der Landung der Schuylkill Flotte bei dem Ausfluß des Elk Creek, ohne weit Georgtown oder Georgstadt (1) in die Bay von Chesapeake kommt der Fortrückung dieser Truppe nach Lancaster (2) zum Fort der Befestigung des Schuylkill Kneiphauses in einer andern Kolonie nach, Heide of Elk (3) unter Commando des Lords Cornwallis. Welch bündel Corps d. 5. Sept. bei Lancaster (4) zusammengefasst, darauf hält die Amerikaner den Todten auf der Injekt (5) vor Wilmington verlaufen, die Engländer aber sind über Newark in das Lager (6) bei Hockesson gewandert. General Mifflin brach aus einem Lager bei Lancaster (7) auf, und zog sich auf den Höhen bei Brandywine (8). Unthätig kammer es den 11. Sept. zwischen beiden Parteien zu treffen, worin die Amerikaner den Kingdon gegen und ohne Bedenken (9) gegen Chester (10) nahmen, wo sie sich wieder sammelten, von da über

den Schuylkill weiter zurückzogen. In der Action haben die Amerikaner keinen Verlust an 300 Toten, 600 Verwundeten u. 400 Gefangenen erlitten, auch sind 11 Kanonen den Engländern in die Hände gefallen. Der Englische Verlust 1 Brigadier General, 1 Oberst Lieutenant, 3 Capitains, 5 Lieutenants, 2 Feldtrichter, 17 Unteroffiziers, 133 Soldaten, an Verwundete 2 Oberst Lieutenants, 1 Major, 23 Capitains, 50 Lieutenants, 15 Feldtrichter, 64 Unteroffiziers, 1 Tambour, 790 Gemeine, an Verwundete 1 Capitain, 19 Gemeine, zusammen 1118 Mann.

Plan of Philadelphia and Trenton

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Plan des befestigten Lagers der Amerikaner bei Whitmarsh.

Nachdem die amerikanische Armee unter dem Commando des Generals Winfield Scott aus dem Lager von Fort Mifflin in Pennsylvania am 1. Juni 1863 nach Whitmarsh in Pennsylvania zog, so wurde das Lager von Whitmarsh am 1. Juni 1863 durch die Amerikaner besetzt. Das Lager von Whitmarsh ist ein sehr gutes Lager, da es von einem Fluss umgeben ist, der es vor einem Angriff schützt. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager sehr gut befestigt, und es ist sehr schwer für die Feinde, es zu erobern. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager mit vielen Kanonen und Geschützen besetzt, und sie haben auch viele Soldaten, die das Lager verteidigen. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager sehr gut befestigt, und es ist sehr schwer für die Feinde, es zu erobern. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager mit vielen Kanonen und Geschützen besetzt, und sie haben auch viele Soldaten, die das Lager verteidigen.

Der Feind hat aber die Kasse, mit 1000 Kisten u. andern Sachen, die er bei dem Lager von Whitmarsh gefunden hat, mit sich genommen. Der Feind hat auch viele Soldaten, die das Lager verteidigen. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager sehr gut befestigt, und es ist sehr schwer für die Feinde, es zu erobern. Die Amerikaner haben das Lager mit vielen Kanonen und Geschützen besetzt, und sie haben auch viele Soldaten, die das Lager verteidigen.

this four days [be] surveyed out. The rate for surveying 100 Acres [is] twenty shilling, but I hope better orders will be taken shortly about it."

At the date of this letter the summer was far advanced and the settlers were naturally anxious to have their allotments located as soon as possible. Owing to this urgency, it is likely that the original lines were hastily run and imperfectly marked on the ground, to correct which the subsequent warrants were obtained and the Powell survey of 1684 executed. Although several changes in title had been made prior to that date, they are not noted on the draft. It shows seventeen divisions, the several areas of which practically agree with the allotments called for in the original deeds to the seventeen grantees. Hence we may safely conclude that this draft shows the original subdivision that was being made on the ground, while Edward Jones was writing that "each lot will be on a river as large or larger than the Dye at Bala."

The seventeen persons¹ concerned in this purchase had their homes in the neighborhoods of Bala and Dolgelly, Merionethshire, Wales, and besides being neighbors and friends, were more or less connected by ties of blood and intermarriage. Prominent and respected citizens in their own country, those who came to Pennsylvania took a leading part in the development of the new colony, and many of their descendants have borne distinguished names in literature, science, and public affairs. Being all, by conviction, Quakers, and having suffered for many years much annoyance, loss of property, and even imprisonment by reason of the severe laws against non-conformists, they were among the first to appreciate and welcome the "Concessions or Constitucons" published by William Penn July 11, 1681. In accordance therewith they subscribed one hundred pounds for the purchase of five thousand acres to be allotted and set out in the Province of Pennsylvania. The deeds of

¹ For biographical and genealogical notices of these first settlers of Merion, see Dr. Levick's papers in PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. pp. 301, 471, and Glenn's "Merion in the Welsh Tract."

44 *The Lands of Edward Jones and Company in Merion.*

lease and release are dated September 16–17, 1681, the grantees named being John Thomas, of Llaithgwn, and Edward Jones, of Bala, who afterwards executed deeds, or declarations of trust, to the other contributors and to each other, covenanting to release and confirm the proportion of land to which each was entitled by reason of his contribution, as soon as the five thousand acres should be laid out.

The following is a list of the contributors in the order in which their names appear on the draft, with the dates of their deeds, amounts subscribed, and the number of acres to which each was entitled.

		£	s.	d.	Acres.
1.	John Thomas, of Llaithgwn . . Apr. 1, 1682	25	0	0	1250
2.	Hugh Roberts, of Kiltalgarth . Feb. 28, 1681	12	10	0	625
3.	William ap Edward, of Ucheldre Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
4.	Edward Rees, of Kiltalgarth . . Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
5.	Edward Jones, of Bala . . . Apr. 1, 1682	6	5	0	312½
6.	Edward Owen, of Doleyserre . . Apr. 1, 1682	6	5	0	312½
7.	John ap Edward, of Nant Lleidiog Mch. 18, 1681	6	5	0	312½
8.	Robert David, of Gwernevel Is- mynydd Mch. 18, 1681	6	5	0	312½
9.	Rees John William, of Llanglynin Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
10.	Thomas Prichard, of Nant Lleidiog Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
11.	Gainor Robert, of Kiltalgarth . Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
12.	Cadwalader Morgan, of Gwernevel Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
13.	Thomas Lloyd, of Llangower . . Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
14.	William John, of Bettws . . . Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
15.	John Watkin, of Gwernevel . . Apr. 1, 1682	3	2	6	156½
16.	Hugh John, of Nant Lleidiog . Mch. 18, 1681	3	2	6	156½
17.	Evan Rees, of Penmaen . . . Mch. 18, 1681	6	5	0	312½
		£100	0	0	5000

Having thus secured land rights in the new Province which would enable them to settle together in one place and at the same time afford means of support, these people made active preparations for the long voyage which was to separate them permanently from their old homes. The first to depart were Edward Jones, Edward Rees, Robert David, William ap Edward and probably his brother John ap Edward, and William John, with their families and servants, who arrived in the Schuylkill River 6 mo. 13, 1682, on the

ship "Lyon," from Liverpool, John Compton, master, and, as we have seen, lost no time in selecting a suitable tract of land for their future homes. Remembering their native county in Wales, they called the new settlement Meirion or Merion, which name, for some time, was confined to the tract under consideration. It extends along the city line from the Schuylkill River to a short distance beyond Overbrook, and northwestward to a point opposite Manayunk, having an average width of two miles. It includes Merion and Narberth on the main line, and Bala and Cynwyd Stations on the Schuylkill division of the Pennsylvania Railroad. The old Lancaster Road traverses the tract diagonally for two and a half miles.

The grant from William Penn carried with it the privilege of taking up "in the first great town or city" the proportion of ten acres for every five hundred acres purchased, which in this case amounted to one hundred acres. Edward Jones, in the letter above mentioned, says "y^e town lot is not divided, & therefore we are forced to take up y^e Country lots." We accordingly find that the town lots were not surveyed at that time, and, on account of the urgent demand for "y^e Country land," the remaining four thousand nine hundred acres could not be taken up in one place convenient to the city. It was determined, therefore, to locate half of the grant at once on the Schuylkill River, and have it subdivided so that each purchaser should have half of his allotment there. The draft shows how closely this plan was carried out, the areas of the several lots thereon aggregating two thousand four hundred and forty-four and three-quarters acres.¹ The other moiety of the grant was surveyed in Goshen by virtue of the general warrant for the survey of the Welsh Tract dated 1 mo. 13, 1684, and is shown on the draft of the Welsh Tract at the head of Chester Creek, bearing the name of "Griffith Owen and Comy 2400 acres." The one hundred acres of city lots appurtenant to the grant, denomi-

¹ The actual area, according to modern surveys, is about three thousand two hundred acres.

nated Liberty land, was surveyed in one tract in Blockley 2 mo. 23, 1692.

Upwards of twenty years elapsed before the titles to these Merion and Goshen lands were confirmed by patents, and in the mean time many changes both in ownership and boundaries had been made, either through inheritance from the original owners or by sales or exchanges of lands, with or without formal conveyances. Taking up the subdivisions in the order shown on the draft, the following notes will illustrate some of the changes and furnish the names of subsequent owners, who should also have the credit of being among the first settlers of Merion.

1. *Katherin Thomas ye Relict of John Thomas 612^a.* John ap Thomas, of Llaithgwn, Commot of Penllyn, trustee with Edward Jones, and owner of a one-fourth interest in the purchase, was not destined to come to Pennsylvania, but died at his home in Wales 3 mo. 3, 1683, having devised his rights in the twelve hundred and fifty acres to his four sons Thomas, Robert, Evan, and Cadwalader John in equal shares. The widow Katherin, with her children, accompanied by Hugh Robert and his wife Jane (ap Owen) and children, his sister Gainer Robert (ap Hugh), and probably Hugh John Thomas, Cadwalader Morgan, and John Roberts, of Caernarvon, arrived at Philadelphia about the middle of November, 1683, on the ship "Morning Star," from Liverpool, Thomas Hayes, master. Katherin Thomas settled upon the tract of six hundred and twelve acres, which had been laid out for her husband the preceding year, and which they called "Gelli yr Cochiad." The records show that she soon acquired other real estate. The following summer she purchased a dwelling-house, "lately erected," with one hundred and fifty acres on the west side of the Schuylkill in Philadelphia, between the lands of Barnabas Willcox and Joseph Harrison. Five years later she bought of Joseph Wood, of Woods Mount, Darby, five hundred acres of land on the Schuylkill, immediately north of the

Merion land, the deed being dated December 10, 1689. This plantation was called "Glanrason," and doubtless was first settled and improved by Katherin Thomas or her sons. It is the tract bearing erroneously the name of William Sharlow on Holme's map. It was, however, first surveyed to William Wood 7 mo. 30, 1684, and confirmed by patent to his son Joseph in 1689. The next tract above, of five hundred acres, was the one surveyed at the same time to Sharlow, and was afterwards called "Mount Ararat Plantation." Robert Jones, son of Katherin, obtained a patent for one hundred and sixty-five acres of the Sharlow tract February 12, 1704. Katherin Thomas died 11 mo. 18, 1697, and her son Evan a month later.

The remainder of the John Thomas purchase was laid out in Goshen, on Chester Creek, between the lands of Hugh Robert and Edward Rees. Thomas, Robert, and Cadwalader Jones obtained a patent for both the Merion and Goshen tracts 11 mo. 3, 1703, the former having been found, on resurvey, to contain six hundred and seventy-nine acres and the latter six hundred and thirty-five acres. Some of these lands still remain in possession of the family.

2. *Hugh Robart 306^a.* Hugh Roberts, of Kiltalgarth, who arrived in Pennsylvania in November, 1683, settled with his family on the tract that had been allotted to him, containing three hundred and six acres. In addition, he bought the share of John Watkin 4 mo. 23, 1684, and the adjoining seventy-six and a half acres of William ap Edward 6 mo. 17, 1694. He soon became an extensive land-owner, the records showing conveyances from John ap John and Thomas Wynne for nine hundred acres, from Peter Young, of Bristol, for five hundred acres, from Francis Cook (in right of James Claypoole) for four hundred acres, and from Wood and Sharlow. These lands were surveyed in the upper part of the Welsh Tract and in Merion and Blockley. The Goshen tract, containing five hundred and forty-nine acres, was surveyed on Ridley Creek, between the lands of



the Jones brothers first mentioned, John Roberts, and Griffith Owen. The upper portion, containing two hundred and ninety-five acres, was sold to Cadwalader Ellis, and the balance, containing on resurvey three hundred and thirty-eight acres, was confirmed by patent to the executors of Hugh Roberts, March 26, 1706. On March 23, 1701, Hugh Roberts obtained a patent for two hundred acres in Blockley, on the old Lancaster Road, which he called "Chestnut Hill," and where he resided until his death 6 mo. 18, 1702. This plantation, with adjoining lands purchased of Wood and Sharlow, was devised to his youngest son, Edward Roberts. A large part of these lands is now within the limits of Fairmount Park, that portion known as George's Hill having been presented to the city by Jesse and Rebecca George, whose ancestors derived their title from Edward Roberts.

Hugh Roberts devised his Merion lands to his sons Robert and Owen, who, on March 26, 1706, obtained patents for them in two tracts containing two hundred and twenty and two hundred and thirty-one acres respectively. By deed dated October 16, 1707, Robert Roberts, then residing in the Province of Maryland, conveyed the above two hundred and twenty acres to Edward Rees, together with ten acres at the head of Mill Creek, which had also been willed to him by his father under the name of "Clean John's Meadow." The tract conveyed to Edward Rees extended along the old Lancaster Road from the Merion Friends' Meeting-House to the junction of the Gulf Road. As to the two hundred and thirty-one acres comprising the easterly end of the original purchase, Ann Roberts, of Nantmell Township, Chester County, widow of Owen Roberts, conveyed the same to Jonathan Jones, of Merion, by lease and release October 13-14, 1726.

3. *William Edward* 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a. William ap Edward or Bedward, son of Edward ap John, of Cynlas, near Bala, with his wife Jane (ap John ap Edward) and daughters Elizabeth and Katherin, arrived in 1682 on the ship "Lyon," as before

mentioned. The draft shows one hundred and fifty-three and a quarter acres in his name and that of his fellow-passenger Edward Rees, with the division line partly drawn. William ap Edward's half extended from that line to the Schuylkill, with the courses of the side lines changed to conform to a small stream flowing into the river, and on this tract he doubtless built his temporary cabin or dugout in the fall of 1682, in which the family continued to live until their removal to Blockley. The one hundred acres of Liberty land, surveyed in Blockley 2 mo. 23, 1692, as above related, were conveyed by the owners to William ap Edward 10 mo. 27, 1693, which may approximate the date of his removal. Having purchased other rights to Liberty land, he obtained a patent for the whole in one tract of two hundred and seven acres nine perches 3 mo. 4, 1702. The present suburban town of Overbrook is upon this land. William Edward conveyed his original purchase of seventy-six and a half acres in Merion to Hugh Roberts 6 mo. 17, 1694, and his seventy-five acres in Goshen to Robert William January 21, 1703. He continued to reside upon his Blockley plantation until his death in 1714, having devised the same to his only son Edward William, whose wife Ellin or Eleanor was the daughter of David Lawrence, of Haverford. William ap Edward's first wife, Katherin, was a daughter of Robert ap Hugh and therefore a sister of Hugh and Gainor Robert.

4. *Edward Rees* 76³/₄^a. Edward Rees, of Kiltalgarth, settled in 1682 on the west half of the tract on which his name is associated with that of William Edward on the draft. He purchased one hundred and twenty-five acres of the adjoining land of Thomas Lloyd, the deputy Governor, 5 mo. 5, 1691, and two acres of Edward Jones, which, with his original purchase, were confirmed to him by patent January 1, 1704, the three parcels containing together one hundred and ninety acres. The Merion Meeting-House lot occupies the northeast corner of this patent, being divided

from the main portion by the old Lancaster Road. Having purchased the adjoining plantation on the north, containing two hundred and twenty acres, of Robert Roberts in 1707, as before related, he granted one moiety of both tracts to the use of his son Rees Prees and his wife Sarah, only daughter of David Meredith, late of Plymouth, in a marriage settlement dated August 7, 1708. Edward Rees sold his land in Goshen, together with seventy-eight acres bought of John William in 1697, to Ellis David January 9, 1707-8. This land was on Chester Creek, between the lands of Thomas Jones and brothers and Evan Jones and company, and, with other lands, was confirmed by patent to David Davis, son of Ellis, October 10, 1735. Edward Rees died at his home in Merion in 1728.

5. *Edward Joans 153 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^a.* Edward Jones, of Bala, Surgeon, sometimes called Edward Jones, Senior, who arrived in 1682, was trustee with John ap Thomas, and took a leading part in the selection and subdivision of the land in Merion. The draft shows his own allotment as a narrow strip extending from the Schuylkill to the west boundary of the grant, but his patent for one hundred and fifty acres (4 mo. 22, 1703) comprises the west half only of that strip and the west half of the adjoining allotment of Edward Owen, implying an exchange in ownership before the date of the patent. At about the same time (4 mo. 21, 1703) he obtained a patent for the adjacent tract on the south containing one hundred and eighty-eight acres, which he had purchased of Edward Jones, Junior. Dr. Edward Jones and Mary his wife were still living upon their Merion lands in 1731, when they gave them by deed to their son John Jones, who afterwards removed to Philadelphia, and sold the lands to Anthony Tunis in 1741. The road leading eastward from Merion Meeting-House forms part of the north boundary of this tract, which crosses the Pennsylvania Railroad near Narberth Station.

With the above patents to Edward Jones were included

two tracts of one hundred and twenty-five acres and four hundred and two acres in Goshen, located to the eastward of Griffith Owen's land, the title to which was derived from his original purchase and rights bought of Edward Jones, Junior, and Richard ap Thomas. He sold three hundred acres of these lands to Robert Williams in 1707 and the balance to Ellis Williams in 1720. He also held a patent for one hundred and sixty-one acres in Blockley on the old Lancaster Road, adjoining the Merion line, and bounded by lands of William Edward, Jonathan Wynne, and Hugh Roberts. Dr. Edward Jones died in 1737, aged ninety-two years.

6. *Edward Owen 153 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^a.* The time of the arrival of Edward Owen is not known, but at the date of his deed (April 1, 1682) he is mentioned therein as *late* of Doleyserre in the county of Merioneth, and may have been in Pennsylvania or on his way there at that early period. At that time the Merion lands had not been surveyed, which may account for his settlement at Duck Creek in New Castle County, at which place he resided when he executed (1 mo. 9, 1684-5) an assignment of his interest in his three hundred and twelve and a half acres to his brother Griffith Owen, "Practitioner in Physick," who in the mean time had settled upon the Merion allotment. By deed dated 1 mo. 1, 1694, Dr. Griffith Owen conveyed the latter to Robert David, who owned the adjoining tract. It then comprised the east half of the lands of Edward Jones and Edward Owen, as shown upon the old draft. Griffith Owen, having purchased other land rights of Richard Davis, of Denbigh, and of the Commissioners of Property, had the whole surveyed in one tract in Goshen containing seven hundred and seventy-five acres, which was confirmed to him by patent December 13, 1703. The Goshen Friends' Meeting-House and graveyard are located near the middle of this tract, the land having been granted by Griffith Owen to trustees for those uses. He afterwards conveyed thirty-three acres to Robert William,

the deed being dated October 21, 1707. He also bought four hundred and forty-one acres in Goshen of John Fincher November 17, 1705, a tract which had been formerly surveyed to Hugh Roberts, but resurveyed and patented to Fincher by order of the Commissioners May 27, 1705. Griffith Owen devised this land to his four daughters, Sarah Minshall, Rebecca Minshall, Jane Coppock, and Ann Whip-pain, and the large tract to his three sons, John, Edward, and Griffith Owen, who in 1725 sold it to Stephen Beaks, of West Town. At that time the eldest son, John, was a "mariner," and Edward and Griffith "practicioners in phys-ick" in Philadelphia. Dr. Griffith Owen's will is dated 1 mo. 15, 1716.

7. *Edward Joans Jur 153¹/₄^a.* John ap Edward, who probably arrived with his brother William on the ship "Lyon" in 1682, died the following year, and his eldest son, Evan, to whom his three hundred and twelve and a half acres had been devised, having also died, the land descended to his surviving son and heir at law, Edward ap John, who was commonly called Edward Jones, Junior, to distinguish him from Edward Jones, Senior, the surgeon. The Merion allotment was traversed by the old Lancaster Road, and extended across the present line of the Pennsylvania Railroad between Merion and Narberth Station. Edward Jones, Junior, soon after attaining his majority, conveyed both his Merion and Goshen lands to Edward Jones, Senior, 2 mo. 13, 1703, as before mentioned.

8. *Robert David 148¹/₂^a.* Robert David, of Gwernevel, settled on the tract bearing his name on the draft in the fall of 1682 and lived there for fifty years. Having purchased the adjoining one hundred and fifty acres on the north (1 mo. 1, 1694) of Dr. Griffith Owen, he sold off twenty-five acres to Richard Walter in 1694 and obtained a patent for the remainder, containing two hundred and eighty acres, 5 mo. 20, 1703. In addition to his original purchase, Robert David bought one moiety, or one hundred and fifty six and a quarter

acres, of that of Evan Rees, of Penmaen, 5 mo. 28, 1683, seventy-five acres of which he sold to Richard Walter December 1, 1694. The balance, together with his own rights and land purchased of Richard Thomas, was surveyed in one tract of three hundred and forty-six acres in Goshen and included in the patent above mentioned. Robert David died in October, 1732, having devised his plantations in Merion and Goshen to his only son Thomas David. The Goshen land was located on Chester Creek, between the tracts of Griffith Owen and John Roberts.

9. *Rees Joans* 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a. Rees John William, of Llanglynin, commonly appearing in the records as Rees John or Jones, arrived with his wife Hannah and three children on the ship "Vine," of Liverpool, 7 mo. 17, 1684. Before leaving Wales he had purchased (July 16, 1684) the rights of Thomas Prichard to one hundred and fifty-six and a quarter acres, so that he was entitled, in all, to three hundred and twelve and a half acres. He settled upon the tract bearing the name of Thomas Richard on the draft, and which includes the present site of Merion Station. By deed dated 4 mo. 18, 1694, he conveyed seventy-six and a half acres of his land on the Schuylkill to Cadwalader Morgan, who owned the adjacent land. Rees John William died in 1702, having devised his dwelling and plantation in Merion to his son Richard Jones, and his land in Goshen to his sons Evan and John Jones. The latter tract was on Chester Creek, between the lands of David Davis and Richard ap Thomas.

Richard Jones (November 8, 1720) bought thirty-nine and a half acres adjoining his Merion land, of John Roberts, a nephew of Thomas Lloyd, of Llangower, and having removed to Goshen, he and his wife Rebecca, by lease and release dated June 26-27, 1729, conveyed their Merion plantation, then containing one hundred and fifty-five acres, to Hugh Evans, in Merion. His tract of one hundred and fifty-seven acres in Goshen adjoined that of his brothers Evan and John, and was bounded by the lands of Griffith

Owen and Thomas Lloyd. The title to a portion of this tract was derived from his uncle Evan John William, a purchaser under Richard Davies.

10. *Thomas Richard* $76\frac{1}{2}^a$. Thomas ap Richard, or Prichard, did not come to Pennsylvania, but assigned his rights in the purchase to Rees John William July 16, 1684, as above related.

11. *Gaynor Robert* $76\frac{1}{2}^a$. Gainor Robert, of Kiltalgarth, spinster, was a passenger, with her brother Hugh Robert, on the ship "Morning Star." She became the wife of John Roberts, of Caernarvon, 1 mo. 20, 1784. John Roberts arrived at Philadelphia 9 mo. 16, 1683, probably also on the "Morning Star," and settled at the place he called Pencoid, which is on the easterly end of the tract bearing the name of Evan Rees on the draft, which land he held in right of his wife's original purchase, and it has ever since continued in possession of the family. Under the notice of Robert David (No. 8) it was mentioned that Evan Rees, of Penmaen, by deed dated 5 mo. 28, 1683, had assigned one moiety of his purchase to Robert David, the Merion portion of which was the half of the tract, or seventy-six and a half acres, next the Schuylkill. But as this half was soon after in possession of John Roberts and wife, and the original tract of Gainor Robert, of the same area, in the ownership of Robert David, we may, in the absence of records, infer that an exchange of the lands was made at about that time. By deed dated December 1, 1694, Robert David conveyed the last-mentioned tract (originally Gaynor Robert's), with twenty-five acres adjacent, to Richard Walter, who obtained a patent for the same 4 mo. 8, 1703, the area on resurvey proving to be one hundred and seventeen acres. This land is on the old Lancaster Road about half a mile north of the city line.

John Roberts purchased (7 mo. 7, 1687) the Goshen allotments of Hugh John and Cadwalader Morgan, containing

one hundred and fifty-six acres, which, with the land there in right of his wife, was resurveyed by warrant dated 10 mo. 22, 1701, and found to contain two hundred and sixty-two acres. This land was on Chester Creek, between the large tract of Hugh Roberts on the east and the land of Robert David on the west.

12. *Cadwalader Morgan 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* Cadwalader Morgan, of Gwernevel, also probably a passenger on the "Morning Star" in 1683, settled with his family on his Merion allotment on the Schuylkill, and increased his holding by purchase of the adjoining seventy-six and a half acres of Rees John William on the north and west, and the seventy-six and a half acres of John Williams (son of William John) on the southeast, the deeds being dated 4 mo. 18, 1694. This land was all resurveyed in one tract of two hundred and twenty-three and a half acres in 1701. Cadwalader Morgan bought the adjoining land of Hugh Jones (Hugh John Thomas), containing ninety-two acres, January 19, 1707-8, and on May 30, 1709, sold both tracts to Robert Evans. These lands afterwards passed into possession of the Roberts family. Cadwalader Morgan died in Merion in 1711.

13. *Thomas Lloyd 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* Thomas Lloyd, of Llangower Parish, Penllyn, devised his share in the purchase to his nephew John Roberts, who sold the east end of the Merion tract, containing thirty-seven and a half acres, to Griffith John prior to 1703, and the west end, containing thirty-nine and a half acres, to Richard Jones November 8, 1720. At that time John Roberts and Mary his wife lived in Cheltenham Township, Philadelphia. John Roberts held about one hundred and fifty-three acres in Goshen, half in right of Thomas Lloyd and half through a grant or gift from Evan John William, who had purchased one hundred and fifty-six and a quarter acres of Richard Davies in 1682. Thomas Lloyd did not emigrate to Pennsylvania.

14. *William Joans 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* It is not certainly known that William John, of Bettws, ever settled upon his Merion allotment. His nuncupative will, proved 1 mo. 1, 1685, furnishes us with the names of his four children, John, Alice, Katherine, and Gwen William, who had chosen Hugh Roberts and John Roberts, of Merion, feoffees in trust. By deed poll dated 4 mo. 18, 1694, the son John William conveyed the Merion tract to Cadwalader Morgan, and the seventy-eight acres in Goshen to Edward Rees 6 mo. 13, 1697, who sold the same to Ellis David January 9, 1707-8.

15. *John Watkin 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* John Watkin, of Gwernevel, Bachelor, by deed dated 4 mo. 23, 1684, conveyed his Merion and Goshen lands to Hugh Roberts, who (5 mo. 26, 1688) conveyed the seventy-six and a half acres in Merion, shown upon the draft, to Abel Thomas, who was probably the first settler thereon.

16. *Hugh John Thomas 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* Hugh John Thomas, of Nant Lleidiog, Parish of Llanvawr, commonly known as Hugh Jones, and probably a passenger on the ship "Morning Star," settled upon the tract allotted to him soon after his arrival. He obtained a patent for his land November 8, 1703, the resurvey making the area ninety-two acres. Hugh Jones removed to Plymouth, and by deed dated January 19, 1707-8, in which his son-in-law Rowland Richard joined, he conveyed his Merion plantation to Cadwalader Morgan. Hugh Jones sold his seventy-eight acres in Goshen to John Roberts, of Pencoyd, as before related.

17. *Evan Rees 153 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^a.* Evan Rees, of Penmaen, by deed dated July 28, 1683, conveyed one moiety of his three hundred and twelve and a half acres to Robert David and one moiety to Griffith John, and his name is no further associated with the settlement of Merion. The moiety conveyed to Robert David has already been noticed. Griffith John, having purchased, in addition, thirty-seven and a half

acres of John Roberts, the nephew of Thomas Lloyd, obtained a patent for the whole in one tract of one hundred and ninety-two acres November 8, 1703. This land was on the old Lancaster Road, next the city line, and included the easterly ends of the allotments of Thomas Lloyd and John Watkin and part of the west half of that of Evan Rees, as shown on the draft. Griffith John was a son of John ap Evan, and therefore first cousin to Jane (ap Owen), the wife of Hugh Roberts. He was the first settler on his Merion land, and resided there until his death in 1707. He devised his dwelling and plantation to his son John Griffith, who married Grace Foulke, and whose descendants continued to occupy the land for many years.

WILLIAM BILES.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., BALTIMORE, MD.

At what time the Biles family first settled in Dorsetshire, and whence they originally came, is uncertain. The earliest recorded will of any of the name, in either the Consistory Court or the Archdeaconry Court at Blandford, is that of Dorothy Biles, of Dorchester, in 1693.¹ The wills of Josiah Byles, of Dorchester, in 1707, and of four others who resided at Woodland, Holwell, Weymouth, and Shilling Okeford, are all that appear of record prior to 1710, which would seem to indicate that the family had not then been long resident there.

The Register of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, of Devizes, Wilts, shows that 12 Nov., 1593, Josias Byle married Anne Lye;² and *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714* contains the names of two Byles, as follows:

“Byle, William, ‘serviens’ of Cornwall, Exeter Coll., matric. 26 Oct., 1660, B.A. 1664, M.A. 1667.

“Byles, John, s. Daniel of Dorchester, Dorset, p.p. Exeter Coll., matric. 20 Nov., 1685; aged 16, B.A. 1689.”

The latter was probably related to the subject of this sketch, who, however, always spelt his name “Biles,” though in contemporary records it was frequently spelt “Byles.”³

¹ *Index Library, British Record Society.*

² *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. li. p. 186.

³ A writer in the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* (vol. vii. p. 300) has said that “this name has undergone more varieties of spelling than one would suppose possible in so short a syllable. Farmer spells it ‘Byles,’ ‘Byley’ and ‘Bylie.’ In the *H. and G. Reg.* for 1849, p. 55, it is spelt ‘Byly.’ Mr. Stone in his *History of Beverly* spells it ‘Byles.’”

In the *Visitation of Cornwall, 1620* (Harleian Soc. Pub., vol. ix.), the name appears as Bill, Byll, Boyle, Byle, Bile, Beele, Beile, Beill, Beale, Biell, Biele, and Debyll, and it is stated that there are numerous entries of the name of Beele in the Registers of the Parish of St. Ewe, and that Roger Boyle and Walter Byle were both members of Parlia-

The names of the parents of William, Charles, and Thomas Biles do not appear in any account of the first ment in the time of Edward III., and that William Biell was an Alderman of the Towne and Borroughe of Saltashe in co. Cornwall in 1620.

The Hertfordshire family of Bill was a prominent one there from about 1400. (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., vols. vii. p. 286, x. p. 530, xi. p. 49; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. v. p. 29.) Of this family was Rev. Wm. Bill, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1546, Master of Trinity College, 1551, one of Committee to prepare form of Prayer Book, 1559, first Dean of Westminster Abbey, 1560, and Lord Almoner to Queen Elizabeth. A branch of this family settled in Staffordshire and their descendants now live at Farley Hall.

There were several early settlers of New England who were named Bill, Bills or Billes, Byles and Byley (*Savage's Geneal. Dict.*, vol. i. pp. 177, 179, 326); of these Josiah Byles, the father of the noted preacher Rev. Mather Byles, came from Winchester, co. Hants, prior to 1695. Henry Byley came, in 1638, in the "Bevis" of Southampton, from Salisbury, where the name of the family is found in Registers of St. Edmunds Parish between 1582 and 1636 (*N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. li. pp. 181-8) as Bile, Biley, Byle, Byley, and Bylie; and his grandfather describes himself in his will dated 18 Oct., 1633, proved 23 June, 1634, as Henry Biley the elder, of New Sarum, Wilts (*Ibid.*, vol. lii. p. 44).

There was also a Thomas Bills, of Barnstable, Mass. (probably the son of William, who settled at Barnstable in 1640, and who may have been the Willen Bill of Great Torrington in Devonshire (*Ibid.*, vol. xiv. p. 341), who at the age of 28 took oath of allegiance at Dartmouth, 20 Feby., 1634), who 1st married 3 Oct., 1672, Ann, dau. of Wm. Twining, by whom he had two daus. Ann and Elizabeth, mentioned in will of Wm. Twining (Phila. Wills, *Liber B*, fol. 402); and 2dly married 2 May, 1676, Joanna Twining (said by Savage to be niece of above Wm. Twining and by Twining Genealogy to have been his dau.), by whom he had three sons and three daus.; most of whom were born at Eastham, Mass. (*N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vi. p. 43), where he removed from Barnstable, and where he was living in 1695. Wm. Twining removed from Mass., and settled in Bucks Co., Penna., and Thomas Bills and family settled in New Jersey, and were members of Shrewsbury Mo. Mtg of Friends, the Register of which shows the dates of death of Thomas and Joanna to have been respectively 2nd mo. 2, 1721, and 4th mo. 4, 1723.

Some of the above-mentioned persons may have been of the same family as the subject of this sketch, but no proof thereof has been obtained.

named, and it is not certain whether there were other children or not, and very little is known of their early life and occupations.

When William Biles became a Friend, and whom and when he married, may possibly be shown by the Minutes of Friends' Meeting in Dorsetshire; but the Register does not contain this information, nor does it make mention of any of his brothers or their families. It does, however, show the names and dates of birth of five of his children.

Pemberton's List of Arrivals¹ states that "William Biles, of Dorchester, in the County of Dorset, vile monger, and Johannah, his wife, arrived in Delaware river, in the 'Elizabeth & Sarah' of Waymouth, the 4th of the 4th M^o 1679.² *Children.* William, George, John, Elizabeth, Johanah, Rebecca and Mary Biles. *Servants.* Edward Hancock, to serve 8 years: loose the last of the 3^d M^o 1687. To have 50 acres of land. Elizabeth Petty, to serve 7 years: loose the last of the 3^d M^o 1686. To have 50 acres of land.

"Charles Biles, of the town and County above. Arrived in the ship aforesaid, the time aforesaid."

Pemberton is in error as to Rebecca and Mary Biles having come, with their parents, from England. His List was not made until 1684,³ and he evidently recorded all seven of William Biles's children, who were living at that time, instead of the five who actually came with him.

Whether Charles Biles brought with him a wife is unknown; no record of his marriage or death has been found, and as no wife or children are recorded in the List, it is quite probable that he married in America. He was a

¹ PA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. ix. p. 225; Battle's *Bucks Co.*, p. 677.

² One recent account states that they "landed in New Castle County, Delaware, April 4 [sic] 1679." I have been unable to find any corroboration of this statement, and believe it erroneous, and that they landed in New Jersey. See Smith's *Hist. N. J.*, p. 109; also *Hist. Delaware Co., Pa.*, p. 447.

³ PA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. ix. p. 223; *Publications So. Hist. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 391.

brother of William, and appears to have always resided in New Jersey. He died and his widow remarried prior to March 9, 1697/8, as shown by a deed, dated that day,¹ but signed June 8, 1698, between Joseph Wood, of Bucks Co., Penna., yeoman, and Sarah, late widow of Charles Biles, of Maidenhead, Burlington Co., West Jersey, deceased, and Alexander Biles, second son of said Charles Biles and Sarah Biles, now Sarah Brearly, in which mention is also made of "ye two daughters of Charles Biles," names not given.

Charles Biles also had a son John, for the will of John Biles, of Maidenhead, Hunterdon Co., yeoman, dated May 29, 1740, was probated July 22, 1740.² In it mention is made of his wife Elizabeth, daughter Sarah, two sons John and Charles, and the Executors were "my wife and my brother Alexander Biles."

Charles Biles in 1694, in a deed, describes himself as "of Maidenhead, Province West New Jersey, yeoman," and 10th mo. 13, 1695,³ he purchased of John English, of Burlington Co., 200 acres "above ye ffalls of the Delaware."⁴

Proud mentions William Biles as among those of the Society of Friends who arrived in the Province of New Jersey before the grant of Pennsylvania to William Penn, and who appear to be mentioned as active and useful, not only in their own religious society, but most of them also in a civil capacity in and about Burlington.⁵

How long William Biles tarried in New Jersey is not certain. The biographical sketch of him in *The Friend*⁶ says he "appears to have resided a time at Burlington," and in the *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*⁷ it is stated that he settled at Burlington; while W. J. Buck, in his *History of Bucks County*,⁸ says he settled in Bucks County in

¹ W. J. Deeds, *Liber B*, fol. 658.

² W. J. Wills, *Liber 4*, fol. 247.

³ All dates in this article are Old Style.

⁴ N. J. Deeds, *Liber B*, fol. 593.

⁵ *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 159 n.

⁶ Vol. xxviii. p. 102.

⁷ P. 113; see also Raum's *Hist. N. J.*, vol. i. p. 106.

⁸ P. 20.

1679. He seems to have held large tracts of land in New Jersey, which, however, all seem to have been purchased after he settled in Bucks County, Pa.

The first purchase appears to have been that tract described in a deed¹ from Thomas Green, of Maidenhead, Burlington Co., West New Jersey, yeoman, to William Biles, of County of Bucks, province of Penna., Merchant, dated 10 day of ye month called Aprill, 1696, and acknowledged the 3d of ye first month, 1697, before Mahlon Stacy, Justice, as 300 acres, being part of 400 acres, lying above ye ffalls within ye territories of Maidenhead. Consideration £55.

In other deeds he is described as "William Biles of Bucks County, Gent," "William Byles of Bucks County, yeoman," and "William Biles of Bucks County, Merchant." His purchases were located principally in Burlington and Salem Counties,² and also included " $\frac{1}{30}$ part of a share of land in West New Jersey, America," and " $\frac{1}{15}$ of $\frac{1}{100}$ of a whole propriety in West Jersey." In 1702 he was appointed by William Crouch, of London, Upholsterer, and James Wass, of London, Chirurgeon, as their attorney,³ and as such conveyed various tracts of land to John Bryarly and John Swift, of New Jersey, and to John Hough, of Bucks Co., Pa.

In 1704 Joseph Wass, of London, sailed for America, and James Wass, Sr., Chyrurgion, appointed William Biles and Edward Shippen, of Pa., Merchants, Joseph Wass, now on a voyage to Pa., and Joshua Barkstead, late of London, now of W. N. J. his attys,⁴ and they in 1705 conveyed to Robt. Ayers, of Rhode Island, 2200 acres in Salem Co. and to Thomas Stanford 300 acres called Quiahocking Islands.

September 15 and 16, 1707, James Wass sold to William Biles all his several tracts of land in or near Quahoking, Cohanzie and Morris River in W. N. J.⁵ and William Biles, in 1709 (after he had made his will in which he bequeathed these tracts), conveyed to Joseph Kirkbride, of Bucks Co., Pa., and Thomas Lambert, of Burlington Co., W. N. J., parts of two tracts, one called Quohokin containing 4500 acres and the other being 10,000 acres in Salem Co., bordering on Morris River and Delaware Bay.

Through his large landed interest he became a member of the "Council of Proprietors of Western Division of New

¹ N. J. Deeds, *Liber B, fol. 630.*

² N. J. Deeds, *Liber B, fol. 741* ; AAA, *fol. 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 141, 142, 220, 252* ; BB, *fol. 275, 309, 310.*

³ *Ibid.*, AAA, *fol. 89, 143, 149, 151, 153, 154.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, AAA, *fol. 115, 184, 203.*

Ibid., BBB, *fol. 345 and 347* ; AAA, *fol. 412 and 413.*

Jersey," and when that body, 14 November, 1706, received in Council from the Gov. Lord Cornbury a Prohibition to granting any warrants for laying out lands &c., and a Petition from Proprietors and Purchasers of West Jersey, to Lord Cornbury, was drawn up, asking for the removal of the prohibition, we find William Biles¹ among the signers.

In 1680 the first regular correspondence between the Friends in America and London Yearly Meeting was begun by an epistle from the Monthly Meeting at Burlington,² in which it was particularly urged that, in order to prevent impostors and designing persons from coming among them, no Friends should remove to them without certificates from the Society where they had previously lived. This epistle was signed by those present at the meeting, and afterwards by William Biles³ and some others who were not present.

The birth of William Biles's daughter Rebeckah in 1680 is entered in the Records of Burlington Monthly Meeting, and he was doubtless then a member of that meeting, on whichever side of the Delaware River he then resided. For although in Bucks County "the Quakers had a regular and established meeting, for religious worship, before the country bore the name of Pennsylvania,"⁴ which meeting was held at the houses of William Yardley, William Biles,⁵ and others, yet there was no monthly meeting until 1683, when the first one was set up at the house of William Biles, and continued to be held at houses of Friends till 1690, when the first Falls Meeting-House was built near Fallsington, which was the first building for worship erected in the county.⁶

It was probably on the door of William Biles's house that Phineas Pemberton, in 1683, placed a notice of the estab-

¹ *N. J. Archives*, 1st ser., vol. iii. p. 165.

² Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 159.

³ Smith's *Hist. Penna.* in Hazard's *Register*, vol. vi. p. 182; *The Friend*, vol. xviii. p. 407.

⁴ Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 217 n.

⁵ Smith's *Hist. Penna.* in Hazard's *Register*, vol. vii. p. 116; *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. vii. p. 29.

⁶ Buck's *Bucks Co., Penna.*, p. 81.

lishment of the weekly post in response to the request of the Governor,¹ "carefully to publish" this information "on the meeting house door, and other public places."

In 1679 Jasper Dankers made a copy of a map of the Delaware River from Burlington to Trenton, which has been supposed to have been made by some English surveyors. On this map² William Biles is shown to have 309 acres on the west side of the Delaware River, and the road from Burlington to "ye ffalls" passed through it. Holme's Map of Bucks Co., Pa., begun in 1681, shows that he owned two tracts of land fronting on the Delaware River, and that William and Charles Biles owned together another tract some little distance back from the river.³

Davis, in his *History of Bucks County*, says⁴ that "in the summer and fall of 1679 and spring of 1680 several English settlers took up land on the river bank just below the falls. . . . William Biles, three hundred and nine acres. . . . He was a man of talent and influence and a leader;" and in another place he says,⁵ "Of the original settlers in Falls, several of them were there before the country came into Penn's possession. They purchased the land of Sir Edmund Andros, who represented the Duke of York, and were settled along the Delaware from the falls down; among whom were William Biles [and others], whose lands bordered on the river. These grants were made in 1678 or 1679, that of Biles embraced 327 acres, for which Penn's

¹ *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. vii. pp. 28 and 29.

² *Burlington and Mercer Cos.*, p. 56.

³ This last-mentioned tract contained 472 acres, and was granted by warrant dated 2nd mo. 13, 1683, laid out by Surveyor 4th mo. 13, 1683, and confirmed by Letters Patent from William Penn dated 5th mo. 29, 1684. William and Charles Biles divided this tract 8th mo. 14, 1686 (Bucks Co. Deeds, *Liber* 1, *fol.* 102 and 105), and Charles sold his equal half, containing 236 acres, to Abel Janney 7th mo. 12, 1694, and William sold his moiety of 236 acres to John Cuff or Luff 8th mo. 18, 1686.

⁴ P. 35.

⁵ Pp. 103 and 104; see also Buck's *Bucks Co., Penna.*, p. 80; Hazard's *Annals of Penna.*, p. 468.

warrant is dated 9th, 8th month, 1684, surveyed 23d, same month, and patented 31st, 11th month."

These two accounts probably refer to the same tract, as the below mentioned deeds (which I am informed by Mr. W. S. Ely, who made the examination for me, are all under which William Biles obtained possession, so far as the records show) do not convey two tracts of this size and description. There are two patents recorded from Penn to William Biles, one¹ dated 1st mo. 31, 1684, for 306 acres, for which warrant had been issued by Sir Edmund Andros in 1679 and from Penn 3rd mo. 9, 1684; the other² for 173 acres, dated 5th mo. 31, 1684, containing the same recital. This last tract of 173 acres William conveyed 2nd mo. 14, 1693, to Samuel Beakes,³ and the former he deeded 4th mo. 14, 1693, to his son William Biles, Jr., cooper, as the "Farm and Tract in Falls Township whereon I live, containing 309 acres."

3rd mo. 16, 1701, William Biles conveyed to William White⁴ 100 acres which had been patented to Philip Conway 5th mo. 15, 1684, and by him conveyed, by endorsement thereon, to Thomas Biles, brother of William, "and said William purchasing same had it confirmed by patent from Penn dated March 11th, 1692," but no such patent appears of record in Bucks County. Ann Milcombe conveyed 8th mo. 6, 1685, to William Biles 200 acres patented to her in 1684, which he, 5th mo. 5, 1688, deeded to Joseph English; and said English, 10th mo. 10, 1688, conveyed to Biles 102 acres patented to English in 1687.⁵ Henry Baker, 7th mo. 1, 1698, conveyed to Biles two tracts of 100 acres and 190 acres,⁶ which William conveyed to his son John 3rd mo. 24, 1707, as 300 acres. In 1705 there appears also to have been issued a patent to William Biles⁷ for 472 acres in two tracts, one of 343 acres for 300 made up of Rowland's and Bennett's entries, and the other 129 acres for 100 of Harrison's; and these two tracts correspond in size to those shown on Cutler's map of 1703, as then belonging to William Biles, situated very near the northwestern corner of the Manor of Pennsbury, on the Bristol Township line, and it was probably to this tract, or the Atkinson one mentioned below, that William Penn referred in his letter of 7th mo. 30, 1705, to Governor Evans.

¹ Bucks Co. Deeds, *Liber* 11, *fol.* 467.

² *Ibid.*, *Liber* 2, *fol.* 60.

³ *Ibid.*, *Liber* 2, *fol.* 61; *Liber* 5, *fol.* 208.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Liber* 3, *fol.* 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Liber* 1, *fol.* 9, 182, 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Liber* 2, *fol.* 205; *Liber* 5, *fol.* 133; *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. xix. p. 423.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

A tract of 300 acres which Thomas Atkinson took up but did not pay for was, after the marriage of William Biles to his widow, released by her three sons Isaac, William, and Samuel, as they severally became of age, to George Biles for a consideration,¹ and from him it passed through Solomon Warder to William Biles, Sr., and from him in 1707 to William Paxson.

Davis tells us that ² "Biles's island, in the Delaware, a mile below the falls, and containing 300 acres, was sold to William Biles about 1680 by Orecton, Nannacus, Nenemlahocking, and Patelana, free native Indians, in consideration of £10, but was not actually conveyed by deed. The 19th of March, 1729, Lappewins and Captain Cumbansh, two Indian 'Sackemen,' and heirs and successors of the Indians above named, confirmed the said island to William Biles, Jr.,³ son of William Biles, the elder, now deceased, in consideration of seven pounds in Indian goods. The deed contained a warranty against the grantors, their heirs, and all other Indians."

Davis furthermore states that ⁴ "Biles became a large land owner. He sold 5000 acres in this county near Neshaminy to William Lawrence [and others], but the purchasers could find only 2000 acres. In 1718 James Logan issued an order to survey 3000 additional acres, not already settled or surveyed." The Land Records show that William Biles, as attorney in fact for Thomas Hudson, conveyed several thousand acres in Bucks County to various individuals; and that these 5000 did not belong to him individually is shown by the Minutes of the Board of Property of the Province of Pennsylvania,⁵ which state that William Lawrence and others "purchased of William Biles late of sd. County 5000 acres of Land in the sd. County belonging to one Thomas Hudson whose Atty he then was," etc., and that "The whole 5000 acres was formerly surveyed and sold to the above Persons of Long Island by William Biles, under certain Bounds, but the greater part being under an earlier survey to Dennis Rochsford, is taken by his assignees."

Proud also states that ⁶ William Biles was a preacher among the Quakers, among the first settlers there, where he appears to have taken up land, under Governor Andros, of New York, prior to William Penn's grant of the Province. He is said to have been a very useful person both in

¹ Bucks Co. Deeds, *Liber 3, fol. 86, 167.*

² *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 117.

³ Bucks Co. Deeds, *Liber 26, fol. 380.*

⁴ *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 104.

⁵ *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. xix. pp. 682, 693, 697.

⁶ *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 237 n.

the civil and religious line, being often in the Council and Assembly.¹

In fact, he was an office-holder before the Province passed from under the Duke of York to William Penn, for he held office under the Pro-Provincial Government.² It has been said that in 1680 "the only European settlements comprised within its [Pennsylvania's] limits were included in Upland county, and were subject to the jurisdiction of Upland Court;"³ and the records of that Court show that October 13, 1680, land was laid out by order of this Court "on ye west syde of delow^r Riv^r and on y^e South East syde of hataorackan Creeke,"⁴ which was about Pennsbury Manor in Bucks County.

Though no record of the appointment of officers nor the establishment of such a Court has been found (the Minutes of the Governor and Council of New York, 1678-1683, not being in existence, so far as known), yet Colonial documents still preserved at Albany show clearly that there was in 1680 a Court at Crewcorne, or Creekehorne, and that William Biles was a member thereof.

No mention of this Court has been found elsewhere than in published records of the State of New York, and no historians of Pennsylvania or of Bucks County allude to it.

In reply to inquiries, Dr. William H. Egle writes me that "Crookhorne in Falls Township, Bucks county, was the first seat of justice of the county," and General W. W. H. Davis writes, "Crewcorne was on the Penna. side of the Delaware at Trenton Falls. It had no surveyed bounds, but a frontier settlement and local court was held there. The Upland Court had jurisdiction in Bucks to the falls. The Court at Manhattan had jurisdiction in Bucks in the

¹ Vide *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. ix. pp. 623, 752-754; *Duke of York's Laws*, pp. 485, 507, 523, 536, 552, 559, 565, 576, 577.

² *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. ix. p. 616.

³ *Smith's Hist. Delaware Co., Pa.*, p. 125; *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. vii. pp. 185, 203.

matter of Probate of Wills. My second edition of History of Bucks Co. will have new matter about Crewcorne."

The "new town of Crewcorne" at the Falls must have been the first settlement of what is now Morrisville. "Gilbert Wheeler called his house 'Crookhorn,' a name long forgotten," says Davis,¹ and John Wood, whose plantation included the present site of Morrisville, described himself in his will, 1692, as "John Wood of Crookhorn in the County of Bucks."

In *N. Y. Colonial Documents*² is a Petition of "Inhabitants of the new town, near the falls of the Delaware, called Crewcorne, against the sale of liquor to the Indians," dated "April y^e 12th 1680" and addressed "To y^e Worthy Governor of New Yorke," and stating that Gilbert Wheeler's and Peter Aldrixman's houses and another one had been "broake open by Indians." This petition was signed by ten persons, and the first name is "Wilh. Biles." He probably delivered it in person, for we find, under the heading³ "Memorandum of papers delivered to Wm. Biles, a member of the new court at the falls of the Delaware," the following:

"W^m Biles one of there new made Co^t there & this day sworne under the penalty of perjury. Apr. 21-1680.

"1. His Commission.

"2. A Warr^t to summon Gilb. Wheeler & P. Abr. to appeare here for selling drincks to ye Indyans.

"3. An abstract about ye Records.

"4. An order to Dan : Willet to returne Power of Magistrate.

"5. An order to have a returne about Rolf. Hoskin, drowned by Burlington."

The matter was later presented to the Council, as appears from the following entry: ⁴

¹ *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 104.

² Vol. xii. pp. 645, 646.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 646; *Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss.*, pt. ii. p. 87.

⁴ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. xii. p. 650.

"Sundry entries respecting Upland, New Castle and Burlington.

"At a Councell &c May 21. 1680.

"Pres' the Go : & Councell.

"A peticon from the Inhabitants at the Falls about abuse of drunken Indiyans &c.

"Peter Alricks house at his Island near y^e Falls & Gilbert Wheeler house broken open.

"A returne from the Commission^{rs} of Burlington at Delaware of 8 men for magistrates according to order.

"A returne from the Const. of Creekehorne at the Falls, of the names of 4 for magistrates according to order likewise," etc.

The liquor question did not rest here, however, for there is preserved the "Complaint of sundry inhabitants of Crewcorne, on the Delaware, against Gilbert Wheeler for selling rum to the Indians," dated "Crewcorne Sep. y^e 13th 1680,"¹ addressed "To y^e Honorable Governor of N. Yorke," in which, after detailing the great fear and damage they are subjected to, they request that selling the Indians "strong Liquors may be wholly suppressed amongst us by virtue of a Warrant from yo^r Honor to make distress upon proof given to y^e Elected Commissioner for y^e time to Come for breach of that Abreviate of y^e Law which Will. Biles brought us; w^{ch} when we made our Complaint to him he told us his order w^s nothing worth, w^{ch} we accounted w^s sufficient but by his words we perseave that he intends to sell Rum himself; so hoping yo^r Honor in charity will help us we remain," etc.

The Minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting hereafter referred to show the accuracy of the surmise of his neighbors as to William Biles's intention to sell rum to the Indians, and the records of Upland Court show that Gilbert Wheeler's actions were not permitted to go unpunished.

The last actual session of the Upland Court under the Duke of York was held at Kingsesse 14th June, 1681, and William Biles was present and appeared in various rôles.²

¹ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, pp. 658, 659.

² *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 189, 190, 194; *Davis's Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 40; *Hist. Chester Co., Pa.*, pp. 18, 363; *PA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG.*, vol. iii. p. 263.

He informed the Court that Robert Michill, next heir of Robert Hoskins, deceased, was living in England, and desired him to take care of the estate of the deceased in this country. He was one of the jurors in the case of Lasse Dalboo against Swen Lom. As "Constable att ye faals" he gave information against "Gilbert wheeler att ye s^d faals, for selling of strong Licquors by retayle to ye Indians Contrary to ye Lawe & ye forwarning of ye s^d Constable," and Wheeler was fined four pounds and costs. The last act of the judges, before adjourning "till ye 2^d Teusday [13th] of ye month of Septemb^r next," was to appoint "William Boyles to bee surv^r & overseer of ye highwayes from the faales to Poetquessink Creek; hee to take care that ye s^d highwayes be made good & passable, wth bridges over all myry & dirty places."

Before the time adjourned to had arrived, notice was received¹ from "Commander and Councill," dated New York, 21st June, 1681, that William Penn had obtained Letters Patents to the Province, and the Duke of York's authority had ceased; "the old Court closed its session the 13th of September and the new Court opened the next day [?]. Among the business transacted was the appointment of William Biles and Robert Lucas, who lived at the falls, justices of the peace,² and pounds, shillings and pence were declared to be the currency of the country." The first entry in the Records of Chester County Court shows that it was held at Upland September 13, 1681, and that Mr. William Byles was one of the justices present.³

¹ *Mem. Pa. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vii. pp. 195, 196.

² Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 55; *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. ix. p. 617.

³ *Hist. Chester Co., Pa.*, p. 18; Hazard's *Annals of Penna.*, p. 525.

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 497.)

[*To Mrs. Arnold, No. 1 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, London.*]

PHILADA 3 March 1793

MY DEAR PEGGY

Your favor of the 5th December was very acceptable, but am very sorry my drafts arrived at such a period as obliged you to sell Stocks at so low a rate, but as that cannot now be helped we must not repine. The Money for which I sold the Bill was immediately put into a State of Activity. £585 Currency was invested in 3 shares in the Bank of North America £1220.9.0 in Bonds and Mortgages in New Jersey at 7 p cent Interest & the Remainder has been employed in discounting Notes at 6 p cent payable in a few months, that I may have the Money under my Command to apply to such purposes as may appear most beneficial to you. The Bank Shares were purchased at 30 p cent advance, so that your real Capital there is only £450, on which I received a Dividend the 10th of January of 7½ p ct for half a year—this however was an accidental large Dividend which is not to be expected again being the product of receipts on account of large prior Debts due to the Bank.

The state of this Bank has been altered within this month owing to a project in our Legislature to establish another Bank by the Name of Pennsylvania Bank, of which Government is to hold a considerable Share; this has lowered the price of Shares in the other Bank & will certainly lessen its profits in Case the project takes effect, which however is not yet perfected, as the Bill has had but one reading in the lower House & may possibly fall through, as it meets with much Opposition. I shall watch Events, in order to make the most of your Money, either by purchasing more Shares in the old Bank at the reduced prices;

or if the new one succeeds by purchasing some Shares in that, or by taking Advantage of other Occurrences as they arise.

I am more disinclined than ever to embark any of your Money in trade, as daily proofs of its precariousness appear. Mr Lea has lately met with an important Disappointment, which however has neither affected his Capital or his Credit. A House in Dublin sent him orders last Summer to purchase and ship a quantity of Philadelphia Rum & to draw Bills on London for his Reimbursement. The quantity being great he could not immediately make the purchases, he however compleated the order in a reasonable time, and one of his own Vessels arriving, he shipt the whole in her for Dublin. When the Rum arrived there, the Demand for that Article had lessened & the price fallen very considerably; this induced the House who gave the order to refuse to receive the Cargo, upon the pretence that the orders were not soon enough executed & that Mr Lea had delayed shipping it till the Arrival of his own Vessel in order to give her the benefit of the freight.—the Consequence was that the Vessel was obliged to bring the Rum back again to Philadelphia, so that she lost her whole freight both going and returning. In addition to this they stopped the Payment of Mr Lea's Bills in London, which would have subjected him to the payment of 20 p cent damages on about £6000 Sterling, if he had not had friends there to take up the Bills for his honour. This being an object of magnitude he found it necessary last fall to embark for Dublin in order to get Compensation either by Arbitration or a Law Suit, he is now there but expects to return in the Spring.

Sally bears her Widowhood tolerably well, & living so near our House, she spends most of her time with us.

The Situation of the french Affairs & the possible Effect they may have on the political State of England has filled us with much Anxiety on your Account. We are however in some measure comforted with the Intelligence that most of the better kind of people are likely to unite for the Support of the Government and Constitution of the Kingdom. We in this Country, having a Republican cast, are apt to suppose there are many abuses in England, which call for a Reformation; altho' this may be true, yet surely it is wiser to submit to these abuses for a time, than to risque a total Overthrow of the Edifice, by too sudden an Attempt to repair the rotten parts of it. If a War should really take place, it will smother the flame—and probably

be attended with another Consequence of a more private nature; that of providing for a certain friend of yours, in his own way.

We are all well, thank God—& wish every happiness to you and yours. I am &c

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

P.S. Your Mama always wishes me to be particular in remembering her best love.

PHILADA 8 Aug^t 1793

MY DEAR PEGGY

Your favor of the 5th of June came to hand by the packet, which by the by, I take to be the most certain Conveyance, your Sisters having complained of the miscarriage of many late Letters sent to you in other Ways. I have observed with pleasure your prospect of Advantage from the plan for transferring & paying the dividends of American Stock by the London & Middlesex Bank. It seems to afford a reasonable prospect of Success, but must in its nature be principally confined to the Inhabitants of Great Britain; as where people disposed to purchase American Stock will be encouraged by the Confidence naturally to be placed in so respectable a Bank & the facility with which the business will be transacted. As to the other part of the plan respecting the Sale of Stock remitted by the Americans, the Success is more problematical. At present Stock is seldom sent to England for sale but by way of Remittance for the payment of Debts, in which cases they are usually sent to the Merchants to whom money is due from the Remitters, and who have hitherto charged only one per cent for selling. It is however suggested in the printed plan that the extraordinary advantage of a Sale at a general & respectable Office, which may probably concenter the greatest part of the Stock will more than ballance the additional Commission; it is not improbable that this may prove to be the Case, if it should really become a general Office resorted to by buyers and sellers;—in which case the Merchants in London to whom Stock is sent from America for sale, will find it for the advantage of their Constituents rather to place it there for sale, than to sell it themselves. The greatest objection to the general plan seems to me to be the difficulty & Expense of procuring the Receipt of the Dividends here & the

Remittance to England—it cannot be expected that this can be done by private people without a Commission, which with the fluctuating price & occasional risque of Bills of Exchange are discouraging Circumstances. If indeed (as you suggest) the Bank of the United States will pay the dividends in England free from Expence and that payment can be procured to be made to the London & Middlesex Bank, it will answer the Objection. But it must be understood that Mr. Willing as President of the Bank of the United States, altho' he may make this Engagement with the Consent of the Directors of the bank, as to *Bank Stock*, may not be able to do the like with regard to the *6 per cent* & the *3 per Cent Stock* of the United States, which he has nothing to do with, except that those dividends are likewise payable at the Bank by Act of Congress. It is however possible for aught I know, that the Instructions of the Secretary of the Treasury may also justify him in this. As the thing is new yet & I do not mix a great deal with the world, I am not able to give you the Sentiments of the people here upon the Subject, but it strikes me it must be considered in a favorable light as tending to enlarge the Market for our Stock & to interest men of property in your country in the success & prosperity of this.

I am not acquainted with Mr Isaac Bremson the Agent for the Trustees at New York, but Col. Wadsworth of Connecticut is of my Acquaintance & unquestionably a man of fortune & Character—he is a Member of Congress & usually resides in this City in the Winter, but during the Recess of Congress is always at home.

I have directed the Publishing in our Newspaper the printed Plan you inclosed to me, having first made the Alteration from *Six to Sixty* days.

We are much grieved, my dear Child, to hear of your Indisposition, but you may rest assured it by no means resembles your Mamma's Complaint nor can it be hereditary. She was first attacked with the Rheumatism after a severe fit of the fever & ague to which she attributes the Origin of her disorder, the swelling of her Ancles &c, was only the Effect of Pain, & not at all of the nature you describe yours to be. As you have the best medical assistance, and have by nature a good Constitution, I have great hopes of a speedy Recovery. The best Succedaneum for Exercise & in general the best Cure for all chronic Complaints is a rigid Abstinence in your Diet. Every Person's own Observa-

tion will instruct them what kind of food sits easiest upon them, it is not enough to confine yourself to one dish at a meal but this must be of the lightest & simplest kind & very little in Quantity. I am under the necessity of practising this lesson for an obstinate headache which I have laboured under for nearly two years past. After trying all that Physicians could prescribe I am compelled to be my own Doctor. I live chiefly on milk & Vegetable diet & if I now & then take animal food it must be of the softest & tenderest kind not so much at a time as would fill a common Spoon;—by this means & this only I am able to enjoy any tolerable health. If I were to transgress any of my own rules I am sure to pay for it—but with this rigid Abstinence I do tolerably well, altho' a little reduced in flesh for want of taking the quantity of food I have been used to. Your Mama has had a longer fit of her Disorder this year than usual. It did not attack her till March, but continued three or four months, & even now she can only hobble about the house with the Assistance of one Crutch. It is indeed time for us both to look to our Journey's End. Your Sisters and their Families are all well. I shall remit you this Fall the Interest Money arising from your Deposit in my hands.

I am &c

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

PHILADA 24 Dec 1793

MY DEAR PEGGY

I wrote you on the 8th of November being then in a place of retirement to avoid the Contagious Fever, which then raged in this City & carried off above 4000 people among whom, our friend Mr Lea was one. We are again settled in town & the disease seems entirely to have left us. Your Sister has recovered her spirits tolerably well & remains with us during the Winter.

I have been endeavouring to procure a Bill of Exchange to enable me to remit the Interest & Dividends of your Money. Bills are at this time very scarce & high. I have however at length got one for £143.8.9 Sterling at 170 Exchange which I enclose payable to Messrs Dorset & Co your Bankers or their order, preferring for prudential reasons the use of their name to yours. I shall forward you another of the Bills by the next Packet, and shall at the same time send you a Statement of your Account. I have a few days ago purchased for you 3 shares in

our new Bank called the Bank of Pennsylvania at 7 p cent advance. This Bank is under the Patronage of our State Government & promises to be a safe & profitable place to invest some of your money. Altho' I gave 30 p cent advance for your 3 shares in the Bank of North America, yet it turns out advantageously for you, as a dividend was made in January last of $7\frac{1}{2}$ p C for half a year & another Dividend in July of 6 p Ct which is $13\frac{1}{2}$ p Ct for the first year. In this Bank of North America no shares are now to be purchased. I have had thoughts of getting for you a few shares in the Bank of the United States, but the vague reports of the danger of our being somehow or other engaged in the War has hitherto deterred me; that Bank would certainly be more affected by National Measures than either of the others. If however I see the prospect of our remaining at Peace confirmed, I may yet invest some of your Money there. The Ease & Certainty of receiving a handsome Interest from Bank Stock disposes me to prefer that kind of property to any other provided Safety is not sacrificed. I send this letter by way of Dublin, not having been able to get a Bill to go by the late London Vessels at less than 175 p ct. Exchange.

We are all tolerably well and wish you & yours every felicity.

I am most affectionately Yours.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

PHILADA 29 June 1794

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I received your agreeable favor of the 5th of March, but none which it refers to—certainly too many of the Letters between us miscarry—for which reason I would not wish you to explain any thing which partakes of a public Nature. My dear Child I have been almost broken hearted for some time past on account of the loss of your dear Mamma; the stroke took me unprepared. I left her as well, or rather better than she had been for some months to go a long Circuit. On my return I found her dead.—Conceive my distress—I will not endeavour to paint it—I have lost the Staff of my Age & care not how soon I follow her. I have indeed affectionate Children who do their utmost to console me.—Sally & her Children live with me, & will continue to do so. She is chearful & blessed with a natural Disposition to withstand affliction. I know my dear Child how the first Account you received of your Mother's death must have

afflicted you. Your Sensibility is great & your Affection for her was strong. God assist us all to bear the evils he thinks fit to exercise us with. I am my dear Child

most affectionately yours

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

P.S. I wish much to hear whether the Bill I sent you is paid—if however it should be protested there can be no loss but delay.

PHILAD 9th August 1794

MY DEAR PEGGY

I received your favor of the 6th of May inclosing a protested Bill of Exchange drawn by John Nicholson for £143.8.9 Sterling, in lieu of which I have got from him & now inclose you two other Bills drawn by James Greenleaf & indorsed by Nicholson & by Robt Morris for £100 Sterling each amounting to £200. which I hope will be paid. The difference I paid him in cash being £27.10.6. Sterling which at 180 p Ct Ex amounted to £49.10.11 Currency the protested bill being thus settled.

143.	8.	9	the Bill protested
	7.	0	Cost of protest
28	13	9	Damages 20 p ct.
172	9	6	
27	10	6	Balance paid to Nicholson
£200	0	0	Sterling in the two Bills

now sent you. Altho Nicholson's Bill which I sent you was protested for non-payment, yet another Bill drawn & indorsed by the same persons for the large sum of £5000 Sterling & remitted at the same time by your sister Sally to Mr Gorman met with a better fate: the contents having been paid to Mr Gorman after an actual protest.

The last letter I wrote you was dated the 29th of June in which I was under the painful necessity of informing you of the death of your dear Mother, an Event which nothing could possibly have reconciled to me but the knowledge that her disorder was so painful, & so frequently repeated that death could scarcely be considered an Evil, & that a Life of Virtue must have secured her a blessed Existence in a better World.

The Family are all well & join with me in best Love to you and yours

Yours affectionately.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

[*To Mrs. Arnold, Queen Ann Street, East, London.*]

PHILADA 17 Sept 1794

MY DEAR PEGGY

We were made very happy in hearing of your welfare after a certain Event. I sincerely hope the little one may contribute to your happiness.

I sent you on the 9th of last month Per Capt Thompson via Liverpool two Bills of Exchange for £100 Sterling each, being the amount of Nicholson's protested Bill & Damages together with the Sum of £27.10.6 Sterling added, to make up the total of £200 Sterling. I now inclose second Bills of the same Setts.

As the fall advances, the Shipments from hence will increase, which may possibly bring down the Exchange, which is at present & has been for many months extravagantly high—at any rate I shall forward to you a years Interest on your Bonds & Mortgages and Bank Dividends.

I am much pleased to hear Mr Jay has had a favorable Reception at your Court & that there is a probability of Peace being continued between the two Countries. The Situation of England must be very critical, as the french appear to carry all before them in Flanders. On every Account & particularly on Yours I wish to see a general Peace succeed to these dreadful tumults which infest the World. We are not exempt from them even here—there is at present a Call for 15000 of the Militia to go to our Western Frontiers to quell an Insurrection of our own People on Account of the Excise on Whiskey.

Every body you love here, are well. My Dear Peggy I sincerely wish you every blessing which this World & the next can bestow.

Affectionately yours,

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

PHILADA 17th Decem^r 1794

MY DEAR PEGGY

Although it is long since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, yet I flatter myself that all is well with you & yours. I wait with some degree of Impatience to hear of the fate of the two Bills of Exchange of £100 Sterling each which I forwarded you by two different Vessels in August & September last by Way of Liverpool. I should have no doubt of their being paid, but on Accot of their being drawn on *Amsterdam* payable in London. Since which we have heard of such Disturbances in Holland that

it is possible some Obstructions to their being paid may arise on that Accot. The Drawer & Indorsers are however very able to make Amends. In truth there has been all the last Summer & fall so great a Scarcity of Bills which had any prospect of being good, that really I had no Choice. And now altho I have been constantly upon the look-out I can find but one substantial person who is drawing & that at the enormous Rate of 185 p cent Exchange. I have however thought it best to purchase one for £100 Sterling drawn by Mr John Wilcocks which I inclose you indorsed to Messrs Dorset & Co to be negotiated on your Accot. On the other side I give you a statement of your Money transactions since I undertook the charge of them, by which you will observe the present Remittance of £100 Sterling exceeds the Balance in my hands; but as I shall soon be reimbursed by Dividends and Interest, I thought it best not to lose the present Opportunity of purchasing and remitting so good a Bill as Mr Wilcocks's, altho the whole money was not received, more especially as you have not had the good fortune to receive the amount of the Bills I before remitted.

The family are all well & join with me in best Love to you & yours. Your Sisters I believe have written you several letters lately. God bless you my dear Child.

I am most affectionately Yours,

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

PHILADA 14th July 1795

MY DEAR PEGGY

I am happy to hear of your good health by your favor of the 6th of March. I find the fate of Mr Wilcocks's Bill was not known as it was to be negotiated at Hamburgh. Altho public Affairs on the Continent are in a distracted way, yet I have no doubt Mr Wilcocks's Bill will be honored.

I have had much trouble with regard to Greenleaf's Bills, indorsed by Morris & Nicholson; the latter Gentleman gave me every reason to expect that I should be reimbursed the money with the Damages in a very short time after the Bills came to hand—but I have been put off from time to time so that at length I was compelled as all the other Bill holders were, to take Mr Greenleaf's Notes payable one half in four months & the other half in Six Months. Finding however within these few days that Mr John Swanwick was drawing on London & know-

ing him to be an able man I thought it best to purchase a Bill from him with my own money amounting to the Principal Interest & Damages of Greenleaf's Bills at 175 p Cent Exchange. One of these Bills I now inclose & hope it will be duly honored. I will take my chance of being reimbursed by Greenleaf's Notes when they shall become due.

While the War continues to rage in Europe I do not wonder that many people in England should wish to invest some part of their property in America. We have every reason to believe their property would be safe in this Country. Our Government is firm & heartily disposed to continue at peace with all the World—some hot-headed people would willingly work up a Quarrel with England, but their Attempts will all prove ineffectual. The Treaty made by L^d Greenville & Mr Jay is ratified by the Senate except the 12th Article which regards our trade with the British Islands in the West Indies. This & perhaps some other parts of the Treaty will be the Subjects of future discussion, there being many Complaints here of a want of reciprocity in some of the Articles.

If any of your particular Friends should be at a loss for some person here to negotiate an Investment of any part of their property in this Country, I should, to oblige you, be willing to give them my Assistance, or perhaps it might be as well either to join Mr Burd with me or to appoint him alone, he being now engaged with your Sister Sally in some Mercantile Business.

The Family are all in good health & join me in the sincerest Wishes for your health & Welfare.

I am &c.

EDWARD SHIPPEN.

(To be continued.)

DEAN TUCKER'S PAMPHLET.

"A LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN LONDON TO HIS NEPHEW IN
NORTH AMERICA," 1766.

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 526.)

Perhaps you will say, and I think, it is the only thing left for you to say in excuse for such Proceedings, that you have other Public Taxes to pay, besides those which the British Parliament now requires. Undoubtedly you have, for your Provincial and other Taxes are likewise to be paid: But here let me ask, is not this our Case also? and have not we many other Taxes to discharge besides those which belong to the Public, and are to be accounted for at the Exchequer?—Surely we have: Witness our County Taxes, Militia Taxes, Poor Taxes, Vagrant Taxes, Bridge Taxes, High Road and Turnpike Taxes, Watch Taxes, Lamps and Scavenger Taxes, &c. &c. &c.—all of them as numerous and as burthensome as any that you can mention.¹ And yet with all this Burthen, yea, with an additional Weight of a National Debt of 18 l. Sterling per Head,—we require of each of you to contribute only One Shilling to every Twenty from each of us!²—yes; and this Shilling too to be spent in your own Country, for the Support of your own Civil and Military Establishments;—together with many Shillings drawn from us for the same Purpose.³—Alas! had you been in our Situation, and we in

¹ And have we not all these Taxes too, as well as you, and our Provincial or Public Taxes besides? And over and above, have we not new Roads to make, new Bridges to build, Churches & Colleges to found, & a Number of other Things to do that your Fathers have done for you and which you inherit from them, but which we are oblig'd to pay for out of our present Labour. [B. F.]

² How fond he is of this One Shilling and twenty! [B. F.]

³ Who has desired this of you, & who can trust you to lay it out? If you are thus to provide for our Civil and military Establishments, what use will there afterwards be for our Assemblies? [B. F.]

yours, would you have been content with our paying so small, so inconsiderable a Share of the Public Expences? And yet, small and inconsiderable as this Share is, you will not pay it.—No, you will not! and be it at our Peril, if we demand it.¹

Now, my Friend, were Reason and Argument, were Justice, Equity, or Candour to be allowed by you to have any concern in this Affair; I would then say, that you Americans are the most unfortunate People in the World in your Management of the present Controversy. Unfortunate you are; because the very Attempts you make towards setting forth your Inability, prove to a Demonstration, that you are abundantly able, were you but truly willing to pay this Tax. For how? and in what Manner do you prove your Allegations? Why truly, by breaking forth into Riots and Insurrections, and by committing every kind of Violence, that can cause Trade to stagnate, and Industry to cease.² And is this the Method, which you have chosen to pursue, in order to make the World believe, that you are a poor People? Is this the Proof you bring, that the Stamp Duty is a Burthen too heavy for you to bear? Surely, if you had really intended our Conviction, you would have chosen some other Medium:³—and were your Inability, or Poverty the single Point in question, you would not have taken to such Courses, as must infallibly render you still the poorer. For in fact, if, after all your Complaints of Poverty, you can still afford to idle away your Time, and to waste Days, and Weeks, in Outrages and Uproars;⁴ what else do you prove, but that you are a prodigal, and extravagant

¹ No. We will pay nothing on Compulsion. [B. F.]

² The Americans never brought Riots as Arguments. It is unjust to charge two or three Riots in particular Places upon all America. Look for Arguments in the Petitions & Remonstrances of the Assemblies, who detest Riots, of which there are ten in England for one in America. [B. F.]

³ How impudent it is to insinuate that the Americans chose no other Medium. [B. F.]

⁴ When? Where? [B. F.]

People? For you must acknowledge, that if but half of this Time were spent, as it ought to be, in honest Industry and useful Labour, it would have been more than sufficient to have paid double the Tax which is now required.

But you will still say, that though the Tax may be allowed (nay indeed it must be allowed) to be very moderate, every thing considered, and not at all excessive; "It may nevertheless be laid on, very unseasonably; it may be wrong-timed, and ill-digested."

Now, here I must own, that I am somewhat at a loss how to answer you, because I am not quite certain that I understand your Meaning. If, for Example, by the term *ill-digested*, you would insinuate, that the American Stamp Duty would grind the Faces of the Poor, and permit the Rich to escape;—that it would affect the Necessaries, and not the Superfluities of Life;—that it would prevent the Building of Houses, or the Clearing of Lands, or the Cultivation of Estates already cleared;—or lastly, that it would diminish the Number of your Shipping, or stop the Pay of your Sailors;—if these, or any of these are the Evils, which you would lay to the Charge of the Stamp Duty; nothing upon Earth could be a falser Charge: and you could not give a stronger Proof either of your Defect of Judgment, or Want of Integrity than by uttering such Assertions as these;—Assertions, which both daily Experience and the Nature of Things evidently demonstrate to be void of Truth. —We in Britain have been subject to a Stamp Duty for many, very many years;—a Duty much higher than that which is intended for America: and yet we know by long Experience, that it hath not been attended with any of the dreadful Consequences which are here supposed.

Again, as to the *wrong-timing*, or the *Unseasonableness* of this Tax:—If by this you mean to say, that it was laid on, at a Time, when you were poorer, and less able to bear it, than you were before;—that is *false* also. For you never were richer, and you never were more able to contribute your Quota towards the general Expences, than at the Junc-

ture of laying on this Tax. To prove this, let it be observed, that just before this Event, you had not only been draining the Mother Country dry by the immense Sums drawn from us to pay our Fleets and Armies, when acting in Defence of America;¹—and that your Jobbers & Contractors² had not only been sucking our Blood and Vitals by their extortionate Demands;—but you had also been enriched by the Spoils, and by the Traffic of the numerous Colonies of France and Spain. For you were continually acting the double Part either of Trade, or War, of Smuggling, or Privateering, according to the Prospect of greater Gain.³ And while we at home were exerting our utmost to put a speedy End to the War by an honourable Peace;—you on the contrary were endeavouring to prolong it as much as possible; and were supplying our Enemies with all Manner of Provisions, and all Sorts of warlike Stores for that Purpose.⁴ Nay; because forsooth a Part of these ill-gotten Riches were laid out in English Manufactures (there being at that Time hardly a Possibility of purchasing any but English, when our Fleets were absolute Masters of the Sea) your Advocates and Authors trumpeted aloud the prodigious Profits of this North American Trade;—not considering, or rather not willing that we should consider, that while a few Individuals were getting Thousands, the Public was spending Millions.

Once more: If by the Epithet *unseasonable*, you would be

¹ Defence of your Trade in America. [B. F.]

² *Your* Jobbers & Contractors if you please. We had none of those dainty Morsels. [B. F.]

³ Is the War we made on your Enemies then among our Offences? [B. F.]

⁴ An infamous Lie! They always have warlike Stores cheaper than ours: Our supplying them with Provisions was a Cry only to found an Embargo on for the Benefit of English Contractors, that they might buy our Provisions cheaper. All this Page is Falshood & Misrepresentation. Money was actually much scarcer in the Colonies after the War than before. This is a Fact known to all that know anything of them. [B. F.]

understood to mean, that there was *no need* of taxing you at all at that Juncture; *because the Mother Country was still as able to carry the additional Load, which you had brought upon us, as she had been to bear all the rest:*¹ if this be your Meaning, I must tell you once for all, that you are egregiously mistaken. For we can bear no more: we cannot support ourselves under heavier Taxations, even were we ever so willing: we have strained every Nerve already, and have no Resources left for new Impositions. Therefore let what will come of the present Affairs, let the Stamp Duty be repealed, or not; still the Expences of America must be borne by the Americans in some Form, or under some Denomination or other.²

But after all; perhaps you meant none of these Things; perhaps you meant to insinuate (though it was Prudence in you not to speak out) that the late Act was *ill-contrived* and *ill-timed*; because it was made at a Juncture, when neither the French,³ nor Indians were in your Rear to frighten, nor the English Fleets and Armies on your Front to force you to a Compliance. Perhaps this was your real Meaning: and if it was, it must be confessed, that in that Sense, the late Act was not well-timed; and that a much properer Season might have been chosen. For had the Law been made five or six Years before, when you were moving Heaven and Earth

¹ Infamous Lie! [B. F.]

² Undoubtedly. We don't desire you to bear our Expences. [B. F.]

³ It seems a prevailing Opinion in England, that Fear of their French Neighbours would have kept the Colonies in Obedience to the Parliament; and that if the French Power had not been subdu'd, no Opposition would have been made to the Stamp Act. A very groundless Notion. On the contrary, Had the French Power continued, to which the Americans might have had Recourse in case of Oppression from Parliament, Parliament would not have dared to oppress them. It was the Employ^{mt} of 50,000 Men at Land, & a Fleet on the Coast, five years to subdue the French only. Half the Land Army were Provincials. Suppose the British 25000 had acted by themselves with all the Colonies against them; what time would it have taken to subdue the whole? [B. F.]

with your Cries and Lamentations;¹ not a Tongue would then have uttered a Word against it; all your Orators would have displayed their Eloquence on other Topics; and even American Patriotism itself would at that Season have made no Difficulty in acknowledging, that the Mother Country had a Right to the Obedience of the Colonies in Return for her kind and generous Protection.²

Upon the whole therefore, what is the Cause of such an amazing Outcry as you raise at present?—Not the Stamp Duty itself: all the world are agreed on that Head: and none can be so ignorant, or so stupid, as not to see, that this is a mere Sham and Pretence. What then are the real Grievances, seeing that the Things which you alledge are only the pretended ones? Why, some of you are exasperated against the Mother Country, on the Account of the Revival of certain Restrictions laid upon their Trade:—I say,³ it has been the System of every European Power, which had Colonies in that Part of the World, to confine (as far as Laws can confine) the Trade of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and to exclude all others, under the Penalty of Confiscation, &c. from partaking in it. Thus, the Trade of the Spanish Colonies is confined by Law to Old Spain,—the Trade of the Brazils to Portugal,—the Trade of Martinico and the other French Colonies to Old France,—and the Trade of Curacoe and Surinam to Holland. But in one Instance the Hollanders make an Exception (perhaps a wise one) viz. in the Case of Eustatia, which is open to all the World. Now, that the English thought themselves entitled to the same Right over their Colonies, which other Nations claim over theirs, and that they exercised the same Right by making what Regulations they pleased, may be seen by the following Acts of Parliament, viz. 12 of Car. II. Chap. 18.—15 of Car. II. Ch. 7.—22 and 23 of C. II. Ch. 26.—25 of C. II.

¹ It is wonderful where the English drew this Notion! The Americans know nothing of it. [B. F.]

² The Protection was mutual. [B. F.]

³ Ever since the Discovery of America [false. B. F.].

Ch. 7.—7 and 8 of Will. III. Ch. 23.—10 and 11 of W. III. Ch. 22.—3 and 4 of Ann. Ch. 5 and 10.—8 of Ann. Ch. 13.—12 of Ann. Ch. 9.—1 of G. I. Ch. 26.—3 of G. I. Ch. 21.—8 of G. I. Ch. 15 and 18.—11 of G. I. Chap. 20.—12 of G. I. Ch. 5.—2 of G. II. Ch. 28 and 35.—3 of G. II. Ch. 28.—4 of G. II. Ch. 15.—5 of G. II. Ch. 9.—6 of G. II. Ch. 13.—8 of G. II. Ch. 28.—11 of G. II. Ch. 29.—12 of G. II. Ch. 30.—15 and 16 of G. II. Ch. 33.—With many others of a later Date. I might also mention the Laws made in the Reign of his present Majesty; but as these Laws are now the Point in controversy, I forbear *Revival*; for the same Restrictions have been the standing Rules of Government from the Beginning;¹ though not enforced at all Times with equal Strictness. During the late War, you Americans could not import the Manufactures of other Nations (which it is your constant Aim to do,² and the Aim of the Mother Country always to prevent) so conveniently as you can in times of Peace:³ and therefore, there was no Need of watching you so narrowly, as far as that Branch of Trade was concerned. But immediately upon the Peace, the various Manufactures of Europe, particularly those of France,⁴ which could not find Vent before, were spread, as it were, over all your Colonies, to the prodigious Detriment of your Mother Country.⁵ And therefore our late Set of Ministers acted certainly right, in putting in Force the Laws of their Country; in order to check this growing Evil.—If in so doing, they committed any Error; or, if the Persons to whom the Execution of these Laws were intrusted, exceeded their Instructions; there is no Doubt to be made,

¹ Not from the Beginning. Look below at your List of Acts. The first of them is in the 12 of Cha. II. Threescore years after the Beginning of Settlements in America. [B. F.]

² An absolute Lie. [B. F.]

³ More conveniently if we had lik'd them. But the Truth is, that Foreign Manufactures are not to the Taste of the Americans. [B. F.]

⁴ Not a single Manufacture of France, except Brandy if that be one, every used in America. [B. F.]

⁵ A vile Lie. [B. F.]

but that all this will be rectified by the present Administration. And having done that, they will have done all that in Reason you can expect from them. But alas! the Expectations of an American carry him much farther: For he will ever complain and smuggle, and smuggle and complain, till all Restraints are removed, and till he can both buy and sell, whenever, and wheresoever he pleases.¹ Any thing short of this, is still a Grievance, a Badge of Slavery,—an Usurpation on the natural Rights and Liberties of a free People, and I know not how many bad Things besides.

But, my good Friend, be assured, that these are Restraints, which neither the present, nor any future Ministry can exempt you from. They are the standing Laws of the Kingdom;² and God forbid, that we should allow that dispensing Power to our Ministers, which we so justly deny to our Kings. In short, while you are a Colony, you must be subordinate to the Mother Country.³ These are the Terms and Conditions, on which you were permitted to make your first Settlements:⁴ they are the Terms and Conditions, on which alone you can be entitled to the Assistance and Protection of Great Britain;⁵—they are also the fundamental Laws of the Realm;—and I will add farther, that if *we* are obliged to pay many Bounties for the Importation of *your* Goods, and are excluded from purchasing such Goods, in other Countries (where we might purchase them on much cheaper Terms) in order to promote *your* Interest;⁶—by Parity of Reason *you* ought to be subject to the like Exclusions, in order to promote *ours*. This then being the Case; do not expect, from the present Ministry that, which is im-

¹ Infinitely more Smuggling in England! Not a Member of Parlt that has not Smuggled Goods on his Wrists. [B. F.]

² They are Laws *in* the Kingdom. [B. F.]

³ To the King only. [B. F.]

⁴ Ignorance. [B. F.]

⁵ By suffering us to enjoin our Rights, you may expect our Assistance, & not otherwise. [B. F.]

⁶ Not at all to promote our Interest, but your own. See p. 23, 24, 25. [B. F.]

possible for any Set of Ministers to grant. All that they can do, is to connive a while at your unlawful Proceedings. But this can be but of short Duration : For as soon as ever fresh Remonstrances are made by the British Manufacturers, and British Merchants ; the Ministry must renew the Orders of their Predecessors ; they must inforce the Laws ; they must require Searches, and Confiscations to be made : And then the present Ministers will draw upon themselves, for *doing their duty*, just the same Execrations, which you now bestow upon the last.

So much as to your first Grievance. And as to your Second, it is, beyond Doubt, of a Nature still worse. For many among you are sorely concerned that they cannot pay their British Debts with an American Sponge.¹ This is an intolerable Grievance : and they long for the Day, when they shall be freed from this galling Chain. Our Merchants in London, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, &c. &c. perfectly understand *your* many Hints and Inuendoes to us, on this Head. But indeed, lest we should be so dull as not to comprehend your Meaning, you have spoken out, and proposed an open Association against paying your just Debts.² Had *our* Debtors in any other Part of the Globe, had the French or Spaniards proposed the like, (and surely they have all at least an equal Right,) what Name would you have given to such Proceedings ?³—But I forget : You are not the faithless French or Spaniards : You are ourselves : You are honest Englishmen.

Your third Grievance is the Sovereignty of Great Britain. For you want to be independent : You wish to be an Empire by itself, and to be no longer the Province of another.⁴ This Spirit is uppermost ; and this Principle is visible in

¹ Another infamous Lie ! [B. F.]

² Who proposed this, you lying Villain ! [B. F.]

³ Had the French or Spaniards rais'd such a Lie on you, what Name would you have given them. [B. F.]

⁴ We were always distinct separate States under the same Sovereign. [B. F.]

all your Speeches, and all your Writings, even when you take some Pains to disguise it. “What! an Island! A Spot such as this to command the great and mighty Continent of North America! Preposterous! A Continent, whose Inhabitants double every five and twenty Years! Who therefore, within a Century and an Half will be upwards of an hundred and twenty Millions of Souls!—Forbid it Patriotism, forbid it Politics, that such a great and mighty Empire as this, should be held in subjection by the paultry Kingdom of Great Britain!—Rather let the Seat of Empire be transferred: And let it be fixt, where it ought to be, viz. in Great America!”¹

¹ A Silly Speech Mr Dean has made for us. [B. F.]

(To be continued.)

Philadelphische Zeitung.

S A M B S T A G, den 6 Mey. 1732.

*An alle teutsche Einwohner der Provinz
Pennsylvanien.*

NACHDEM ich von verschiednen teutschen Einwohnern dieses Landes bin ersucht worden, eine teutsche Zeitung ausgehen zu lassen, und ihnen darinnen das vornehmste und merckwürdigste neues, so hier und in Europa vorfallen möchte, zu communiciren; doch aber hierzu viele mühe, große correspondenz und auch Unkosten erfordert werden: Als habe mich entschlossen, denen teutschen zu lieb gegenwärtiges Specimen davon heraus zu geben, und ihnen dabey die Conditiones welche nothwendig zu der continuation derselben erfordert werden, bekant zu machen.

Erstlich, müsten zum wenigsten, um die unkostendie darauf lauffen, gut zu machen, 300 stücks können gedruckt und debitiret werden, und müste in jeder Township dazu ein mann ausgemacher werden, welcher mir wissen liefse, wie viel Zeitungen jedes mahl an ihn müsten gesandt werden, und der sie dan weiter einen jeglichen zustellen und die bezahlung davor einfordern müste.

Vor jede Zeitung muß jährlich 10 Shillinge erleget, und davon alle quartal 2 sh. 6 d. bezahlet werden.

Dagegen verspreche ich auf meiner seite, durch gute Correspondenz die ich in Holland und England habe allezeit das merckwürdigste und neueste so in Europa und auch hier passiret, alle

woene einmahl, nemlich SonnaEnds in gegenwärtiger form einer Zeitung, nebst denen schiffen so hier abgehen und ankommen, und auch das iteigen oder fallen des Preißes der Guter, und was sonst zu wissen dienlieb bekandt zu machen.

Advertissemente oder Bekant machungen, welche man an mich schicken möchte, sollen das erste mahl vor 3 shill. 3 mahl aber vor 5 shill. hinein gesetzt werden.

Und weil ich nützlich crachte die gantze beschreibung der aufriechtung dieser provintz, mit allen derselben privilegien, rechten und gesetzen, bey ermangelung genugsamer Neuigkeiten, darinnen bekandt zu machen; solte nicht undienlich seyn, das ein jeder, zumahl wer kinder hat, diese Zeitungen wohl bewahre, und am ende des jahres an einander heffte; zumahl da solche dann gleichsam als eine Chronica dienen können, die vorigen Geschichte daraus zu erschen, und die folgende desto beßer zu verstehen.

Auch wird anbey zu bedencken gegeben, ob es nicht rahtsam wäre, in jeder groffen Townships einen reitenden Boten zu bestellen, welcher alle woche einmahl nach der stadt reiten und was ein jeder da zu bestellen hat, mit nehmen könne

So bald nun die obgemeldte anzahl der Unterichreiber vorhanden, welche so bald als möglich ersuche in Philadelphia

Sprachmeister, wohnhaft
in Frontstreet, Philad.

Amsterdam den 22 Feb. Zeitungen aus Wien berichten, daß man alda von Constantiupol vernommen, daß die Pforte einen 20 jährigen Waffenstillstand mit Persien getroffen, und daß der Großsultan an den König von Engeland geschrieben habe, daß im fall Ihre Britannische Majestät sich dem vornehmen der Turcken widersetzen möchte, das commercium mit Engeland solte verboren werden. Woraus man murh masset, daß sie willens sind gegen die Christen zu kriegen.

Von München wird geschrieben, daß bereits einige Bayerische Regimenter nach den gränzen von Salzburg im anmarsch begriffen, welche sich

Wida zu 6000. Käyserlichen, und 4000. Reichs-
truppen flügen, und denen Protestanten, die die
Waffen ergriffen haben, widerstand thun sollen.
Alle die Häuſer ſo auf den Baſtionen der Stadt
Salzburg geſtanden, ſind biß auf den grund de-
molirt, und denen Malcontenten aller paß nach
Inſpruck und Lentz abgeſchnitten.

Von Salzburg hat man, daſs den 22. October
250 Dragoners von des Printzen Eugenii Regi-
ment 22. geſangene dahin gebracht haben in drey
Wagens, welche der Biſchoff vor ſeinem Pallast
Mirabel hat ſehen vorbeÿ paßiren; und daſs 100
Salzburger Soldaten nach dem Gebürge geſchi-
cket die anderen zu verſtärcken, weil die Rebel-
len drohen, Priester und Ambleute tod zu ſchla-
gen, im fall dieſe Gefangene nicht wieder zu-
rück geſendet werden: Auch werden den 24.
noch 800 Mann von Oeſterreich erwartet, welche
ſich zu denen 200. die 4 tage zuvor angekom-
men, flügen ſollen.

Auch wird von Wien berichtet, daſs nachdem
die Keyſerlichen Regimenter von Jorger, Alt-
Dann und Wurmbrand auf den Gränzen des
Ertzbiscthums angekommen, die in dem Gebür-
ge ſich aufhaltende Rebellen ziemlich ſtille wor-
den, und nur bisweilen Bittſchreiben eingeben,
worinnen ſie ſich über die unerträgliche Taxen
beſchwehren, und Freyheit erſuchen aus dem
lande zu gehen, welches ihnen aber von denen
Dragonern des Printz Eugenii, die von Lentz biß
auf das Salzburger Territorium poſtirt ſeyn,
gewehret wird.

Regensburg den 20. Decemb. Am 15. dieſes mo-
naths hielten die Evangelischen Stände eine Con-
ſeienz, worinnen der Chur-Sächſiſche Geſandte
einen Entwurf laß eines Memorials an den Mi-
niſter von Salzburg, den freÿen abzug der ge-
dachten Proteſtanten aus dem Ertzſtitt betref-
fende, welches gut gefunden und beſchloſſen wur-
de es gedachten Miniſter zu übergeben. Die E-
vangelischen Stände haben ein Memorial von ei-
nem gewiſſen Salzburger, nahiens Meyes, em-
pfangen, dieſes inhalt: Daſs ſelbiger, nach-
dem er ſich von da retirirt, und wieder zurück
gegangen ſeine Verwandten zu beſuchen, zu
Kuftein im Tyrolischen arreſtirt, mit ſticken
gebunden und nach Salzburg gebracht worden,
doch hernachmals wieder loß geſaſſen, mit be-
fehl ſich ſo gleich fort zu packen und weder ſein
Weib und Kinder, noch etwas von ſeinen Gü-
tern mit zu nehmen, und im fall er wieder kä-
me, ſiite er auf die Galeren gebracht werden.
Auch lauſtet ein Gerücht, daſs etliche hundert
Proteſtanten unter einer Eſcorte Soldaten auf die
Beyerſche Gränzen ſind gebracht worden, weil
ihnen aber von denen Beyerern der eingang in ihr
Land iſt geweigert, und der paß überall verweh-

rer worden, haben ſie 5 wochen lang auf der
Landſtraſſe ſich aufhalten, und acht tage und
nachte unter dem freÿen Himmel wie das Vieh
liegen müſſen, biß ſie endlich erlaubniß bekom-
men haben, nach Tyrol zu gehen.

Augsburg, den 26. Jan. Es wird überhaupte
angemercket, daſs die aufführung der Salzburger-
ſchen Proteſtanten in ihrem thun und weſen ſehr
überein kommt mit dem Leben der erſten Chri-
ſten, unter den Heydniſchen Keyſern, zu zeiten
der Apoſtel. Einige unter ihnen haben ein Lied
oder Pfalm gemacht auf dem wege da ſie ihr
Land verlaſſen muſten, und ſungen es zu ihrem
und ihrer Geſellſchaft troſt; es lautet in ihre
Sprache alſo:

1. *Ich bin ein armer Exulant;
Ach! So thu ich miß ſchreiben,
Man thut mich aus dem Vaterland,
Umb Gottes Wort vertreiben.*
2. *Das weiſs ich wohl, Herr Jeſu Chriſt,
Es iſt dir auch ſo gungen,
Jetzt will ich dein Nachfolger ſeyn,
Herr, machs nach dein verlangen.*
3. *Ein Pilgrim bin ich halt nunmehr,
Muß reifen fremde ſtraſſen,
Das bitt ich dich, mein Gott und Herr,
Du wirſt mich nicht verlaſſen.*
4. *Den Glauben hab ich freÿ bekennt,
Das darff ich mich nicht ſchämen,
Wann man mich gleich ein Ketzer nennt.
Und thät mirs leben nehmen.*
5. *Ketten und Band war mir mein Ebr,
Um Jeſus willen zu dulden,
Und dieſes macht die Glaubens-lehr.
Und nicht mein böß verſchulden.*
6. *Muß ich gleich fort, in Gottes Nahm,
Und wird mir all's genommen,
So weiſs ich ſchon die Himmels Krobu
Werd ich ein mahl bekommen.*
7. *So muß ich heut von meinen Hauß
Die Kindlein ? muß ich laſſen,
Das meinige }
Mein Gott, es treibt mir zäbren aus,
Zu wandern fremde Sträſſen.*
8. *Mein Gott fähr mich in einen Platz
Wo ich dein Wort kan haben.
Darin will ich mich frühe und ſpät
In meinem hertzen lauben.*

*9. Soll ich in diesem Jammerthal
Noch langer in armuth leben,
So hoff ich doch, Gott wird mir dort
Ein bessere Wohnung geben*

GROSS BRITANNIEN.

Nachdem die Friedens und Kriegs-affairen in Europa eine geraume zeit hier auf einen sehr wackelbahnen fuß gestanden, und man einige Jahre allezeit in den waffen stehend denen Friedens-handlungen obgelegen, so hat doch endlich der König von Groß Britannien, durch den ihn beywohnenden Eifer das beste seiner Unterthanen zu bevordern, die letzte hand ans werck geschlagen, und durch einen Tractat, welchen er den 16. Mertz verwichenen Jahres zu Wien mit dem Keyser gemacht, den Frieden und die Ruhe in Europa befestiget; Zu diesem Tractat ist Spanien und Holland auch getreten: Frankreich allein scheint darüber sehr unvergnügt zu seyn. Und weil der Keyser und Engeland sich darinnen verpflichtet den Infant von Spanien Don Carlos, als Erb-prinz der Hertzogthümer Toscana und Parma mit 6000 Mann Spanische Troupen in Italien einzuführen; so hat diesem zu folge der König von Engeland eine Esquader unter dem Admiral Wager nach Barcelona geschickt, sich alda zu der Spanischen Flotte zu fügen und die 6000. Spanier nach Livorno zu transportiren, welche Introduction auch glücklich vor sich gegangen, und anlaß gegeben zu einer Anrede des Königs am 13. Jan. an die beyde Häuser des Parlaments, welche wir wegen enge des raums auf eine andere Gelegenheit versparen wollen.

London den 29. Jan. Verwichenen Mittwoch abends um 9 uhr, gab der Graff Bothmar, erster Minister der Hannoverischen affairen, in seinem Hause in S. James Park, nach einer lang gewährten unspäßlichkeit, der Zeitlichkeit gute nacht. Er hat über 20. Jahr in Engeland gewohnt. Sein Leichnam soll balsamirt, nach Hannover gebracht und bey seinen Voreltern zur Erden bestatet werden.

London den 3. Feb. In einem Schreiben von Barcelona wird gemeldet, daß vor 2 Tagen an die dasigen Intendanten ordre gekommen, eine Armee von 30000: Mann fertig zu halten, und nöthige anstalt zu machen, daß selbige den 25. Mertz nebst aller dazu gehörigen Artillerie könne eingeschifft werden doch weiß noch niemand worauf dicke mochte angesehen seyn.

PHILADELPHIA. 6. Mey.

Von Martha's Vineyard hat man, daß die vor einiger zeit allda ankommene Pfaltzer, welche auf ihrer langen reise von Rotterdam so übel sind behandelt worden, mit Captain Loyd accordiret haben sie hieher zu führen, und werden nunmehr täglich erwartet.

Von Engeland wird befestiget, daß der Proprietor dielen Fröling noch hier ankommen werde, auch daß er alsdann, folgendes dem Vergleich mit Mylord Baltimore gestoffen, die Linie laufen lassen wolle.

Am verwichenen Sonntag nachmittage unter währendem Gottesdienst entstand hier ein heftiger brand in Mr Badcocks Brau-haus. Ein jeder lief eilends aus der Kirchen, und fand sich eine große menge Volcks bey dem Feuer, doch konte das Gebäu nicht errerret werden. Wenn es des nachts ausgebrochen, oder das Wasser nicht eben hoch in dem graben gewesen wäre; solte ein viel größerer schade daraus haben können entstehen, weil die Flamme schon verschiedene andere Häuser ergriffen. Die Brandsprützen tharen bey dieser Gelegenheit große dienste, und jederman war willig zu helfen, dergestalt, daß das Wohnhaus noch, wiewohl nicht ohne schaden, ist erreret worden.

Vergangene Woche hat es sich begeben, daß eine Frau, welche einige zeit zuvor sehr melancholisch gewesen, in einem Sloop das Rivier hinab gefahren, und die Gelegenheit wahrgenommen, wenn niemand in der Cabine war, eine Flinte genommen und an den Springer des Hahns ein strick gebunden, das Mündloch unter die Brust gestellet und sich also selbst erschossen, daß der schuß hinten neben der Schulter heraus gangen, und sie wenige stunden hernach daran gestorben.

Hier sind nachfolgende Schiffe eingelauffen.

Brig. Warren, Tho Ramsey, von Dublin.
Snow Lovely Hannah, J Wilcocks, von Antigua.
Sloop Dove, John Rice, von South Carolina.
Sloop Johns, Abr Hayes, von North Carolina.
Ship Diamond, Will. Donaldson, von Bristol.
Snow Mary Ann, Lab Pearce, von S Christopher.
Preis folgender Güter. Weitzen der Buschel 2 schill. 6. pence. Fein Mehl, der Centner 8 sch. Mittel Brod 12. sch. gemengt, 10. sch. braun. 9 sch. Rum, ein Gallon 2. sch. 4 p. Melasse 16. p.

BEKENTMACHUNG.

Güter rother Kleber-Saamen vor billigen preis zu bekommen bey George Fitzwater, in der Marck strass, Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA: Gedruckt bey B. Francklin in der Marck-strass, wo diese Zeitungen zu bekommen und Bekandt-machungen zu bestellen sind.

PHILADELPHISCHE ZEITUNG:

THE FIRST GERMAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN AMERICA.

In the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for October, 1900, we gave a fac-simile of the second number of the *Philadelphische Zeitung*, published by Franklin,—the first newspaper printed in the German language in America,—and we now take pleasure in reproducing in fac-simile the first number, issued on May 6, 1732.

The editor, Louis Timothée, announces “An alle teutsche Einwohner der Provintz Pennsylvanien;” that at the solicitation of many Germans it had been determined to publish a German newspaper to contain the most important and reliable items of local and foreign news, shipping news, and reports of the markets. In the event of a lack of news at any time, a history of the founding of the Province and its laws would be printed.

To insure success to the enterprise three hundred copies should be printed and sold, and to accomplish this, agents or canvassers should be appointed in every township. Caspar Wistar, in Philadelphia, or Daniel Mackinet, in Germantown, will receive subscriptions.

The enterprise, for lack of support, proved unsuccessful; for when the second number was issued, June 24, 1732, it was announced that under fifty subscriptions had been secured. As number one was issued as a specimen copy, attention is directed to the difference in type and arrangement of the title and imprint with that of number two; otherwise the make-up is the same.

LIST OF PATIENTS ADMITTED TO AND DISCHARGED
FROM THE MARINE HOSPITAL, PHILADELPHIA,
1784.

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL AT HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA,
BY LUTHER R. KELKER.

List of People received into the Marine Hospital out of
Sundry Vessels in the year 1784.

Ship Queen of France.

Barnard Maleen, died July 4.

Brig Frances.

Catherine Moore, cured and discharged.

Ann McFadden, “ “

Eliz. Osburne, “ “

Robt. King, “ “

Eleanor McQuire “ “

Jno. McKoble, “ “

Tho' Connelly, “ “

Owen Boat, “ “

Dan^l Fitzgerald, “ “

W^m Fallon, “ “

Hector Dalton, “ “

Jno. McCabe, “ “

Miles Neal, died May 9.

Ship Etruria.

Anastia Pocowick, cured and discharged.

Christian Calabria, “ “

Brig Jane.

Tho' Mahool, cured and discharged.

Ship Providence.

Eleanor Haley,	cured and discharged.
Jno. Trainer,	" "
Morris Conner,	" "
Dan ^l Murphy,	" "
James Baltor,	" "
W ^m Ailton,	" "
Jno. Barry,	" "
Jno. Lynch,	" "
Ed. Moore,	" "
Denis Driget,	" "
Mary Moore,	" "
Rich ^d Welsh,	" "
Rob ^t Allen,	" "
Tho ^s Coleston,	" "
Jno. Sparin,	" "
Humphrey Cohoon,	" "
Andrew Cantler,	" "
W ^m Byron,	" "
Eleanor Henesy,	" "
Jno. Collier,	" "
James Welsh,	" "
Denis Hollard,	" "
James Stapleton,	" "
Peter Talbot,	" "
John Calm,	" "
Margaret Smith,	" "
John Emerson,	" "
Jeremiah Lynch,	" "
W ^m Pikleston,	" "
Daniel Murphy,	" "
Morris Conner,	" "
William Ware,	" "
Geo. Buckstone,	" "
Richard Welsh,	" "
Jno. Dougherty,	" "
Eliz. Ailton,	" "

Mary Leeson, cured and discharged.

Denis Hollard, “ “

William Storr, “ “

Geo. Buckstone, “ “

William Moon, died June 10.

Schooner Polly.

Philip Prosser, died July 9.

Ship Sally.

Jno. Anderson, died July 19.

Ship Hankey.

Chas. Newman, cured and discharged.

James Butler, “ “

W^m Halfpenny, “ “

Benj. Summerfield, “ “

Jno. Galvin, “ “

Pat. Reily, “ “

Rich^d Ruton, “ “

Sam^l Bennet, “ “

Martin Tully, “ “

Jno. Hackett, “ “

W^m McMahon, “ “

Jno. Summers, “ “

Jno. Murphy, “ “

Cubbin Kenam, “ “

James Butler, “ “

Jno. Sutton, “ “

Henry Harris, “ “

Ann Morris, “ “

Mary Ennis, “ “

Margaret Kenam, “ “

James Quigley, “ “

James Day, “ “

Jno. Shanks, “ “

Pat. Shannon, “ “

Pat. Reily, “ “

Jno. Welsh, “ “

Flary Kenam, “ “

Robt. Beatty, cured and discharged.

Jno. Belgar, “ “

W^m M^cMahoon, “ “

W^m Halfpenny, “ “

Cameron, “ “

Jno. Day, “ “

Pat. Shannon, “ “

Jno. Belgar, “ “

W^m M^cMahoon, “ “

N. Kirkpatrick, died July 23rd.

Schooner Experiment.

Andrew Thunder, died September 7th.

Brig^t William.

Hugh Karney, cured and discharged.

James Newal, “ “

William Branson, “ “

William Young, “ “

Tho^s Lodin, “ “

Francis Barriett, “ “

William Carr, “ “

Daniel Contry, “ “

Sarah M^cGomery, “ “

Eliz. Finley, “ “

James Kenny, “ “

Mary Murphy, “ “

Mary M^cClaine, “ “

Mary M^cKenny, “ “

Sarah Sale, “ “

Francis Richmond, “ “

Catherine Murray, “ “

Rose Graham, “ “

Edward Shields, “ “

Pat. Hicky, “ “

Pat. Boylen, “ “

Pat. M^cHan, “ “

Pat. Kelly, “ “

Pat. Todd, “ “

Mack Pews,	cured and discharged.
Owen Brady,	" "
Jno. Rheagen,	" "
Richard Kennedy,	" "
Robert Johnston,	" "
John Forsyth,	" "
Barney Connel,	" "
Thomas Whagen,	" "
Pat. Byrnes,	" "
Feliz Fitzsimons,	" "
Barney Cameron,	" "
James M ^c Ganty,	" "
Daniel Hogan,	" "
Thomas London,	" "
Barclay Murphy,	" "
Isabell Connelly,	" "
Isabell Evans,	" "
Ann Morrison,	" "
Jno. Burnside,	" "
Pat. Moore,	" "
Peter Cain,	" "
Jno. Caming,	" "
El ^s Donokony,	" "
Cohburn M ^c Kin,	" "
Peter Kelly,	" "
Robt. Johnston,	" "
William Young,	" "
Margaret White,	" "
Francis Richmond,	" "
William Carr,	" "

Brig^t Fame.

Barnett Swyler,	cured and discharged.
Jno. Tunks,	" "
James Ellis,	" "
William Brown,	" "

Brig. P. A. [torn].

Charles, a Negro, cured and discharged.

Ship Faithful Steward.

Charles Barr, cured.

Ship Three Brothers.

Mary Bell, cured.

Jane Carlisle, “

Robt. Gilber, “

Connelly Leeper, “

Arthur Crahen, “

Martha Henry, “

Chris. Buchanan, “

—— Buchanan, “

Jno. Buchanan, “

James Buchanan, “

—— Buchanan, “

Angus Moore, “

Daniel Gallaher, “

Ship Congress.

James Halfpenny, cured and discharged.

Susannah Murphy, “ “

James Southerland, “ “

James Ross, “ “

Jane Coddin, “ “

William Mc Gee, “ “

James Campbell, “ “

Agnes Smith, “ “

Samuel Smith, “ “

Eliza Kagg, “ “

Felix Kirk, “ “

Martha Todd, “ “

Eleanor Browne, “ “

Hugh Dormis, “ “

William Hockey, “ “

Mary Waddle, “ “

Jno. Fletcher, “ “

Thomas Sherrin, “ “

Jos. Farney, “ “

Sarah Arthur, “ “

Pheley Keith,	cured and discharged.
Thomas Keith,	“
Francis Ethirington,	“
Martha Campbell,	“
Ann Morton,	“
Ann Widney,	“
Henry Lylly,	“
Jno. M ^c Elroy,	“
Charles Widney,	“
John Phillips,	“
Pat. Mackey,	“
Edward Sweeney,	“
John Magee,	“
Sarah Smith,	“
Robert Grayson,	“
Robert Grimes,	“
James M ^c Mullen,	“
Oliver O’Hara,	“
James Carr,	“
Pat. Kean,	“
John Morrow,	“
Joseph M ^c Gallagier,	“
Pat. Williams,	“
William Stewart,	“
John Spence,	“
John M ^c Guire,	“
William Stewart,	“
Margaret Stewart,	“
Barney M ^c Carney,	“
William Dempsey,	“
Jno. M ^c Guire,	“
Malcolm M ^c Kain,	“
Mary M ^c Croskin,	“
James M ^c Mullen,	“
John Collins,	“
John Hawthorn,	“
James M ^c Neal,	“

James Gallagher, cured and discharged.

Samuel Steele, “ “

Thomas Eakler, “ “

Charles Dougherty, “ “

John M^cGuire, “ “

Barney M^cCarney, “ “

Dennis Dougherty, “ “

James M^cLaughlin, “ “

Pelick London, “ “

John H[awkins?], “ “

Pat. Landon, “ “

James M^cLaughlin, “ “

Francis Moore, died.

Isaac Vincent, “

and three children, “

Ship Hope.

John Rodgers, cured.

Thomas Carborough, “

James Watson, “

Edward Hart, “

Eliz. M^cEntire, “

Margaret Jones, “

Horatia Garnett, “

John Sprat, “

Neal M^cDaniel, “

Pat. M^cGaggen, “

Michael M^cDiff, “

Eliz. Smith, “

Edward Hollywood, “

Thomas Templeton, “

Henry Harding, “

Ann Murphy, “

John Rodgers, died Sept. 25.

Negro man, died Oct. 6.

John Campbell, died.

Ship Gehemrauden.

Margaret Shields and child,

Henry Gordon,
Peter Wathoner,
John Reyer,
Martin Myrnick,
Francis Sevin,
Paul Keblett,
Michael Shea,
John Conoch,

Albright Medasser, died Oct. 24.

Mr. Nicholas Fitzsimmons, the Steward of the Hospital,
died June 4th.

Cured and discharged, 260

Died, 16

———276 Total.

JOHN JONES,
Health Officer.

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN LACEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 515.)

Gen^l Washington having collected his scattered Troops made a Dash on the Enemy at Trenton, after the Capture of the Hessians there, and giving Gen^l How the slip, the detail of which Manuvre is already before the Public. by this masterly stroke the Enemy was made to retire from the Banks of the Delaware, and remained quiet at Brunswick in the State of New Jersey untill the opening of the Campaign the insuing summer. On his leaving our Neighbourhood the tranquility and fearfull apprehensions of the People were allayed; but I soon discovered a radical change had taken place in the Political sentiments of my Neighbours and acquaintances, during my Absence. A sullen vindictive and malignant spirit seme to have taken hold of a large portion of the People in this County, whose Hostility to the Revolution was too apparent not to be noticed, and semed only waiting a good oportunity to brake forth openly in favour of England, and against their own Country—Threats and meanances where used by them, when in Company of those they dare to use them. Happy for the Whigs, however, the Tories were a set of Paltroons and Cowards, afraid Openly to espouse their Cause, and declare themselves. While the Whigs on the other hand acted Openly, avowed their intentions, and determination to live free & Independent or die gloriously in the struggle fighting for their Country. The Tories sneekingly continued to Act under Cover, giving secret information, when ever they could to the British, rediculing the American Officers, and using every means they could invent to discourage the Whigs—and dissuaid them from joining the American army—or

Militia—In Bucks County it was hard to say which party was the most numerous—a great part of the disaffected were persons Who made a Plea of Conscience in refusing to bear arms—this was a deadly blow to the Party—& this cause more than any other gave a strong preponderance in favour of the Revolution, untill the active and unseasing persiveriance of the Whigs, carryed all before them and bore down all opposition by their sturdyness and firm persiverance in favour of the Revolution. The change of Politicks, and principles, when I left the country with my company, all was peace and harmony among the People in the neighbourhood on my return they appeared all hostile to each other, Whig & Tory in a state little better than open Enemies, they were Worse, especially the Tories, for they were secretly doing the Wigs all the harm they could possibly do—Traducing, villifying and in all ways and means committing hidden acts to weaken the americans cause, and applauding the British, representing the Power of Great Britton to be Omnipotent—and that it was the highth of madness & folly to oppose her, thus throwing every Clog in the Way that lay in their power. I almost begun to doubt whither I had not mistaken my Native Country, for that of an Enemies—The Hostility of the Tories was so great to Indipendance, that nothing but cowardice alone prevented their Taking up arms and openly declaring themselves in favour of and joining the British Army. They actually did every thing they dare do, by encouraging the youth to go over and join the British, and Actually did send many to them. The Legislature under the New Constitution were Sitting in Philada—and were progressing in Acts to Organize the Government—They had a New Militia Law to make, which they passed on the 17th of March A.D. 1777. It was requisite the People should be Armed, organized and put in readiness as soon as possible to be ready to oppose the progress of the Enemy the Next Campaign, Who it was expected, would make great efforts to overrun the Country and take possession of Philad^a

—It was highly important this Act should go into operation immediately. I was applied to by my Uncle Wilkinson one of the Members of Assembly from Bucks County, to Accept the Commission of sub Lieutenant for the County—In order to facilitate the operation of this Law—The Legislature had provided in it—the establishment of a kind of Civil and Military Trybunal under officers called—Lieut^{ts} Lieutenant—and Sub Lieutenants in each County—With the — of Colo^{ls} and Lieu^{ts} Colonels—Who were to hold Courts to Class and district the Militia and to organize them into Regiments and Companies, hold the Elections for Officers—and to call out the Classes, find Substitutes in place of Delinquents—To assess or cause the Assessments on Delinquents to be collected and paid into the State Treasury—with other extensive Powers enumerated in the Law. I agreed to Accept the appointment. Joseph Kirkbride Esq one of the members of Assembly from this county was appointed the Lieut—John Gill, myself—Sam^l Smith and Andrew Keichline were chosen the sub Lieut^{ts}—My Commission dated 22 Day of March 1777. We were summoned to meet by the Lieut Colo^l Kirkbride at New Town to enter upon the Functions of our Office. Having seen some service and knowing More of Military matters than any of my brethren in office. I became a very active and useful Member. We immediately commenced in our duty—Appointed persons in each Township in the County to take the names of all Male White inhabitants between the Ages of Eighteen and fifty three, with orders to make returns to us on a certain Day named in their order to which time we adjoined; The Persons so employed being urged to make all possible dispatch, executed their orders, with punctual exactness, when we proceeded to divide the County into five Districts—allotting each districts to Compose one Regimt—each Regiment to be commanded by One Colo. Lieut Col and one Major. To be divided into Eight Companies each Company to be commanded by One Capt one Lieut—and one Ensign—Elections were held and the officers Chosen, with such Hastity that

on my being sent with the returns of the Names of the Officers Chosen, to the Executive Council in Philad^a I was Complimented by them on being the First of the Counties who had made returns of their Elections of Officers. John Armstrong Esq^r of Cumberland County was Appointed by the Executive Council a Major Gen^l he had been a Colo^l last French and Indian War where he served with Reputation, he was now an Old Man, but stood high as a Friend to the Independence and Liberty of his Country, and in private life of unblemished Character. John Cadwallader Sam^l Merridith and James Potter Esq^{rs} were appointed Brigadier Gen^{ls}—These were doubtless all good appointments, excepting Merridith Who was quite an unmilitary Character his declining to accept the appointment was no detriment to the service—Cadwallader's rejection was seriously to be regretted, he was an Active, enterprising and spirited Man; but unfortunately these two Men had leaged themselves with the party hostile to the New Constitution, determined to oppose all measures used to carry it into operation—Their enmity to it was so great, they intirely overlooked the fatal effects their opposition might produce in distroying the general Cause of Independence, by their disorganization, and imbarisment, they would give the Goverment very unwisely Judging this to be the proper time to reform, the Constitution, while the Enemy was at our Gates—indeed Among us, within Our Doors, for we had a formadable Enemy in the numerous Tories in the City and Philad^a and Bucks Counties who ketched at this opposition, and fand the Flame they had seen so Auspiciously began Among the Wigs themselves as they conceived, and which they hailed as a happy Omen of their sertain tryumph and victory.—

Many of the First Charactors in the State, out of a dislike of some of the Sections of this Constitution, on account of giving too Much Power to the Legislature, it having but one Branch, and on the whole being too loose and Democratic—exhited a most formadable opposition by those who called themselves the Nobility and better sort of the People.

The Militia of the District in which I lived chose me Lieut Colo^l which I Accepted—this appointment not interfering with my other Commission as Sub Lieut. I continued to act in both capacities—The Commission of Lieut Colo^l was dated the sixth day of May 1777—several drafts were made from the Militia to join the Main Army under Genl Washington to oppose the Enemy who had landed at the Head of Elk in the State of Maryland and were advancing through the State of Dalaware arrived at the Brandawine—Where a decisive engagement of the two armies obliged Genl Washington to retire with his flying Troops to the East Bank of the Schoolkill—The enemy following—crossed the schoolkill and entered the City of Philad^a without further opposition,—Genl Washington having taken a strong position in the upper end of Philad^a County made no effort to stop the advance of the Enemy to the City—Genl Howe having placed a part of his Troops on the Hights of Germantown a village about 5 Miles from the City. Genl Washington conceiving this a favourable object put his troops in Motion and made a vigorous attack on the Enemy who were unapprised of his movements untill their Sentries hailed the advanced Colloms of our Troops—Who rushed forward drove the Enemy on all Quarters and took possession of their Camp—this would have been a decisive day in favour of america—had not the american Troops halted to dislodge a few of the Enemy who had taken shelter in a large stone House belonging to Benj Chew—which so retarded their progress the Enemy had time to Rally and being supported by fresh Troops from the City—The American army were stoped in their persuit—broaken parties coming up in persuit of the flying Enemy to the new formed line of the British troops were unable to force them a second time, had to fall back, the Enemy taking advantage of their disorder advanced—the American Troops not being able to form were pushed back in turn, the Gen^l finding the Day lost ordered a retreat which was done in Tollorable order—thus ended an affare that on the

onset promised so fair and which we had every assurance to believe, had it not been for the stoppage at Chews House would have been a Compleat victory; but he that holds the destinies of Battles and events in his own hands, had decreed it should be otherwise. After this the Enemy retired to the City and Genl Washington encamped in a very advantagous position on the Hights of White Marsh. Altho I had no Command at this time I was with the Militia in the above affare—They were posted on the right of the American Army with orders to turn the Enemies left—before they came to the place allotted them the Enemy were gone, and their New line was formed so far to the left I saw their was little likelihood of their coming into contact with them. I rode forward to where the Main Army was engaged and had an oportunity of seeing the manner in which the affare was conducted—We had full possession of the Enemies Camp which was on fire in many places Dead and Wounded Men laying strewed about on all Quarters—When the Order for Retreat came the American Troops were in much disorder those in front who had been driven back by the Enemy falling on those in the Rear increased the Confusion, It was impossible to form Troops in such order as to oppose the advancing Enemy a general retreat was inevitably necessary to save the American Army from a general rout.

The affare of Chews House, was not, in my mind, the only cause for the loss of this Battle, there were others equally important. Genl Greens Division composing the left wing of the Armeý, was either led astray by their Guide, or mistook their way, wandered so far to the left, they never came into the action—the right wing composed of the Pennsy^a Militia of about four thousand—in like manner being so far to the right, neither of which, I have ever been able to learn saw the Enemy that Day. Had they equally acted their part with that of the Senter, commanded in person by Genl Washington and pushed the Enemies flanks with spirit and alairity, as they ought to have done—they must have been prevented of forming a second line, as they did without

opposition, and after rallying having none to contend with but the senter Division of the American Army and only part of that, the other having halted at Chews House—Those who did advance in persuit of the flying enemy being broken and out of Order, were unable to make any impression on the Enemy, thus drawn up in Order, soon gave way—The fate of the Day so favourable to the American Arms on the onset instantly changed sides. Genl Washington persieving the Day lost, gave a general order for retreat.—

The time of the Militia from Bucks County was up the last of Oct. Others were Ordered by the Executive Council to be ready to releave them. They were required by the Lieutenants to rendesvous at New Town—their not being a Collo's Command, and altho, it was not my Toor according to rotation, the Lieut Cornal whose duty it was to go, consented for me to take his place. Having collected the Men principally substitutes between three or four Hundred, left New Town and joined Genl Potter's Brigade at White Marsh the begining of the Month of November, not long after Our arrival the British Army advanced from the City and took post on Chestnut Hill, the two Armies being in sight of each other: frequent reincountres insued between the advanced Parties, in one of which Genl. Ervine Commanding a Brigade of the Pennsy^a Militia was Wounded and taken prisoner—my regiment was in several of those combats—in attacking and driving in the Enemies Picquets, who being reinforced, we were driven in turn, thus alternately advancing and retreating schrimminsing was kep up for several Days, a general engagement was daily expected. The Enemy after reconitering, and examining the American Army, finding them so strong and well posted declined the Combat and retired to the City. After which Genl Potters Brigade was ordered to take post on the West side of the schoolkill we passed over at a Ford a few miles below the Sweeds Ford and encamped about three Miles from the Gulf Mills on the Main Road leading from thence to Philad^a. Next morning the Day of about

day brake we were alarmed by Colo' Edward Heston that the British were advancing up the Gulf Road—My Regiment was posted with its right to the Main road, on an Ememance, two other regiments, one on my left the Other on the right the remainder of the Brigade was drawn off by Gen' Potter and posted on a hight about half a mile in our rear, to cover our retreat. on the Enemies appearance, about two Hundred Yards in Our Front I ordered my men to commence firing, which was continued for three rounds, when the Enemy opened a Battery of Cannon with a discharge of small arms we however stood our ground, the men not offering to give Way untill I saw the Enemy advancing on Our Flanks both the Regiments to my left as well as on my right gave way and retired on the first Fire, left us exposed on both flanks, I ordered a retreat—three or four Men were cut down by the fire of the Enemy whose Bodies left—we retired into a Hollow—observing the Cannon Balls fired by the Enemy pass over our Heads cutting the Tops of the trees and striking the rising ground in our front—the ground on which we were first formed and for some distance back being Woods—I ordered the Men to Halt a few Moments untill the Enemy seased firing—when we passed the line formed in Our Rear by Gen' Potter and took post a few Hundred yards in their rear to cover their retreat. The Enemy were soon up to the second line which stood but one fire before they broak and fell back upon us. I tryed, as well as Potter and many of the other officers to rally them but in vain—the Enemy advancing we gave them a fire or two when a Genl. rout insued—every one making the best of his way—many of the men threw away their guns, that they might be less cumbered in running—I was among the Rear, and having in attempting to rally the Men got some distance from the Road—came to a fence which I got my Horse over without much difficulty; but on coming to a second fence after passing over a field, it being one side of a lane leading from the schoolkill to the Gulf road and stout. I called to the men who were passing over it to throw

off a rider, all being in such a hurry thought of nothing but self preservation, took no notice but left me to get over as well as I could. Twice did I run my Horse against the Fence without effect, on the third effort it gave way, I found myself in a lane rode full speed to the Main Road about two Hundred Yards on entering which I discovered a Collom of the Enemies Horse on the top of the Hill about fifty yards from me, they called to surrender. I halted; but on casting my Eyes down the Road saw our flying Troops about two hundred yards below—by a mere machanical movement without time to think I clapt spurs to my Horse and laying flat upon his weathen went full speed after them—The Enemy fired their Pistols or Carbines at me.—I heard the Bullets wish by me. Two Dragoons persued me, finding them gaining upon me on coming up with the hindmost troops, I ordered them to turn about and fire, several Muskets were discharged, as the men ran—by firing off their sholders without stoping or turning about—conceiving myself in more danger by this mode of firing from my own men than the Enemy called upon them to seace firing or they would shoot me. On my gaining the rear of the retreating Troops one of the Troopers took up his Horse, the other being a Horse of too much mettle refused to yield to his rider, dashed among the men and were both shot down togeather. The event was so sudden, and instantanious, it was impossible to save either man or Horse, more than twenty guns being discharged at them on the same moment. we passed the Gulf Mills, came to the sweeds Ford where we found Genl. Washington with the american army. Who had left White Marsh were on their Way to the Valley Forge on the West side of the schoolkill to take up their Winter Quarters. Genl. Washington in his Orders next Day returned my Regiment his thanks for their Conduct in the late reincountre with the Enemy. On the returns from the Captains our loss was one Officer and seventeen Privates missing. what part were killed Wounded or taken prisoners could not be ascertained. we were again Ordered to take

post on the West side of the Schookill. The main army passed on to the Valley Forge, erected Log Huts in regular Order of an encampment, the Ground being covered with Timber. Genl. Potter ordered a General Court Martial of which I was appointed the Judge advocate, for the tryal of those men who had thrown away their arms in the late retreat from the Enemy. several were found guilty of throwing away their muskets Cartouch Boxes knapsack, some Ordered to pay for them and others adjudged to be Publickly Whiped I was not a little grattified to find, not a single Gun, knapsack Cartouch Box or Blanket missing in my Regiment, which was highly Honourable to them. Genl. Potter ordered the sentence of the Court to be put in Execution, and several Men were actually whiped, from fifteen to thirty lashes which caused much murmuring among the Militia the General was highly sensured for it, the Men became so exasporated I really dreaded a mutiny but the Brigade being Ordered to join the other part of the Militia, under the Command of Genl. Armstrong at North Wales—the men became tranquil and passified. The following extract of a letter to me from Genl. Armstrong will give a better Idea of what effect the severity of this Discipline had on the minds of the People, whose friends were sufferers by the Judgement of the afores^d Court Martial inflicted by Order of Genl. Potter.

CARLISLE 28th Jany 1778

DEAR COL^L

The Bearers time will only admit me to tell you that a great deal of heat and publick clamour hath gone abroad against Genl. Potter and the Members of a Certain Court Martial held by his Orders, the sentence of which they say was to punish with whiping & also paying for the Arms thrown away, which they consider as a double Punishment for one offence. In this peice of discipline its like some persons where Whiped who in other respects had been well behaved, and when at home are Creditable People I am persuaded on the other hand that the whole matter is not

fairly stated, and really concerned that the thing happened, which is still the more disagreeable as their is not a full opportunity of obviating the Peoples objections, they being so far detached from one another—That instance of discipline was no doubt too high; but, however some of them might have fully deserved it, a necessary policy was against it, and it grieves me that an Officer possessed of many good Qualities as Genl Potter is, should have such a Clamour raised against him on this occasion. as it is cheifly Western People who have been offended, thears no mention made of you, so that I suppose you will escape the Censure.

I am Dear Colo' your Affectionate

Servt

JOHN ARMSTRONG

COLL^N LACEY.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES CLINTON, KEPT DURING THE VOYAGE FROM IRELAND TO PENNSYLVANIA, 1729.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES H. BROWNING.

[In the New York State Library at Albany will be found a few leaves of the journal of Charles Clinton, kept during his voyage on the ship "George and Ann," bound from Ireland to Pennsylvania, May 9 to October 4, 1729. Some terribly contagious disease must have broken out on the ship and become epidemic, for he records one hundred deaths of men, women, and children as having occurred in about four months at sea. The distress of these Pennsylvania emigrants can hardly be imagined. However grewsome reading the death-list is, it may be genealogically useful.]

A Journal of my Voyage and Travels from the County of Longford, in the Kingdom of Ireland to Pensilvania in America, Anno Dom° 1729.

I took my Journey from the county Longford on friday the 9th day of May. Came to Dublin y^e 12th do. Entered on ship Board the ship call'd the George and Ann y^e 18th, sett sail the 20th, came to anchor at Glanarm on the 24th, where Matt. McClawghry and his wife and 2 of his family went on shoar and quit their voyage. Sett sail from Glanarm on y^e 25th, and came to anchor at Green Castle in the Lough of derry the 26th, where we stay'd till y^e 29th, then sett sail in company with the John of Dublin bound for New Castle in the same country. . . . June y^e 2d, we had a fair breese for our westerly course. . . . A Return of the pr'sons that Died on board y^e George and Ann.

James Wilson's child,	James M ^c Dowel's child,
a serv ^t of Mr. Cruise's,	a child of James Thompson's,
another serv ^t of his,	a child of John Brook's,
another serv ^t of his,	a child of James Majore's,
a child of James Thompson's,	a child of Robert Frazer's,
a child of Thom. Delap's,	a serv ^t of Cruice's,
a child of John Beatty's,	a child of John Brook's,
a girl of Robt. Frazer's,	a child of Alex. Mitchel's,
a son of James Majore's,	Rob ^t Todd,
a son of James M ^c Dowel's,	a serv ^t of Cruice's,
another serv ^t of Cruice's,	a child of Walter Davis,
John Darke,	Thom ^s Cowan,
John M ^c Cay,	a son of Robert Frazer's,
a son of Chris Beatty,	another son of his,
a Brother of Will. hamilton's,	will gray,
my own Daughter (at night) on 2 of August,	a Daughter of widdow hamilton,
a child of James Majore's,	Thom. delap's wife,
James Majore's wife,	a child of James Thompson's,
Alex ^t Mitchel,	Widdow Hamilton,
Walter Davis his wife,	a child of widdow hamilton's,
Rob ^t Gray,	Jane Armstrong,
Walter Davis,	another serv ^t of Cruice's,
a child of Jam. Majore's,	M ^c Cutchan,
William Gordon,	
my son James on ye 28th of August 1729 at 7 in ye morn,	
a son of James Majore's,	a brother of And ^m M ^c Dowell's,
Two daughters of James M ^c Dowell's,	Robert Frazer,
a daughter of Walter Davis's,	Will Hamilton,
Patt M ^c Cann serv ^t to Tho Armstrong,	
James Green serv ^t to Alex. Mitchell,	
widdow Gordon's Daughter,	Fran. Nicholson,
James Morray died Thursday 11 th of S ^r	
a serv ^t of Mr. Cruise's,	a son of John Beatty's,
a sister of And ^m M ^c Dowell's,	Margery Armstrong,
a daughter of John Beatty's,	a serv ^t of Mr. Cruise's,
two of Mr. Cruise's men serv ^{ts} ,	James Brown,
James Thompson's wife,	Two of John Beatty's children,
a Daughter of James M ^c Dowell's,	a Daughter of Thom. Delap's,
a serv ^t of Mr. Cruise's,	a child of widdow Mitchell's,
John Oliver's wife,	James Majore's eldest Daughter,
John Crook, a sailor,	Jos. Stafford,
John M ^c Dowell,	John Beatty,
and ^m M ^c Dowell's sister,	James Wilson's wife,
James M ^c Dowell's wife,	John Beatty's wife,

Sarah Hamilton will hamilton's sister,	
Thom. Armstrong died monday y ^e 29th of 7 ^{br} ,	
Isabella Johnston,	Edw ^d Norris,
Marg ^t McLaughry,	widdow Frazer's daughter,
And ^r McDowell's brother,	Jos. McLaughry,
Matt ^r McLaughry,	James Barkley,
a young sister of And ^r McDowell's,	
Thom. Delap,	his daughter Katherine.

Discovered Land on ye Continent of America ye 4th day
of 8^{ber} 1729.

LETTERS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND "LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE."

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 536.)

WASHINGTON June 23^d 1840

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your polite invitation of the 20th instant to join my fellow citizens at Philadelphia in celebrating the approaching national Anniversary—Nothing surely could give me greater pleasure; but I regret to say that my constant and unremitted duties on the committee of Elections, which, for many weeks past, have wholly excluded me from all participation in the proceedings of the House, will, from necessity, compel me to forego that enjoyment.

Certainly there has been no time since the close of the Revolution when the true friends of constitutional liberty have had more reason, than now, to gather around the altar of freedom, and light the torch of patriotism from its consecrated fires. I rejoice to feel that we are now witnessing the expiring agonies of a dynasty that came into power upon *professions* and *pledges*, the most sacred; which have been violated in a manner the most shameless and disgraceful. Pledged to one presidential term, it continued *two*—Pledged to *retrench* the expenses of government, it has more than trebled them—Pledged to *reform* abuses in the Executive department, it has corruptly multiplied them beyond all former example—Professing to give us a *better currency*, it has destroyed the best the world ever knew—professing to be the friend of the poor, it first deprived them of employment, and now proposes permanently to reduce their wages to the verge of starvation fixed in European governments—professing *democracy*, it has its agents traversing Europe hunting out the practices of Monarchical govern-

ments to introduce them here—professing abhorrence of a National Bank; it proposes to establish one in the Sub Treasury more powerful, more dangerous and more liable to corruption than any with which a deceived and insulted nation was ever cursed; Professing Republicanism, its leading measures tend to consolidation and to the concentration of all power in the hands of the Executive.

A party that has thus notoriously violated all pledges and shamelessly thrown off the garb of hypocrisy by which it sought power will be unscrupulous in the use of any means to retain it. Hence the infamous slander and defamation by which a subsidized press has attempted to blacken the character and tarnish the fair fame of one of the purest, noblest and most disinterested patriots of the present day, merely because he has received an unsolicited nomination for the Presidential chair.—Hence the bold and shameless refusal of the Administration party in the House of Representatives to permit any enquiry into the alleged abuses of the government—Hence the arbitrary exercise of power to suppress all debate in the House by which their infamy and corruption would be exposed; And hence the unparalleled outrage by which a sovereign state of the Revolution has been disfranchised.

But their mad efforts are all in vain—The days of this abominable administration are numbered. The loathsome stench of its corruption, hypocrisy and wickedness loads the tainted air and calls down upon its unrighteous head, the concentrated curse of an insulted and plundered nation—The People with a unanimity unexampled and an energy as resistless as the torrent of Niagara will sweep them from the high places which they have desecrated and polluted, and by electing WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON bring back the government to its original purity and republican simplicity.

But I have already said more than I intended when I took up my pen—I write in much haste and must be pardoned for any verbal inaccuracies—At all events, my heart will be with you on that great Jubilee, and you will please

accept my most grateful acknowledgements for the high honor you have done me by your invitation; and you will please also pardon me for presenting through you to my fellow citizens on that occasion the following sentiment.

THE UNION—The bond of brotherhood formed by the patriotic Whigs of the Revolution—May their true descendants, the Whigs of 1840, preserve it from the foul touch of nullification and the corroding rust of *Federal Locofocoism*.

I have the honor to be

Your most obt. sert &

Fellow citizen

MILLARD FILLMORE¹

Messrs.

CHARLES A. REPPLIER

JOHN MILLAR

S. C. COOPER

PHILADELPHIA

WASHINGTON March 21st 1838

DEAR CYRUS

Last evening I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 11th inst., and be assured it received a most hearty welcome. I feel much depressed in spirits and melancholy. The heartrending intelligence of my dear Mother's death has withered the vivacity of my heart. I know not how to be reconciled to it. The thought that my dear Mother has gone forever—that I can no more see her smile greeting my return—no more hear her voice speaking in accents of kindness and affection, almost overwhelms me. Yet I can scarcely realise that she is gone.—

Probably you have heard the particulars of her illness.

Tell your father that she died in full faith of finding a better world, Yet she expressed a great desire to see her children once more before in this world.

Oh, that she could have seen us all once more before she died—Oh, that I had been with her what a consolation it

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

would have been to me, but it is past, I will not trust myself longer to write on the subject.

You enquire about my health. It is very good now, but I was quite ill after I arrived here, was under the care of the Physician about 2 weeks. You recollect the dreadful cough I had when you were at Buffalo. I was unable to bear the fatigue of travelling but was obliged to come *then*, if at all, I suffered very much on my journey from my cough, and the only way I could relieve it, was to keep my stomach nauceated with medicine. My system of course became more and more deranged, my lungs weaker and more irritable and my cough no better. I was besides threatened with the bilious fever, but powerful medicine, great care, and a mild climate, have restored me to usual health.

I regret to hear of your lame hand, I suspect felons are painful beyond description. That was a sufficient excuse for not writing me before, but I hope that excuse will remain no longer—I shall always be happy to hear from you, as often as you find it convenient to write.

I understood you had *dreadful* travelling from Buffalo home. It is to be regretted that you had not remained a few days longer, but how imperfect is our knowledge of the future. It is possible that Mrs. Charles Egan is no more—both old and young are the victims of death. How uncertain is life—Nothing certain but death.

The sensation created by Mr. Cilley's death is almost universal particularly in the northern states—Petitions are continually coming in, to be presented to Congress praying that something might be done to prevent it for the future—I sincerely wish a stigma might be affixed to the practice, Nothing else would so likely prevent it.

It was indeed a dreadful sight to see his lifeless body taken from the carriage, which but a few hours before had conveyed him away in health. The spectacle seems before my eyes now. I had but just learned that they had gone out to fight, had heard nothing further until the carriage

which brought home the body, too plainly told the result, as I happened to step to my window and saw him carried into his boarding house, which is opposite this, across the street, it made a deep impression on me, as it has on many others. Thus in one rash hour is a wife and 5 helpless children deprived of their friend and protector. Another Member, Mr Carter, from the *same state*, and in the *same boarding house* died one week ago to day. His wife left the city this morning to return home, a melancholy and singular coincidence.

I have rec'd one letter from Mrs. Stow this winter, I regret to learn her health continues poor. Her husband has been sick also. Has she returned? Our friends in Lagrange were in usual health the last I heard. Ask your father to write to me. remember me affectionately to him—also to your Mother—write soon to your affectionate aunt—Heaven bless you

ABIGAIL FILLMORE¹

Mr. Fillmore is at the Capitol, but I know he wishes to send his love.

I shall return home in 2 or 3 weeks.

ANDOVER, MASS. Dec. 24, 1861

TO HON. WM. H. SEWARD

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

SIR

A package endorsed "Department of State U. S. A," franked by "W. Hunter C^h C^k" and addressed "to Franklin Pierce Esquire Concord New Hampshire" was received by me to day, having been forwarded from the place of my residence. But for the stamped envelope and the handwriting of Mr. Hunter, with which I am familiar, I should probably have regarded the enclosures, as an idle attempt at imposition, in which your name had been surreptitiously used. I must, I suppose, though I do so reluctantly, now view it in a different light.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the note bearing your signature, you say, "I enclose an extract from a letter received at this Department from which it would appear that you are a member of a secret league the object of which is to overthrow this Government. Any explanations upon the subject which you may offer would be acceptable."

It is not easy to conceive how any person could give credence to, or entertain for a moment, the idea that I am now, or have ever been connected with a secret league, or with *any* league the object of which was or is the overthrow of the Government of my Country. Surprise, however only increases as I pass from your note to the "extract" to which you refer, as a sufficient basis for an official communication. Incoherent and meaningless as this extract, from the vagaries of an anonymous correspondent, seems to me to be, it is not a little singular that it should have been sent for explanation to one, who, during his whole life, has never belonged to any secret league, society or association. My name does not appear in the "extract" and as there is not the slightest ground for any reference to me in the connection indicated I take it for granted that your inference is wholly erroneous and that neither I, nor anything which I ever said or did was in the mind of the writer. Nothing but the gravity of the insinuation—the high official source whence it emanates, and the distracted condition of our recently united, prosperous and happy Country, could possibly lift this matter above ridicule and contempt. Not, therefore, because "explanations" "would be acceptable" but because this correspondence is to hold a place upon the files of the Department of State, long beyond the duration of your life or mine, and because I would leave, so far as I am concerned, no ambiguity upon the record, it is proper, perhaps it is my duty, to add, that my loyalty will never be successfully impugned, so long as I enjoy the constitutional rights which pertain to every citizen of the Republic and especially the inestimable right to be informed of the nature and cause of accusation and to be confronted face to

face with my accusers—Love for our whole Country—respect for the reserved rights of the States—reverence for the Constitution and devotion to the Noble Union which for so many years reposed in security upon that sacred instrument, have been interwoven with my best hopes for civil liberty, my deepest emotions and my sternest purposes from youth to age. If I have failed to illustrate this, in official station—in private life, and under all circumstances, where it became me to speak or act, I have labored under a singular delusion, consciousness of which would embitter more than anything else the present hour and such remaining hours or years, as may be in reserve for me.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant

FRANKLIN PIERCE¹

REV. DR. FRENCH—

DEAR SIR—

I make an acknowledgment of your unexpected and interesting letter lest you should suppose it met with an unappreciative reception—May you have divine aid in all the cares and duties of your present position. Be assured of the sincere interest with which I am respectfully yours

JANE M. PIERCE²

WASHINGTON, Nov. 16, '56.

I respond most sincerely & earnestly to the excellent prayers for our beloved country.

FRANKLIN PIERCE

Addressed

REV. DR. FRENCH

WEST POINT

N YORK.

WHEATLAND, NEAR LANCASTER, 21 January 1852

MY DEAR SIR

Numerous & pressing engagements, with the fact that I had nothing of the least importance to communicate, have

¹ Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

prevented me from acknowledging your letter at an earlier period. I have had to contend in my own State with a violent & factious opposition. I never considered them strong; but their extreme weakness has surprised me. My position with the Democracy of Pennsylvania is now stronger than it has ever been heretofore; & they will present my name before the Baltimore Convention in an enthusiastic & decided manner. The idea is deeply engraved on the minds of our people, whether Whig or Democrat, that after waiting more than sixty years, they are entitled to a Candidate; & this will be pressed with all their energy.

I should 'ere this have visited Washington; but I feel an unconquerable repugnance against any thing like personal electioneering for the highest office in the world. This honor, above all earthly honors, shall never be degraded in my person; no, not even to secure a favorable result. I may, notwithstanding, probably pass a week or ten days in Washington as quietly as possible during the month of February.

When you were last here we gave you a cold reception. Since that time I have had a furnace fixed in the cellar which renders the house comfortable in the coldest weather. The thermometer yesterday morning at sunrise stood at 12° below zero. When you visit us again which I hope may be soon, besides a cordial welcome, we shall give you a *warm* reception.

I have read Commodore Stockton's speech against flogging in the Navy with peculiar pleasure. What a reflection it would be upon our country & the civilisation of the nineteenth century for Congress to enact that American Citizens who enter the Navy as sailors shall be subjected to the infamous punishment of the lash. This very circumstance has hitherto prevented respectable young men from entering the service; & those who have done so & been flogged have lost all self respect. I hope there is no danger of the passage of any such law. Nothing could more effectually injure the Navy in the estimation of the Country than the restoration of the lash.

Miss Harriet has been in Pittsburg for the last two months & may probably pass the remainder of the winter there. Miss Hetty desires to be kindly remembered to you.

from your friend
very respectfully

JAMES BUCHANAN¹

GENERAL JAMES SHIELDS

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Friday May 18/60

DEAR MR. MACALESTER

The Japanese have come—but as they have had a long journey they require much time to rest, etc—so that the entertainments that are to be given in their honour will extend over the next month—during which time it is impossible for Lily to fix any day for leaving, or think about home in any way—so I hope you will not suggest it.

She went out this morning at 10—for a romantic stroll with Mr. Woodbury & I know not *when* they will return. Col. Hardee is also here & is so agreeable that *I* almost regret the deep impression Lily has made there—for it excludes *me* from *all hope*. I hope you will attend to all my suggestions, & allow *us* to make our own arrangements here—& believe me

Yours very sincerely

H. LANE²

SPRINGFIELD, ILLS. April 30, 1859.

HON. S. P. CHASE

DEAR SIR

Reaching home yesterday I found your kind note of the 14th informing me that you have given Mr. Whitney the appointment he desired; and also mentioning the present encouraging aspects of the Republican cause—and our Illinois canvass of last year. I thank you for the appointment—Allow me also to thank you as being one of the very few

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

distinguished men, whose sympathy we in Illinois did receive last year, of all those whose sympathy we thought we had reason to expect.

Of course I would have preferred success; but failing in that, I have no regrets for having rejected all advice to the contrary, and resolutely made the struggle—Had we thrown ourselves into the arms of Douglas, as re-electing him by our votes would have done, the Republican cause would have been annihilated in Illinois, and, as I think, demoralized and prostrated everywhere for years, if not forever—As it is, in the language of Benton "we are clean" and the Republican star gradually rises higher everywhere—

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN.¹

EXECUTIVE MANSION

MY DEAR MADAME

Your bonnets were received on yesterday—The black with colors—I liked very much.—Also the blk crape—I wished a much finer blk straw bonnet for mourning—without the gloss. Could you not get such a one? I want you to send me a bow of blk crape, for the top of the blk straw bonnet, *exactly* like the one, on top the blk crape bonnet—of the *same crape* two bows on each side of the loup—bound—like the other—I wrote you about the veils—did you receive the letter—I want you to select me the *very finest*, & blackest & lightest long crape veil & bordered as they bring them—Please get me the finest that can be obtained—Want a short *very very* fine blk crape veil, round corners & folds around—Want one of very fine blk silk net—with folds around for summer—round at corners & short—The *long veil* I should like to have by Friday—want it very fine—blk & light—please send *this*, immediately.

I liked the undersleeves & collars—Please have me *two more*, white & blk collars mixed, with cuffs to match—no

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

undersleeves—I want the genteelest & tastiest you can find or have made—I liked the style of the blk & white reversed—Do not forget the bow, for the bonnet—And the long veil, I want immediately I have your money ready for you—

Very truly yours

MRS. LINCOLN ¹

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(To be continued.)

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

(Continued from Vol. XXV. page 574.)

<i>1757</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Jan. 14	Ship Earl of Holderness	William Gardner	James McCullough James Eddy Robert Jessop all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Jan. 18	Sloop Dolphin	John Powntney	John Powntney Seleck Holly Newman Holly all of Rye, New York	New Haven, Colony of Connecticut	20
Jan. 25	Brig't Penelope	Henry Lisle	Henry Lisle of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Jan. 26	Ship Hope	W ^m Cunningham	Alexander Hutchinson John Wallace Thomas Wallace all of Glasgow, Great Britain	Philadelphia	100
Jan. 26	Brig't Charming Sally	George Stuart	Hugh Wallace of Jamaica Archibald Hilhouse of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	30
Jan. 12	Brig't Jane	James Ross	Alexander Alexander of Philadelphia	Province of New Jersey	45

Feb. 11	Ship Elizabeth	Alexander Katter	John Willcocks of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	120
Feb. 14	Snow Delaware	Peter Falkner	Robert Ragg of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
Feb. 23	Sloop Sally	Alexander Sage	James Wharton Enoch Story Thomas Riche all of Philadelphia	Marshfield, Province of Massachusetts Bay	25
May 2	Brig't Concord	Henry Ash	Abel James Henry Drinker Henry Ash John Baynton all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
April 30	Brig't Indian King	Jn ^e Ford	James Cowles of Bristol, G. Britain William Fisher of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	56
May 3	Sloop St. Andrew	W ^m Simpson	Samuel Mifflin, Esq ^r Thomas Lake W ^m Plumsted all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	15
April 5	Ship Blakeney	James Moore	James Stevenson James Moore both of Londonderry, Ire- land	Philadelphia	100

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

<i>1767</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
May 5	Brig't Sally	Robert Patterson	Thomas Clifford John Harper both of Philadelphia	A French Prize taken by his Majesty's Fleet un- der Boscawen, in 1755	40
May 31	Ship Britannia	John McPherson	William Sword John McPherson John Bell all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	120
June 9	Sloop Happy Return	William Parker	—	Little Creek, Kent Co.	20
June 11	Schooner Richmond	Isaac Comron	—	—	30
June 20	Ship Blakeney	James Moore	James Stevenson Andrew Moore James Moore all of Londonderry, Ireland	Philadelphia	100
June 23	Sloop Samuel	John Pyne	Reese Meredith of Philadelphia	Massachusetts	40
June 27	Brig't Rebecca & Susannah	Geo. Nicholson	Robert Wain of Philadelphia	—	90
June 25	Schooner Adventure	Benj. Keen	Benj. Keen Mathew Clarkson both of Philadelphia	—	—
June 30	Sloop John & Betty	John Keegan	John Keegan of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	15

July	1	Brig't Jamaica Packet	Joseph Arthur	Joseph Arthur, Junr of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
				John Baynton		
				Valentine Standly		
				John Chevalier		
				Peter Chevalier		
July	11	Brig Swift	Benj. Spring	Abel James	Philadelphia	60
				Henry Drinker		
July	26	Brig't Sally	Thomas Reimmer	Benjamin Mifflin of Philadelphia	Province of New York	50
July	14	Sloop Mulberry	Robert Braden	George Smith	—	20
				of Philadelphia		
July	25	Sloop Two Brothers	Henry Stiles	Andrew Elliot	Province of New York	25
				John Wallace		
Aug.	4	Schooner Happy	John Murdock	both of Philadelphia	Cape May, New Jersey	10
—	—	Schooner Swift	James Read	John Murdock of Liverpool, Great Britain	Potomack, Colony of Vir- ginia	15
Aug.	16	Sloop Sea Nymph	W ^m Simpson	Amos Strettle of Philadelphia &—	Bernuda	20
Aug.	25	Sloop George	John Burrows	Amos Strettle of Philadelphia &—	Middletown, Connecticut	50
				William Fisher		
				Charles Jones		
				Joshua Howell		
				Geo. Robotham		
				all of Philadelphia		

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

1757	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Aug. 15	Schooner Betty	Hugh Wright	Hugh Wright of Philadelphia	Boston, Massachusetts Bay	25
Aug. 30	Schooner Dispatch	Thomas Mulford	Thomas Mulford of Duck Creek, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	York, Province of Massa- chusetts Bay	35
Sept. 12	Schooner Endeavour	George Huston	George Huston of Philadelphia	Boston, Province of Mas- sachusetts Bay	20
Sept. 9	Sloop Betsy	Jonathan Wood	Thomas Clifford of Philadelphia	Christeen, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	20
Sept. 12	Ship Myrtilla	Richard Budden	Philip Benzetz of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Sept. 19	Sloop Greenwich	W ^m Barnes	Samuel Shoemaker Benjamin Shoemaker Edward Pennington all of Philadelphia	Province of West Jersey	40
Oct. 10	Schooner Antigua Packet	Ja ^s Waughop	Amos Strettle Rob ^t Strettell both of Philadelphia	Dorchester Co., Maryland	32
Oct. 14	Schooner Dolphin	Edward Spence	Edward Spence of Jamaica John Nixon of Philadelphia	Scituate, Province of Mas- sachusetts Bay	35

Oct. 18	Ship Philadelphia	Charles Stuart	John McMichael John Scott both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	110
Oct. 18	Sloop Mary	John Welch	Daniel Curry of Philadelphia Richard Curtain of Jamaica	Hampton, Colony of Virginia	20
Oct. 19	Ship Carrington	Sam'l Apowen	Rob. Morris of Pa ^a	Pennsylvania	100
Oct. 22	Snow Boyd	Daniel Henderson	Tho ^s Willing Messrs Meyler & Hall of Junaica Daniel Roberdeau of Philadelphia Enoch Hobart John Stamper both of Philadelphia	A Prize, taken by the Sloop Stanwix, the Brig George and the Snow Royal Ann, Privateers New Port, Rhode Island	50
Oct. 24	Schooner Free Mason	Samuel Martin			20
Oct. 25	Ship King George	Charles Dingee	John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	150
Oct. 25	Ship Fanny	Archibald Gardner	John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Nov. 4	Ship King of Prussia	James Robinson	Andrew Hodge William Ritchie both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	90

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

1757	Vessels	Master	Owners	Where built	Tons
Nov. 12	Schooner Richmond	John Mathelin	John Mathelin Ephraim Gilbert Joseph Mathelin all of Bermuda	Rochester, Province of Massachusetts Bay	30
Nov. 18	Brig't Pretty Jenny	Ben. Flowers	John Hazelwood of Philadelphia	Province of Massachusetts Bay	25
Nov. 18	Sloop Brothers	Edw ^d Welsh	John Wilcox of Philadelphia	Province of New York	25
Nov. 15	Sloop Mary	W ^m Williams	Robert Savage of Bermuda	Connecticut	20
Nov. 26	Sloop Tryall	Jn ^o Robinson	John Campbell Alex. Robinson both of St. Christophers	Prov. of N. York	30
Dec. 15	Sloop Nancy	Abraham Darby	Jn ^o Robinson of Philadelphia Henry Drinker Abel James both of Philadelphia	Boston	20
Dec. 17	Ship Lyon	Obediah Bounce	Thomas Willing of Philadelphia Attwood Shute, Esq ^r John Kidd	Philadelphia	170

Dec. 22	Sloop Nancy	Alexander Adams	Rees Meredith of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Dec. 23	Ship Prince George	W ^m Kidd	Francis Rawle Thomas Clifford both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60
1758 Jan. 17	Ship Rachel	Thomas Rodgers	Reese Mercedith of Philadelphia Sam ^l Neave	Philadelphia	80
Jan. 19	Ship Ann	Edward Vaughan	Daniel Rundle of Philadelphia	A French Prize, taken by the Fleet, under com- mand of Boscawen	60
Jan. 14	Ship Ann	Robert Hardie	Anthony Stocker of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	65
Feb. 14	Sloop Priscilla	Jn ^o Campbell	James Rency of Cape May, New Jersey Jn ^o Campbell of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	10
Feb. 9	Brig't Independent Whig	John McCaddon	William Cadwell Arthur Vance John Hamilton all of Londonderry, Ireland William Hogg of Londonderry, Ireland Samuel Carson of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	35
Feb. 9	Ship Willy	John McConnel		Philadelphia	85

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

1768	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
March 15	Snow Nancy	Ralph Walker	Abraham Judah Andrew Franburg Richard McWilliam all of Newcastle, on Delaware	A French Prize taken by the Fleet under command of Boscowen	30
March 16	Brig't Molly	David Stuart	Thomas Willing of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	75
April 7	Ship Wade	James Miller	Joseph Turner John Mifflin Samuel Mifflin John Stamper William Humphries W ^m Dowell John Gibson all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	150
April 19	Brig't Lydia	W ^m Campbell	James Pemberton Peter Reeve both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	85
April 17	Brig't Shirley	Henry Styles	William Griffiths of Philadelphia	Cohanzey, New Jersey	50
April 18	Brig't Globe	John Lea	Jas. Lightfoot W ^m Lightfoot Jn ^o Cooper John Lea all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook	40

May	1	Schooner Happy Return	Zachariah Goforth	Zachariah Goforth of Murtherkill	Murtherkill, Kent Co., on Delaware	8
May	2	Schcener	John Pine	Thomas Riche Humphry Robinson Jn ^o Pine all of Philadelphia	A Prize from the French King's Subjects by the private vessel of War, the Duke of Marlboro', David Fenton, Com- mander	80
May	4	Snow New York	Edw ^d Welsh	Benj ^o Mifflin of Philadelphia	A Capture from the French King's Subjects by a private vessel of War, the Neptune, Jn ^o Ball, Commander	60
May	18	Sloop Speedwell	Thomas Blair	W ^m Blair of Philadelphia	Colony of Connecticut	15
May	3	Brig't Cornelia	Rob ^t Pattin	Geo. Smith of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	40
May	23	Sloop Nancy	John Hooton	Robert Waln of Philadelphia	Queens County, Maryland	30
May	27	Brig't Sally	Thomas Reimmer	Robert Field Jn ^o Baynton both of Philadelphia	Province of N. York	50
May	27	Sloop Lewiston	————	John Hazelwood of Philadelphia	Sussex Co., on Delaware	10

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1758	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built
June 15	Ship Myrtilla	Jn ^o Bolitho	Samuel Howell of Philadelphia Richard Neave of London	Philadelphia 100
June 20	Brig't Unity	Nath. Falconer	Abel James Henry Drinker John Baynton all of Philadelphia	Maryland 40
June 14	Brig't Franklin	John Burrows	Daniel Roberdeau Henry Lisle both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia 60
June 12	Brig't Mary and Hannah	Robert Faris	Samuel Purviance Jn ^o Mifflin, Jun ^r both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia 50
June 26	Snow Desire	Edward Stiles	Oswell Eve Sam ^l Oldman both of Philadelphia	Prize, taken from the sub- jects of the French King, by the Privateer Ship Britannia, Jn ^o Mc- Pherson, Commander Philadelphia 35
June 7	Brig't Whitehill	W ^m Greenway	Jn ^o Baynton Robert Field both of Philadelphia Daniel Moore of Jamaica	70

June 24	Sloop Sally	Benjamin Canby	Thomas Canby, Junr of Wilmington	Christiana Creek, New- castle Co.	30
June 27	Schooner Pegg	Robt Spier	William Wilton Thomas Wallace John Wallace Wm Conyngham Boyd Potterfield all of Glasgow Hugh Wallace of Jamaica	Philadelphia	12
—	Schooner Charming Nancy	Jn ^o Bulkley, Senr	—	Virginia	15
July 3	Sloop Priscilla	Jonathan Rogers	Jonathan Rogers of Rhode Island	Philadelphia	10
July 4	Brig't Mulberry	Daniel Joy	Daniel Joy James Pemberton Peter Reeve all of Philadelphia	Colony of Virginia	40
July 5	Schooner Endeavour	Thomas Watkins	Thomas Watkins of Philadelphia	Lewes, on Delaware	12
July 6	Schooner Industry	John Campbell	Thomas Ellison Norwood Saltus John Campbell both of Philadelphia	Colony of Rhode Island	25
Aug. 7	Brig't Lark	Robt Gardner	Robert Waln of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	75

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.					
1758	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Aug. 9	Ship Charming Betty	Francis Fortune	Morris Lucas James Phalan British merchants residing at Cadiz Francis Fortune of London Aquilla Sugg Edgecumbe Co. in Province of North Carolina	In the River Thames	100
Aug. 19	Sloop Seaflower	William Mace	James Wallace of Philadelphia Samuel Bearne of Jamaica	Duxbury, Province of Massachusetts Bay	30
Aug. 18	Schooner Pitt	Francis Moore		Virginia	30
Aug. 21	Ship Vestal	Francis Blair		A Prize taken from the French by the Brig't Grace, a private vessel of War, Jn ^e Rickey, Commander	100
Aug. 22	Sloop Rebecca	John Williams	John Johnston of Philadelphia	Kent Co., on Delaware	6
Aug. 24	Schooner Flying Fish	Purnal Johnston	Purnal Johnston of Broadkill Hundred, Sussex Co.	Cape Henlopen	10

Sept. 6	Snow Sally	Thomas Whitelock	W ^m Moore Daniel Rundell both of Philadelphia	Captured from the French by the private Ship of War, the Spry, Ben- jamin Spring, Com- mander	75
Sept. 7	Schooner Two Brothers	James Currey	Joseph Reynolds Thomas Robinson both of Philadelphia	Rowley, Province of Mas- sachusetts Bay	40
Sept. 9	Brig't Captain Granville	John Keegan	John Keegan of Philadelphia	Swansey, in Wales	70
Sept. 18	Brig Grayhound Schooner Seamen's Ad- venture	W ^m Knox Thomas Slitham	Thomas Slitham of Philadelphia Stephen Shewell Samuel Fisher both of Philadelphia	Legally sold for payment of seamen's wages Pembroke, Province of Massachusetts Bay	7 60
Oct. 13	Schooner Leopard	W ^m Price			
Oct. 19	Brig't Sally	Thomas Godden	Charles Cox Samuel Oldman Oswell Eve	Sussex, on Delaware	30
Oct. 18	Schooner Sally	John Catling	all of Philadelphia William Vanderspiegle of Philadelphia	Bermuda	30
Oct. 23	Brig't Sally	James Bennet	Charles Cox Samuel Oldman Oswell Eve all of Philadelphia	Sussex, on Delaware	30

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

<i>1763</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Nov. 2	Schooner Experiment	Jn ^o Wells	Richard Styles Preston Payne Mathew Clarkson	Philadelphia	20
Nov. 1	Brig't Marian & Ann	W ^m Lake	all of Philadelphia William Haselton	Connecticut	30
Nov. 15	Brig't Wolf	Alen McKinsey	of Philadelphia John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia William White Robert McGee	New England	60
Nov. 2	Snow Earl of Hills- borough	Thomas Dunbar	both of Dublin, Ireland William Benson	Province of New York	100
Nov. 16	Ship Roebuck	George Rankin	of Dublin, Ireland Joseph Fox Thomas Clifford both of Philadelphia Mess ^{rs} Jn ^o & Tho ^s Tipping of Barbadoes	Philadelphia	90
Nov. 21	Sloop Jane	Rob ^t Robinson	Samuel Saltus Thomas Dickinson both of Bermuda	Bermuda	50

Nov.	22	Schooner Friendship	Jr ^d Pyne	Benjamin Pyne of Philadelphia Thomas Firman John Pyne William Curry W ^m Wishart Mina Edwards, widow Samuel Purviance all of Philadelphia John Kelfe of Philadelphia Benjamin Bower Joseph Stretton Mess ^{rs} Workman & Nepleton Pat. Dillon of Virginia Richard Neave of London Samuel Howel James Abercrombie Preston Payne Richard Styles John Keegan all of Philadelphia	Lewis Town, Sussex Co., on Delaware	10
Nov.	20	Ship Louisburg	Samuel Nuttle		Philadelphia	170
Dec.	5	Ship Unicorn	Thomas Brice		Philadelphia	150
Dec.	5	Sloop Humbird	Joshua Newbrough		Swanzy, New England	15
Dec.	4	Snow America	William Williamson		New York	75
Dec.	7	Ship Charming Peggy	James Abercrombie		A Capture	200
Dec.	11	Schooner John & Elizabeth	Charles King		Philadelphia	20

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

1758	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Dec. 12	Ship Marshall Keith	Andrew Gibson	Geo. Anderson John Mitchell both of Glasgow & Messrs Lenox Scott & Co. of the Colony of Virginia	Philadelphia	80
Dec. 18	Brig't Ann and James	Robert Warden	Thomas Parkinson Thomas James Thomas Moore William Hope all of Londonderry, Ireland Samuel Carson of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	50
Dec. 20	Sloop Keene	Elias Davis	Benjamin Keene of Philadelphia Kennedy Mulkerre Jn ^r Le Gay both of the Island of Moun- serrat	A capture from the French by the private Ship of War, the Britannia, Jn ^r McPherson, Com- mander	20
Aug. 21	Brig King of Prussia	Charles Monk	John Gibson W ^m Bingham Joseph Stamper all of Philadelphia	A French prize taken by his Majesty's Sloop of War, the Vulture	20

Dec. 20	Brig't Success	Thomas Alexander Shurlock	Simon Shurlock Thomas Alexander Shurlock both of Philadelphia	Swansey, in Wales	35
Dec. 29	Snow Juliana	Samuel House	William Moore Charles Cox Oswell Eve Sam'l Oldman Samuel House William Ritchie all of Philadelphia	Prize taken by the pri- vate Ship of War, the Spry, Benj ^a Spring, Commander	60
Dec. 23	Ship Prince George	Archibald Gardner	John McMichael John Scott both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	100
Dec. 22	Brig't Mary & Sally	William Moore	Thomas Robinson Joseph Reynolds both of Philadelphia William Patterson of Newcastle Co., on Dela- ware	Philadelphia	40

(To be continued.)

In Memoriam Charles Roberts.

We regret to announce the death of Charles Roberts, a Councillor of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, January 23, 1902. He was elected a member of the Society March 27, 1871, and of its Council January 21, 1884.

Charles Roberts, son of Elihu and Anne Pettit Roberts, was born in Philadelphia August 21, 1846, and was a descendant of Cadwalader Roberts, who came to Pennsylvania in 1698 from Bala, Wales. He was educated in the Friends' schools of this city, and graduated from Haverford College in 1864. In the latter year he entered commercial life with Whitall, Tatum & Co., and from 1869 to 1885 was a partner in the firm. In 1891 he was elected Vice-President and in 1895 President of the Spring Garden Insurance Company. At the time of his death he was also connected with the following institutions: Academy of Fine Arts, Academy of Natural Sciences, Horticultural Society, Zoological Society, Franklin Institute, Photographic Society, Genealogical Society, Geographical Society, Colonial Society, Fairmount Park Art Association, Apprentices' Library, Fuel Saving Fund Society, William Penn Charter School, Commission on the Restoration of Independence Hall of Philadelphia, and the American Historical Association, Historical Society of Salem, New Jersey, Wisconsin Historical Society.

Mr. Roberts was an enthusiastic antiquarian; his collection of manuscripts and printed works relating to Friends is unsurpassed in this country, and he had also gathered a large and valuable collection of autographs.

For nearly eighteen years Mr. Roberts represented his ward in Common Council, thirteen years of which as a member of its Finance Committee, for which his sound business habits so well qualified him. He was upright, earnest, and useful in his services in the municipal legislature.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

PAY ROLL OF CAPT. THOMAS FERGUSON'S VOLUNTEER COMP^A FROM 13TH AUG. TO 13TH SEPTEMBER 1778.—

Capt., Tho^s Ferguson; Lieuts., James Brandon, William Campbell; Ensign Isaac Bodine.

Serg^t Rob^t Love.

Jon^a Ashbridge,

Cooksong Long,

William Crawford,

Sam^l Campbell,

W^m M^cGrawdy,

James Irwin,

John Price,

Hugh Nickles,

W^m M^chatten,

Cleary Campbell,

Robert Riley,

Jas. Armstrong,

Jno. M^cMichael,

Henry M^cCracken,

James M^cSwaine,

W^m Hiddens,

Jno. Baird.

LIST OF ARMED VESSELS FROM PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1776—1777, WITH FORM OF BOND.—

Know all Men by these Presents, That we . . . are held and firmly bound to John Hancock Esq^r President of the United Colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the Counties of *New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia*, in the Penalty of . . . Thousand Dollars, to be paid to the said John Hancock Esq^r or his certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, in Trust for the Use of the said United Colonies: To which Payment well and truly to be done, We do bind Ourselves, our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators jointly and severally, firmly by these Presents. Sealed with our Seals, and dated . . . Day of . . . in the year of our Lord 1777.

The Condition of the Obligation is such, that if the Above-bounden . . . who is Commander of the . . . called the . . . belonging to . . . of Philadelphia in the Colony of Pennsylvania mounting . . . Carriage Guns, and navigated by . . . Men, and who hath applied for a Commission or Letters of Marque and Reprisal, to arm, equip and set forth to Sea, the said . . . as a private Ship of War, and to make Captures of British Vessels and Cargoes, shall not exceed or transgress the Powers and Authorities which shall be contained in the said Commission, but shall in all Things observe and conduct himself, and govern his Crew, by and according to the same and certain Instructions therewith to be delivered, and such other Instructions as may hereafter be given to him; and shall make Reparation for all Damages sustained by any Misconduct or unwarrantable Proceedings of Himself or the Officers or Crew of said . . . Then this Obligation shall be void, or else remain in Force.

Name		Master	Owners	Crew	Guns
Schr. Mars	1776 May 28	Norris Copper	John Wilcocks, John & Peter Chevalier, Philada.	10	4
Sloop Congress	June 17	John Cruigo	John Bayard, Joseph Dean & Co. Phila.	30	6
Brig' General Putnam	Aug. 27	Chas. Ferguson	Matthew Irwin, Benj. Harberson & Co. Phila.	90	12
" General Montgomery	" 30	James Montgomery	John Pringle & Co. Phila.	100	12
Sloop Chance	Sept. 3	James Arnitage	John Bayard, Jos. Dean & Co. Phila.	35	6
Sloop Congress	Oct. 3	W ^m Greenway	do	40	6
Schr. General Thomson	" 5	W ^m Connell	Edmund Beach & Co. Phila.	12	6
Brig Nancy	" 8	Geo. Curwin	Blair McClenachan	25	10
Sch. Polly	" 8	John McIlnoe	" "	20	8
Sloop Happy Return	" 8	John Dury	" "	20	10
Brig' Rutledge	" 11	James Smith	Alex. Gillson, Francis C. Hassen-clever, Phila.	60	12
Brig L'Heureux	" 18	William Paul	Anthony Marmajou, Joseph Blewer Phila.	20	6
Sloop General Mifflin	" 24	Tho ^s Palmer	Robert Knox & Co. Phila.	50	10
" Colonel Parry	" 29	W ^m Gamble	John Sparhawk, Matthew Irwin Phila.	15	6
Sch. Industry	Nov. 1	James Duncan	John Bayard, Andrew Hodge Phila.	10	4
Sloop Friendship	" 13	Robt. Collings	John Wilcocks & Co. Phila.	20	6
Ship Speedwell	" 13	Tho ^s Bell	J. M. Nesbitt & Co. "	25	10
Sch. Rattlesnake	" 15	David McCulloch	Matthew Irwin, Joseph Dean & Co. Phila.	75	14
Brig Gen' Montgomery	1777 Jany 1	Benj. Hill	John Pringle, Joseph Dean	100	16
Sloop Adventure	Feb. 4	Jos. Mount	Francis Daymon	60	6

Sch. Security	"	6	John Ord Jr.	J. M. Nesbitt Co.	16	6
Ship Oliver Cromwell	"	7	Harmon Courter	John Bayard, James Caldwell	150	24
Sch. Charming Nancy	"	10	Robt Hitchmough	B. Le Petit & Co.	60	10
Sloop Mars	"	15	Alex. Holmes	J. M. Nesbitt, John Donaldson & Co.	20	6
" Genl Gates	"	15	Saml Snowden	John Purviance, Paul Cox & Co.	12	6
" Swallow	"	22	Silvester Gray	John Pringle & Co.	15	6
Brig Fame	"	28	Francis Knox	Blair McClenachan	35	10
" Polly	March	6	Martin Parkinson	John Pringle & Co.	25	10
" Hetty	"	21	Eph. Doan	John Pringle, James Caldwell	30	10
" Industry	"	22	Nathan Sage	Blair McClenachan, John Pringle	30	12
Ship Bell & Mary	"	22	John Burrows	"	50	14
Brig Escape	"	22	Benj. Wickes	J. M. Nesbitt & Co.	20	6
" Lively	"	22	Woolman Sutton	"	20	8
Sloop Three Sisters	"	28	John Kenyon	Blair McClenachan	25	10
Brig Chance	"	28	John McInoe	"	35	10
Ship Adventure	"	28	John McIvers	"	50	12
Brig Sturdy Beggar	April	10	John Parks	Jehu Eyre, Joseph Carson & Co.	30	8
Sch. Betsy	"	11	Moses Griffing	James Craig, Wm Marshall	25	6
Ship Hancock & Adams	"	29	Samuel Smith	Blair McClenachan	50	12
Brig Betsy	May	24	Barry Hartwell	Thos Leaming & Co.	50	8
Sch. Hazard	June	16	Wm Paul	Anthony Marmajou	50	6
Brig Industry	"	19	Hugh Lysle	Blair McClenachan, John Pringle	45	14
Sch. Race Horse	July	2	Saml Scervant	"	10	6
" Betsy	"	24	Cha ^s Harris	James Craig, Wm Marshall	16	6
" Lizard	"	26	Stephen Champaigne	F. Daymon & Co.	120	8
Brig Revenge	"	26	Stephen Patter	"	200	12
" Lion	"	26	Joseph Ribont	"	200	14
" Hetty	"	31	Jos. Ashburn	Blair McClenachan, John Pringle	16	10
Sch. Liberty	Aug.	16	John McIver	Blair McClenachan, William Price	15	10

A ROLL OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY LIEUT. ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL
AND MUSTERED BY ESQR HENRY, APRIL 26, 1778.—

John Graham,	William Flanagan,
John Grimes,	Ludwig Warner,
James McGee,	Michal Moran,
John Hundley,	James Wright,

Joseph Holtry.

A RETURN OF RECRUITS INLISTED BY LIEUT. ARCH^D CAMPBELL
OF THE 6TH PENNA REGT LT COL. JOSIAH HARMAR ESQ. AUG. 26,
1778.—

John Shull,	August 19.	
Adam Swager,	" 22.	
Angus McIntosh,	" 23.	Deserted.
John Berry,	" 23.	
Terrence McDonald,	" 24.	
Robert Ormright,	" 24.	
Walter Motley,	" 24.	
Michael Kelly,	" 26.	

ARCH^D CAMPBELL,
Lt. 6th P. R.

ENLISTING THREE RECRUITS FOR THE 5TH PENNA. REGT. PHILADA.
JULY 30, 1778.—

Michael Druit,

John King,

John Gillespie.

JAMES McCULLOCH, *Lieut.*

RETURN OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY CAPT. ROBERT CONNELLY
FOR THE 4TH BATT^N OF PENNA. COL. WILLIAM BUTLER—OCT. 23,
1778.—

Patrick Shannon,	Sept. 8	
John Welch,	" 9	
Daniel Driskel,	" 7	
John Merritt,	" 11	
Peter Barry,	" 12	Deserted Oct. 14.
John Davis,	" 17	
John McCoy,	" 27	
Nicholas Revelee,	Oct. 9	Deserted.
William Abbott,	" 10	
John Kenan,	" 10	
Tho ^s Pentland,	" 15	
Dennis Cliny,	" 14	
Thomas Gilky,	" 16	
John Jigney,	" 16	
Peter Hay,	" 16	
Charles Paster,	" 20	
John Kean,	" 17	Deserted Oct. 19.
Nail Blue,	" 20	
John Jemison,	" 19	Deserted Oct. 23.
George Kelly,	" 22	
Richard Avis,	" 22	
Henry Shannon,	" —	Deserted.
Solomon Stonecomer,	" 19	

A RETURN OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY ARCHD. CAMPBELL CAPT
LIEUT OF THE SIXTH PENNA. REGT. COL. HARMAR ESQR SEPT
10TH, 1778.—

Joshua Still,	Aug. 26	William Studley,	Sept. 2
Patrick Lowry,	" 26	Shawnee John,	" 3
Richard Ward,	" 31	Richard Eddows,	" 4
John Alexander	Sept. 1	Abram Sing,	" 10
Frederick Wiltmar,	" 1		

ARCHD CAMPBELL.

RETURN OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY CAPT. ROBERT CONNELLY,
CAPT. JOHN PARSONS FOR THE 4TH AND 11TH PENNSYLVANIA
REGIMENTS, FOR SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Nov. 8, 1778.—

John Smith,	March 30.	
Jn ^o Henry,	April 1.	
Peter Fritz,	March 31.	
William McKelwain,	April 13.	
Hans Shank,	May 14.	
Joseph Smith,	April 29.	
Thomas Harrison,	May 24,	deserted May 27.
Henry Hicer,	" 15.	
James Callaghan,	April 23.	
Casper Shleker,	" 22.	
Conrad Hyne,	May 7.	
Francis Herman,	April 22,	deserted April 25.
William Davis,	" 5.	
Jacob Weiss,	May 15.	
Jeremiah Richards,	April 5.	
Frederick Hill,	June 8.	
Abraham Solomon,	" 14.	
Stoffel Mingle,	May 12.	
Christian Beckel,	June 9.	
William Pink,	March 9.	
William Douglass,	" 16,	deserted June 17.
Casper Hill,	" 8.	
Abraham Price,	April 5.	
Nicholas Horne,	May 7.	
Jacob Crider,	" 24.	
John Hill,	April 29.	Attestation lost.
W ^m Depon,	" 22.	" "
Christian Lewalt,	March 3.	
Jno. Lethrin,	" 26.	

LIST OF RECRUITS ENLISTED BY CAPT. JOHN DOYLE.—

1782. Daniel Sullivan	John Gordon
John Stewart	Luke Jolly
William Schutz	James Anderson
Jacob Shirk	1783. Richard Hackett
Richard Allison	Richard Biggs
William Robinson	James Davidson
William Wade	Daniel McIntire.
William Maypowder	

RICH^d HUMPTON,
Supat Recruiting Service Penna Line.

ACCOUNTS OF THE COMPANY COMMANDED BY CAPT. JEREMIAH LOCHREY, STATIONED IN WESTMORELAND COUNTY FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE FRONTIERS, 1780.—

	Commencement.	Ending.
Jeremiah Lochrey, Capt.	April 10	Dec. 15
James Irwin, Lieut.	" 10	Oct. 10
William Ralston, Sergt.	" 11	" 10
" " Ensign	Oct. 11	Dec. 15
Joseph Robinson, Lieut.	" 11	" 15
Thomas McCall, Sergt	April 22	" 15
Norman McLeod, "	" 22	" 15
Geo. Brannon, "	Oct. 11	" 15
Michael Hare, private,	April 25	Oct. 10
" " Serg't.	Oct. 11	Dec. 15
John Mifflin, private,	April 17	Oct. 10
William Breavor, "	" 13	" 10
John Hays, "	" 11	" 10
Daniel McConnell, "	" 15	" 10
Adam Pricker, "	" 19	Dec. 15
James Pinks, "	" 20	" 15
Abraham Festis, "	" 20	Oct. 15
Isaac Pollings, "	" 15	" 15
Jacob Rudolph, "	" 14	Dec. 15
Solomon Aitkins, "	" 17	Oct. 10
George Hillis, "	" 17	Dec. 15
Andrew Herboch, "	" 19	Oct. 10
Joseph Lynn, "	" 25	" 10
James Shellin, "	" 25	Dec. 15
Lewis Williams, "	" 20	Oct. 15
Thomas Cunningham, "	" 26	" 15
John Mellton, "	" 26	" 15
Jacob Barrickman, "	" 26	" 15
Joshua Kennedy, "	" 26	" 15
Jeremiah Gullion, "	" 18	" 15
John Gullion, "	Oct. 11	Dec. 15
Daniel Kahill, "	" 11	" 15
Samuel Patterson, "	" 11	" 15
Samuel Wilson, "	" 11	" 15
Kerrey Quigley, "	" 11	" 15
Walter McPherson, "	" 11	" 15
Robert Donohoo, "	" 11	" 15
John Hazleton, "	" 11	" 15
Geo Donnelly, "	" 11	" 15
John Brothers, "	" 11	" 15
John Moore, "	" 11	" 15
Michael Jordan, "	" 11	" 15
Andrew Stewart, "	" 11	" 15

JEREMIAH LOCHREY

ACCOUNT OF BALANCES DUE THE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES OF CAPT. BOYD'S COMPANY OF RANGERS.—

Sergeants: Henry Dugan, David Beates, William Ward, Dovington Price.

Corporals: William Alligans, Stephen Gobble, Abram Boddle, Marshall Galloway.

Privates: Torrence Grimes, Joseph Martin, dec'd., Felix McKinney, Jno. Whelair, Richard Corps [?], John Thomas, dec'd., John Crossin, James Grimes, Henry Simens, James Hall, Joshua Burton, Samuel Hassell, William Jones, George Jones, Low Curtz, Robert Aitkins, John Downey, James Paxton, Jacob Creirston, John Conrad, dec'd., Samuel Samson, Isaac Arters, John Grimes, Daniel Colvert, Samuel Kennedy, Solomon Sparks, Benjamin Frazer, Stephen Archer, William Tucker, dec'd., William Nichols, dec'd., John Downey Jr., Moses Bowman, John Arters.

FROM THE LIST OF RECRUITS FOR THE FIFTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, made by Lieutenant James McCulloch, we find that the following names do not appear on the Roster of the regiment as given in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. X.:

William Hollis, April 11, 1778.
 John Watt, April 12, 1778.
 James Haslet, May 9, 1778.
 William Johns, May 26, 1778.
 Michael Deburgh, May 26, 1778.
 John McClean, May 27, 1778.
 John Flaherty, June 1, 1778.
 John James, July 25, 1778.
 Nathaniel Weelwright, July 25, 1778.
 Michael Druid, July 28, 1778.

LIST OF RECRUITS OBTAINED BY LIEUTENANT THOMAS BOYD, PENNSYLVANIA STATE REGIMENT, 1777.—

Andrew Mills,	April 25.	John King,	May 1.
William Spencer,	" 28.	Ferdinand Iwartz,	" 5.
John Simmons,	" 29.	Philip Smith,	" 5.
John Stewart,	" 30.	Baltzar Hartzough,	" 18.
Archibald Dougherty,	" 1.		

A ROLL OF MILITIA STATIONED AT PRICKET'S FORT, MONONGAHELA COUNTY, UNDER CAPT. ZADOCK SPRINGER, 1777.—

Capt. Springer,	enlisted July 15.
Ensign Hayman,	" " 23.
Serg ^t Husk,	" " 15.
Martin Hardin,	" " 15.
Valentine McDonald,	" " 15.
Christian Coffman,	" " 15.
David Reed,	" " 15.
Ichabod Stanberry,	" " 15.
John Monear,	" " 17.
Richard Fields,	" " 17.
Elijah Kerr,	" " 20.
Patrick Morgan,	" " 23.
Jacob Feigley,	" " 28.
Emas Pittegon,	" " 19.

I hereby Certify that the above is a true account of the men stationed at Pricket's Fort under my Command, this 3^d day of August, 1777.

ZADOCK SPRINGER.

PAY ROLL OF CAPTAIN ANDREW MCKEE'S CO. OF THE 4TH. CLASS CUMBERLAND CO. MILITIA in the Service of the United States, Commanded by Col. Samuel Lyon, Commencing Nov. 4th 1777.

Captain, Andrew McKee.
 First Lieut. Matthew Laird.
 Second do. Alex. Litle.
 Sergeants, John Watson.
 do. Moses Watson.
 do. William French.
 Privates.

John Love.
 German Jacobs.
 John Parker.
 Wm. Aplebee.
 Frederick Duie.
 John Wierhorn.
 Jacob Clouser.
 George Coiner.
 James Robinson.
 John Leeth.
 Andrew Galbraith.
 George Jamison.
 Henry Deerfield.
 Robert Stevenson.
 Frederick Reinhart.
 Philip Miler.
 Jacob Atchinson.

James Ralson.
 Alen Sexon.
 George Litle.
 William McKee.
 Hugh McMulen.
 Alen Leeper.
 Samuel Read.
 John Stitt.
 Christian Lafery.
 William Greer.
 Nicholas Bush.
 George Nimmon.
 Henry Hays.
 Charles O'Nail.
 John Caruthers.
 Pence Long.

LIST OF RECRUITS OBTAINED BY WILLIAM HUSTON, ADJUTANT OF COL. THOMAS HARTLEY'S PENNSYLVANIA LINE, 1778.—

Joseph Williams,
 James Johnston,
 John Menholm,
 Hugh Sweeney,
 James Thornton,
 Joshua Green,
 William Adden,
 John Gray,
 Pat. Ryons,

Robert Pendergrass,
 William Hastings,
 Ephraim Donnelly,
 James Wright,
 James Homes,
 John Smith,
 Barnabas Turner,
 James Dougherty.

THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA IN ACCOUNT WITH CAPT. ALEX. PARKER FOR RECRUITING THE FOLLOWING RECRUITS, VIZ :

John Hackenburg,
 John Biddle,
 Patrick Handly,
 Ed. Price,
 Adam Clealand,
 John Hanah,
 Thomas Gelty,

John McGinniss,
 James Juson,
 George Gee,
 John Merson,
 James O'Neil,
 John Jurden,
 James Robinson.

ALEX. PARKER,
Capt. 2d Penna. Regt.

LIST OF RECRUITS FOR THE FIRST AND THIRTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, BY LIEUT. JOSEPH COLLIER, 1778.—

<i>First Penna. Line.</i>		<i>Thirteenth Penna. Line.</i>	
Jacob Hardy,	Oct. 14th.	Jacob Herst,	Jany 16th.
William Burns,	" 24th.	Martin Brahet,	" 13th.
Robert Hurst,	" 26th.	Thomas Bigley,	" 26th.
William McMun,	Nov. 9th.	James Christey,	Feb. 6th.
Andrew Kays,	" 16th.	Arthur McCue,	" 12th.
Jacob Cleggs,	" 28th.	John Twener,	March 2d.
John Wilcott,	Dec. 7th.	John Anderson,	" 3d.
James Learney,	" 8th.	John Coghnan,	" 7th.
Robert Squires,	" 20th.	William Stewart,	" 19th.
John Solsman,	" 29th.	Alexander Ewing,	" 19th.
James McCartney,		Robert Sternon,	" 28th.
James Jones,		John McCleand,	April 20th.
		Jacob Slegal,	" 23d.

RETURN OF CAPT. I. CRAIG'S COMPANY OF ARTILLERY, at Fort Pitt, March 30, 1781.

<i>Sergeants.</i>	
Thomas Wiggins,	Samuel Blackwood,
Elias Williams.	
<i>Corporals.</i>	
William Clark,	John Harris.
<i>Bombadiers.</i>	
Timothy Lane,	Peter Tybout.
<i>Matrosses.</i>	
James Fitzsimons,	John Tome,
Jonathan Trickle,	Charles Conrad,
James Burns Senr.,	James Burns Jr.,
Patrick Crawford,	Conrad Hartman,
Charles Ritz,	George Thompson,
Peter Olinger,	John Gretzinger.
Barney Cunningham,	

THE ANCESTRY OF ROBERT MORRIS, THE "FINANCIER OF THE REVOLUTION."—In the office of the Clerk of the Orphans' Court of Dorchester County, Maryland, is a record-book which originally had been Ledger B of Robert Morris, the father of the "Financier of the Revolution." On its first page is the account of "Robert Morris Junior," who is charged "To Bal. from Leg^r A to the time you left Liverpool, £46.15.6 stg," and followed by sundry charges for cash, clothing, books, etc., between 1748 and 1750.

Laus Deo Maryland—

1747—

Ledger B.

Belonging to and containing the Accounts and Dealings of the subscriber, son of Andrew Morris, mariner, and Mauslin his wife of Liverpool in the County of Lancaster in Great Britain, where the subscriber was Born April the Seventh Day, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred & Eleven. On the 17th of April 1747 the Ballances Transferred from a Former Ledger into this were Justly Due to and from
[signed] ROBERT MORRIS.

Following the account of "Robert Morris Junior" is "An Acct. of Merchandise Received at Sundry Times on Account of Foster Cunliffe Esq & Sons," and of shipments of tobacco made on the "Cunliffe," Captain John Prichard, in June and November, 1743.

ROBERT MORRIS JUNIOR Dr.

Pennsylvan.
Currency. Sterling.

1748

	To Bal from Ledg ^r A to the time you left Liverpool		14.15.6
Sept. 17.	To Mr Robert Greenaway a Book 5/ paid you	- 10.0	
Octo. 20.	To Cash so much given you at sundry times	3.10.0	
	To Cash paid for Books £4.2. forwarding 15/8	4.17.8	
	To Mr. Geo. Okill for Sundries to July 20 as per his bill	4. 5.5½	
Nov. 1.	To Sundry Books as per Catalogue, Prime Cost		8. 5.0
	To Blue Braid Cloth with Shaloon & buttons for suit of Clothes		1.10.0
	To Penknives 1 fountain Pen 1 Pencill Sundries		13.6

1749

May 1.	To 4 White & Check Shirts, 6 Caps, 1 hank 1 pr. gt. Canebank		2.15.6
June 9.	To Mr Robt. Greenaway for Sundries to this Day	15. 8.8	
July 10.	To 6½ doz Bottles Ale	4.11.0	
Oct. 11.	To 4 p. light p. Dave Jones	1.10.0	
	To G. Okill omitted in a former a/c	15.0	

1750

Sept. 10.	To Drs for a slate and 2 pr Stockings	18.6	
	To Robert Greenaway for schooling Books per Acct.	18. 5.2	
	To Cash for 1 Pistole	1. 7.0	
	To paper money 23/1 1 Pistole pd for a pr. Fustian	2.10.0	

The Lord giveth and The Lord taketh away Blessed be the name of the Lord.

THE REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, A.M., whose untimely death is noted by Mrs. Arnold in her letter of October 5, 1802, to her father (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXV. p. 481), was a graduate of the Philadelphia College and Academy in 1766. On his return from England, whither he went for ordination, he became rector of St. Anne's, Annapolis, and in 1775 married Margaret, daughter of Hon. Walter Dulany, of that city. In a few years they went to England, whither some of his wife's Tory kin had preceded them, and for some time dwelt in London, where he was occupied in clerical duties; and about 1798 he was presented to the living of Ledbury by the Bishop of Hereford, where he is buried. Many of his letters are preserved in the Dulany family in

Maryland, and are quoted from by Miss Murray in her "One Hundred Years Ago." The printer of Mrs. Arnold's letter gave his wife's name "Miss Delancy of Maryland," and Hertfordshire instead of Hereford.

T. H. M.

A RARE WORK added to the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

Beschreibung | Der in America neu-erfundenen | Provinz | Pensylvanien. | Derer Inwohner Gesetz Arth Sit | ten und Gebrauch: | Auch sämtlicher Reviren des Landes | Sonderlich der Haupt-Stadt | Philadelphia | Alles glaubwürdigest | Ausz des Gouverneurs darinnen erstatteten | Nachricht.

In Verlegung bey Henrich Hensz an der Banco im Jahr 1684. 4to. Title, one leaf. Text, 32 pp. Plan of Philadelphia.

Queries.

MINOR.—Genealogical data is wanted of Nicholas Minor, who served in Lee's Light Horse during the Revolution.

J. E. M.

STEDMAN—COOKE.—Alexander Stedman married, at St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, July 23, 1792, Juliet Cooke, of Virginia. Wanted, names of parents of Alexander and Juliet.

C. H. C.

HULL.—Who were the parents, brothers or sisters, of Sergeant John Hull, of the Thirteenth and Seventh Regiments Virginia Continental Line, Revolutionary War? He died in Pittsburg about 1805.

O. S. DECKER.

GRINNELL.—Information is requested concerning Thomas Grinnell, who during a part of the Revolution commanded the ship "Congress." He was captured and taken to England, and afterwards returned to America, and died in 1818.

E. G. P.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER.—In the "Pennsylvania Archives," Second Series, under the head of "Pennsylvania in the Revolution," there is given the services of Alexander Alexander. Can any reader of the Magazine state anything further in regard to his history, such as from what county did he go to the war, his nationality, and what became of him afterwards?

TAYLOR.—John Taylor was born in Philadelphia in 1765; Sarah Butler was born in Chester, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1766; they were married in St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, June 1, 1789. Afterwards they moved to Trenton and New Brunswick, New Jersey. Can any one give information which will aid in tracing the ancestry of John Taylor?

W. H. T.

MILLER.—Henry Miller, of Broad Top, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, was a soldier in the War of 1812 and was shot in the leg by an Indian. Can any reader of the Magazine state in what company or regiment he was or anything of his history? Several Henry Millers are found in the list of Pennsylvania troops in the war, but nothing has been seen to clearly identify this one.

W. A. MILLER.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

WASHINGTON PORTRAIT.—In Samuel's "Index to American Portraits" in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE for October, 1901, there is a portrait noted of Washington in Noah Webster's Spelling-Book, Hartford, 1783, *Frontispiece*. Can any of your readers give a description of this portrait, as to whether it is engraved on copper, wood, or type-metal, and where a copy of it may be found? The author of the Index has mislaid his notes of this picture.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—The Burlington Library Company, of Burlington, New Jersey, by bequest from Jane D. Gauntt, has recently come into possession of a life-size bust portrait of George Washington. It is painted on glass, and has been treasured by the family for many years as a rare and valuable work. The tradition in the family is "that there were eight of them painted, and that this came from a relative of the donor, a Mr. Allen, who was an importing merchant in the East India trade in the early part of the nineteenth century."

It will be of much interest to the Library Company if any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE can give any information relating to it.

R. J. DUTTON.

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

PORTER FAMILIES OF CHESTER COUNTY AND YORK COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.—In Egle's "Notes and Queries," 1897, p. 121, substantially identical with the version originally contained in the "Sketch of the M'Creary Family," by Miss Harriet M'Creary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1882, it is stated that these Porters were descended from John Porter, colonist, of Windsor, Connecticut, through his eldest son, John Porter, Jr., the connecting link, according to Miss M'Creary's account, being set forth as follows:

"3rd Generation—Samuel, fourth son of John and Mary (Stanley) Porter, was born March 5th, 1664. He left Connecticut and went southward—settled in the southern part of Chester County, Pa., where his family appear to have been prosperous and respectable, and were considered wealthy farmers in their day. And when the country west of the Susquehanna River was thrown open to settlers two of his grandsons, Nathaniel and William Porter (brothers) crossed the river and settled in York (now Adams) County. Nathaniel, who was several years older than his brother, had married Sarah Maffitt, a lady of Scotch parentage, of Cecil County, Md."

In the "National Illustrated Magazine," Vol. I., No. 7, Washington, D.C., 1884, the biographer of Governor James D. Porter, of Tennessee, says of Samuel that he "settled in Chester County, Pa., married and reared a large family; his son William, born 1695, owned and lived upon his father's homestead."

That this pedigree is not correct is shown by a search of the records deposited in the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut. "Samuell sonn of John Porter was borne: march 5-1664" ("Connecticut Colony Land Records," Vol. I. folio 54, "Windsor children's age"); "Samuel Porter Dyed November 16th 1694." (Ibid., p. 50); Agreement dated January 12, 1688, regarding the lands of "o^r father John Porter of Windsor," signed by John Porter, James Porter, Nathaniel Porter, and Samuel Porter; "An agreement between y^e brethern of Samuell Porter deceased of Windsor concerning y^e devition of his estate," signed by John Porter, Timothy Lomas, Joseph Porter, "wth y^e consent of his guardean Jno Moore." James Porter, Hezekiah Porter, Enoch Drake, Thomas Lomas, Nathaniel Porter, Nathaniel Lomas; "A Speciall Court held at Hartford Decemb^r 25, 1694." . . . "An Inventory of the estate of Samuel porter was exhibited in court & oath made by John porter that there was a True presentment of the estate of the deceased so far as at p^rsent he knows & If more comes to knowledg he will cause it to be aded to the Inventory. This Court Grants administration on the estate to James & Nathaniel porter who are to pay the debt in the first place & the remaynder of the estate is to be distributed to each of the brothers & sisters by equall proportion and [?] heyden & return strong are to distribute the estate to the legatees the lands to be wholly to the sonns & If any land fall to the sons more then their portions comes to they are to pay to their sisters what they shall be appoynted by the said Strong & Heyden;" "windsor december 19 : 1694. An Inventory taken of the Estate of Samuel porter deceased." Real and personal amounting to £210. "The Legatees or those next of kind The Bretheren & sisters of samuel porter John Porter James porter Nath Porter Hezekiah porter Joseph Porter Sarah drake Hannah Loomys Rebecka Loomys Ruth Loomys." ("Hartford Probate Records," Vol. V. p. 278, and Reverse End, p. 196.)

Accepting the above evidence as conclusive, the authentic pedigree begins with William Porter, who married Mary Price, daughter of Thomas and Ann Price. There appears to be no evidence that he "owned and lived upon his father's homestead." His first land warrant (Churchman Papers) was dated May 10, 1734, and was for land located in Elk Township, a little west of Lewisville, Chester County. In 1688 a "William Porter was among the witnesses who signed the marriage certificate of Henry Hollingsworth of New Castle, Pa." (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXII. p. 376); "1718. William Porter. Kennett. Servant—unmarried" appeared on the list of taxables; and April 16, 1727, William Porter was a witness to the will of William Reynolds, of West Nottingham. Probably the last-mentioned William Porter was the only one identical with the subject of this note.

William Porter was commissioned a captain for the French and Indian War, February 8, 1747-8, in the Associate Regiments of Chester County ("Penna. Archives," Second Series, Vol. II. p. 506). His will, probated at West Chester August 3, 1749, does not mention a son Nathaniel, but there was one of that name who had a brother William, who was a son of James Porter, of West Nantmeal.

William Porter, "heir at Law" of William and Mary Porter (Deed Book Z, p. 429, West Chester, Pennsylvania), married Sarah Piersol, daughter of John and Alice Piersol, of Chester County, and not Sarah Percival, as in pp. 72, 73 and Chart, "The Ancestry of Benjamin

Harrison," by Charles P. Keith, Esq. They were great-great-grandparents of Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States.

Further information concerning the ancestry and descendants of the various Porter families of Chester County and York County, Pennsylvania, and of Delaware and Maryland, will be appreciated by the undersigned.

PORTER FARQUHARSON COPE.

4806 CHESTER AVENUE, PHILADELPHIA.

Book Notices.

THE PIONEER WOMEN OF WYOMING. An Address before the Wyoming Valley Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution. By Frederick C. Johnson, M.D.

There is no field where women's share of labor and suffering has been greater than in the pioneer community of the Wyoming Valley. Of her devotion, her self-sacrifice, and her undaunted courage and heroism Dr. Johnson rehearses in his admirable historical address.

A COMPREHENSIVE METHOD OF ARRANGEMENT FOR GENEALOGICAL RECORDS, by Frank W. Haskell, is the title of a handy little volume, in which he presents his method of numerical designation, decimal and digital, for the arrangement of genealogical records. To those who are engaged in this work an examination of the system will be of service. Copies may be had by addressing the compiler, Niagara Falls, New York.

THE BATTLE OF PELL'S POINT (OR PELHAM), OCTOBER 18, 1776. By William Abbott. New York, 1902. 8vo, pp. 26. Edition limited to five hundred copies. Price, \$2.00.

The battle of Pell's Point, or Pelham Moor, in Westchester County, New York, was a stubbornly contested engagement between a large force of British troops and a small detachment of Americans, which followed the evacuation of the city of New York by Washington's army. The work, which is based on original documents, is liberally illustrated with scenes of the battle-field, portraits of the officers participating, and a map.

A CALENDAR OF WASHINGTON MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. By Herbert Friedenwald, Ph.D. Washington, 1901. Pp. 315.

The calendar is in two parts,—manuscripts that were written by Washington or under his authority and documents received by him. Notable among the documents are the Virginia Articles of Association of 1770; papers relating to Sullivan's Indian expedition, and letters relating to the founding of the city of Washington. Of the documents to Washington are many dating from 1778 to 1782, illustrating the means employed for obtaining information respecting the movements of the enemy. The index of names will greatly aid the investigator.

THE QUAKER: A STUDY IN COSTUME. BY Amelia Mott Gummere. Philadelphia, 1901. 12mo, pp. 232.

The traditional idea of Quakerism always carries with it a suggestion of peculiarity in dress, and this peculiarity has been so marked that

Quaker life can hardly be portrayed without an understanding of the garb. Quaker dress and customs have varied as the times have changed, and they notably fall in the period of persecution, the reactionary period, and the modern period. In developing these changes, the coat, the hat, beards and wigs, the Quakeress and the evolution of her bonnet, are exhaustively and interestingly presented. This handsome volume is liberally illustrated with historic portraits and original designs of costumes, and is from the press of Ferris & Leach.

ATWATER HISTORY AND GENEALOGY. By Francis Atwater. Meriden, Connecticut, 1901. 8vo, pp. 492.

The ancestors of the Atwaters of America are traced to the county of Kent, England, where the earliest mention of the name appears in a cartulary of the Cathedral church of Canterbury before the year 1257. The brothers Joshua and David Atwater, with their sister Ann, the first of the family to come to America, arrived at Boston in 1637, and were, with others, the founders of the New Haven Colony. The descendants of Joshua having become extinct in the male line, the genealogy mainly embraces the descendants of David, who married Damaris Sayre, and died in New Haven, Connecticut, in October of 1692. The Atwater arms in colors, a pedigree chart, numerous illustrations, and an exhaustive index of names add to the value of the work.

MASSACHUSETTS VITAL RECORDS.—The New England Historic Genealogical Society proposes to publish, by a fund set apart from the bequest of Robert Henry Eddy to the Society, the Vital Records (births, marriages, and deaths) of towns in Massachusetts, from their beginning to the year 1845, whose records are not already printed or in process or contemplation of printing. There are about one hundred and ninety of such towns, estimated to require an average of one hundred and fifty printed pages for each town, and it is intended to issue, in books of octavo size, in clear type, on good paper, and with suitable binding, the records of as many towns as practicable during each year until the work is completed. The Society now offers, until July 1, 1902, the privilege of subscribing to this invaluable series of records at the uniform rate of one cent per printed page, which, if six hundred copies are printed, will be about the actual cost. This includes binding. Only a limited number of copies will be printed; the type will then be distributed and the extra copies held on sale at a considerable advance on the subscription price. The records of each town will form a separate volume, and any number of copies of the records of any one town may be had if ordered before the work goes to press.

All communications should be addressed to the editor, Henry Ernest Woods, 18 Somerset Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS RELATING TO THE POTTS FAMILY. By Thomas Maxwell Potts. 8vo, pp. 792. Rubricated Title; Illustrations, 69; Autographs, 37; Tabulated Pedigrees, 37. The Indexes cover more than 10,000 references. Price, in buckram, \$5.00; half morocco, \$6.00.

This historical and genealogical work is a handsome volume, and has been compiled from the voluminous accumulations of many years of labor and wide and critical research. It is divided into three parts:

The Potts Family in Great Britain. By the late William John Potts. This section is preceded by a chapter upon the arms of Pott or Potts, and treats of the family from early periods in the counties of Chester, Derby, Stafford, Salop, Norfolk, Bedford, Kent, as well as of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, embracing copious abstracts from parish registers, abstracts of wills, indexes to wills and administrations, memorial inscriptions, heralds' visitations, coats of arms, biographies, and miscellaneous memoranda. *The Potts Family in America.* This section contains some account of the first settlers in America bearing the name of Potts, and also of branches of the family who settled in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, and other places. Tabulated pedigrees are appended to many chapters, which show the family affiliations at a glance. One chapter is devoted to the "Solution of the Old Potts' Puzzle," and another to the kinship of the Potts of Pennsylvania. *David Potts, of Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, and his Descendants.* This section is an historic genealogy of this particular line of the Potts family, from the settlement in the latter part of the seventeenth century down to the present time. The book is printed on heavy tinted paper, and illustrated with portraits, homes, autographs, arms, etc.

Address all communications to the compiler at Canonsburg, Pennsylvania.

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JOSEPH GALLOWAY, THE LOYALIST POLITICIAN.

BY ERNEST H. BALDWIN, PH.D.

A YOUTH AND LAWYER.

Joseph Galloway was born in the town of West River, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in the year 1731.¹ His great-grandfather, Richard Galloway, of London, England, acquired considerable land in Lord Baltimore's province in 1662, thus indicating that he was a man of good fortune and respectability.² Richard Galloway's grandson, Peter Bines Galloway, was married to Elizabeth Rigbie by Friends' ceremony in Anne Arundel, "11th Month, 9th, 1715," and became the father of Joseph.³

In 1740 Peter Galloway removed with his family to Kent upon Delaware, not far from the city of Philadelphia.⁴ The

¹ *Examination*, edited by Balch. This is the date accepted by Tyler (*Lit. Hist. Am. Rev.*, Vol. I. p. 370); other authorities give "about 1730." See "The Thomas Book" and "Biog. Dict."

² "The Thomas Book," pp. 318-320.

³ "Minutes of Friends' Meetings, Anne Arundel County, Maryland." Peter Galloway's mother died in England and was buried in the Friends' Burying Ground in Bunfields. Another relative, Ann by name, was a Quaker authoress.

⁴ *Ibid.*

reason for this change of residence is not quite clear, but is probably to be found in the possession of property interests in that region.¹ However that may be, its influence upon the future career of young Joseph was very important, for it placed Philadelphia, with all its advantages and attractions, within his reach.

The death of Peter Galloway, while Joseph was still quite young, leaving a large landed property, may have induced the boy to choose the study of the law, and thus fit himself for the proper care of such an estate.² And the example of other sons of Maryland in seeking the more attractive field of Philadelphia for the exercise of their talents may have had some influence in fixing such a determination in his mind, and caused him to seek that city for his legal studies and future home.

After suitable training, probably under the direction of some prominent lawyer, Mr. Galloway was admitted to the Bar and allowed to plead before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania as early as 1749, or before he was twenty years old. In the meanwhile he had obtained a good social standing, and as early as 1748 had been made a member of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, a club composed of the most prominent and aristocratic men of Philadelphia.³

¹ The Minutes of the Board of Property. (*Penna. Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XIX. p. 758.)

² That Peter Galloway was a man of large landed property appears from advertisements concerning the settlement of his estate.

³ Martin's "Bench and Bar of Philadelphia." Just how old Joseph Galloway was when he went to Philadelphia is uncertain. He was made a member of the Schuylkill Fishing Company May 1, 1748 ("History of the Schuylkill Fishing Co."), and it is reasonable to suppose that he was a resident there for a year or two before he gained such a social recognition.

There is no evidence that Mr. Galloway studied law in the Temple, London. In his examination before the Parliamentary Commission in 1779 he made no mention of having studied in England. And in a letter written by his friend, Ambrose Serle, in 1778, from New York, where Galloway was then staying, is a statement of the latter's intention

Mr. Galloway still further enhanced his prospects by his marriage in 1753 with Grace Growden, the daughter of Lawrence Growden, an influential character and a former Speaker of Assembly.¹ The Growdens were the owners of the famous iron-works at Durham, Pennsylvania, and possessed large means. This alliance with a wealthy and influential family, added to his native talents, which were of high order, made Mr. Galloway, as yet but twenty-three years old, one of the leading young lawyers of the city.

The court dockets of the time indicate that Mr. Galloway rapidly acquired a large practice. And this was not confined to the Pennsylvania courts only, but extended to those of the Delaware Counties and to the Supreme Court of New Jersey.² He was counsel in civil rather than criminal cases, and was a real-estate lawyer primarily; his extant briefs in both public and private libraries relate chiefly to land claims, legality of surveys, and deeds of sale or lease.

The careless and inaccurate methods of surveyors and the neglect in the recording of warrants resulted in conflicting claims, and the services of a lawyer versed in the intricacies of real-estate law were in great demand.³ In that branch of the law Mr. Galloway became a recognized

to visit England "for the first time" (Stevens, "Facsimiles," No. 2053). Finally, correspondence with the four Inns of Court, London, elicits the information that the name of Joseph Galloway nowhere appears upon their records.

¹ Mr. Galloway was married in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and, in Quaker phraseology, "by a priest" (Marriage Records of Christ Church). This marriage was a happy one, and its issue consisted of three sons, all of whom died very young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who lived to share her father's exile and subsequently married in England. (See Keith's "Provincial Councillors.")

It is an interesting fact that John Dickinson, Mr. Galloway's lifelong rival, also married the daughter of a Speaker of Assembly, Mr. Norris, and that both subsequently enjoyed the advantages of such political influence and advice.

² *Examination*, edited by Balch.

³ See W. R. Shepherd, "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania."

authority. Suits for the recovery of debts, knotty questions connected with the execution of wills, and admiralty cases also occupied his attention. Thus he was largely concerned with matters relating to property rights. This important fact should not be overlooked in seeking an explanation of his later conduct. Not only was he a large landowner himself, but he was thrown into the closest relations with property holders, and learned to regard them and their interests as paramount and the protection of property as one of the most essential duties of government.¹

The autograph briefs of Mr. Galloway illustrate the great care and thoroughness with which he prepared for the cases placed in his charge, and show that he was systematic in the conduct of them. The questions he proposed to ask witnesses were carefully worded and written out beforehand; and the various courses to be pursued, depending upon the different answers which might be given, were outlined. The careful attention to detail and the close application practised by him were excellent training for the leadership he was to take in Provincial affairs in later years, and laid the foundation for the place he occupied in the front rank of Pennsylvania lawyers. It is not surprising that his services were in demand in the most important civil suits in the Province from 1760 on, especially land suits in which the Proprietor was a party; or that in 1769 he was one of the three members of the Bar called to testify before the Supreme Court as to "the custom in the province in taking acknowledgments of deeds by married women."²

Mr. Galloway's legal talents were of especial service in

¹ Besides the large property inherited by Mr. Galloway and that obtained by marriage, he came into the possession of considerable as a legal adviser, often receiving a certain proportion of the land in dispute as his fee (Testimony before the Loyalist Commission, MSS. Congressional Library). This was a not uncommon practice. At the time of the breaking out of the Revolution Mr. Galloway was one of the wealthiest men in the Colonies. His estate, which was confiscated by the State of Pennsylvania, was estimated to be worth forty thousand pounds.

² MS. Penna. Reports 145, Law Association Library, Philadelphia.

the Pennsylvania Assembly, of which body he became a member in 1756. In the drafting of laws the wording of which required special care he was of great assistance. In 1758 he was manager of the prosecution before the Assembly of the Moore-Smith libel case. In 1759 he was very prominent in the advocacy of a bill for recording warrants and surveys, a subject with which he was fully competent to deal.

As further evidence of his legal attainments, contemporary testimony may be offered. In the course of a debate held in the Assembly in 1761, "Mr. Galloway remarkably displayed his talents of eloquence and an extensive knowledge of the laws of England and the judicial processes used in our mother country."¹ Another writer mentions him as a "favorite pleader" in the courts.² He frequently met as his legal opponents John Dickinson, Andrew and James Allen, and James Tilghman, all famous Philadelphia barristers.³

In recognition of his attainments as a lawyer and public man, Mr. Galloway was given the degree of LL.D. by Princeton College in 1769.⁴ At that time he was the most prominent lawyer and politician residing in the Province of Pennsylvania.⁵

A MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY.

Political conditions in the Province of Pennsylvania in 1756 were unusual. A Colony founded and largely controlled by a religious sect whose principles forbade war found it necessary to levy military taxes and provide for military enlistments. The savage fighting of the French and Indian War was going on right at its own doors. The Quaker majority in control of the Assembly met this situation tardily and with reluctance; they themselves claimed

¹ Samuel Foulke's *Journal*, PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII. p. 409.

² PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIX. p. 266.

³ *The Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer*, p. 27.

⁴ *Records of Princeton College*. This honor may have been given at the suggestion of William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, and an intimate friend of Mr. Galloway.

⁵ Benjamin Franklin was at that time residing in England, and Mr. Galloway was Speaker of the Assembly.

exemption from military service by charter, and held it to be the duty of the Proprietors alone to protect the Province.

Although a militia law had been passed, it was not compulsory, and was declared inadequate to the situation by the Privy Council; and that body further asserted that "there was no cause to hope for other measures whilst the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military services."¹

Unwilling to support these military measures, however, some of the Quakers, members of the Assembly, resigned.² Others, opposed to more effective measures, following the advice of their more conscientious leaders, retired and declined a re-election.³ It then became necessary to send men to the Assembly who would not scruple to vote suitable military protection, and at the same time would serve the interests of the Quaker party and its German followers. Mr. Galloway was such a man. His qualifications for a seat in the Provincial Assembly were conspicuous. Several years' experience as a successful lawyer made him familiar with the laws and the principles of legislation; he was a practised and effective speaker; the possession of considerable property made him conservative and a proper guardian of such interests; he had talent, social position, and influence; he was by training and association an adherent and supporter of the Quaker party, and had not the slightest objection to voting that other men should go to war.⁴

The earliest mention of Mr. Galloway's name in connec-

¹ Gordon, "History of Pennsylvania," p. 339.

² *Votes of Assembly*, Vol. IV. p. 564.

³ Isaac Sharpless, "A Quaker Experiment in Government," p. 224.

⁴ The name of Joseph Galloway does not appear on any of the records of Friends' Meetings in Philadelphia; but that he was of Quaker parentage and training admits of no doubt ("Records of Friends' Meetings, Anne Arundel Co., Md."). In an autograph letter of 1756 (Smith MS., Vol. V., Phila. Library Co.) he uses the Friendly expressions "thee" and "thine;" in his later correspondence he ceased to use these forms.

tion with a seat in the Assembly, so far as has been discovered, is contained in a letter from Edward Shippen to his father, dated Philadelphia, September 19, 1756, only ten days before the election :

"No ticket is yet settled for this county [Philadelphia]," he writes, "nor can any be until the result of the yearly meeting at Burlington is known. Galloway and Baynton are talked of by some—Jacob Duché and Coleman by others—nothing fixed."¹

The question then being discussed at the "yearly meeting" was whether the former Quaker members of the Assembly should stand for re-election. Their refusal to do so opened the way for Mr. Galloway. The stricter Quakers objected even to taking part in the election, and sought to prevent their sect from obtaining a majority in the next House. Others, however, feared ill consequences might result from inactivity, and probably supported Mr. Galloway for reasons mentioned above.² He was, therefore, elected a member of the Assembly from Philadelphia County October 1, 1756.³

It will not be inappropriate at this point to consider for a moment the character of the body of which Mr. Galloway had become a member, in which he was to take such a prominent position, and over which he was destined to exercise so much control.

¹ "Shippen Papers," edited by Thomas Balch, p. 63.

² There is an interesting letter on this subject written by James Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill, "Eleventh month, 1756" (quoted in Sharpless, "A Quaker Experiment in Government," p. 257) :

"... such friends who had most regard to the preserving our testimony inviolate, thought it best to decline interesting themselves in the election any further than to prevent a majority of those professing with us being returned as Representatives in the Assembly and would have preferred that not one under the name should be chosen, and for this reason declined voting themselves, and many others influenced by their example acted in like manner; but notwithstanding this there were too many under our name active in the election, whom no arguments could prevail with to desist, and by this means, and the apprehensions of others of the inhabitants of the ill-consequences of being inactive, there are in this county of eight members of the House, two called Quakers, and one that was owned last year, and another who comes to meeting, but not joined in membership."

Was the latter not Galloway?

³ *Votes of Assembly.*

The Colonial Assembly of the middle of the eighteenth century was a very different body from that of its lineal descendant of the twentieth. Its numbers were small, the average degree of intelligence was moderate, its methods of conducting business were careless, and its facilities for printing, securing information, and communication with constituents were extremely limited. And the majority, somewhat ignorant, inexperienced, and prejudiced, were apt to follow, rather blindly, the leadership of a man of education, and one who was able and disposed to take the initiative and form policies.¹

The Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania, while it possessed the above characteristics, was in some important respects different from its contemporaries. It was composed of mixed elements, representing not only different nationalities, but also various religious creeds. It possessed valuable privileges not accorded to other Assemblies. It met and adjourned at pleasure; it was not subject to dissolution and prorogation by the Governor. Its rules of procedure were in advance of those of its sister Assemblies; its Speaker possessed powers unusual for those times: he could nominate members of committees and check dilatory tactics.²

These rights had not been won without difficulty, and they were adhered to with great tenacity. At the time of Mr. Galloway's entrance to the Assembly, and for many years preceding, that body regarded its interests and those of the people it represented as opposed to those of the Proprietors. This idea found expression in endless quarrels over such subjects as taxation, appointments to office, military defence, and Governors' instructions.

Benjamin Franklin was the most influential leader of

¹ This estimate of the Colonial Assembly is based on extensive reading of the proceedings of such bodies, contemporary descriptions, and opinions of those who have made a more careful study of the subject.

² L. G. McConachie, "Congressional Committees," Appendix; M. P. Follett, "The Speaker of the House of Representatives."

the Assembly party in 1756, and it was partly due to his exertions that military measures had been carried during the last two years. The election of Mr. Galloway provided Franklin with an able assistant in his efforts to secure suitable defence and at the same time compel the Proprietors to bear their just share of the burden of taxation.

The minutes of the Assembly for the year 1756 reveal the fact that Mr. Galloway took an active part in the proceedings of that body from the first, and that his talents were immediately called into service. The Assembly met October 14, 1756, and on the 20th Mr. Galloway was placed at the head of a committee "to prepare and bring in a Bill for prohibiting the exportation of provisions, naval or warlike stores from this province to the French."¹ A few days later he was sent with another member to wait on the Governor with an inquiry.² On the 28th he was placed at the head of another committee, with Franklin as a member, "to prepare and bring in a Bill for forming and regulating a militia in this province."³

On November 23 the following significant record appears: "Ordered that Mr. Galloway and Franklin do prepare a draught of a message to the Governor desiring he would be pleased to lay before the house such of the Proprietary instructions to him as relate to matters of legislation; also a copy of the late conference with the Indians at Easton."⁴ This was designed partly as a precautionary measure to prevent delay in legislation, and partly to learn whether the Assembly would have just cause for complaint. A new Governor, William Denny, was then in office, and better things were hoped of his administration than had been experienced under his immediate predecessor; but in this they were disappointed. His instructions infringed the rights of the Assembly, they said, and prevented the enactment of necessary and just laws. But Governor Denny was

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, October 20, 1756.

² *Ibid.*, October 26, 1756.

³ *Ibid.*, October 28, 1756.

⁴ *Ibid.*, November 23, 1756.

determined to abide by his instructions, and consequently soon became involved in a quarrel with the Assembly.

The first dispute arose over the question of excise, and the Assembly, owing to the exigency of the war, yielded. A disagreement over the quartering of troops on inn-keepers in Philadelphia occupied its attention also. In all these troubles Mr. Galloway was very prominent as a committeeman or as a medium between the Assembly and the Governor, duties which required tact and a knowledge of the laws and facts. And in the discussions in the Assembly he and Franklin did most of the gnawing on these bones of contention.

But military affairs reached a low ebb early in 1757, and a grant of one hundred thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly, in accordance with a bill drawn up by a committee of which Galloway and Franklin were members.¹ This bill provided for the taxation of Proprietary estates, and on this account was rejected by the Governor. Necessity compelled the Assembly to yield again, and it was further influenced by the fact that the Province was then in disfavor at London, owing to complaints which had been made to the Privy Council. But while it thus acceded to the Governor's wishes, at the same time it resolved "that a Commissioner or Commissioners be appointed to go Home to England in behalf of the people, to solicit the removal of the grievances we labor under by reason of Proprietary instructions." The Speaker, Mr. Norris, and Benjamin Franklin were appointed the Commissioners.²

The importance of this action in the career of Mr. Galloway lay in the fact that upon Franklin's departure for England the management of the Anti-Proprietary party in the Assembly was left in his hands. One evidence of this appears in the minutes of the Assembly. Mr. Galloway was immediately assigned to the places left vacant by Franklin on the committees.³ The two most important of these

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, January 22, 1757.

² *Ibid.*, January 28, 1757.

³ *Ibid.*, April 1 and 9, 1757.

committees were those of Grievances and Correspondence.

A further examination of the minutes of the Assembly for the years 1756-57 gives abundant evidence of the prominence of Mr. Galloway in the public affairs of the Province so early in his public career. In preparing answers to Governors' messages, resolutions, congratulatory addresses, and instructions to Commissioners his services were constantly in demand; measures for defence, equalization of taxation, repair of roads, care of the poor refugees from Nova Scotia, and for the regulation of trade and Indian affairs—all were prepared with the assistance of Mr. Galloway.¹

The conduct of this young lawmaker during his first year as a member of the House marked him as an active supporter of the Assembly party in its opposition to the Proprietary pretensions, and, after the departure of Franklin, as one of its recognized leaders. And in no way was his attitude towards the Proprietors more plainly manifested than in his conduct as Indian Commissioner, an office to which he was appointed by the Assembly April 9, 1757.² The occasion of this appointment was the attempt to bring about peace with the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, who had joined the French in the war, but who now seemed inclined to bury the hatchet, provided their own grievances were redressed. These Indians complained of injustice in connection with the sale of their lands and demanded satisfaction.³ They requested the production and examination of the title-deeds, in order that the truth of their claims might be proved. These demands were opposed by the Proprietors, but seemed entirely reasonable to the Quakers, who sought to obtain justice for the Indians and thus secure a lasting peace.

A "Friendly Association" had been formed by the lead-

¹ *Votes of Assembly, 1756-57.*

² *Ibid.*, April 9, 1757.

³ The famous "Walking Purchase" of 1737 was one cause of complaint. (Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," p. 24.)

ing members of that sect with the object of furthering the success of the negotiations by gifts to the Indians, thus regaining and preserving peace by pacific measures. They were seconded in their efforts by the Assembly agents, who were not disinclined to have the Proprietary shortcomings exhibited.¹

Conferences held with the Indians in 1756 had been inconclusive, but those planned for the summer of 1757 promised much in the way of a settlement of the troubles, and neighboring Colonies were to be represented.

Soon after their appointment as Indian Commissioners, Mr. Galloway and William Masters wrote Governor Denny, urging that particular care be used to learn the cause for the complaints of the Indians at the coming conferences, and praying that a spirit of conciliation be shown in conducting the negotiations. This was really in the nature of a warning that the Indians would be supported in their just claims by the Quaker party.²

The Governor objected to the plan of the members of the "Friendly Association" to be present at the conferences and forbade their giving gifts to the Indians. He was unable to prevent this, however, and Tedyuscung, the Indian chief, refused to treat without their presence. The wily Indian also demanded a clerk of his own, a suggestion which was no doubt of Quaker origin and for which Mr. Galloway was probably in part responsible. Evidence of this appears in

¹ Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," pp. 24, 30, 36.

² Lancaster, May 6, 1757: "we now experimentally find that the persons concerned in former treaties . . . have been too negligent in making the proper inquiries into their complaints and searching into the justice of them . . . too ready to postpone making them the small compensation with which they might have been easily satisfied. . . . We entreat your Honor to make a full disquisition of the Indians now present . . . into the complaints and injuries . . . and into every other piece of injustice that may be suggested against any person whatever concerned in this government that . . . satisfaction may be made to the Indians . . ." (*Penna. Archives*, Vol. III. pp. 160, 161.)

a letter of George Croghan, who was present at the Easton conference, to Sir William Johnson, in which an account of the proceedings is given :

"In the evening [July 22] after the conference was over I met some of the Provincial Commissioners in the Street who asked me if the Governor had allowed the Indians a Clerk. I told them that Tedyuscung was well satisfied that none but the Clerk I had brought with me should take down the minutes : On which Mr. Galloway and Mr. Masters two of the Provincial Commissioners said, if the Governor did not allow the Indians a Clerk, they would set off home, and take the Provincial presents with them and not give a single shirt to the Indians. Now as I found Tedyuscung and his council was well satisfied without one both before those people came to town and in the conference this day, I can't help thinking that those people have insinuated to him that justice would not be done him, and put him on asking one to carry something that might favor themselves in some of their views. . . ." ¹

The following morning (July 23) Tedyuscung informed the Commissioners that Governor Denny had refused his request for a clerk, and that he would not treat without one. The Commissioners then drew up a formal remonstrance which they presented to the Governor the same day. This was read to the Governor by Mr. Galloway, who insisted that the Indian's request be granted.² The Governor was compelled to accede to the wishes of the Commissioners, but he in turn remonstrated with them for their interference and forbade them to transact any business with the Indians.³

¹ "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. VII. p. 322.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 292.

³ Gordon, "*Hist. of Penna.*," p. 360. That the Commissioners used the clerk, Charles Thomson, to good advantage in embarrassing the Proprietary Governor appears from Croghan's letter.

"Those people by his having a clerk, they had a Counsellor for themselves, to put Tedyuscung in mind what they wanted him to say, and it appeared very clearly one day when he had got his speech drawn up in writing and desired his clerk to read it off as a lawyer would put in a plea at the bar. . . ."

Croghan objected to this also, made Tedyuscung deliver his own speech, and complained to Sir William Johnson that the conduct of the Quakers was derogatory to the Royal Prerogative, and based on private interests.

In a reply to this, written August 1, 1757 (Easton), the Commissioners vindicated their conduct, reminded the Governor of their joint power in the disposition of public money, and declared that they would always remonstrate when there was reason for it.¹ The incident left a rather bitter feeling between the Governor and the Assembly party, and is important in that it made Mr. Galloway still more prominent as a leader of the opposition to Proprietary rule and caused the succeeding quarrels with the Governor to take on a more virulent character.

Two controversies in which Mr. Galloway was concerned occurred during this early period of his career as an Assemblyman, and will be briefly mentioned here.

The first of these disputes, known as the Moore-Smith affair, began immediately after the Indian conferences of 1757. Throughout the session of 1756-57 petitions had been sent to the Assembly complaining of one William Moore, Esq., a justice of the peace in Chester County, charging him with arbitrary and extortionate practices. No action was taken upon these petitions until Mr. Galloway was assigned to the Committee of Grievances (in the place of Benjamin Franklin), when the subject was taken up and referred to that committee.² At the same time the clerk was ordered to notify Moore that the House would inquire into the charges against him at the next session. On August 25 the case was heard and Moore was granted further time to prepare his defence. Upon his failure to appear later, it was decided on September 27 that Moore ought to be removed from office, and Mr. Galloway was appointed on the committee to prepare an address to the Governor asking him to make the desired removal. No further action was taken on the subject until the first session of the next Assembly.

Meanwhile Mr. Moore had written an address to the Governor defending his conduct and criticising the action of

¹ "Colonial Records," Vol. VII. p. 694.

² *Votes of Assembly*, April 1, 1757.

the Assembly. This was deemed libellous by the House, and the Sergeant-at-arms was sent to apprehend Moore; at the same time, William Smith, the college provost, who was suspected of being the author of Moore's address, was ordered to appear before the House.

The Governor, in a message to the Assembly, refused to remove Moore without a hearing, and declared that that was impossible because the House held the accused as a prisoner. The Assembly then decided to impeach Moore, and requested the Governor to appoint a day for that purpose. At the same time Mr. Galloway was chosen to prepare articles of impeachment. The Governor refused this request, however, claiming the right to act independently of the Assembly. At the same time both Moore and Smith refused to recant and submit. The only outcome of the affair was the increased bitterness it provoked between the Assembly and the Governor, for the origin of it lay in the fact that Moore was an obnoxious Proprietary officer, and Smith the author of a slanderous pamphlet urging the Crown to forbid Quakers the right of membership in the Assembly.¹

The animosities aroused by this affair probably influenced the Governor in precipitating the next quarrel, which occurred in 1758, and which served still more to widen the gulf between the Assembly and Proprietors. The Governor refused his assent to another money bill because of the Commissioners named in the act. Mr. Galloway had the honor to be one of these Commissioners. They were charged with disregard of the Governor, expenditure of money without his consent, and neglect to render proper accounts.

The Commissioners answered these charges before the

¹ The whole controversy appears on the minutes of the Assembly. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended as regarded the two accused; but they both secured their release and Smith went to England, where he was successful in an appeal to the Privy Council; the House was censured.

Assembly April 5, 1758; they were pleased that the Governor had not charged them with appropriating money for their own use; admitted their refusal to defray needless expense; denied the charge of neglect; and showed that the Governor had approved their expenditures.¹ This spirited defence irritated the Governor, and he vented his spleen upon two members of the House who waited on him on business. The Assembly resented this treatment of its members and remonstrated, thus adding fuel to the fire. Mr. Galloway appeared throughout as in no way inclined to conciliation, and exhibited a disputatious, if not resentful, spirit. He was only accumulating a measure of dissatisfaction with Proprietary institutions which a few years later he was called upon to express in terms which would serve as a party platform in an exciting period of Pennsylvania politics.

The prominence acquired by Mr. Galloway as a leader in the Assembly during the first year of his political career continued without interruption during the following years. A brief mention of the more important features of legislation from 1758 to 1764 will indicate how his talents were employed.

Late in 1758 he was again sent as a Commissioner to Easton, to another conference with the Indians, at which the Governor in vain sought to have Tedyuscung withdraw his charges of fraud against the Proprietors. In his report of this conference the Governor wrote as follows: "We cannot but impute the said Tedyuscung's making the base charge of forgery against the Proprietaries to the malicious suggestions and management of some wicked people, enemies to the Proprietaries."² . . ."

On account of his absence in connection with this conference Mr. Galloway did not appear in the Assembly after his third election until November 16, 1758.³ Abuses connected with the military service and Indian trade then en-

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, April 5, 1758.

² "Colonial Records," Vol. VIII. p. 243.

³ *Votes of Assembly*, November 16, 1758.

gaged his attention. In the following year (April 21, 1759) he was on a committee ordered "to collect all the treaties held with the several tribes of Indians by this province, from the first settlement thereof, and to see the same printed in a small folio volume, on good strong paper." The same committee was to collect all the laws of the Province and prepare bills: first, for amending the laws for establishing courts of justice in the Province; second, establishing an office for recording warrants and surveys; and, third, for regulating the inns and taverns within the Province.¹ A month later several of the religious sects, hearing "with real concern" that a "company of Stage Players would erect a theatre and exhibit plays," petitioned the Assembly to prohibit "such ensnaring and irreligious entertainments." So Mr. Galloway headed a committee to bring in a bill prohibiting theatres and suppressing lotteries; and a few days later one for the "relief of heirs, Devises and assigns of persons born out of the King's legiance."

Mr. Galloway's connection with the framing of some of these bills is shown particularly in connection with that concerning warrants and surveys. A bill was passed by the Assembly, but vetoed by the Governor in a message which contained some observations made by several prominent lawyers, members of the Governor's Council, to whom the bill had been referred for criticism.² The bill was returned to the Governor, who vetoed it again. On July 4 a new bill was framed and passed by the House.

"A member then presenting to the chair a paper of remarks upon the observations sent down by his Honor on the former draught of a bill for the said purpose,"

the House decided to send it with the bill.³ And in the message to the Governor occur the following words:

"We herewith send such remarks made upon those observations by a gentleman of the law, a member of our house, in point of law and reason."⁴

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, April 21, 1759.

³ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1759.

² *Ibid.*, June 13, 1759.

⁴ *Provincial Archives*.

These "remarks," the author of which was Mr. Galloway, played a very important part in this controversy. They give evidence of careful thought, an acquaintance with the subject, and a skill in fencing which made Mr. Galloway a dangerous opponent in all such bouts.¹

In 1760 Mr. Galloway, in connection with a bill granting one hundred thousand pounds for military supplies, fought a successful battle with the Governor over the question of preserving to the Assembly the disposal of the money and forbidding the Governor to assist in its expenditure. The Governor was compelled to yield the point, owing to the determination of the Assembly to adhere to its resolution.

In the following year military measures engaged the attention of Mr. Galloway largely, and as a Provincial Commissioner he was very active in the administration of affairs. His activity was little affected by the return of Franklin from his successful mission in 1763. He resumed his intimate relations with the famous philosopher and continued his opposition to the Proprietary rule. At the end of each session he was granted a sum of money for extra services, showing that his talents were much in demand in the House.² At the close of the French and Indian War he was one of the two most active politicians in the Province of Pennsylvania.³

AN OPPONENT OF PROPRIETORS.

The year 1764 was an eventful one in the annals of Pennsylvania politics. That Quaker Colony was stirred from

¹ A detailed account of this particular bill is not within the province of this thesis. It will not be out of place, however, to state that its object was to prevent the injustice which often resulted from the confusion into which the carelessness of Proprietary officers had thrown land titles. (See W. R. Shepherd, "History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania.")

The method by which the Governor's sanction of the bill was obtained and the uses to which it was put by some lawyers were causes for serious charges later. Galloway himself was accused of taking advantage of it to deprive some poor Germans of their lands.

² *Votes of Assembly*, September 27, 1759; September 26, 1761, etc.

³ Franklin was the other.

centre to circumference over the bold proposition to change the form of government and make it a Royal Province. Owing to the prominent part taken by Mr. Galloway in this movement, the year was also an important one in his career. He not only suffered a defeat at the polls, but, what was far more unfortunate, he entered upon a bitter feud with John Dickinson.

In the apparently irreconcilable differences between the Assembly and Proprietors may be found the reason for the measure which occasioned the heated political quarrel of 1764. The complaints made of the Quakers in the management of Indian affairs, the quarrels over supply bills and taxation, and the continual bickerings with the Proprietors about assessors, Governors' instructions, and the appointment of judges had exhausted the patience of the popular or Assembly party.

An affair which greatly aggravated the animosity between the two parties early in 1764 was what is known in history as the "Paxton Riot." This unfortunate occurrence had its origin in the continued Indian depredations on the western frontier, and the feeling among the excitable Scotch-Irish in Lancaster County that suitable protection could not be obtained from the Quaker party in control of the Provincial Assembly. In their desperation they took things into their own hands. A party of fifty or more frontiersmen deliberately massacred the few friendly Indians, wards of the government, living at Conestoga. The act, committed in the most shocking manner, met with the most vehement denunciation in Philadelphia. This served merely to still more irritate the frontiersmen, who not only defended their conduct, but threatened a war of extermination against all Indians, friendly or hostile.

Fears were entertained for the safety of the Moravian Indian converts, and they were removed to Philadelphia and lodged in the city barracks. This open and avowed protection of the Indians exasperated the westerners, and they started for Philadelphia with the alleged purpose or

killing the Indians and punishing the Quakers. The city was greatly alarmed. Military companies were organized, and even the Quakers shouldered guns and drilled.¹ The wildest rumors were current as to the numbers and anger of the Irish.

But the fierce Indian-hunters, when they learned of the effective measures for protection taken in the city, halted at Germantown. A delegation of leading men, among whom were Franklin and Galloway, went out to meet the insurgents, heard their grievances, promised to consider certain reforms, and persuaded the majority of them to return home.² They left a committee to enter the city and present a petition to the Assembly. They demanded the banishment of the Indians, a promise not to try the Paxton murderers in the city of Philadelphia, and a larger representation in the Assembly for the border counties.³ These demands were never acceded to, the murderers were never tried anywhere, and the only result of the affair was the bitter feeling it left against the Quakers and the Quaker party. And they, on the other hand, were filled with apprehension lest the riotous Presbyterians should get the legislative as well as the executive branch of the government into their hands.⁴ The participation of Mr. Galloway in this affair was never forgotten by the Paxton Boys; and ten years later, when a greater quarrel was brewing, they subjected him to insult.

The immediate occasion of the proposition to abolish the Proprietorship, however, was a new quarrel over taxation, which followed closely upon the excitement of the Paxton riot. The agreement which Franklin had made with the

¹ Muhlenberg, *Diary*.

² "Shippen Papers," p. 204. Reed's "Life and Correspondence of President Reed," p. 35. The action finally taken was to provide for the more effective administration of the courts in the counties!

³ Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Letter of James Pemberton to Samuel Fothergill.

Proprietors in 1759 regarding the taxation of their estates provided that the unimproved lands of the Proprietors should be assessed as low as the lowest rate at which similar lands of the people were assessed. Early in 1764 a bill granting fifty thousand pounds for an Indian campaign was returned by the Governor, with the demand that the best unimproved lands of the Proprietors be taxed at the rate paid by the people for their worst lands.

Owing to the pressing necessity of war, the Assembly, in disgust at the mean advantage taken by the Proprietors, agreed to the demand. But at the same time it appointed a committee, at the head of which stood Mr. Galloway, to consider and report upon the grievances of the Province.¹

The report of this committee, presented March 24, 1764, and consisting of twenty-six resolutions penned by Mr. Galloway, placed at the door of the Proprietaries the responsibility for all their troubles. The chief causes of complaint against them were: their private instructions to the Deputy Governor, their claims to exemption from taxation, their appointment of judges during pleasure, their abuse of the right to issue licenses to taverns, and their attempt to control the militia. Their growing power, resulting from the continual increase of their estates, it was asserted, would not only tend to render them absolute, but endanger the prerogatives of the Crown as well as the liberties of the people.²

The Assembly having adopted the resolutions, then decided that

“as all hope of happiness under the proprietary government were at an end, they would adjourn in order to consult the people, whether an humble address should be drawn up, and transmitted to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate protection and government.”³ . . .”

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, March, 1764.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

In the mean time petitions requesting a change of government were circulated and signed by many of the Quakers.¹ These were presented to the Assembly when it reconvened a few weeks later. A resolution to send a petition asking the Crown to resume the government of the Province was then adopted. This measure encountered the strenuous opposition of John Dickinson, and was disapproved by the aged Speaker, Isaac Norris.

John Dickinson, while not a partisan of the Proprietors, proved to be one of their best allies in this dispute. His speech against the proposed petition was an able one. Owing to ill health he had had no opportunity to offer his objections to the measure until it reached its final stages in the House.² The substance of his argument was that the time for seeking a change in the government was an extremely unfavorable one. The Province was in disfavor at London, and the exceptional privileges then enjoyed might be taken away. The Church of England might be established in Pennsylvania and the Quakers disfranchised. Besides, a standing army might be quartered among them. He admitted their grievances, but believed that by obtaining their request they would merely jump from the frying-pan into the fire.³

Mr. Galloway's reply to these objections was as follows: He said he would not "take up the time of the House in making large protestations" of his sincerity, or that his con-

¹ The Proprietary party declared that these petitions were obtained as follows: "Taverns were engaged, many of the poorer and more dependent kind of laboring people in town were invited thither by night, the fear of being turned out of business and the eloquence of a punch bowl prevailed on many to sign the petition for the good of their country." (*Plain Dealer*, No. 3.)

Counter-petitions containing some ten thousand names were sent to the Proprietors. It was charged that these were obtained by "persuading the inmates of barracks and children twelve years old to sign." (*Scribbler*.)

² Reply to the speech of Joseph Galloway.

³ Dickinson's speech in the Assembly.

duct was "actuated by an ardent desire to restore the almost expiring liberties" of his country. He had shown a "steady uniformity of conduct in support of public liberty," and needed to make no professions. He had not the "vanity to hope" that if "we cannot now succeed in removing the prejudices occasioned by Proprietary misrepresentations we shall ever see the day, while the powers of government are united with immense property, that Proprietary influences of ministerial prejudice against us will cease." But he feared a little time would show them "in the ridiculous light that Horace shows his Clown, who meeting a river in his road sat down on the bank to wait till the stream should pass him." That the ministry should take advantage of the circumstances and deprive them of any of their "just liberties," he thought an unwarranted supposition. He expatiated upon the virtues of the King, and pictured the advantages of a royal government. He declared that their condition would be far better if they enjoyed only such privileges as were granted the neighboring provinces. He pictured the armed mobs coming to the city, "nor was the government capable of defending itself or the people under its care. No, sir, our present safety, and, for aught I know, our present existence, is owing to the King's troops, and a few brave Volunteers, the friends of liberty, and of public virtue." "A military establishment is already and will be more effectually established in the colonies. This seems the determined, unalterable resolution of the British Parliament." Nothing else would ever secure them protection in their present disunited state. "There is no alternative between this measure and a general union to ensure us protection against the foreign invader. Such an union has been already rejected and such an one we shall now never enjoy. Our superiors think it convenient to keep us in another state; and therefore we shall undoubtedly have this measure . . . established whether the government is changed or not." It would be far better to have it under the King than under the Proprietors. In conclusion he de-

clared their condition comparable to a human constitution with a disease. Some remedy was necessary, but waiting for a more favorable opportunity was to act on the advice of a "quack."

"The powers of legislation truly resemble the soul which animates and directs the conduct and behavior of the political institution. An upright administration of Justice resembles the active blood which by its pure and uninterrupted course, preserves and supports its health and vigor. In these two vital parts, with many others, the fever of ambition and arbitrary power is and has been continually raging with unremitting violence. The powers of legislation are so checked and controlled, that they are almost annihilated. The courts of judicature are so dependent on proprietary influence that wherever proprietary interest is in question, the stream of justice becomes so turbid and thick, that it can no longer discharge its duty, security of life and estate is become an empty name, and the spirit of liberty, distressed and worn out by ineffectual efforts for her preservation, is verging fast to a dissolution. Nothing but a Royal medicine expeditiously administered can possibly revive or restore her, and if such a medicine can be obtained before the midnight gloom approaches and fatal death puts an end to our struggles, shall we not do it?"¹

Dickinson's attack on the Assembly's policy had no immediate effect; no postponement of the question to further consideration, even, could be obtained. The resolution was passed with but four dissenting votes, and a request to have their protest entered on the minutes was denied the minority.²

This debate between Mr. Galloway and Mr. Dickinson to a certain extent prepared the way for the unfortunate feud which was started a few weeks later. Soon after the adjournment of the Assembly Dickinson's speech was printed as a pamphlet, with an introduction by William Smith, the college provost, and distributed by the Proprietary party as

¹ This interesting specimen of Galloway's early attempts at the use of figurative language was greatly derided by Dickinson in his "Reply," and Galloway seems to have given up the attempts in his later productions.

² *Votes of Assembly.* Mr. Galloway was to meet with the same experience ten years later in the Continental Congress.

a campaign document. Shortly after there appeared another pamphlet entitled "The Speech of Joseph Galloway, Esq., in Answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, Delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24th, 1764."

This pamphlet contained, besides the author's arguments in favor of the Royal petition, several accusations against his rival and opponent, Mr. Dickinson. The latter immediately took umbrage at this, and sent Galloway a challenge, which was declined.¹ He then published a "Reply," in which he designated Mr. Galloway's "speech" as "pretended," and declared that not a sentence of it had ever been spoken in the House.² He "was not surprised to find that a person who treated his own character with such license should not be unsparing of others." Mr. Galloway had accused him of

¹ "Writings of John Dickinson," *Memoirs Hist. Soc. of Penna. The Monthly Review*, January, 1765. That a Quaker should challenge a Quaker may well cause surprise. It only indicates what anger had been aroused in Dickinson's breast. In his "Reply" he taunts Galloway for his refusal thus: "Presumptuous indeed must I appear should I venture into these lists, against a person who wields the weapons of wordy war—the only weapons he dares to wield. . . ."

² That this speech was ever delivered in the Assembly as printed Galloway never claimed. He did claim that the "substance" of it was so delivered, however, and obtained affidavits from members of the Assembly in support of his assertion. After Dickinson had finished speaking, Galloway arose to reply; but before he had proceeded very far the aged Speaker, Mr. Norris, was taken ill, and the House adjourned. Mr. Dickinson was requested to leave his speech (which was committed to paper) on the table, that members might peruse it. He declined, giving as a reason that it was not in suitable form, although he was told that only the substance was desired for examination, and not the "style or method." But he promised to perfect it and give it to Mr. Galloway that evening. When Galloway called for it, it was not ready. Taken to the House next day, no one called for it, and after that time the resolution was not again debated at length. The "substance" of Galloway's speech had probably been delivered in the Assembly when the question of a change was first broached, and long before Dickinson delivered his speech. This whole controversy is contained in Galloway's "To the Public," Philadelphia, September 29, 1764, and Dickinson's "Reply."

being influenced in his conduct by a "restless thirst after promotion—a fondness to serve the purposes of power from an expectation of being rewarded with posts of honor and profit." But he had not "given *himself* an office of profit every year since he had been a representative," nor had he "enriched *himself* with a lucrative post torn from the old age of a worthy man;" he had not lined "*his* pockets" with spoils in "vile jobs;" nor bought with the public money "commissions of judges" in courts where he practised for *his* "most intimate friends;" *he* had not "juggled in dirty cabals" about the offices of Chief-Justice and Attorney-General; *he* had not taken "raw councils" in "taverns" for "regulating the conduct of Pennsylvania."

These counter-charges against Mr. Galloway it would probably be difficult either to prove or disprove at this late day. They are of such a nature that circumstantial evidence alone could not prove them. And they are charges which would be apt to be brought against a successful rival for political honors, particularly at the time of this quarrel between the two men. Mr. Galloway was a politician, and his influence was, no doubt, exerted in favor of friends, whose aid would be most useful to him in his political ambitions. His acts need not have been necessarily corrupt or detrimental to the public service. Indeed, had they been Mr. Galloway would not, in all probability, have maintained his leadership so many years, and the fact that he did retain the confidence of his constituents so long is a sufficient answer to these charges.

Anger and hatred on the part of Dickinson, and malice and envy on the part of Galloway, characterized the bitter invectives they hurled at each other during this summer campaign of 1764. The unfortunate breach between them was never healed, and the resentment which rankled in their breasts and frequently showed itself in the political contests lasted throughout the rest of their days.¹

¹ There is reason to believe that Galloway's influence served to keep Dickinson out of the Assembly for a number of years. And it was

But this pamphlet duel, while important, was but one phase of the exciting pamphlet war which was waged between the advocates of Royal government and their adversaries, the supporters of Proprietary rule. No denunciation was too vehement, no accusation too bold, and no warning too absurd to be printed and circulated by both parties. And no clearer evidence could be given of the influence of Mr. Galloway as a politician and leader in Pennsylvania than is contained in some of the pamphlets and broadsides issued during this campaign.

A pamphlet entitled *The Plain Dealer*, No. 3, was especially severe in its denunciation of Mr. Galloway. It dealt with his defence of the Assembly resolves, his conduct as Indian Commissioner, and his connection with the purchase of laws from Governor Denny.¹

"Our Quaker Lawyer and Politician has the impudence to deny everything that has been urged concerning the inhumanity . . . of a Quaker Assembly. He says, the right and power of superintending the protection of the frontiers were solely in the Governor. The Assembly never had the disposal of a single farthing of the public money. The Commissioners only had the power of applying the money with the Governor's consent to particular uses."²

certainly due to his action that Dickinson was kept out of the first Continental Congress until near the close of the session.

Dickinson frequently took occasion to vent his spite on Galloway. In the celebrated "Farmer's Letters" he clearly has Galloway in mind in several instances.

During this campaign of 1764 Dickinson published an article in which he ridiculed Galloway's "Speech." It was entitled "A Receipt to make a Speech."

¹ It asserted that the law concerning "Warrants and Surveys," in which Mr. Galloway was interested, had been obtained by purchase.

"I shall not tire the reader with observations on the rest of the laws which we bought; they are much of a stamp. I find that our lawyers can say pretty things of them all." (*Plain Dealer*, No. 3.)

² Mr. Galloway had published some "Explanatory Remarks" on the resolves.

Does this man believe there is such a thing as truth and falsehood, when he abuses the public in this manner?

"Were it not that this lawyer was the leading man in our late Assembly and therefore a gentleman of singular consequence, I should not have taken the trouble of conversing so long with a person that discovers such an absolute contempt of truth."

The Anti-Proprietary party published a number of satirical pieces with the object of bringing the Presbyterians into disrepute with the Quakers.¹ One entitled "A Looking Glass for Presbyterians" gave an account of the supposed proceedings of a Council of Presbyterian ministers and elders, held at Lancaster, August 28, 1764, to settle the election.² A mock prayer of the Moderator contained the following petition:

"Oh do thou confound these cursed Quakers, that are endeavoring to bring us under a kingly yoke . . . confound our enemies the Assembly . . . pour down in a particular manner thy judgments upon F—n and G—y, and let the thunderbolts of thy vengeance sink them down to the lower regions . . . let the King's name become odious and stink in the nostrils of the Dutch and let them join heartily with us thy servants in turning out the present members of Assembly and in putting in such men as shall be subservient to all our present and future views for the good of thy kirk. . . ." The meeting decided that if only Franklin and Galloway could be turned out of the Assembly "the rest would be like a body without a head."

¹ The hostility of the Presbyterians towards the Quakers was a characteristic feature of this campaign. In a pamphlet entitled "Plain Truth" they declared that "to govern was repugnant to the avowed principles of the Quakers." This was answered in "Plain Truth found to be Plain Falsehood" with the retort, "to be governed is absolutely repugnant to the avowed principles of the Presbyterians."

² This pamphlet encouraged the Presbyterians to expect great things when they secured control of the government: taxes to support their ministers, laws compelling everybody to attend their meetings, and exemption of Proprietary estates from taxation forever. The absurdity of this must have served to defeat its purpose.

The election which occurred October 1 and 2, 1764, and at which the Proprietary party hoped to gain control of the Assembly, and thus prevent the sending of the petition to the Crown, was one of great excitement. The defeat of Franklin and Galloway was particularly desired and the greatest exertions were directed to that end. A contemporary letter gives a vivid account of the day's doings.¹

"Our late election . . . was really a hard fought one, and managed with more decency and good manners than would have been expected from such irritated partisans as appeared as the champions on each side. A number of squibs, quarters, and half sheets were thrown among the populace on the day of election, some so copious as to aim at the general dispute, and others, more confined, to Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Galloway, with now and then a skit at the Doctor, but these had little or no effect."

The poll was opened at about nine o'clock in the morning and voting continued until three o'clock the next afternoon. The aged and lame were brought in chairs and litters; horsemen were dispatched to Germantown for recruits; in all nearly four thousand votes were cast. The vote was a close one, and both Franklin and Galloway were defeated.

"Mr. Franklin died like a philosopher. But Mr. Galloway agonized in death like a mortal deist, who has no hopes of a future existence."

Mr. Galloway's activity and prominence in connection with this Proprietary dispute were later referred to by his enemies as evidence that at one time he was a leader of the popular party and a bold defender of the people's rights, but that he later deserted and joined the royalist side. But this charge is irrelevant and deceptive. The affair had not the remotest connection with the Revolutionary quarrel. Furthermore, the "people" in this dispute were about evenly divided between the two parties, and Mr. Galloway was a leader of that party which desired a *Royal* government.

Whatever Mr. Galloway's hopes of a future political existence may have been after his defeat of 1764, he enjoyed a

¹ Mr. Pettit to Mr. Reed, November 3, 1764. (Reed's "Life of Reed," Vol. I. p. 36.)

political resurrection the very next year. And his correspondence with Franklin, who had been sent abroad to present the petition to the Crown, shows that he was among the quick and not the dead. The proposed change of government was the burden of these letters, and further complaints of Proprietary injustice and new arguments for the change were forwarded to Franklin to aid in conducting their petition to a successful issue. The partiality shown by the Proprietors to the lower counties, their failure to execute the laws and bring wrongdoers to justice, the reinstatement of William Moore as justice in Chester County, and the offensive treatment of Quaker partisans were all offered as additional reasons for the change.¹

"A strange government this," wrote Galloway, "in which loyalty and affection to the sovereign are made criminal, while a servile submission and implicit obedience to the unjust and oppressive measures of a private subject are the only path to promotion."²

But the measure so greatly desired by Mr. Galloway met with little encouragement in England, and even the Quakers who first supported it began to doubt the wisdom of it, and instructed Franklin to move cautiously in the matter. Early in 1765 a report was circulated in Philadelphia that the petition had been refused even a hearing by the Crown. Mr. Galloway was greatly agitated over this, and, while Franklin's letters contained no confirmation of this story, yet Mr. Galloway wrote him a long letter concerning it.³ He informed him how busy he had been trying to counteract the bad influence of this report; how anxious the Assembly was to learn the result of the petition; how determined they were to persevere in their efforts; and what distress would ensue upon a failure.

¹ Galloway to Franklin, November 23, 1764. (Sparks, "Franklin's Works," Vol. VII. p. 276.)

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., February 27, 1765. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. III. p. 372.)

"Wherefore I hope the petitions, as you have written, and I have confidently declared, are not rejected or laid aside, but will be resumed when the more important American affairs are settled. Nothing less than a change, I think, will satisfy the people; certain I am a dismission without a hearing never can, but, I fear, will throw this already unhappy province into equal disorder and confusion with its neighboring colonies.

"You will therefore be pleased to inform me in what state the petitions are before his Majesty's Council by the earliest opportunity, that I may be enabled to satisfy the people, who rely upon us with certainty. In the meantime, be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to preserve the peace and render them easy"

Mr. Galloway's energies in behalf of this unwise measure were wasted; and its progress was interrupted by the sudden rise of a new subject for discussion, far more important in its influence upon the future, not only of Mr. Galloway, but of the Colonies. This was the Stamp Act.

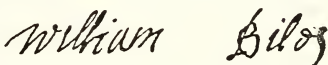
(To be continued.)

WILLIAM BILES.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., BALTIMORE, MD.

(Continued from page 70.)

William Biles, at different times, was a witness to many wills, deeds, etc., and the fac-simile of his signature, given herein, is taken from the will of Jacob Janney, of Bucks County, dated 8th mo. 2, 1708, and still preserved in the office of the Register of Wills at Philadelphia.



An election was ordered for February 20, 1682, for members of Council and Assembly, to be holden at Philadelphia March 10 following, when William Biles, Christopher Taylor, and James Harrison were elected to the Council from Bucks County.¹

The first session of this first Council was held in Philadelphia 1st mo. 10, 1682/3, and was presided over by William Penn in person;² William Biles was present, and seems to have been regular in his attendance during its sessions and to have taken an important part in framing the laws; on the 16th, 21st, and 26th insts. he was appointed on committees to which were referred the preparation of various bills for the Council,³ and on 7th mo. 8, 1683, he and three others were appointed "to bring in a Bill concerning horses goeing out and comeing into this Province." He was also present (2d mo. 2, 1683) when the Great Charter was read and thankfully received, and was one of those who signed it.⁴

We find that, according to the entry in the original

¹ Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 65.

² *Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 1; Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 235; *Delaware Register*, vol. i. p. 331.

³ *Colonial Records*, vol. i. pp. 6, 8, 11, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xl, 16; Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 239; vol. ii. Appendix, p. 28; Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 65.

records of Bucks County of 1684,¹ showing ear-marks or brands, that William Biles, William Biles, Jr., and Charles Biles were then owners of cattle.

On May 22, 1684, the Provincial Council appointed² "One Inferior receiver in Every County, who shall receive directions from y^e Deputy Treasurer, who shall receive Instructions from y^e Gov^r and Councill; who Shall not be allowed above 20 lb. p. year;" among whom was "Wm. Biles, for Bucks;" and on February 11, 1685, William Biles and others were appointed to lay out a road in Bucks County.³ The Council (2d mo. 6, 1685) "Ordered that a Comission be drawne for James Harrison, Tho: Janney, Wm. Yardley, Wm. Biles, Wm. Beaks, John Ottor, Edm^d Bennet & Jno. Swift, to be Justices of the Peace for y^e County of Bucks, the year Ensueing."⁴ Until the Revolution, justices of the peace were judges in the County Courts in Pennsylvania.

The Council⁵ (10th mo. 1, 1685), having been requested that a "Speciall Comission be granted for y^e Tryall of David Davis the next Court, who is a Prisoner in y^e County of Bucks, on suspition of killing his servant," unanimously agreed "that a Comission be Expeditionously prepared for y^e authorising & Impowring of James Harrison, Arthur Cook, Tho. Janney, Wm. Yardley, Wm. Biles, to be special Comiss^r to hear and Determine all heinous and Enormous Crimes that shall be brought before them in y^e County of Bucks, in a Court there to begin on y^e 10th Ins^t, by them to be held."

The first session of the Assembly to which William Biles was elected was that of 1686, beginning 3d mo. 10 at Philadelphia, and on 3d mo. 11 he and Cornelius Empson were fined twelve pence each for being absent the previous day;⁶

¹ *Colonial Records*, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 57; *Battle's Bucks Co.*, p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114; *Battle's Bucks Co.*, p. 246.

⁶ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 1, p. 37.

and William Yardley and he were appointed a committee to acquaint the Council that the Assembly desired to meet the President and Council in a full body. He was a member of the Council and Assembly for so many years that an enumeration of all the committees on which he served would occupy too much space, and mention of only some of the more important ones must suffice. He was frequently appointed to acquaint the Council of the acts or desires of the Assembly, and was often a member of the Committee on "Aggrievances," through the medium of which much of the ordinary business of the Assembly was first brought before the House.

In 1687 the tax levied was given to William Biles to collect;¹ and in this year we are informed² that "Wm. Biles, the only merchant along the Delaware who imported and sold Rum, a leading Friend, and several times elected to the Assembly, was called to account for selling rum to the Indians, and Thomas Janney and William Yardley were appointed to wait on him." He said to them³ that it was "not against the Law neither doth he know that it is any evil to do so, but however, if Friends desire him not to do it, he will for the future forbear it;" which caused a writer in the *Friends' Intelligencer* to say, "It was a remarkable act of a Christian man that he should discontinue to sell rum to the Indians, on account of the desire of his brethren, when it was neither a violation of law nor the Discipline."

In 1689 he served his second term in the Assembly, and was present at the opening session, 3d mo. 10; and he and Joseph Fisher were requested to find out whether the Governor and Council could listen to some proposals from the Assembly.⁴ He was appointed also on the Committee on "Aggrievances."

¹ Battle's *Bucks Co.*, p. 189.

² Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 835.

³ MS. Minutes Falls Monthly Meeting; *Friends' Intelligencer*, vol. lvi. p. 489.

⁴ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 1, p. 48.

On 11th mo. 2, 1689/90, the Council¹ ordered that "Commissions of y^e Peace be made for all y^e Counties, and these persons following to be Inserted, (viz) Bucks Co. Arth. Cook, Jos. Growdon, Wm. Yardly, Tho. Janney, Wm. Byles, Nich. Newlin, Jo^a Brock, Hen. Baker."

In March, 1690, the grand jury thought it necessary that the county be divided into townships, and the court, at its next session, ordered Henry Baker and eleven others, including William Biles, to meet together at the court-house the day before the next court and perform this service; for some reason this order was not obeyed, and at the September term, 1692, the court again took up the matter and appointed a jury, on which were Arthur Cook² and twelve others, including William Biles (nine members of the former jury being reappointed), and ordered them "or the greater number of them to meet together at the meeting-house at Neshaminah the 27th day of this instant, and divide this county into townships," which they accordingly did.

Only fragments of the minutes of Councils for 1692 and 1693 (prior to April 26, when Governor Fletcher arrived) remain; and though William Biles was a member³ for these sessions, it is not known whether or not he took an active part in the proceedings.

The Council of 1693⁴ "came on the scene in the midst of very unsettled times; the dissensions of the past two years were still rampant, while hardly had the Council begun its administration when it was deposed by the arrival of Governor Fletcher, with his commission from the Crown, to assume Penn's government, and was supplanted by a new Council appointed by him," and William Biles, who had

¹ *Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 278; Buck's *Bucks Co., Pa.*, p. 23.

² *Publications So. Hist. Assoc.*, vol. v. pp. 393, 394; Battle's *Bucks Co.*, p. 190; Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 101; PA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. xviii. p. 24.

³ *Charter to William Penn and Duke of York's Laws*, p. 537; PA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. xi. pp. 151-159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. xviii. p. 25.

been elected for the years 1692, 1693, and 1694, went out of the Council.

In 1694 William Biles was again in the Assembly which met 2d mo. 10, 1694, at Philadelphia, and served on the Committee on "Aggrievances,"¹ and on 4th mo. 9 he and three others were ordered to attend the Governor and Council, with the Remonstrance drawn in answer to the Queen's letter and Governor's speech, and to inquire what had been done concerning the bills sent up.

In 1695 Joseph Growden, Phineas Pemberton, and William Biles were elected from Bucks County to the Council which met on April 20,² and on the 22d the return of the Sheriff of Bucks County of representatives in Council was read and rejected, "because it did not mention the day of their election, nor the reixive years for which the members were to serve;"³ and on the 24th it was "Ordered, that new writts be issued for their election of representatives upon y^e 8th of May next," when William Biles was elected for one year. On May 28 he and one member from each of the other counties "were appointed to Consider of a new frame & modell of governm^t & to make report to the Governo^r & Councill this afternoon." They reported,—

"That they had made some attempts, but Could not agree upon a new frame," and Governor Markham appointed the same committee to meet with him about it. The next day they reported "That nothing could be agreed upon in ord^r to a new modell of governm^t notwithstanding all y^e pains & time spent about y^e same." The Governor addressed the Council, and upbraided them for taking up much time in endeavoring to lay aside the Charter, which had previously been thankfully accepted, and endeavoring unsuccessfully to make a more easy frame of government; and since the object of their meeting was to advise with him in matters relating to the government, he informed them that the Queen, upon the 21st of August, 1694, had signified, "That a Quota not exceeding eighty men, with their officers, or the value of the chairges

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 1, p. 88.

² *Battle's Bucks Co.*, p. 200.

³ *Colonial Records*, vol. i. pp. 447, 448.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 450, 451.

of maintaining y^e same, be the measure of the assistance to be given by y^e sd province of pennsylvania & Countrie of Newcastle for y^e defence & securitie of the province of New-York," etc.

This question occupied the attention of the Legislature for more than one session, for in 1696¹ we again find William Biles a member of the Assembly which met 8th mo. 26 at Philadelphia, and on the 30th he was appointed on a committee to consider a way to answer the Queen's letter and preserve the people's privileges.² On the 31st they reported that they had an expedient ready to answer the Queen's letter, but that they recommended before this was put into effect the provisions of the old Charter (that before Governor Fletcher's time) in regard to election of Councilors and Assemblymen should be put in force.

William Biles was returned, as elected, to the Council that met in Philadelphia May 10, 1698, and took his seat on the 11th inst.;³ and likewise to the Council that met May 10, 1699,⁴ on which date he "did subscribe the declaracon of fidelity, the profession of the Christian belief, & the test."

The Council which met March 30, 1700, received on April 1 the return of the Sheriff of Bucks County of representatives in Council, from which it appears that William Biles was elected for two years,⁵ and appeared and took his seat; and on April 10, the question of laws for securing the people's property in Overplus Lands being debated and left to the consideration of the Governor and Council, "y^e prov. Gov. appointed John Simcoke, Joseph Growdon and Wm. Biles⁶ to meet him att night to consider yrof, & as neer as might be, to adjust y^e rates of overplus Lands, according to their neerness to or remoteness from y^e town of philadelphia."

On June 7, 1700, the opposition between the members of

¹ *Colonial Records*, p. 468.

² *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 1, p. 94.

³ *Colonial Records*, vol. i. p. 515.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 536.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

the upper and lower counties about the number of members and representatives, charges, etc., prevented an agreement about the proposed new Charter,¹ and it having been voted that they would not be governed by the old Charter, but that Penn should resume government under letters patent of King Charles II., the Speaker, in behalf of the representatives in Assembly, William Biles and John Hill, in behalf of those in Council, for the Province and territories respectively, by the unanimous consent of all members present of both Council and Assembly, took the Charter and delivered it up to the Proprietary and Governor.

On October 24, at a Council held at New Castle, the Proprietary "sent for ph. pemberton, Wm. Biles & Jn° Blunston,² who having been qualified to be of y^e Council, took yr places att y^e board."

As William Biles went to England in 1701, he was absent from the meetings of Council that year.

Not only was he a member of the Council for the years 1698-1701, as above stated, but he was also during the years 1699-1701 a Puisne Judge, or one of the Justices of the highest court in the Province.³ Prior to 1790 the Court of Oyer and Terminer, for trial of higher crimes and appeal, was held by the Justices of the Provincial or Supreme Court, who made a circuit of the counties at stated times, and we find that on April 18, 1699, Edward Shippen, Cornelius Empson, and William Biles held court at Chester.

In 1700 Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, and Richard Hough were appointed Judges of a Court of Inquiry "For the compleat Settling and Establishing of Affairs of Property in this the County of Bucks." That the powers of this Court were very extensive is shown by their commission signed by William Penn 10th mo. 18, 1700, which is given in full in Buck's *History of Bucks County*.⁴

During the early days of the Province there were no

¹ *Colonial Records*, p. 588.

² *Ibid.*, p. 592.

³ *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. ix. p. 630; *Hist. Chester Co., Pa.*, p. 370.

⁴ P. 23; see Battle's *Bucks Co.*, p. 366.

lawyers there, but William Biles and others appeared for their neighbors and friends, and were called attorneys. It also appears that in December, 1702, the court adjourned to William Biles's house;¹ this was soon after his return from England.

At the Assembly begun at Philadelphia on October 15, 1703, William Biles was present and signed the declaration and test,² and on August 21, 1704, he informed the House,³ "that *Nathaniel Puckle* had a Letter from the *Proprietary* to be communicated to several Persons here, encouraging them to *insist* upon the Privileges of their Charter and Laws, and not tamely give them up; and instanced what Advantage it has been to the People of *Rhode-Island, Connecticut*, and other Proprietary Governments, to assert their Rights," etc.

James Logan, writing to Penn 9th mo. 22, 1704, says,⁴ "That ridiculous old man, W. Biles, frequently affirms they will never grant one penny on any account till they have all their privileges explained and confirmed."

In 1704 the animosity between the Proprietary's adherents and his opponents, which had long been an undercurrent in politics, broke forth with great violence, and the country became distinctly divided into two political parties, the Proprietary or Aristocratic and the Popular or Democratic, the former under the leadership of Logan and the latter under that of David Lloyd. William Biles belonged to the latter, while some of his neighbors and personal friends belonged to the former, and were his bitter political enemies.

Logan spoke in such strongly adverse terms of the prominent members of the Popular party that the editor of the *Penn-Logan Correspondence* felt called upon several times to make excuses for him, and to say,⁵ "such was the Secretary's

¹ Battle's *Bucks Co.*, pp. 250, 205.

² Proud's *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. p. 455 n.

³ *Historical Review of Const. and Govt. of Penna.*, p. 65 n.

⁴ *Penn-Logan Corresp.*, vol. i. p. 344.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 34.

zeal for the Proprietary interests that he was not inclined to regard with favor those who were arrayed against them." In his letters to Penn he says,¹—

"This people think privileges their due, and all that can be grasped to be their native right. . . . They think it their business to secure themselves against a queen's government;" and again,² "The generality, however, are honestly and well inclined, and out of assembly are very good men; but when got together, I know not how they are infatuated and led by smooth stories."

The fact that Logan spoke in harsh terms of the public acts of Biles and others does not seem to have affected his regard for and intercourse with them personally; for, after the Evans affair had occurred, we find him writing to William Biles under date of 8th mo. 11, 1708,³ beginning the letter, "Loving Friend," and closing it, "I am thy well-wishing friend." This letter was partly in regard to a claim of certain persons to Biles's Island, and Logan states, "I will spare no pains nor cost to convince these persons, whoever they are, that they have been in the wrong," etc.

William Biles was Treasurer of Bucks County in 1704,⁴ and also collector of money granted the Proprietary by the Legislature; and on March 28⁵ he and the other collectors of this fund were summoned to attend the Council, and "to answer for their neglect in Collecting y^e sd Tax within their several Districts." He was also a member of the Assembly which met at Philadelphia October 14, 1704, and was one of the committee⁶ to which the bill for "the Affirmations to pass in Lieu of Oaths," etc., was committed, 8th mo. 26, and 9th mo. 14 on the committee to prepare the *Votes of Assembly* for publication, and on adjournment of the Assembly (3d mo. 23, 1705) was sued by Governor Evans in an action of £2000 pounds, as related by Logan,⁷ "for saying these words on the 11th-month last; '*He is but a*

¹ *Penn-Logan Corresp.*, vol. i. p. 299.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 323.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 299.

⁴ *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. ix. pp. 744, 743.

⁵ *Colonial Records*, vol. ii. p. 124.

⁶ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 22.

⁷ *Penn-Logan Corresp.*, vol. ii. p. 33.

boy; he is not fit to be our Governour. We'll kick him out; we'll kick him out.' And at the ensuing Court, himself not appearing, and David Lloyd, his attorney, demurring upon a plea of privilege as an Assemblyman, which was overruled, he was ordered to plead over and come to an issuable plea; but this he refused, and therefore judgment went against him yesterday. A jury of inquiry sat upon the damages, and found £300 to the Governour."¹

William Biles wrote a letter to Governor Evans, the original of which is now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It has never been published, and is as follows:

[3d mo. 1705.]

"To John Evans Esq^r Lifenant Goven^r of the provience of pensilvania.

"the pettition of Wm Biles of y^e County of bucks In all humble manner sheweth

"that thou was pleased to comence an action against me upon Supposession that I had spoken sum scandalous words of thee but thorough the Inadvertansy or desine of the shreife hee Sumoned me upon the day that I was actually conserved In the servis of the assembly of this provience which ocationed me to plead or Insist upon my priviledge as I was and am a member of that assembly and for that and no other Reason I declined Answering thy declaration and making further defense to thy suit and had it not been for yt I doubt not but I would have prodused such prooffe as might have Invalidated that single evidence given against me or at Least Rendered It In Efectuall to maintaine thy—declaration and for my owne part I can singly say that I do not Remember that I ever spoke those words as A Leaged In yt declaration but In Regard thou hast given unto such Information and conserved so much displeasure against me and although thou hast given mee sum discouragement to make any further Application to thee upon that account never the Less I hope thou will not be offended at these few Leines whear by I do signifie unto thee as before I have done that I am

¹ The editor of *Penn-Logan Correspondence* (vol. ii. p. 131) remarks that "The plain import of the words was that Evans was a boy, and deserved to be turned out; the correctness of which was shown in the fact that suit was brought in a spirit of boyish petulance, and with the hope that some money might be made out of it. His course (as shown in Logan's letter of 4th mo. 12, 1706) fully establishes the truth of Biles's statement, and much more."

hearttily sorrey for any words by me spoaken at any time consening thee which hath given thee any Just ocation of ofence neither did I ever act any thing against thee to thy hurt therefore I desiar that thou would be pleased to pas by yt which cannot be recaled and for the future I do Intend to be carfull of ofending thee

“WM BILES.”

As this affair has caused William Biles more notoriety than any other event, it will probably be of interest to note some of the actions taken by the Assembly and Council in regard thereto, as it occupied the attention of both Houses on several days, and the *Votes of Assembly* and *Colonial Records* contain the proceedings in full.¹ Before doing this, however, it will be well to make some investigation as to Governor Evans.

John Evans, who succeeded Hamilton as Deputy Governor in 1704, was at the time of his appointment only twenty-six years of age, was an officer of the Queen's household, and in consequence of his previous surroundings had little sympathy with the life and character of Pennsylvania Friends.² With his first interview with the Assembly began a quarrel which, owing to his want of tact and his disorderly life, eventually enabled the faction of David Lloyd to thwart all his projects.³

Benjamin Franklin says of him,⁴—

“So unpopular was he, that an unanimous Vote of Thanks to the Proprietary was passed on his being removed, almost before his Face, for he was still a Resident amongst them.”

Rev. Edward D. Neill concludes his narrative of Evans's chastisement by a countryman, whom he had ordered to turn his loaded wagon out of the road so that he, who was on foot, might pass, with the statement that “At length the

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 2, pp. 43-48; *Colonial Records*, vol. ii. pp. 205-209.

² *Armor's Lives of the Governors of Penna.*, pp. 118-121; *Egle's History of Penna.*, p. 61.

³ *Keith's Lives of Provincial Councillors*, p. 7.

⁴ *Historical Review of Const. and Govt. of Penna.*, p. 71.

waggoner discovered that every governor was not a gentleman, and that he had assaulted Governor Evans ;”¹ and adds, “the private life of Evans was as censurable as his public conduct.”

William Penn wrote to Governor Evans 7th mo. 30, 1705,²—

“*Much is said of the Lewdnes of Pennsylvania. I beg of thee to have regard to my Character and give not that advantage against me either with God or good or bad men whose ill use of it I most fear, on a publick acct. I have just now Rec'd thine of 5th 5 mo (July) and am very Sorry that wicked man D. L. could blow up any of his Mermidons to such a pitch of brutishness as thy Acct. of William Biles relates that is a meer vox et praeterea nihil, a Coxcomb, and a Prag-matick in graine. That fellow's plantation is a Robbery upon Pennsbury,³ and if there be a grant, was not a purchase from me, nor any Towed Land writs, for it was surveyed long before and done in my absence, formerly, and Judge Mompesson can tell if I may not be deceived, in my Grant as well as the Crown, be it King or Queen,—Since, if confirmed, it was upon Surprize, and rattle an Inquisition about his eares, if not a prosecution. And know that when the time is expired of Session he may be taken to task, Since the Service he may pretend he was to attend is over. And first complain to the Friends, and if they wont or cant bow him to make Satisfaction, take it by Law thy Selfe. Pray mind what I say, be Secret, which is discreet, and fall on him or any other such unruly People at once, and make Some one Example to terrifie the rest. Thou hast not only my leave, but liking and encouragement whether called Quakers or others.*”

Governor Evans's subsequent action in regard to William Biles is thus shown to have been fully approved by Penn, who perhaps was aware that in 1629, having “obtained the opinion of the judges that privilege of parliament did not protect a member from prosecution after the close of the session for offences committed during it,” the Attorney-

¹ *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xxvi. pp. 423, 424.

² *Ibid.*, p. 427.

³ The plantation referred to must have been the one near the north-western boundary of the manor, for which patent was issued in 1705, as per minutes of the Board of Property, *Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. xix. p. 473.

General, Sir Robert Heath,¹ instituted proceedings against Holles, Eliot, Selden, and other members, and obtained judgment against them of imprisonment during the King's pleasure.

Penn's description of William Biles is not upheld by later historians, whose estimates are condensed in Dr. George Smith's statement,² that "He was a man of ability and the strictest integrity." Logan, sharing Penn's animosity, said of him,³ "he very much influences that debauched County of Bucks, in which there is now scarce any one man of worth left."

However, we find that on 4th mo. 12, 1705, William Biles complained to the Assembly "against the Justices and Sheriff of the County of *Philadelphia*, for a Breach of Priviledge," and it was ordered to be considered the next week. On the 19th the House decided⁴ "That it is a Breach of Priviledge of this House, that any Member duly elected to serve in Assembly, shall, without the Leave of the House, be summoned or drawn, or in any wise compelled, during the Session or Continuance of Assembly, to appear at any inferior Court in this Province, upon any Pleas or Complaints, excepting for Treason, Felony, or Breach of the Peace," and in the afternoon, upon further consideration and debate, it was decided that the Sheriff who summoned William Biles to answer the action against him, and the four Justices of the Court who denied him "his Priviledge by over-ruling his Plea in that Behalf, have committed a manifest Breach of Priviledge against this House."

On the 20th a message from the Governor to the House of Representatives was drawn up, read in the Council,⁵ and approved of, in which he stated that William Biles had used the most scandalous and seditious expressions against him,

¹ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxv. p. 347.

² *Hist. Delaware Co., Pa.*, p. 447.

³ *Penn-Logan Corresp.*, vol. ii. p. 34.

⁴ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 43.

⁵ *Colonial Records*, vol. ii. p. 205.

and he demanded that they expel Biles from the House and advise him of their action without delay. This message was read in the House that day and ordered to be read again the next day. On the 21st, after it had been again read and William Biles had withdrawn, and the matter had been debated, the minutes state that, "The Question being put, that the said *William Biles* be expelled this House, according to the Governor's Request? *It passed in the Negative.*"

"*Ordered.* That an Address to the Governor be drawn concerning the said *William Biles*, which shall comprize the Opinion and Resolves of this House relating to the Premises."

On the 22d the Address, which had been prepared, was read before the House, agreed to, and ordered to be signed by the Speaker and presented to the Governor, who on the 23d laid it before the Council. In it the House stated that, while not justifying such words as were alleged to have been spoken, nevertheless, the manner of proceedings against William Biles was very offensive to the House, and that the Sheriff who served the writ and the Justices who heard the case committed a manifest breach of privilege against the House; and as they were tender of the privileges of the House, so they would gladly show their resentment of all indignities offered to the Governor; but they found no sufficient ground for expelling William Biles from the House, and requested that he be given an opportunity to call and vindicate himself, so far as he can.

The minutes of Council show that it was the unanimous opinion of the Board that it was useless to spend longer time conferring with the then present House, and was most advisable to end further debates by dismissing them. Accordingly the Governor requested the attendance of the Speaker with the whole House, made them a sharp speech, refused to let the Speaker be heard in vindication of the House, and dismissed them.

James Logan, in a long letter to William Penn,¹ stated substantially that—

¹ *Penn-Logan Corresp.*, vol. ii. pp. 131-133.

"The Yearly Meeting sent for Biles to town, and condemned him for it, and made some intercession in his behalf, stating it would be generous in the Governour to forgive him all; the Assembly also in 12th mo. interceded for him and the Governour assured Edward Shippen and the other messengers from the House that he never designed to injure W. Biles, and gave them his word that if ever he found cause to give him any further trouble he would first acquaint them therewith. In 1st mo. William Biles relying upon the assurances of Edward Shippen and others concluded he might safely venture to town. He met the Governour, shook hands with him, and all seemed well; yet the Govr. went to Robt. Ashton's and caused a writ to be drawn which he had signed and at the same time wrote a letter to Edward Shippen and the others which he took care should not be delivered until after the Sheriff had arrested Wm. Biles. These members of Assembly hurried to the Governour, with great concern, but could not move him, nor could I though I pleaded with him for nearly an hour, telling him that the Government would greatly suffer by such dishonorable proceedings. I laboured to get others to speak to him on the subject, and prevailed on the Sheriff to keep his prisoner at the public house where he had taken him, until it was evident that all intercession was in vain, when he was committed. Divers Friends were much concerned and the women took very good care of William in prison. When I came home I wrote a long remonstrative letter to the Governour, which I delivered the next day and for about an hour endeavored by the most pressing and cogent arguments to dissuade him from his course. William was kept a close prisoner for about a month, until the Governour saw he could never get any money by it, but lost his own interest with the Country and his Friends. 'Twas this, however, that first caused people to look about them. But however this ended, the disgust at one time was high."

Another writer upon the subject says,¹—

"but finally finding the whole community incensed against him for the course he was pursuing, he released his prisoner without the fine. William was satisfied that he had allowed the warmth of his feelings to get the better of his judgment when he had spoken the honest convictions of his mind, relative to the weak-minded, quarrelsome Governor, and he hesitated not to condemn his so speaking. It does not appear but that he was as useful in religious as well as civil concerns afterwards, as he had been before this affair took place."

¹ *The Friend*, vol. xxviii. p. 109.

(To be continued.)

THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY FRANCIS VON A. CABEEN.

(Continued from page 24.)

The Continental money at this time had risen to two hundred and twenty dollars of it to one dollar of hard money, and we are led to believe that our Whig friends had little of either kind to invest in public dinners. In this connection we wish to call the reader's attention to a curious notice in the *Journal*¹ of "A Society of Gentlemen," who proposed to punish all those people who had settled or offered to settle debts contracted in hard money in the depreciated paper money by publishing their names in the papers. The article closes with "by order of the society, John Fielding, Secretary." Who they were we cannot say, but the sentiments expressed are very similar to those held by our friends of the Tammany Society.

The fifth anniversary of Independence Day was celebrated by a cold collation given to the officers of the allied armies at the State-House. The account of it says, "No doubt every Whig will rejoice on the happy occasion, and every Tory, when he views the situation of his friends the British must hang his head and before the next it is highly probable will hang himself."² It is not within the scope of our history to give all the public festivities that took place this year; but there is one account of an entertainment which we think worthy of insertion, for the reason that it is exactly in line with what the Saint Tammany Society did themselves a few years later.

On the 17th instant about forty-two Indian chiefs and

¹ Freeman's Journal, May 9, 1731.

² Ibid., July 4, 1731.

warriors waited upon his Excellency the Minister of France.¹ He offered them various presents, which they received with great pleasure, and after having exchanged the following speeches, they sat down to dinner, where they behaved with cheerfulness and affability, and expressed by their toasts and conversation their great attachment to Congress and their sincere friendship for the French nation. His Excellency said,—

“Brothers, Sachems and Warriors of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, and Cachnewagues.—Open your ears and hear what I have to say to you as the representative of your old friend and father the King of France. Brother—It gives me great pleasure to see you face to face after your long journey. I thank the Great Spirit for giving us this opportunity of speaking together at this place; I hope the road will soon be open and freed from briars and thorns, that you may safely travel to and from the great council fire kindled at Philadelphia by the United States of America, the friends and allies of the King your father. Brother—I have no doubt the council fire will burn brighter the longer it continues, and for this end we must all strive together and heap so much wood upon it, that it will reach the skies and be seen and felt by all the nations, giving light and warmth to our friends and striking our enemies with terror, and threatening their destruction. Brother—As your Father and the United States of America have joined their councils and arms in one common cause, they have now but one head and one heart, and they have bound themselves together by a strong covenant of chain which no power on earth is able to break. The King your father regards with sincere friendship all those who take hold of the covenant chain. He therefore will take particular pleasure in showing his esteem for such faithful friends to the cause of France and America as those of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Cachnewagues, who have submitted even to abandon their country rather than have their eyes blinded like many of your Indian brethren by British arts and deceitful practices. Brother—I advise you to continue to hold fast this chain of friendship, and keep your part of it free from all rust, making it so bright, that none can look upon it whose eyes are not strong and clear and their intentions honest, without being covered with shame and confusion. Brother—You may rest assured that the King your father has sent powerful succours to the assistance of his beloved friends the United States of America, and from our joint endeavours with the blessing of God, we have reason to hope for the most prosperous end of the war. We will then tie our covenant chain to a mountain, so that it will hold fast forever and bind our two nations and all their friends together as long as

¹ Freeman's Journal, October 3, 1781.

the sun and moon endure. Brother—I beg your acceptance of a few articles which I present as a small token of my esteem and which I give to make the countenances of your wise men more cheerful, and sharpen the tomahawks of your warriors that they may fight manfully against our common enemy. Brother—I wish you a safe and speedy return to your families, and I pray the Almighty to cover your heads with his holy protection, that you and your children's children may sit down under the shade of your own trees and smoke your pipes in peace, growing to your own grounds like a strong oak which shall take such deep root that no storm shall hereafter be able to blow it down. But all the nations shall gather under its branches for shelter and shall hang up their belts on its boughs, and being no more deceived by our enemies shall be ruled by the wisdom of your counsellors, as long as the stars remain in the Heavens or the rivers flow."

Answer of the Indian chief Arara (or Grasshopper) to his Excellency the Minister of France :

"Father—We have heard thy words and we shall repeat them to our warriors, to our women and to our children, and we shall bring them thy presents. We have seen with joy the union subsisting between the sons of our father that lives on the other side of the great lake, and our brethren the inhabitants of the United States. Father—We have tied to a mountain of rock the chain that binds us to thee, nothing is able to break it, and we shall keep it clean from rust that it may last as long as the stars of the firmament. Father—While we stayed in our habitations at Schenectady we saw little beautiful birds that came to us, and acquainted us with what they had seen on the other side of the great lake. They have told us that our father and our mother are beloved by their children but that they had not yet got a son who might at once become our father and the father of their great family. Tell him that we hope they will soon be blessed with a son, whom the children of our children will call their father. Father—When the French and English buried their hatchets in a hole as deep as the great lake, when they broke their fire locks after the last war, the French Governor assembled us and told us the following words : 'Take this wampum and preserve carefully these hatchets. Be always the faithful friends of your father the King of France. He is obliged to leave you to-day, and he advises you to live in peace with the King of England ; but if ever he treats you in a manner contrary to the laws of justice, the King of France your father, or his warriors will come to assist you by another road.' Father—We see that thou hast not deceived us ; we shall maintain the fires of our councils in a constant friendship, with our father, and inform our friends of what we have seen and heard."

Here the Indian chief took out of a bag a large wampum, on the extremities of which were the name of Louis and the figure of two hatchets. He presented them to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, that he might examine them.

While the newspapers did not give any account of our Philadelphia Sons of Saint Tammany having a dinner, there is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania an original paper showing the organization, by-laws, etc., of a Sons of Saint Tammany organized in New Jersey on May 1 of this year. We give a copy of this document, which follows closely the Philadelphia Society:

“The Constitution of the New Jersey Society of the Sons of St. Tammany No. 1.

“I.

“That we will meet annually on the first day of May for the celebration of our Saint at such place as shall be notified by the President in the public prints: Provided however that if any of the days appointed for the convening of the society should happen to be the Sabbath it will be postponed untill the monday following.

“II.

“That on the first of May annually the members of the Society shall meet to choose a President Vice President & thirteen members for the council three of whom shall be a quorum, to meet at such times & places as the President shall direct to transact the business of the Society as invested in them by these articles.

“III.

“That the President & Council on the 2nd of May annually shall elect a secretary & Treasurer for the society.

“IV.

“That the Council shall have the power of admitting new members, constituting them sons of St. Tammany & issuing certificates to them under the seal of the society & sign of the President attested by the Secretary: Provided that no person be admitted as a member but such as is of good report.

“V.

“That any member who shall behave in a disorderly & disgraceful manner shall be suspended or expelled the society by a majority of members at their annual meeting.

“VI.

“That every person at his admittance pay into the Treasury the sum of four dollars ; and that every member pay therein annually the sum of one Dollar.

“VII.

“That the Council shall have the ordering and disposal of the public money with rendering a satisfactory account to the society annually on the last of May : Provided also that all charitable donations shall first extend to the poor of the society.

“VIII.

“That the Treasurer on the first day of May annually shall lay his accounts properly adjusted before the Council for liquidation.

“IX.

“That any article of the Constitution shall be subject to alteration or addition for two years by a majority of voices at the annual meeting on the 1st of May ; but after that time they will not be subject to any alteration but shall be subject to addition.

“X.

“That every person at his admittance into the Society subscribe to the above articles.

“Signed on the 1st Day of May 1782.

“J. N. CUMMING, *President*

“EBEN ELMER, *Secretary*

“VINER VANZANDT, *Counsel*

“W. HELMS, *Counsel*

“LR. HALSEY, *Counsel*

Nath'l Bowman

Ben. Osmun

Derick Lane

A. Weymon

John Pintard

Mos. G. Elmer

Sam'l M. Shute

Francis Luse

G. Mead

John Bishop

A. Brooks

Nathan Wilkison

Jacob Flyer

Jere'h Ballard

Jno. Holmes

Abr. Stout

Wm. Piatt

Sam'el Seely

John Hopper

Sam. Reading

Sam. Conn

Wm. Anderson

Jacob Harris

John Reucastle (?)

Absalom Martin

Jona. Forman

Jos. Breck

Peter Faulkner

John Blair

Wm. Tuttle

Jona. Holmes

Edmund D. Thomas

John Peck

Wm. Kersey"

Many reasons may be given as to why our friends did not have a public celebration this year on the anniversary of their patron's day, but the real reason seems to us to have been a reluctance on their part to compete with the elegant affairs given by the French officials or the entertainments ordered by Congress. They also may have felt that their celebration, being of a purely American character, would hardly seem gracious at a time when their country was being assisted in its battles by a people that did not speak their language, some of whom even had just then for the first time set foot upon this continent. If the surrender of Cornwallis had taken place in April of this year instead of in October, we think that our followers of the brave old Indian would have revived the well-known custom of their aboriginal fathers, of having a feast after they had vanquished an enemy.

The general condition of the country in the year 1782 is so well stated in a newspaper, dated May 8, that we give it at length: ¹

“A correspondent observes that though the advices from New York most clearly indicate a very great change in the sentiments and councils of our enemy, gentlemen of the best information see with some concern that the reports and expectations are greatly exaggerated. Independence is not acknowledged, as many have hastily supposed, nor is there any declared intention of withdrawing the troops from this country, which were the explicit terms held out by Congress as previous requisites to a negotiation at a time when consistent with our engagements to our great ally, we could have entered into a treaty ; but the ground is now changed in that respect ; eventual engagements are become permanent ; and giving the utmost stretch to our hopes of relief we cannot suppose Great Britain seriously means to treat with us in America, but on terms utterly inconsistent with our interest and honour. Prudence and policy both dictate to us not to relax in any preparation, but while we wish for peace to be provided for war. In fact there are too many concurrent circumstances to leave us in doubt that the British Ministry are endeavouring to sow discord among us, to weaken the happy confidence subsisting between us and our ally and that aim by the arts of corruption to effect what arms have failed to accomplish. Suspicion under these

¹ Freeman's Journal, May 8, 1782.

circumstances is wisdom and especially if we reflect that if Great Britain really means fairly the path of negotiation in Europe is too plain to be missed, but by design. Whenever she is disposed to acknowledge our independence we have Ministers there to treat in concert with those of our ally and that acknowledgement being made the great object of the war between her and France is at an end. But the truth is that she still flatters herself with the delusive hope of retaining our dependence in some degree and at all events to detach us from the alliance. By comparing all accounts there is reason to expect a third set of *olive branches* commissioners from Britain gifted with a double portion of lying deceitful and equivocal spirit that actuated Governor Johnstone and the evil beasts that accompanied him to America."

The situation might be summed up by saying that the community folded its hands and waited for peace. Where we should expect to meet an account of our Society in May, we find in its place a long description of the celebration¹ held in honor of the birth of the Dauphin of France, which was announced formally to Congress by the French Minister, after which a dinner was given at the City Tavern² at 5 P.M. by Congress, with the usual thirteen toasts, and followed in the evening by fireworks on the State-House Green. The celebration of the Fourth of July this year was as follows:³

"The Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated here in the true Republican style, as if every vestage of Monarchical Trappings was done away. . . . An elegant cold collation was provided at the house of the President of Congress, where a number of gentlemen without formality partook of the fare; and were plentifully regaled with the best of liquors about 1 o'clock P.M. The Federal salute was fired by a detachment of Artillery on the State House Green, several companies of gentlemen assembled in different parts of the city and spent the day and evening with that heart-felt joy which impregnated every principled breast on the glorious occasion."

¹ Independent Gazetteer, May 18, 1782; Freeman's Journal, May 15, 1782.

² Situated on west side of Second Street, north of Walnut, at southwest corner of present Gold Street.

³ Independent, July 6, 1782.

That our patriotic Sons were still an active force in the community is shown by the following poem which appeared in one of the newspapers of this year. They also may have been one of the "several companies of gentlemen" mentioned above.

*"The Prophecy of King Tammany."*¹

- "The Indian Chief who, fam'd of yore
Saw Europe's sons advent'ring here
Look'd sorrowing to the crowded shore,
And sighing dropt a tear:
He saw them half his world explore,
He saw them draw the shining blade,
He saw their hostile ranks display'd,
And cannons blazing thro' that shade,
Where only peace was known before.
- "Ah what unequal arms ! he cry'd,
How are thou fall'n my country's pride,
The rural sylvan reign !
Far from our pleasing shores to go
To Western Rivers, winding slow,
Is this the boon the Gods bestow ?
What have we done, great patrons, say,
That strangers seize our woods away,
And drive us naked from our native plain ?
- "Rage and revenge inspire my soul,
And passion burns without control ;
Hence strangers, to your native shore,
Far from our Indian shades retire.
Remove these Gods that vomit fire,
And stain with blood these ravag'd glades no more.
- "In vain I weep, in vain I sigh,
These strangers all our arms defy,
As they advance our chieftains die !—
What can their hosts oppose ?
The bow has lost its wonted spring,
The arrow falters on the wing,
Nor carries ruin from the string
To end their being and our woes.

¹ Freeman's Journal, December 11, 1782.

“Yes yes—I see our nation bends ;
The Gods no longer are our friends,
But why these weak complaints and sighs?
Are there not gardens in the West,
Where all our far fam’d Sachems rest?
I’ll go an unexpected guest ;
And the dark horrors of the way despise.

“Ev’n now the thundering peals draw nigh,
’Tis theirs to triumph, ours to die !
But mark me, Christians, ere I go—
Thou too shalt have thy share of woe,
The time rolls on, not moving slow,
When hostile squadrons for your blood shall come,
And ravage all your shore !
Your warriors and your children slay,
And some in dismal dungeons lay,
Or lead them captive far away,
To climes unknown, thro’ seas untry’d before.

“When struggling long, at last with pain,
You brake a cruel tyrant’s chain,
That never shall be joined again,
When half your foes are homeward fled,
And hosts on hosts in triumph fled,
And hundreds maim’d and thousands dead,
A timid race shall then succeed,
Shall slight the virtues of the firmer race,
That brought your tyrants to disgrace,
Shall give your honours to an odious train,
Who shunn’d all conflicts on the main,
And dar’d no battles on the plain,
Whose little souls sunk in the gloomy day,
When Virtues only could support the fray,
And sunshine friends keep off, or ran away.

“So spoke the chief, and rais’d his funeral pyre—
Around him soon the crackling flames ascend ;
He smil’d amid the fervours of the fire,
To think his troubles were so near their end,
Till the freed soul, her debt to nature paid,
Rose from the ashes that her prison made,
And sought the world unknown, and dark oblivion’s shade.”

The above poem was directed at Congress, whose temporizing methods were greatly censured by all stanch Whigs, such as were members of the Saint Tammany Society.

The long-looked-for heralds of peace arrived in this country March 12, 1783, in the shape of a preliminary treaty, and on April 19 of this year there was a cessation of hostilities, just eight years after the battle of Lexington.¹ In consequence of such a joyful state of affairs, our loyal Sons of Saint Tammany took occasion on May 1 to celebrate the event in a befitting style, as follows: " . . . On Thursday May first many respected inhabitants of Philadelphia elated with the glorious proposals of peace and public happiness and desirous of reviving the former good old custom of the country in commemorating Tammany's Day assembled on the Banks of the Schuylkill dressed and distinguished in buck tails and feathers very expressive of the occasion."² Thus starts one account, but a fuller one runs this way:³

"On Thursday last being the anniversary of the tutelar St. of Pennsylvania, the state flag was hoisted at Mr. Pole's seat on the Banks of Schuylkill; the flag of France was displayed on the right, and that of the States of Holland on the left; The flag staff of each was decorated with garlands suitable to the day. The constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany being collected to the number of two hundred and fifty and upwards, the day was celebrated according to the good old custom of our worthy forefathers. At noon thirteen Sachems or Chiefs were appointed and invested with supreme authority for the day. These having retired awhile to council returned and proclaimed that they had chosen a chief and a Secretary—that they had unanimously and firmly 'resolved to exercise to the utmost the authority committed to them to compel every man to do perfectly as he pleases during the day. Provided always nevertheless that he shall leave every other man to do so too; by which means it is confidently expected that peace and good order will be preserved; but if any man shall presume to do otherwise

¹ Hildreth's "History of the United States," vol. iii. p. 433.

² Independent Gazetteer, May 3, 1783.

³ Freeman's Journal, May 7, 1783.

he shall be heartily laughed at for his folly.' The Company gave three cheers the cannon fired and the band of music struck up St. Tammany's Day. The Secretary then produced the hatchet, reminded the warriors, hunters and young men that it had been war and was now peace; that like men we had struck that hatchet into the head of our enemy and he had submitted. He asked if they would bury it? The affirmative being agreed upon, it was interred in due form, each man casting a stone upon it. The cannon fired and the band played Yankee Doodle. The Secretary then reminded them of the good old custom used by our ancestors on like occasions of smoking the Calumet or pipe of peace, whereupon it was resolved it should then be done. A new calumet was produced, the bowl of which was a huge ram's horn gilded with thirteen stars; the stem had a reed six feet in length elegantly decorated with thirteen beautiful peacock feathers. This calumet was accepted with a general shout of joy and being filled and lighted was smoked not only by our chief and his Sachems, but also by all present. The cannon fired again and the band played Great Washington. In the mean time the treat of the day being prepared in a proper cabin set up for the purpose at the head of which was the portraiture of our brave old saint with this well known motto Kawanio Chee Keeteru, above was an elegant design of the siege of Yorktown in front of which were his excellency General Washington and the count de Rochambeau. The company having partaken of the feast in a style of freedom and cheerful simplicity that would have given a high relish to the homeliest fare, every countenance was enlivened with a glow of generous joy and every heart opened. The following thirteen toasts were drank.

"1. St. Tammany and the Constitution of Pennsylvania Kawanio Chee Keeteru.

"2. The United States. May the thirteen stars shine with underived lustre, and the thirteen stripes be a terror to tyrants forever.

"3. Louis the XVI, the defender of the rights of mankind, and the French Nation. May the lily and the laurel flourish together as long as the stars shine.

"4. The States of Holland.

"5. General Washington and the army. May justice gratitude and respect amply repay their services and sufferings.

"6. The officers, soldiers and seamen of the army and navy of France, who have fought in the cause of America. May their blood which has been spilt and intermingled with ours be a lasting cement of mutual interest.

"7. May the enemies of America never be restored to her confidence.

"8. The immortal memory of those worthies who have fallen by the savage hand of Britain; whether in the field, in jails, on the ocean, or on board their infectious and loathsome prison ships. Can the tears of

repenting Britons wash from their flag the stain of such precious blood?

"9. Freedom to those, in every part of the world, who dare contend for it.

"10. The friends of liberty in Ireland. May the harp be tuned to independence and be touched by skillful hands.

"11. The yeomanry of the land. May those who have been Whigs in the worst of times duly respect themselves.

"12. Free commerce with the world.

"13. 'Virtue liberty and independence.' May America be an Asylum to the oppressed of all countries throughout all ages.

"At the giving of each toast the cannon fired, and the whole company gave three cheers, but when General Washington and the army were named they swelled spontaneously to thirteen, and upon naming 'the friends of liberty in Ireland' and the 'tuning of the harp to independence' the Sons of St. Tammany anticipating the day in which the brave Sons of St. Patrick shall be free and happy as ourselves burst into thirteen shouts of joy, and the band struck up 'St. Patrick's Day in the morning.'

"When the toasts were ended our chief sung the first stanza of the original song in praise of St. Tammany, and the remainder was sung with great spirit by Mr. Leacock.

"Song for St. Tammany's Day.

"The Old Song.

"Of Andrew, of Patrick, of David, & George,
What mighty achievements we hear!
While no one relates great Tammany's feats,
Although more heroic by far, my brave boys,
Although more heroic by far.

"These heroes fought only as fancy inspired,
As by their own stories we find;
Whilst Tammany, he fought only to free,
From cruel oppression mankind, my brave boys,
From cruel oppression mankind.

"When our country was young and our numbers were few,
To our fathers his friendship was shown,
(For he e'er would oppose whom he took for his foes),
And made our misfortunes his own, my brave boys,
And he made our misfortunes his own.

“At length growing old and quite worn out with years,
As history doth truly proclaim,
His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,
And flew to the skies in a flame, my brave boys,
And flew to the skies in a flame.

“Other songs in honour of our Saint were likewise sung. The warriors were so highly pleased with the gaiety and spirit of our chief that they bore him on their shoulders from the green into his cabin amidst the shouts of all present. After sunset the colours were struck by a signal from the cannon; our chief his sachems and warriors marched into the city in proper file; the band playing ‘St. Tammany’s Day’ before them. They saluted the Minister of France, and proceeded to the Coffee House, where giving three cheers every man returned in peace to his own house.”

It is well to call attention to the fact that the above account says that the chief and his sachems were dressed in “buck skins and feathers,” for, as we have seen by Eddis’s letters from Annapolis in 1771, it was then the custom in Maryland on May Day to celebrate Tammany’s memory; therefore, in Pennsylvania it must have been followed long before the celebration took root in what was then far-off Maryland. Our Sons were merely returning to the early customs of the followers of the brave old saint, which evidently had been omitted when the Society was first formed, as no mention is made of them by any of their chroniclers from 1772 up to this occasion. The site of this jollification was at what was known in those days as Mr. Pole’s seat on the Schuylkill, though the property was owned by Mr. D. Beveridge, and was so designated in the accounts of this Society’s proceedings three years later. It was situated on the west bank of the river, between what was then known as the Upper Ferry bridge, now called Callowhill Street bridge, and the lower end of the Fairmount locks. The extent of the property was twenty-nine acres, and it was shaped like a triangle, with the river for a base. Beveridge’s house is one of the houses that are marked on Varley’s Map. The reason for its being called Pole’s was that Edward Pole had on the river banks of this property a place where sportsmen

could obtain all the facilities for indulging in their pastimes, such as boats, fishing-tackle, etc. Pole's advertisement was one of the most prominent in the papers of the day, and at his place of business in the city he sold all kinds of fishing-tackle, guns, etc. Pole was, of course, a member of the organization, and most likely one of the organizers of the feast. We have seen that Pole was the Secretary of the Constitutional Society, and probably was chosen on this occasion to fill the same office for the Sons. From the very detailed account which appears in the *Freeman's Journal*, we are satisfied that its owner, Mr. Francis Bailey, was one of this goodly company, for he certainly subscribed to their ideas in every way. We fortunately are able to give the reader a short account of the singer of the "original song." He was a Mr. John Leacock, and a member of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, having held the office of coroner in that organization. He was born in 1729, married October 7, 1771, to Miss Martha Ogilby, died November 16, 1802, and was buried in Christ Church-yard. He was one of the signers of the Non-Importation resolution of 1765, and in 1777 he owned a vineyard in Lower Merion, Philadelphia County, and set up a lottery for the encouragement of the vine. He also held the office of coroner of the city of Philadelphia from 1785 up to the time of his death, and was the owner of a house of entertainment on Water Street, between Arch and Race.¹ He was unquestionably a man of prominence, and, from his having been selected to render the song of the day, he must have had some reputation as a vocalist. Our "Buck Skins" certainly were great believers in democracy of a very broad character, as shown by the announcement for their guidance for the day.

Their adherence to State rights is evident, for the State flag was given the post of honor, flanked on either side by the flags of France and Holland, and nothing is said of any United States flag being erected upon the ground. Their

¹ History Schuylkill Fishing Company, p. 366 ; Philadelphia Directory, 1790.

first toast further shows their predilections, for it was to Tammany (a Pennsylvanian) and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, while the second place on their list was held by the United States. However, they, like the rest of the people, had caught "the epidemic phrenzy" of the supreme sovereignty of the separate States,¹ which was cured in great measure by that able address of General Washington to the Governors of the several States after his surrender of his commission as commander-in-chief. While closing this year's account of our Society, it is worth while to note that ten days later than the above meeting, on the banks of the Hudson, was organized another society,—*"The Order of the Cincinnati,"*—to which our Sons were later on in their existence much opposed.

The next record of our Society is found in two newspapers of 1784, in precisely the same words, as follows:²

"On Saturday the first of May, the Sons of St. Tammany met at Mr. Poole's seat on Schuylkill in order to celebrate the day. The State flag was hoisted in the centre and those of France and the United Netherlands on the right and left, decorated with garlands suitable to the occasion. Upon the discharge of three cannon, the colours were displayed and the festival began. The chief and sachems were elected—council fire kindled—the law of liberty proclaimed—the calumet was smoked, and the dance to the calabash performed. When the feast was prepared, and the Sons of St. Tammany seated, intelligence was received that General Washington had just arrived in the city. One of the company with a voice of exultation cried out 'General Washington is arrived huzza,' no sooner was the voice heard than the air was rent by a general cry of 'General Washington is arrived huzza.' The sentence was drank as a toast, and 'encore ! encore !' being heard on every side a second bumper was filled, and the wigwam again shook with 'General Washington is arrived huzza.' The ceremony of the feast being ended and the company seated on the grass, the following thirteen toasts were drank, under the discharge of the artillery, and with music adapted to each, viz. :

"1. St. Tammany, and the day, music St. Tammany.

"2. The United States—May the benign influence of the thirteen stars be shed in every quarter of the world—Music Yankee Doodle.

¹ Hamilton, vol. i. p. 403.

² Pennsylvania Packet, May 6, and Freeman's Journal, May 5, 1784.

"3. Louis XVI the defender of the rights of mankind. May his people be as happy as he is great and good. Broglio's March.

"4. The United Netherlands. Washington's March.

"5. George Washington—Clinton's retreat.

"6. The citizen soldiers of America, and the Army and Navy of France—Capture of Cornwallis.

"7. The Militia of Pennsylvania—Levan's Cotillion.

"8. Our friends who have fallen in the war, may they live forever in the hearts of a free and grateful people. Rosalind's Castle.

"9. The best Whigs in the worst of times. Sweet Hope.

"10. Encreasing lustre to the stars of America, and unfading bloom to the lilies of France. Stoney Point and Broglio's March.

"11. May the people of Ireland enjoy the freedom of Americans. St. Patrick's day in the morning.

"12. Free trade in American bottoms and peace with all the world. Washington's resignation.

"13. The land we live in, and our free constitution. 'Kawanio Chee Keeteru' (i.e. : These God has given us, and we will defend them). Music Liberty Hall.

"St. Tammany's song being sung, a gentleman in a complete powwow dress appeared and performed a maneta dance. The dress was at once ludicrous and terrible, but the character was well supported and the dance performed with great spirit. The company having learned that General Washington dined with the financier general,¹ they marched with the music before them to his door, where they halted, and gave his excellency thirteen cheers, and at the same time thirteen cannon were fired on the banks of the Schuylkill, then passing on to the houses of the Ministers of France² and the United Netherlands,³ they gave each of them seven cheers, and retired each man to his own home. Having spent the day in the most perfect harmony, every man determined to do his best to perpetuate the name of St. Tammany, who had so kindly and cordially welcomed our ancestors to this fruitful country."

In this era of scepticism and carping criticism of the patriots who made this great nation it is pleasant to find from the foregoing account such a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm over the greatest patriot of them all, our vener-

¹ Robert Morris's house, on Market Street, between Fifth and Sixth, next to corner of Fifth, on south side.—Philadelphia Directory, 1785.

² M. de Marbois, Penn (Water) Street, between Pine and South Streets.—Ibid.

³ Francis Van Berckel, 276 High Street (Market).—Ibid.

ated Washington. We notice from the order of the toasts upon this occasion that the State is not as prominent as it had been the previous year, and that the United States seem to be more in evidence. This change in sentiment was one that Washington strove for with all his personal influence, for he saw that peace had not been formally declared before British interests were at work trying by inciting jealousy between the different States to bring about the disintegration of the confederacy.¹ In June of this year we find our "Friends of the Constitution" once more calling their members together "to prevent," as they say, "a change in the fundamentals of our excellent government."² There is also a notice later in the year that "the St. Tammany Fire Company meet at the house of Captain John Barker on Friday 1st October next at 7 o'clock in the evening." Whether this company was composed only of members of the Sons of Saint Tammany or not we cannot say, for the above is the only notice we find of their existence.³

The Philadelphia City Directory of 1785 gives Captain John Barker as "inn-keeper and taylor," at the sign of St. Tammany, on Arch Street, between Second and Third Streets.

¹ Sparks, vol. ix. pp. 12, 13.

² Freeman's Journal, June 16, 1784.

³ Ibid., September 29.

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from page 80.)

PHILADA. 20th Jany. 1796.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I am much pleased to hear by your Letters to your Sisters that you are in tolerable health. I shall be better pleased to hear of your perfect Recovery which from the soundness of your Constitution & the good advice you are surrounded with, we are sanguine enough to expect. I must at the same time suggest that in most chronical Cases Experience proves an Attention to diet and a strict regimen is generally more available than any other thing the faculty can prescribe: indeed in those cases it is little more than a Compliance with form to consult Physicians at all. I have myself long done with them, being convinced from a steady attention to my own case that they are able to do very little, if anything more for me than I can do for myself. The headache which has afflicted me for four years & upwards I know proceeds from the Stomach, I therefore direct all my attention to that Organ. If I transgress ever so little either in quality or quantity of food I am certain of being tormented with 3 or 4 hours headache; if on the contrary I intirely refrain from animal food or take only a very small quantity of the lightest kind & subsist chiefly on milk & Vegetables I am as certain of escaping every symptom of the Complaint. This you will say, is having a disorder more in my own power than most people have; this is true, but in a certain degree it is the same with every chronick Case.

I am descending fast into the Vale of years, and altho I seem now to have some command over my disorder, yet I cannot reasonably expect it will long continue. You are in the prime of life, and if you should find abstinence as much a Remedy as I have done, the good Effects may possibly continue with you for a long Course of Years—which Heaven Grant!

I find you have passed some time in the Country during the

last Summer, which I concluded must have been the Case from our not hearing from you for Six or Eight Months.

You have mentioned to Sally that Swanwick's Bill is paid, but I have not yet heard of the fate of Mr. Wilcock's Bill, which however I presume must have been honoured, or you would have returned it with a protest.

I now inclose you a Bill for £100 Sterling drawn by Peter Blight which I purchased at the rate of 60 per cent advance, Exchange being now lower than usual; I could I believe, have got one for 58 but not from so substantial a Drawer.

I have lately at the request of your Sisters, got my Picture taken by one Mr. Stewart, who is said to have been eminent in London;—it is thought to be a strong likeness; I have therefore employed a Mr. Trot a young man of talents in that way to take a Copy of it in miniature. When finished I shall embrace the first good Opportunity of transmitting it to you, as I flatter myself it will be an acceptable present.

My best Love to all your family. I am my dear Child
Your affectionate father.

PHILADA. 19th April 1796.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 12th of January and was made truly happy by hearing of the Recovery of your health, as well as of the good prospects of your two sons. I sincerely pray that every Blessing may attend you & yours. I observe Swanwick's Bill is paid, and hope the same as to Peter Blight's Bill for £100 Sterling which I transmitted to you in January last.

I mentioned to you in my last that I meant to send you a small portrait taken from an excellent picture drawn for me by Mr. Stewart. I accordingly embrace the Opportunity of Mr. Alexander Foster's going to London, to forward it to you; he has been kind enough to promise to deliver it himself. I am not certain whether this Gentleman is known to you or not. You may probably have heard that he formerly paid his Addresses to your Sister Sally. And altho he was not a favored Lover & she preferred another Gentleman, he still I am told continues his Admiration of her, but without any prospect of Success; he has made a handsome fortune by trade & if he could divest himself

of this Attachment might still be happy in a matrimonial Connection.

Our Congress is now deliberating upon the Treaty with Great Britain, and altho some warmth has appeared & there is a majority who dislike the treaty; Yet I have no doubt they will finally make the Appropriations necessary to carry it into Execution. All the Commercial Cities are daily petitioning them to that Effect.

My real Love and best wishes attend you, My dear Child.

I am &c.

PHILADELPHIA 26th July 1796.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

Your favor of the 2^d May now before me affords me real pleasure, as it promises an effectual remedy for your Disorder. If there is any one Specific for Chronical Complaints, it is certainly Abstinence.

I have received the Amount of Peter Blight's protested Bill together with the 20 per cent Damages & costs of protest, and immediately laid out the money in another Bill drawn by John Swanwick in my favor for £120.7.0 Sterling. I have likewise purchased another Bill of John Swanwick for £100. Sterling out of money arising from the Interest of your Securities & dividends of Bank Shares in my hands. Exchange at 162½ p. C. advance: both these Bills I have indorsed to Messrs Dorset & Co for your Use & herein inclose.

I hope before this you have received the Picture I promised you, it was committed to the care of Mr. Alex. Foster a merchant who went passenger in the Ship — and sailed from hence about the 1st of May & promised to deliver it himself. I am made happy in believing it will be to you an acceptable present. You may be assured my dear Child, I can never be unmindful of you. I know the tenderness of your nature, and that your affectionate Endeavors, would not be wanting to contribute to the comfort of my latter days, if our evil Stars had not separated us.

There is one disagreeable business, which I am always averse to make the Subject of our Correspondence. I mean the business of your Brother Edward. I have repeatedly tried what could be done with Footman, who always says that what with

the Losses they sustained in Common with almost all others who followed trade at that time together with Neddy's Expenses in going abroad & settling & maintaining his family in Philadelphia, there is nothing left to satisfy your demand. I believe only a part of this Story, but am obliged to rest satisfied with it. As however he is my Son & has an encreasing family which are and must be dependant upon me for a support unless he can be put into some Situation to enable him to make provision for them himself, which this heavy debt while it hangs over him will forever obstruct.

I have therefore conceived the Idea of endeavouring to compound it for him provided I can do it without incumbering my own Affairs for the short time I have to live. I would therefore make this proposition for your & G. A's Consideration, which you will either accept or reject as you think proper without any fear of giving me the least displeasure by either Alternative.

As a consideration for discharging him from the demand, I would agree to give my Obligation for the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling; the principal to become payable within one year after my decease, but the Interest of Six per cent to be regularly paid upon it every year during my Life. If this proposition should be accepted and the Bond delivered up with a discharge and acknowledgement of Satisfaction of the Judgment entered in our Supreme Court, (which may be done by empowering Mr. John Mifflin the Attorney who obtained the Judgment, or any other person for that purpose) I will then execute a Bond to Mr Burd as your Trustee, for the Sum and on the terms above mentioned.

In this attempt of mine to get Neddy discharged of a debt, which he will never be able to pay, I have no View ever to put it again in his power to trade or make any improper use of Money, but simply to give him some heart to use his endeavours to maintain his family: the present plan for that purpose is this Doctor McIlvaine has all the best medical business at Burlington, but being often confined with the Gout sometimes attended with dangerous symptoms, is under the necessity of declining a great part of his business, which he might retain if he could join himself in partnership with a healthy, active Man who could take the laborious part, of riding &c.; for this purpose he expresses a willingness to take your brother into the business; this we think affords a reasonable prospect of procuring (at least in part) a

present Support for his family, and probably in the end lay the foundation of his succeeding Doctor McIlvaine in his whole business whenever he shall be obliged or disposed to decline it altogether.

The Family are all well & join me most cordially in wishing you & yours all imaginable happiness.

I am &c.

PHILADA. 12th Aug. 1796.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

This serves to inclose second Bills of two Setts transmitted to you about a fortnight since, one for £120.7.0 Sterling being the Amo^t of Peter Blight's protested Bill for £100. with Damages, the other a new Draft for £100 Sterling. The first Bills of these Setts I sent you in a letter of the 26th of last month, in which I acquainted you of my having sent the Picture by Mr. Alex. Foster, and in which I likewise mentioned a proposition relating to your Brother Edward. That Letter I hope you have received before this. I think it went by a Ship called the Hebe.

My best Love attends you & yours. My dear daughter
most affectionately yours

E. S.

PHILADA. 6 April, 1797.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I am much rejoiced to learn by your letter to your Sister Burd that you are in a fair way of being restored to your health. I was indeed much alarmed at the Situation you described in your favor to me of the 7th of October last. I hope by Care and Attention (qualities you always possessed) together with the best medical assistance, you will be in no danger of falling a Sacrifice to such dreadful Attacks as you have lately been subject to.

I am pleased to hear that Swanwick's Bills are paid; I have for some time past supposed that to be the Case, or I should have long ago received a protest for non-payment. It is not easy of late to meet with Bills of Exchange drawn by such men as are altogether unexceptionable.

The Spirit of Enterprize has of late stalked with such gigantic Strides as to infatuate all ranks of people, and there is by no

means such Confidence in men of reputed fortunes and prudence as used to exist. I have however faith in the inclosed Bill for £140 Sterling drawn by Willings & Francis, for which I gave what is called par, viz 16½ p Cent advance. I have endorsed it as usual to Messrs. Dorset & Company for your use.

The Bank of Pennsylvania received a little shock last Winter by the Misbehavior of Mr. Barclay the President, but it soon recovered after an inspection into its funds and is now in as good credit as ever. Shares in that bank sell at 20 p cent advance.

The plan relating to your Brother's Debt, must I believe at present rest. I have many reasons for not wishing to take an Assignment of his Bond.

We are all sorry to hear that Lord Malmsbury's Mission has failed of Success, we had hopes of Peace, they appear now to be blasted and we in some danger of being implicated in the War. We shall however be very shy upon that Subject, and nothing short of hard blows will bring us to it.

I presume your Sister Betsy will give you the history of your Cousin Nancy Allen's Affair. Women as well as Men seem in these days to be alike infatuated. I would if possible have assisted the family in this business, having a grateful remembrance of their friendly Offices to you, when you were last with us, but I fear nothing will prevent that charming Girl from rushing into destruction.

My best Love to you And all that you love.

I am &c.

PHILADA. 28th October 1797.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

Not having heard from you for many months, & your Sister Betsy having rece'd a Letter from you by the William Penn without your mentioning a Remittance I made you last April, I am apprehensive either that my Letters have not been received or your Answer miscarried. On the 6th April last I enclosed you a Bill of Exchange drawn by Willing & Francis on John & Francis Baring & Co dated the 5th April 1797 for £140 Sterling in my favor payable on [] days Sight & by me indorsed to Messrs Dorset & Company for your Use. One Bill of the Sett went by the packet & another by the Brig Friendship. I cannot but hope one of them at least got safe to hand.

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We returned but yesterday from the Country after an Absence of near three months on Acco't of the Yellow Fever in the City, which has at length subsided, & we esteem ourselves safe in our old habitation; the great number of the Citizens who retired into the Country on this Occasion, has been probably the Cause of the fever not proving so fatal as in the year 1793, when four times the number died in the same time. I am happy to inform you that none of our friends have felt the ill Effects of it. I have been for the greater part of this month on the Circuit and have one more County to go to before I settle down for the Winter.

My kind Love to all your family & friends. I am &c

P.S. lest any Accident may have happened to my former letters, I inclose you the third Bill of the Sett.

PHILADA. 16th July 1798.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

We have had such alarming Accounts respecting the intended Invasion & probable Success of the all-powerful Frenchmen against your devoted Country that my feelings regarding you have been all alive & I have delayed writing till some favourable Accots should arrive that I might be sure a letter would reach you in London.

And altho' we do not yet hear of any Suspension of preparations for that purpose, yet I cannot now but conclude either that the Invasion has been declined or if attempted will finally fail. Our Situation here is indeed critical. We have mortally offended the Conqueror of the World by making a Treaty with England without their leave & in some respects unfavourable to their Commerce. For this Offence we are never to be forgiven, and are threatened with all the Evils they have inflicted upon Venice, & Switzerland. Our Ladies particularly are fearful of a Visit, if not of the Guillotine, and are meditating some plans of Retreat from the large Cities, where the depredations are most likely to fall. I have myself no apprehensions of that kind. We are making such preparations for their reception & there seems to be of late such Unanimity in our people on the Subject of Resistance that any Attempt upon us must prove fatal to themselves. Our naval force is already such as to put our coast-

ing trade out of danger, & no privateers will hereafter venture to consider this as cruising Ground. We have lately brought one of them into port, and altho no express declaration of War has yet taken place, Yet this Vessel is considered as fair game, having made some prizes on the Coast, & will probably be condemned. War is a great Evil & I pray God to defend us all from the direful Effects of it.

I inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £130 Sterling purchased at par indorsed as usual to Messrs. Dorset & Co for your Use.

Really the times have been so critical, & there has been such a Revolution as to the Fortunes of our Merchants that it has not been an easy matter to get Bills free from some Risk. I know not the drawer of this Bill, but the Indorser, Mordecai Lewis is certainly safe, if there is any Safety among us.

The Family are all well & join me in best Love to you & Yours.

PHILADA., 18th Febr'y. 1799.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I was rejoiced to receive your affectionate Letter of the 28th Oct., having received none before for a long time. Some time after my return from our Asylum in the Country, a young Gentleman called on me, of the name of Sheddon, who enquired whether I had received a Letter from you, of which he was the Bearer. On my answering in the negative, he informed me that having arrived at New York, and not then thinking it safe on account of the Sickness to proceed to Philada., he had committed the care of it to young Andrew Allen his fellow Passenger. This Letter however has never come to hand, nor did Mr. Allen ever call upon me, to make any Apology till about a fortnight ago, having then heard from many of his friends that I had frequently complained of his Negligence. All he could then say was that he had put the Letter into the Post Office at Bristol not knowing the place of my retirement in the Country. Mr. Sheddon was certainly not to blame, he has been several times since at our house & complains much of Mr. Allen's uncivil behaviour.

I was very happy to hear of your receiving benefit to your health from Sea bathing: it should of course be repeated at the proper Season. I am likewise much pleased at the good Spirits you seem to enjoy from the favourable Circumstances you men-

tion with regard to your Sons. God grant you may be made happy in their prosperity & that of the rest of your family.

I am much delighted to hear of your acquaintance with my old & good friend Mrs. Willis. I remember her & the kindness she manifested to me with ye greatest pleasure. I felt a warmth at my heart in reading her tender expressions with regard to me which you have detailed. Your Saucy Sister Sally charges me with betraying much Vanity in shewing your letter to many of our friends; it could only be, she says, to exhibit Mrs. Willis's flattering Sentiments in my favour.

I inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £150 Sterling which I purchased at the moderate Exchange of 57½ p Ct advance. I have as usual indorsed it to Dorset & Co for your use.

Some of your money has been paid in, and am now considering of the best way of Disposing of it. Our Government has advertised for a loan of five Millions of Dollars at 8 p Cent Interest. The Subscriptions are all to be made on the same day & there is no doubt of their filling immediately. I am balancing between a Subscription to this loan & buying 6 p Cent Stock which may now be had at 160 in the pound. Bank Stock of the United States sells at 20 p Cent advance, and that of the Bank of Pennsylvania at about the same price: the North America Bank stock is much higher & seldom to be got, the last that was sold brought 50 p Cent advance; the Dividends of the last are generally 12 p Cent per annum on the original Subscriptions, the 2 former at about 8 p cent.

Our Quarrel with the French is not yet made up; their late bad Success in Europe has in some degree lowered their tone, but no serious advances have been yet made by them towards an Accommodation. We are determined to be in a State of preparation for fear of the worst, Congress have voted for an Equipement of Six 74 Gun Ships, besides a large number of smaller armed Vessels. Our trade is already rendered safer by the frigates and armed Ships which are already on the Ocean, besides the benefits we have received from British Convoys.

6 March 1799.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I wrote you by the Chesterfield packet, the 18th of last month; my letter together with the whole mail was sunk by the Captain at New York, out of resentment for being served with a Writ.

(Here I repeat part of former letter.)

I inclose you second Bill of Exchange for £150 Sterling (the first having been sunk with the mail) which I purchased at 57½ p Cent advance, & have as usual indorsed it to Dorset & Co. for your use. Some of your money has been paid in, and I am taking advantage of a loan to our Government of 5 Millions of dollars at 8 p' cent Interest; the Subscriptions have much exceeded the loan, so that none will get the whole of what they subscribed; what the deductions from each Subscription will be, is not yet known; but I expect for you about 1400 dollars.

Bank Stock of the United States sells at about 23 p. cent advance, that of Pennsylvania at about 20, & the North America at 45 p cent, which last is seldom to be got.

We have had Mr. Sheddon frequently with us, on the presumption that your lost letter contained a Recommendation of him.

PHILADA 10th July 1799

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I much fear my two last Letters have miscarried, one dated 18th Feby last & the other on the 6th of March containing first & Second Bills of a Sett of Exchange for £150 Sterling at Sixty days sight by Philips Cramond & Co on Messrs Thellusson Brothers, London dated 18th Feby 1799 in my favour & by me indorsed to Messrs Dorset & Company or Order: the Letter which inclosed the first of the Sett was intended to be sent by the Chesterfield packet & was forwarded by the post to New York for that purpose. In some Squabbel between the Capt of the packet & the Sheriffs Officer at New York, the Mail was thrown overboard & the Merchants here were advised to forward Duplicates of their Letters to be sent by the same Vessel. I did the like, but I afterwards learnt, that the first Letters were recovered, so it is most probable both Letters went in the same Vessel. I have lately seen an Account in the Newspaper of the Chesterfield packet having been captured by the French. I therefore now inclose you the third Bill of the Sett, altho' it is the only remaining one in my hands.

Some of your Money having been paid into my hands last Winter, I thought proper to invest it in Subscriptions to a loan of the Government at the Interest of 8 p cent p annum. I could only at first get in 1400 dollars, but some time after I purchased

an additional 1400 dollars at 5 p cent advance on the first payment. This sum of 2800 dollars I pay in by 8 monthly installments, at 350 dollars each month, the last payment to be made on the 10th of October next. I have now paid in 5 of the Installments & shall soon be intitled to Certificates carrying 8 p cent, Interest for one half of the Subscription; the Certificates for the other half of the Installments will I presume be delivered in October when the whole will be paid into the treasury. This mode of investing your money I believe will be the most beneficial for you, as I expect the Interest will be regularly paid half yearly.

The Family are all well & join with me in every Wish for your health & happiness.

I am &c.

PHILADA 1st Nov 1799

DR PEGGY;

On the other side you will find a copy of the last Letter I wrote by the Ship *Adriana*, which I hope came safely to your hands. Since which I have received your agreeable favor of the 9th of August, wherein you express your Apprehensions of our Safety, on account of the prevailing fever which has raged here for about three months past;—it has now, thank God, intirely subsided and we consequently a few days past returned to our usual habitation in the City, all perfectly well.

You seem very desirous to prosecute a Scheme of Speculation with the money you have in this Country. I shall give you all the Assistance in my power to perfect it; altho I am not quite certain the train it is now in here would not prove as profitable as the one you project.

I have been at some pains to interest you as far as possible in our 8 p cent Loan, as apparently the most profitable of any plan of disposing of your money here; I have accordingly invested for you to the amount of 2800 Dollars at 8 p cent Interest payable half yearly;—this Stock in order to comply with your request I must sell in the Market, altho at present it has not risen above par.—you have likewise three Shares in the Bank of North America which will sell from 45 to 50 p Cent advance on the original sum; both these I shall as soon as possible convert into money & invest in Bills of Exchange on London which at present may be had at about £150 currency for £100 Sterling.

The five shares which you have in the Pennsylvania Bank I would not wish to sell immediately, as the price of that stock is at present very low, not above 13 or 14 p Cent advance on the original price, yet perhaps if I can find a cash purchaser and good Bills I may likewise dispose of those shares in order to comply with your wishes. The remainder of your money being at interest, some at 7 p Cent & some at 6, I cannot expect to call in on a sudden, but will do it as soon as it is practicable. As several Vessels are put up for different ports in England, I expect shortly to begin the operation you desire.

I am &c.

PHILADA 30 Dec 1799

MY DEAR PEGGY

I have been for some time past anxious to hear whether the Bill of Exchange for £150 Sterling which I purchased for you last Febry, has been received & paid—the two first Bills of the Sett, I have reason to think were captured, the third & last Bill I sent p the Ship *Adriana* last July, which I hope got safe to hand, as I see by the News papers a Ship of that Name is put up in London, to sail for Philada about the 1st of November.

There has been of late such a rise in Bills of Exchange that I doubt whether your projected plan communicated to me by your letter of the 9th of August last can be put in execution. I lost no time after the receipt of that letter to employ a broker to sell your bank stock for the purpose of investing the proceeds in Bills of Exchange. I found in 2 or 3 days afterwards that Bills were rising from 150 to 155 & soon to 160 and are now at 165 or par. I immediately stopt the sale of your Bank shares to give a little time for the falling of bills. The Broker had however sold one of your shares in the Bank of North America for 50 p cent advance & two of your shares in the Bank of Pennsylvania at 13 p cent advance;—the money arising from these sales I deposited in the bank of the United States, where it yet remains. I see no prospect at present of getting Bills under par, so that unless I receive further orders from you, I shall endeavour to reinvest that money in one or other of our banks. I thought it lucky the Broker had not disposed of your 8 p cents before this change had taken place especially as I have lately heard that dollars in England have risen considerably, which circumstance must likewise have interfered with your

project. As soon as I receive Dividends from the Banks & 8 per cent Interest from the Treasury I shall purchase a Bill for you in order to remit your annual Interest, let the price of Bills be what it may. I have been so much engaged in Court for six weeks past, that I have had but little opportunity of knowing how the mercantile Concerns of the Country go on.

My time has been the more engaged, as I have lately received the Appointment of Chief Justice of the State in the room of Mr McKean, who has been elected Governor.

The Salary of Chief Justice is one thousand pounds Currency per annum, yet I do not think it will be prudent in me to hold the Office for any great length of time even if Providence should prolong my life; the increasing labor of business to a man so far advanced in years will probably tend to impair my faculties as well as health. The story of the Arch Bishop of Granada in Gil Blas has often occurred to me; and I cannot bear the idea of betraying the loss of Intellect to others before I discovered it in myself. My health, thank God, as yet has not declined, indeed my headache has in a great measure left me. Yet being turned of Seventy, I have no reason to expect any long enjoyment of that valuable blessing; altho my friends are kind enough to flatter me that by constantly riding the Circuit, I shall long retain it.

I hope your charming little daughter is in better health than when you wrote. I have been told by others that she is very delicate. Your niece Peggy Burd is to be married in a few days to her Cousin Dan. Coxe, who has made a handsome fortune in trade.

Your sister Sally enjoys fine health and does not pine for the loss of Mr Foster who died with the Yellow fever last Summer: it is thought he retained his unsuccessful passion to the last.

If Bills of Exchange return to the low price they bore two or three months ago, your plan may be yet prosecuted if you chuse it;—for which I will endeavour to get in what money remains at interest in private hands & invest it in some Stock which may be readily sold whenever you think proper. I am with much love to you & yours

PHILADA 3 May 1800

DR. PEGGY

I received your very wellcome Letter of the 5th of February a few days ago;—and am glad to find the last years bill for £150

is paid. I now inclose you another for the same sum, which cost at the rate of 172½ p cent Exchange. I have reason to be still better pleased that I had not an opportunity of remitting your Money at the time you requested it, as most of the drawers at that time have met with misfortunes and particularly Mr. Peter Blight who was then the principal Drawer and tho before esteemed a very prosperous man has since stopped payment & will in all probability finally break for a very large Sum. The three shares of Bank Stock which I wrote you I had sold in order to buy Bills, I consider as still remaining yours, having applied the money to my own use, as if my own Shares were sold instead of yours.

You request to know the situation of the lands on Susquehannah River claimed by the Connecticut people. I am in hopes that dispute is in a way of being at last settled. Our Legislature passed a law last year to encourage the Pennsylvania claimants to convey their property in the Seventeen Townships settled by the Connecticut people to the State, to enable them to convey to the Settlers at a less price provided 40.000 acres were conveyed to the State within a limited time;—that number of acres & more have already been transferred, and Commissioners are appointed to value the Lands, who are limited to estimate the best Lands no higher than five dollars p acre & the worst Lands at one dollar & the others at intermediate prices according to their Value, when the whole is completed the State will pay the Pennsylvania Claimants at these rates, & sell them out to the Connecticut Settlers at about half the prices thus allowed, at which rate it is presumed there will be but little doubt of their accepting them. There are however other lands settled by the Connecticut people not within those Seventeen townships, and not included in this Arrangement;—these lands it is presumed the Settlers will be compelled to give up, as the Settlements on them were made after the decree at Trenton which fixt the right to be in Pennsylvania. The Value of Lands in that Country it is not possible to ascertain without knowing their Situation and Quality. The Lands which lie on the River are for the most part the most valuable: some of them, bottom lands, may be worth perhaps Six dollars an acre, other Lands may not be worth more than half or a quarter of a dollar an acre. Many Mountains & stony & barren lands have been included in some of the Surveys. Lands lying at a distance

from the River, not settled by the Connecticut people & surveyed some time ago under Pennsylvania Rights, good in quality, may be bought here for about one dollar per Acre, taking a large quantity together.

I am delighted to hear of the probable prosperity & good establishments of your Sons & the returning health of your charming daughter; this pleasure is alloyed however by what you say concerning your own Situation. the fullness of blood you complain of can only be abated by a Regimen & Evacuants. I mean not however to prescribe as you live in a Country where the best advice may be had.

Your Cousin Betsy Lawrence (formerly Betsy Allen) died a few days ago of a Consumption. Mr Tench Francis died yesterday of the Gout, and your Aunt Lawrence is expected to go in a few days from the effects of more than one apoplectic Stroke.

Your Cousin Nancy Allen, a charming Woman, is going off in another way, being bent on marriage with a Mr Greenleaf, maugre all the remonstrances of her friends.

All the branches of our own family are well and join sincerely in best Love to you & Yours. I am my dear Peggy most Affect^{ly} Yours,

PHILADA 23 May 1801

MY DEAR PEGGY

I am this minute setting off on a Circuit & so hurried that I have but just time to inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £150 Sterling drawn by Jeremiah Warder on Rathbone, Hughes & Duncan of Liverpool but payable in London, Exchange at 160.

All that you love and love you here are well & join me in best affection to you & yours.

I am Dear Peggy most affect^{ly} yours

P.S. You have probably heard of your Sister Sally's loss of her little boy, who died about 2 or three months ago. He was a beautiful Child about 8 or 9 years old.

PHILADA 4th August 1801

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

With equal pleasure & pain I received your last letter of the 1st of June thro' Mr Bond; *pleasure* that you seem to have no com-

plaints as to your health & *pain* that you seem struggling with some pecuniary embarrassments, which you do not disclose, but I presume must arise from some unsuccessful negotiation. I have been always fearful of engaging in plans of Speculation which, failing of success, might strike too deep in their consequences;—every calamity however is rendered heavier by being suffered to dwell upon the mind; exert yourself my dear child, & permit not your spirits to be too deeply affected, or bad health will follow.

I hope the Bill, I remitted to you on the 23rd of May last for £150 Sterling has been received and paid. I have now agreeably to your desire remitted to Miss Fitch for your Use a Bill of Exchange for £500 Sterling drawn by Thomas & John Clifford on W^m & John Dowell of Bristol but payable in London.

I hope you have heard of the Welfare of your Son James, as the affairs of Egypt appear to be in a favorable train for England.

I am much obliged to Mrs Liston for calling upon you as she promised us she would do; you say she gave you much information respecting the family, one article of which I presume (from what you write to your sister Betsy) is that Sally is about to be married; if this had been a matter fixed, she would certainly before this have communicated it to you, but the world is too apt to pronounce positively upon such subjects before the parties themselves have made up their minds upon them;—the truth is that Mr Lawrence has been very attentive to her for some time past & I have reason to think him not disagreeable to her—but there are two strong objections, which may possibly prevent the match from ever taking place, 1st the Children by two former Wives, two of them young Women living in his family & 2nd the leaving Philadelphia to reside in New York which she seems much averse to, at least during my life:—the latter objection I believe he would have no difficulty in removing, as he is a Man of handsome fortune & could reside without inconvenience in any part of America—but the former objection cannot well be obviated unless his elder Children could be married off;—in this doubtful state the subject remains & will probably remain for some time. I thought proper to apprise you of the truth as I find the Report has reached England & you should know the whole.

In order to raise the £500 Sterling I have sold four of your Shares in the bank of Pennsylvania, at a good advance.

PHILADA 10th August 1801

MY DEAR PEGGY

On the 4th Inst I inclosed to Miss Fitch agreeably to your direction a Bill of Exchange for £500 Sterling under cover to John Lane, Esq., at the same time I wrote a Line to you. I have now sent another Bill of the same Sett under the same Cover.

Since the receipt of your last letter of the 1st of June, we have seen a Newspaper Account of Gen^l A's death & most heartily sympathize with you on this occasion. I am at a loss to think what would be the most eligible plan of life for you in future, probably you have by this time settled it for yourself; if you should incline to come to America, I shall receive you into my house & Arms with the most heartfelt Welcome; in that case your little lovely daughter will accompany you. I cannot help however suspecting that the Situation of your dear Sons will obstruct such a resolution; their Country is certainly England; there they must expect their Advancement in life, to which you will probably think your presence will abundantly Contribute, independently of the uneasiness you would endure in parting with them. Whatever your plan may be, you will undoubtedly communicate it to me, & in whatever way I can afford you assistance you may rely on my best endeavours to do it.

My best love attends you & yours. I am most sincerely yr affect father.

PHILADA 10 Nov 1801

MY DEAR DAUGHTER

On my return from a long Circuit a few days ago I received your two favors of the 5th of July & 5th of August. You may be assured I could not read the distressing account of your Situation with indifference, nor indeed without extreme Pain. I wish I could fly to afford you every comfort & advice in my power, but age & every circumstance of my life forbid it. You are in some degree happy in having made friends who interest themselves in your behalf, still you are deprived of your natural connections.

I will make no reflections upon the causes of your distress; sometimes the best planned Schemes fail through unavoidable Accidents; it is of less consequence to account for Misfortunes, than to apply the most practicable means to alleviate them.

I observe the General's property, though not large, is much dispersed and difficult to collect. If it were possible for me to give any assistance with regard to the Canada Lands I should with great alacrity make the Attempt, but that Country & ours are as separate as to their internal Concerns as if they lay in different quarters of the globe, nor have a friend there to whom I could apply for help.

I am much grieved to find you have a reliance upon your brother's debt. I thought you had long since been convinced of his inability to pay it; both he & his partner Footman became insolvent & the latter when he died left many heavy debts which his little property was totally insufficient to discharge. As to your brother, he is not possessed of a single Shilling: he is indeed incapable of supporting his large family of Children by the little business he has in his profession at Burlington without my continual contributions; without them he & they must indeed starve. As to my paying that large debt which he owes to you, I am by no means bound or inclined to do it; altho it be a debt from one child to another. I never participated in the contracting it, nor did I suspect it existed till more than two years after. If the creditors of General Arnold should be disposed to commence a prosecution against him he will doubtless take the advantage of the general bankrupt Law of the United States. Notwithstanding the unfavorable state of that business, I have made a provision in my Will for compounding the debt, altho with a sum much inferior to the demand; this is all I am capable of doing, considering my present Situation. Altho' I may be said to be possessed of a handsome property, yet it lies in such a way as that it cannot command money, it consisting chiefly of back lands & houses in this City, the Rents of which are much reduced & subject to heavy taxes. I indeed hold at present an Office which yields £1000 a year our Money but that Office I must soon resign, as my advanced Age, considering the severe duty, I am bound to perform, incapacitates me from executing it to my own Satisfaction.

After this I shall have need of all the produce of my Estate (which at most is but a very moderate one) for my Support, in the way I have been used to live.

My son Edward altho entitled to less of my Confidence than my other Children, must be prevented from suffering real want & this will necessarily add to my Expenses.

The Bill of Exchange for £500 Sterling which you desired me to send, I hope is long since accepted, having transmitted it to Miss Fitch as long ago as the 4th of August. Whatever upon Reflection you desire me to do with the Remainder of your Money shall be complied with, altho I was in hopes that the whole would have been suffered to remain here as yielding you a better interest than can be got in England. This money I have no idea of General Arnold's creditors having any hold of; it was made up of the Savings of your own pension, transmitted to me for the separate use of yourself & your Children & never having been in his possession can in no way I think be considered as his property or subject to his debts.

I most heartily sympathize with you in your distresses which must likewise be increased by the public distresses of the Country you inhabit; by a threatened Invasion & enormous taxes. It is in vain however to repine, altho we cannot avoid feeling. God send you fortitude to carry you through. I feel much obliged to Mr Coxe & the Miss Fitch's for their very kind attention to you & your affairs.

My best Love to your dear Children, and believe me to be what I ever shall be in sincerity & truth,

Your very affect & loving

FATHER.

P.S. Please to tender my very respectful & grateful Compliments to Miss Fitch for her most obliging Letter at a time when your distress being so heavy upon you as to disable you from writing yourself.

PHILADA 7th Feby 1802

MY DEAR DAUGHTER;

I had the pleasure of receiving your Affectionate Letter of the 2nd of December last a few days ago:—that pleasure however was far from being unmixed with Pain, considering the distressed State of your mind arising from the embarrassed State of your Affairs and the great trouble and anxiety necessarily attendant upon your Situation. You have however naturally a Strength of mind which with the Exertions you are capable of, will I flatter myself enable you to go through your arduous task to your Satisfaction. I am sensible of the great & uncommon difficulties you have had to struggle with, beyond which usually falls to the lot of most of your Sex. Yet I be-

seech you, be not too much dismayed, call forth all your mental & bodily faculties to your assistance, and let the well being of your dear Children stimulate you to every exertion in your Power: it is a very painful Reflection, for an old man descending gradually to his grave, to find a beloved Child so distressed without having the power of affording her any essential relief: if I was a younger man I would not hesitate to take a voyage to England to endeavour to comfort you: as it is I am too feeble to attempt it. God bless you my dear Child, & support you under your Afflictions. It must be some consolation to you (as it is to me) that your two eldest boys are in so fair a Road to prosperity. Their Activity with your good Advice, I fear not will bring great Comfort to your mind—guard them against the extravagance that young men in their Situation are frequently prone to; the Army is a School of Honor, but it is likewise a School of Dissipation and the more their Spirit, the more their danger.

As to your Claim to lands in Canada, it was natural for you to suppose I might give you some proper advice, as I reside in the same quarter of the Globe, but really there is not a creature there that I have any knowledge of, nor do I know who to apply to here, that can give me information or assistance on that Subject;—it seems to me that if you can get any thing of Value for your Claim in England, it would be as well to sell it, unless you have a prospect of sending over one of your Sons to look after it, which is not likely to be the Case.

Every time I think of my Son's Debt to you, I feel a pang at my heart. In my last I wrote you all I can say on that Subject; I shall subjoin to this an extract from that letter, lest the original should have miscarried. I applied to Mr John Mifflin, to know what has been done with Edward's Bond, he tells me that all the papers relating to that subject were forwarded to Mr William Shedden of New York from whom they had been originally received.

As to the Estate at Mount Pleasant, McPherson's debt to Osborne swallowed it all up, except about 30 acres which was subject to similar Mortgage to one Mason, which I believe neither General Arnold nor myself knew any thing of, this has not been yet sold under the Mortgage, but I expect every day to hear of the commencement of some proceedings against it. I believe little if anything is to be expected from it. I will however agree-

ably to your request transmit you by the next opportunity a Copy of the Settlement from the Office where it is recorded.

This being about the time of receiving your Bank Dividends, and it being expected that Exchange will rise, I inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £120 Sterling drawn by Jeremiah Warder on William Barber & Co. Merchants in Liverpool, but payable in London, at par, indorsed to yourself.

I am with true affection my dear Peggy,
Yours &c.

(To be continued.)

POPP'S JOURNAL, 1777-1783.

BY JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN.

(Concluded from page 41.)

October 14.—Heavy attack in force,—the enemy seized one of our redoubts and made an attack on our right wing, but were forced back with heavy loss,—then attacked our left, and the French grenadiers stormed our line, without firing a shot, captured a hundred of our men on the advanced line, killed and wounded those who refused to surrender,—made a great noise with their shouting, seized our lines and turned them, and with 3 or 4000 men held them. Our whole force was sent forward to strengthen our left, for a general attack was ordered and we could distinctly hear and understand the orders given in German to the enemy's German troops,—we did our best to save our guns and to keep the enemy at bay.

October 15.—Heavy firing on both sides—

October 16.—Between 3 and 4 A.M. Major Anderson led some 200 of the Light Infantry in an attack on the enemy's lines,—directed on their centre, where there was a battery of 14 guns,—but by his quickness he was able to return with no very heavy loss,—at day break the enemy opened fire from a new battery of 18 guns, and it was the severest we had yet had. Our sick and wounded were carried over to Gloucester. We saw another battery going up on our right, with 10 Bombs and 24 to 32 Pounders, and knew that it would soon open fire. That night the Light Infantry was sent to Gloucester, and our two Regiments replaced them in their exposed position in the advance with 300 men,—the hope was to force a way through on the Gloucester side and beat a retreat to Maryland, for it was plain that our position was no longer tenable unless we had reinforcements.

We had no rest or sleep, for the enemy kept up heavy firing and pushed their lines forward within a stone's throw, with a battery of 14 guns and approaches and trenches so well made that it was only a matter of a few days before we would be completely surrounded and hemmed in under their concentrated fire.

October 17.—The enemy opened a heavier fire than at any time and from all sides at once. The Light Infantry returned from Gloucester, reporting that it was impossible to escape in that direction, for it was all closely surrounded by the enemy,—French and American soldiers covering every outlet. Lord Cornwallis himself visited the works and saw how near the enemy had come. He returned to his headquarters and at once sent the first flag of truce, which was very civilly treated. The English troops at once began to destroy their tents, ruin their arms, and prepare for surrender. At 12 o'clock another flag of truce was sent,—firing ceased,—there were messages going through the lines, and we were all heartily glad the fighting was over. Towards 7 P.M. there was a violent explosion of one of our magazines,—some of the English soldiers sent to fill bombs with powder there had drunk too much brandy, were careless, and set fire, which cost 13 lives,—among them an Anspach soldier standing guard near by.

October 18.—Quiet all day, while flags of truce were coming and going, negotiating terms of surrender. 2 French ships took position near the Hessian lines.

October 19.—The terms of surrender finally agreed on. At 12 M. our lines were withdrawn and the French and Americans marched in and took possession of our works, lines, magazines, and storehouses,—nothing was disturbed, and our arms and equipments were left to us. Everything was done in regular military way. We were heartily glad the siege was over, for we all thought there would be another attack,—if Gen^l Cornwallis had delayed the surrender, the French Grenadiers were to lead it,—during the siege the enemy had fired more than 8000 great bombs, of from 100

to 150 and 200 pounds. On the day of the surrender Corporal Popp was promoted to Lieutenant. The force that surrendered consisted of the following troops:

English :

The Royal Guards (3rd Reg^t.) 43d., 17th, 23d., 80th, 70th (or Scottish Greens), 71st (or Scottish Whites), The Light Infantry—six battalions, but weak in numbers,—they were fine young fellows, picked out from all the Regiments; the Royal American Rangers, a Squadron of English Light Horse,—Tarleton's, the Carolina Militia, two companies of English Cannoniers and Engineers, 60 men; a force of Pontoniers,—Carpenters and Bridge builders; the sailors and marines belonging to the ships.

German Troops :

The two Anspach Regiments, von Voigt's and Seyboth's, with Artillery and Yägers; Hessian Regiments, the Crown Prince's and v. Bose's, with their Artillery and Yägers.

The *Officers* : Lord Cornwallis, Lt. Gen^l; General O'Hara; Cols. v. Voigt and Seyboth; 14 Lt. Cols.; 16 Majors; 97 Captains; 180 Lieutenants; 55 Ensigns; 4 Chaplains; 10 Adjutants; 18 Quarter Masters; 18 Doctors; 25 Feldscherer [army surgeons]; 385 Non Commissioned Officers; 79 Musicians; 6339 Soldiers; 1 Town Major; 1 Commissary; 1 Quartermaster Sergeant,—in all 7247.—

There were 44 Deserters during the siege, most of them from our two Regiments.

The *Artillery* : 37 Brass Guns; 51 Iron; 15 Mortars; 29 Bombs; 31 Field Forges; 5 Ship's Guns, 169 in all.—24 Flags and Standards—£2113 in the War Chest.

Provisions :

59 Casks Salt Meat; 97 Casks Meal; 18 Casks Rum; 43 Casks French Wine and Brandy; Sugar; Tea; Chocolate

etc., on the Dutch ships in the harbor, in camp and in the Magazines, besides the supplies burned on the ships valued at £9600.

Of munitions of war there were left only 23 kegs of powder.

The *Ships* surrendered were: 3 Frigates; 5 Fire Ships; 39 Transports; 6 American vessels captured by us; 19 Row-boats and sailboats; 7 Private Ships; 2 Dutch Merchantmen; 1 Cruiser of 20 guns,—in all 82, with 840 men.

Our dead and wounded were 753,—in our two regiments 47.

October 19.—At 3-4 P.M. all of Lord Cornwallis' troops, with all our personal effects and our side arms, colors covered, marched out of our lines on the Williamsburg road, between the Regiments of the enemy, which were all drawn up, with colors flying and bands playing,—our drums beating,—the French were on our right in parade, their General at the head,—fine looking young fellows the soldiers were,—on our left the Americans, mostly regular, but the Virginia militia too,—but to look on them and on the others was like day and night. We were astonished at the great force and we were only a Corporal's Guard compared to their overwhelming numbers. They were well supplied and equipped in every way. We were marched to a level plain, where the French Hussars formed a circle around us, and there we lay down our arms etc. All the French and American Generals were there.—Count Rochambeau, the Marquis De La Fayette, the Prince of Saarbrück, [Deux-Ponts], Gen^l Washington, Gen^l Greene, Gen^l Sumter, who showed great kindness to our men. After depositing our arms, we marched back to our camps and had leave to go where we pleased. The French were very friendly, the Americans too.—No one was allowed to go into our Camp—The French mounted guard and patrol over it. Lt. Hayder¹ [*sic*] of our's returned and told us how he and some English and German troops had been taken prisoners.

¹ Query, First Lieutenant Moritz Wilhelm von der Heydte.

October 20.—Remained within our lines. The French hoisted white flags on our ships, the Americans on our ditches around Yorktown. We got no bread, but only flour,—no rum, only water.

October 23.—At 3 P.M. marched as prisoners of war out of Yorktown, guarded by the Virginia Militia under Gen^l Loesen [?] and Major Jamens [?],—marched 5 or 6 miles, camped in the open air,—our tents were left behind,—but we were glad to get off so well,—our officers were allowed to keep their swords.

October 24.—Marched through Williamsburg and went into camp on a hill beyond it, and got our first supply of provisions from the Americans,—fresh meat, meal etc., we got wood and water in the town. A good many of our deserters came to see us, but we gave them a rough welcome to show our contempt. Much provision was brought for sale by the farmers, who were glad to get our silver for it. Williamsburg is an attractive place, with good buildings, church with steeple, town hall and prison all built of brick. The French and Americans had hospitals here for their sick and wounded and kept them well guarded.

October 22-25.—Marched 18-20 Virginia miles,—two of them make one of our's.

October 26.—Reached Fredericksburg,—where we found a good many Germans settled—went 2 miles beyond and camped on the banks of a fresh water stream the 'Krappa Hannah' [*sic* for Rappahannock], named after the first settlers,—the Germans call it the Hannah River,—it is the dividing line between old and new Virginia. [?]
—Provisions were offered us cheap but we had no money—There are a good many Indians still in New Virginia,—and only seven years ago, they fell on the farmers and settlers near Winchester. We had wretched weather, rain every day, poor provisions.

October 31.—We rested for a day.

November 1.—Crossed the river and marched through Falmouth.

November 2.—Part of our force was sent to Maryland, Fort Frederick,—including the two Hessian Regiments, Crown Prince and Bose.

November 3.—Saw the high blue mountains on our left.

November 4.—Crossed the River Scandar or Jonathan, [*sic*] in some places it was very deep, and cold and wet with little food we had to march to keep warm—

November 5.—Reached Winchester—a poor town in a poor country—many German settlers—we went four miles further to Fort Frederick Barracks in a thick wood,—a wretched place. It was built of logs, filled in with clay, loose in many places,—every where going to pieces, nowhere protected from rain and dew,—snow and wind drove in,—the open fire filled it with smoke,—we went to the neighboring farmers and borrowed shovels and hatchets and saws and at last made ourselves at least some shelter. Each hut was filled with from 32 to 36 men,—we had been marching 20 days in making 240 Virginia miles from Yorktown. We had no bread, only meal with which to make it,—twice we got salt meat, once fresh meat and salt. We were left free to come and go as we liked, many got work on the neighboring farms, and we were often dependent on what we got there for food. Hunger and cold we endured often.

1782. January 26.—Orders to march after 11 weeks in Winchester. The English prisoners left for Fredericktown in Maryland, thence to go to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, the birth place of the wife of our Captain v. Reitzenstein,—her maiden name was Schenkmaÿer.

January 27.—Marched from the Barracks at 10 A.M. under orders of Col. Hanson and Woods of the local militia. Our sick remained behind as well as those who were working on the farms around. The people don't like our German soldiers, although some of our officers got married and took their wives home to Germany. Some of our officers went to Philada. and tried to get Congress to release us, but did not succeed. From Winchester to Fredericktown 40 miles,—the first day we marched 12 miles and lay in the open field

all night, in the snow; we built big fires, but could not keep warm in the cold weather. We were badly clothed,—had neither shoes nor stockings,—many sold their equipments to get food,—our clothes were in rags,—there were no good coats or breeches in the two Regiments.—

January 28.—Marched 9 miles,—forded the Opequan [?] and halted half frozen for half an hour.

January 29.—Reached Schipperston on the River Bett Thommak [Shepherdstown on the Potomac]. The river was frozen, so that we could not cross either in boats or on the ice, and it was fearfully cold,—fortunately we lay under a hill which kept off the wind. The fires we made did not keep us warm and we had to keep moving all night. Then the Militia Colonel on horseback, its feet wrapped up in rags, of which we had a plentiful supply, led us over the river which was frozen solidly.

January 30.—We got men and baggage wagons safely over,—the farmers said they had never seen the river so frozen.—We marched to Sharpsburg, 4 miles,—were quartered in the houses,—most of the owners were Germans and very kind to us,—gave us good food and warm rooms, and our supplies came from Fredericktown,—I got one night's good sleep and it rested me.

January 31.—Marched early and reached Middletown at noon,—12 miles off,—and then 9 miles more brought us to Fredericktown that night. Were quartered in the stone barrack,—built by the King of England and very comfortably arranged. The town is well laid out, houses built of brick,—two churches, one German Lutheran, the other German Reformed,—with towers and organs, and bells,—besides those of the Dunkers, the Catholics and the English Reformed,—but these have no towers or bells or organs. The people are mostly Germans from Suabia, some are the exiled Salzburgers. Our quarters were in bad condition, except those in the Poor House.

February 1.—The English troops started for Lancaster in Penna.,—and the two German Regiments, Crown Prince

and Bose, were brought from the Poor House into the Barracks.

February 26.—Finally got into our own quarters—the half of the Anspach Regiment was moved down, and the Bayreuth Regiment was one half up, the other half down stairs. We got very impatient from our crowded condition,—46 men in one little room,—we could not keep clean.

April 30.—Our clothing was hardly decent, and fortunately a fresh supply came, with our pay for five months,—we celebrated the birthdays of our Prince and Princess with an illumination of 2 or 300 lights,—many people came from the town to see it. We finally made our rooms warm and comfortable.

1783.—Learned of peace between England and the Provinces of North America,—could not at first believe the news told us by some of our men, until it was confirmed by people of the town. The two Companies of Militia got orders to go home—we heard the bells of the town ringing and the people hurraing and the two Militia Companies marched through the town with white flags as emblems of peace. Then came a message from Philadelphia to the Commander of the Militia in Fredericktown, which he sent us. The Reformed Church celebrated peace on the 13th,—Palm Sunday, and the Pastor preached on a text from Judges verse 24. On the 3rd day of the Easter holidays there was a general celebration,—cannon firing all day,—the two City Companies and the Militia paraded with white flags with thirteen stripes for the thirteen Colonies. Our American guard was withdrawn and we were left quite free. The American officers and gentlemen gave a great ball,—at 9 P.M. there were fire works,—which our cannoniers made,—the whole town was illuminated and there was a great fire of small arms,—we shared in the rejoicing, for we knew we should soon be free.

March 13.—At last after nineteen months we are free,—marched into Pennsylvania, passed the Maanachges [Monocacy] River, had a fierce thunder, rain and wind storm,—we marched for nineteen days and finally reached Staaten

Island, rested a day, then under orders from New York, crossed to Long Island,—marched to Springfield, lay there in the Farm houses several days, without any duty, then got guns and sabres and were regularly assigned to our position as part of the army again.

May 3.—Orders to go on board ship with our baggage.

May 5.—Left Springfield, but after an hour's march were halted for the night until the baggage was loaded on the ship.

May 6.—Went on board ship to our great delight.

May 11.—At break of day with cannon firing we sailed and were soon out of sight of New York,—we had another ship in company, at 3 P.M. were out of sight of land.—Soon lost sight of the other ship.

May 12.—Our ship is the *Sibilla*,—captured by the English from the French,—it was a Frigate of 32 guns,—quite new and well equipped. We had at first favorable weather, but the head winds flooded the ship with water, and 40 men had to pump day and night to keep it out, for it filled from 5 to 8 feet,—the ship had received 18 cannon shot when it was taken, and some of these were still open, so we worked with a will to keep her afloat.

May 22.—The weather grew stormier and the ship's carpenter said he might have to cut away the mainmast to keep the ship steady.

May 23.—The storm grew worse and worse—Our Field carpenters were called on deck to help the sailors cut away the mast,—and after that was done the storm broke, but we had to keep at the pumps, while a jury mast was rigged up. The women and many of the men were dreadfully frightened. Our Major von Seitz was very ill and his life despaired of.—

September 1.—He died—and after waiting until

September 5.—was buried at sea. Two hours later and we saw land,—but it was the Scilly Islands, and we had to keep out at sea, for many vessels had been wrecked and plundered there. At 10 P.M. met a ship from Portsmouth and warned it of the dangers of the Scilly Islands.

September 6.—At 3 P.M. were off Plymouth and fired for a Pilot, but he told us we could not get into the harbor on account of the fog, so we kept on—and finally reached Portsmouth and were soon safely anchored. We were warmly greeted by the other transports for it was reported that we had been lost.—

September 13.—Were put on another ship,—the *Sibilla* had carried 834 soldiers, besides women and children. We were now divided and half put on another transport. The *Sibilla* was condemned.—

September 19.—Set out for Bremen, after taking a pilot.

September 26.—Anchored in the Thames and were becalmed for several days.

October 1.—Sailed at last and then saw the German coast,—our men were delighted to be near home again.

October 4.—In sight of shore and saw the villages—

October 7.—Reached Bremerlee and anchored—ate our last English provisions.

October 8.—Got into small sail boats,—in doing so the wife of one of the soldiers fell into the water with 400 Spanish Dollars,—and was lost.

October 10.—Reached Bremen,—remained there eight days.

October 18.—Embarked in boats drawn by horses.

October 22.—Hoÿen.

October 24.—Nimburg.

October 25.—Stolzenau.

October 26.—Schlisselburg.

October 27.—Petershagen.

October 28.—Minden.

November 2.—Hameln.

November 17.—Left our boats and marched until

December 10—when we reached Bayreuth.

The author begs his reader to excuse his bad spelling, and to preserve his little book, for it gave him pleasure to recall his campaign in America.

DEAN TUCKER'S PAMPHLET.

"A LETTER FROM A MERCHANT IN LONDON TO HIS NEPHEW IN
NORTH AMERICA," 1766.

(Concluded from page 90.)

Now, my good Friend, I will not stay to dispute with you the Calculations, on which your Orators, Philosophers, and Politicians have, for some years past, grounded these extravagant Conceits; (though I think¹ the Calculations themselves both false, and absurd;) but I will only say, that while we have the Power, we may command your Obedience, if we please:—And that it will be Time enough for you to propose the making us a Province to America, when you shall find yourselves able to execute the Project.

In the mean time, the great Question is, What Course are *we* to take? And what are we to do with *you*; before you become this great and formidable People?—Plain and evident it is by the whole Tenor of your Conduct, that you endeavour, with all your might, to drive us to Extremities. For no kind of Outrage, or Insult is omitted on your Part, that can irritate Individuals, or provoke a Government to chastise the Insolence, not to say, the Rebellion of its Subjects;² and you do not seem at all disposed to leave Room for an Accomodation. In short, the Sword is the only Choice, which you will permit us to make;—unless we will chuse to give you entirely up, and subscribe a Recantation. Upon those Terms indeed, you will deign to acknowledge the Power and Authority of a British Parliament:—That

¹ Your Thought, Mr Dean, avails little against Fact. [B. F.]

² On the Contrary, It is you English that endeavour by every kind of Outrage & Insult to drive us to Extremities. Witness your Troops quarter'd upon us, Your Dissolution of our Assemblies, &c. &c. &c. [B. F.]

is, you will allow, that we have a Right and a Power to give you Bounties, and to pay your Expences;¹—but no other. A strange Kind of Allegiance this! And the first that has ever yet appeared in the History of Mankind!

However, this being the Case, shall we now compel you, by Force of Arms, to do your Duty?—Shall we procrastinate your Compulsion?—Or shall we entirely give you up; and have no other Connections with you, than if you had been so many Sovereign States, or Independent Kingdoms? One or other of these three will probably be resolved upon. And if it should be the first, I do not think, that we have any Cause to fear the Event, or to doubt of Success.

For though your Populace may rob and plunder the naked and defenceless; this will not do the Business, when a regular Force is brought against them. And a British Army, which performed so many brave Actions in Germany, will hardly fly before an American Mob; not to mention, that our Officers and Soldiers, who passed several Campaigns with your Provincials in America,² saw nothing either in their Conduct, or their Courage, which could inspire them with a Dread of seeing the Provincials a second time.—Neither should we have the least Cause to suspect the *Fidelity* of our Troops, any more than their *Bravery*—notwithstanding the base Insinuations of some of your Friends here; (if indeed such Persons deserve to be called your Friends, who are in reality your greatest Foes, and whom you will find to be so at the last;) notwithstanding, I say, their Insinuations of the Feasibility of corrupting his Majesty's Forces, when sent over, by Means of large Bribes, or double Pay.³ This is a Surmise, as weak as it is wicked: For the Honour of the British Soldiery, let me tell you, is not so easily corrupted. The French in Europe never found it so, with all their Gold, or all their Skill for Intrigue, and insinuating Address. What then, in the Name of Wonder,

¹ We desire neither. [B. F.]

² And who did little or nothing without 'em. [B. F.]

³ A ridiculous Imagination of the Author's own Head! [B. F.]

have you to tempt them with in America, which is thus to overcome, at once, all their former sense of Duty, all the Tyes of Conscience, Loyalty and Honour?—Besides, my Friend, if you really are so rich, as to be able to give *double* Pay, to our Troops, in a wrong Cause; do not grudge, let me beseech you, to give *one third* of *single* Pay, (for we ask no more) in a right one:—And let it not be said, that you complain of Poverty, and plead an Inability to pay your just Debts, at the very Instant that you boast of the scandalous Use, which you intend to make of your Riches.¹

But notwithstanding all this, I am not for having Recourse to Military Operations. For granting, that we shall be victorious; still it is proper to enquire, before we begin, How are we to be benefited by our Victories? And what Fruits are to result from making you a conquered People?—Not an Increase of Trade: that is impossible: For a Shop-keeper will never get the more Custom by beating his Customers: And what is true of a Shop-keeper, is true of a Shop-keeping Nation. We may indeed vex and plague you, by stationing a great Number of Ships to cruize along your Coasts; and we may appoint an Army of Custom-house Officers to patrolle (after a Manner) two thousand Miles by Land. But while we are doing these Things *against* you, what shall we be doing *for* ourselves? Not much, I am afraid: For we shall only make you the more ingenious, the more intent, and the more inventive to deceive us. We shall sharpen your Wits, which are pretty sharp already, to elude our Searches, and to bribe and corrupt our Officers. And after that is done, we may perhaps oblige you to buy the Value of twenty, or thirty thousand Pounds of British Manufactures, more than you would otherwise have done;—at the Expence of two, or three hundred thousand Pounds Loss to Great Britain, spent in Salaries, Wages, Ships, Forts, and other incidental Charges. Is this now a gainful Trade, and fit to be encouraged in a commercial Nation, so many Millions in Debt already? And yet this is the best, which we

¹ A silly Lie! No such Boast was ever made. [B. F.]

can expect by forcing you to trade with us, against your Wills, and against your Interests.¹

Therefore such a Measure as this being evidently detrimental to the Mother Country; I will now consider the Second Proposal, viz. to procrastinate your Compulsion.—But what good can that do? and wherein will this Expedient mend the Matter? For if Recourse is to be had at last to the military Power; we had better begin with it at first;—it being evident to the whole World, that all Delays on our side will only strengthen the Opposition on yours, and be interpreted by you as a Mark of Fear, and not as an Instance of Lenity.—You swell with too much vain Importance, and Self Sufficiency already; and therefore, should we betray any Token of Submission; or should we yield to these your ill-humoured and petulant Desires; this would only serve to confirm you in your present Notions; viz. that you have nothing more to do, than to demand with the Form of Authority, and to insist with Threatenings, and Defiance, in order to bring us upon our Knees, and to comply with every unreasonable Injunction, which you shall be pleased to lay upon us. So that at last, when the Time shall come of appealing to the Sword, and of deciding our Differences by dint of Arms, the Consequence of this Procrastination will be, that the Struggle will become so much the more obstinate, and the Determination the more bloody. Nay, the Merchants themselves, whose Case is truly pitiable for having confided so much to your Honour, and for having trusted you with so many hundred thousand Pounds, or perhaps with some Millions of Property, and for whose Benefit alone such a Suspension of the Stamp Act could be proposed; they will find to their Costs, that every Indulgence of this Nature will only furnish another Pretence to you for the Suspending of the Payment of their *just* Demands.² In short, you declare, that the Parliament hath

¹ Here appears some Sense. [B. F.]

² Infamous Scandal, without the least Foundation. The Merchants never receiv'd better Paym^t of the Debts, than during the Suspension of the Trade. [B. F.]

no Right to tax you; and therefore you demand a Renunciation of the Right, by repealing the Act. This being the Case, nothing less than a Repeal can be satisfactory; because nothing else can amount to a Confession, that the Parliament has acted illegally and usurpingly in this Affair. A bare Suspension is no Acknowledgment of Guilt; nay it supposes quite the contrary; and only postpones the Exercise of this usurped Power to a more convenient Season. Consequently if you think you could justify the Non-payment of your Debts, till a Repeal took place; you certainly can justify the Suspension of the Payment during the Suspension of the Act.¹ So that after all, the Question must come to this at last, viz. Shall we repeal the Act, and Maintain you as we have hitherto done?² or shall we give you intirely up, unless you will submit to be governed by the same Laws as we are, and pay something towards maintaining yourselves?³

The first, it is certain we cannot do; and therefore the next Point to be considered is (which is also the third Proposal) Whether we are to give you entirely up?—*and after having obliged you to pay your Debts,*⁴ whether we are to have no farther Connection with you, as a dependent State, or Colony.

¹ Never any Such Justification was offered by any American whatever, that I can hear of. [B. F.]

² Never! [B. F.]

³ The Impudence of this Language to Colonies who have *ever* maintained themselves is astonishing! Except the *late attempted* Colonies of N. Scotia & Georgia, No Colony ever received Maintenance in any Shape from Britain: And the Grants to those Colonies were mere Jobbs for the Benefit of ministerial Favourites: *English or Scotchmen.* [B. F.]

⁴ Throughout all America, English Debts are more easily recovered than in England, the Process being shorter and less expensive, & Lands subject to Execution for the Payment of Debts. Evidence taken *ex parte* in England to prove a Debt is allowed in their Courts; and during the whole Dispute there was not *one single Instance*, of an English Merchant's meeting with the least Obstruction in any Process or Suit commenced there for that purpose. I defy this lying Priest to mention one. [B. F.]

Now in order to judge properly of this Affair, we must give a Delineation of two Political Parties contending with each other, and struggling for Superiority:—And then we must consider, which of these two, in the Nature of Things, must be first tired of the Contest, and obliged to submit.

Behold therefore a Political Portrait of the Mother Country;—a mighty Nation under one Government of a King and Parliament,—firmly resolved not to repeal the Act, but to give it time to execute itself,¹—steady and temperate in the Use of Power,—not having Recourse to sanguinary Methods,—but enforcing the Law by making the Disobedient feel the Want of it,—determined to protect and cherish those Colonies, which will return to their Allegiance within a limited Time (suppose Twelve or Eighteen Months)—and as determined to compel the obstinate Revolters to pay their Debts,—then to cast them off, and to exclude them for ever from the manifold Advantages and Profits of Trade, which they now enjoy by no other Title, but that of being a Part of the British Empire. Thus stands the Case; and this is the View of Things on one side.²

Observe again a Prospect on the other; viz. a Variety of little Colonies under a Variety of petty Governments,—Rivals to, and jealous of each other,—never able to agree about any thing before,—and only now united by an Enthusiastic Fit of false Patriotism;—a Fit which necessarily cools in Time,—and cools still the faster in proportion, as the Object which first excited it is removed, or changed. So much as to the general Outlines of your American Features;—but let us now take a nearer View of the Evils, which by your own mad Conduct you are bringing so speedily upon yourselves.

Externally, by being severed from the British Empire,

¹ It did indeed execute itself. It was *Felo de se* before the Parliament repeal'd it. [B. F.]

² This was the Dean's wise Proposal. He at least, thought it wise. The Parlia^t thought otherwise. [B. F.]

you will be excluded from cutting Logwood in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras,—from fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland, on the Coasts of Labrador, or in the Bay of St. Laurence,—from trading (except by Stealth) with the Sugar Islands, or with the British Colonies in any Part of the Globe. You will also lose all the Bounties upon the Importation of your Goods into Great Britain: you will not dare to seduce a single Manufacturer or Mechanic from us under pain of Death; because you will then be considered in the Eye of the Law as mere Foreigners, against whom these Laws were made.—You will lose the Remittance of 300,000 l. a year to pay your Troops;¹ and you will lose the Benefit of these Troops to protect you against the Incursions of the much injured and exasperated Savages;² moreover, in case of Difference with other Powers, you will have none to complain to, none to assist you: For assure yourself, that Holland, France, and Spain, will look upon you with an evil Eye; and will be particularly on their Guard against you, lest such an Example should infect their own Colonies: not to mention that the two latter will not care to have such a Nest of professed Smugglers so very near them.³ And after all, and in spite of any thing you can do, we in Britain shall still retain the greatest Part of

¹ We have no Use for Logwood but to remit it for your Fineries.—We join'd in conquering the Bay of St. L. & its Dependencies, won't you allow us some Share.—The Sugar Islands, if you wont allow us to trade with them, perhaps you will allow them to trade with us; or do you intend to starve them?—Pray keep your Bounties, and let us hear no more of them.—And your Troops who never protected us against the Savages, nor are they fit for such Service. And the 300,000 £ which you seem to think so much clear Profit to us, when in fact, they never spend a Penny among us but they have for it from us a Penny's worth.—The Manufactures they buy are brought from you, the Provisions we could, as we always did, sell elsewhere for as much Money. [B. F.]

² You know your clear'd Road would do that. [B. F.]

³ Holland, Fr. & Spain, would all be glad of our Custom. And pleas'd to see the Separation. [B. F.]

your European Trade; because we shall give a better Price for many of your Commodities than you can have any where else: and we shall sell to you several of our Manufactures, especially in the Woollen, Stuff, and Metal Way, on cheaper Terms.¹ In short, you will do then, what you only do now; that is, you will trade with us, as far as your Interest will lead you;—and no farther.

Take now a Picture of your *internal* State. When the great Power, which combined the scattered Provinces together, and formed them into one Empire, is once thrown off; and when there will be no common Head to govern and protect; all your ill Humours will break forth like a Torrent: Colony will enter into Bickerings and Disputes against Colony; Faction will intrigue and cabal against Faction; and Anarchy and Confusion will every where prevail. The Leaders of your Parties will then be setting all their Engines to work, to make Fools become the Dupes of Knaves,²—to bring to Maturity their half-formed Schemes and lurking Designs, and to give a Scope to that towering Ambition, which was checked and restrained before. In the mean time, the Mass of your People, who expected, and who were promised Mountains of Treasures upon throwing off, what was called, the Yoke of the Mother Country, will meet with nothing but sore Disappointments: Disappointments indeed! For instead of an imaginary Yoke, they will be obliged to wear a real, an heavy, and a galling one:—instead of being freed from the Payment of 100,000 l. (which is the utmost that is now expected from them) they will find themselves loaded with Taxes to the Amount of at least 400,000 l. instead of an Increase of Trade, they will feel a palpable Decrease: and instead of having Troops to defend them,³ and those Troops paid by Great Britain, they

¹ Oho! Then you will still trade with us! but can that be without our Trading with you? And how can you buy our Oil if we catch no Whales? [B. F.]

² Just as they do in England. [B. F.]

³ To oppress, insult & murder them, as at Boston! [B. F.]

must defend themselves, and pay themselves. Nay, the Number of the Troops to be paid, will be more than doubled: for some must be stationed in the back Settlements to protect them against the Indians, and others on each Frontier to prevent the Encroachments of each Sister Colony.—Not to mention, that the Expences of your Civil Governments will be necessarily increased; and that a Fleet, more or less, must belong to each Province for guarding their Coasts, ensuring the Payment of Duties, and the like.¹

Under these Pressures and Calamities, your deluded Countrymen will certainly open their Eyes at last. For Disappointments and Distresses will effectuate that Cure, which Reason and Argument, Lenity and Moderation could not perform. In short, having been severely scourged and disciplined by their own Rod, they will curse their ambitious Leaders, and detest those Mock-patriots, who involved them in so many Miseries. And having been surfeited with the bitter Fruits of American Republicanism, they will heartily wish, and petition to be again united to the Mother Country. Then they will experience the Difference between a rational Plan of Constitutional Dependence, and the wild, romantic and destructive Schemes of popular Independence.

And you, my Boy, after you have played the Hero, and spoke all your fine Speeches;—after you have been a Gustavus Vasa, and every other brave Deliverer of his Country;—after you have formed a thousand Utopian Schemes, and been a thousand times disappointed;—perhaps even you may awake out of your present political Trance, and become a reasonable Man at last. And assure yourself,

¹ These Evils are all imaginations of the Author. The same were predicted to the Netherlands, but have never yet happened. But suppose all of them together, & many more, it would be better to bear them than submit to Parliamentary Taxation: We might still have something we could call our own: But under the Power claim'd by Parliam^t we have not a single Sixpence. [B. F.]

that whenever you can be cured of your present Delirium, and shall betray no Symptoms of a Relapse, you will be received with Affection by your old Uncle, your true Friend, and faithful Monitor,

A. B.

FINIS.

The Author of this Pamphlet Dean Tucker, has always been haunted with the Fear of the Seat of Government being soon to be removed to America. He has in his Tract on Commerce some just Notions in Matters of Trade & Politics, mix'd with many wild chimerical Fancies, totally impracticable. He once proposed a Defence of the Colonies to clear the Woods for the Width of a Mile all along behind them, that the Indians might not be able to cross the cleared Part without being seen ; forgetting that there is a Night in every 24 hours. [B. F.]

MEMOIRS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN LACEY,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

(Concluded from page 111.)

On the arrival of the Brigade at Genl Armstrongs Camp my Regiment rec^d Orders to proceed to the Cross Roads on the old York Road near the Neshameny Creek, and to take Post there, to which place we continued our March, arrived there and incamped in a Woods about half way between the Cross Roads and a Village called the Billit on the 20th of Dec^r 1777. I took up my Quarters in a House in the Rear of the Camp, and for the first time I had slept in a Bed since I Joined the Regiment nearly two Months at New Town—having only Blankets spread on the Ground a good bed was no dispisable article at this season the Weather being very Cold; but the indulgence was of short duration, and only served as a contrast to the vicisitudes which were to follow.—It was late in the evening of the same day of the date of the following Order when it arrived we had only time to get ready before the Hour arrived when we were to set off on the Execution of it.

SIR

In persuance of Orders I have rec^d this Evening from his Excellency Genl Washington you are to March your Battalion tomorrow morning at 5 oClock to lower end of Germantown where you will be joined by other Troops & receive farther orders: One ax, is to be taken along by each Company and all the Provision they have dressed. No Waggon or Baggage. Each man takes his Blankets.—You are to leave a small Guard at your Camp to take care of any

Prisoners you may have and your Baggage—If you overtake any Persons going or Meet any coming from Town, send them with a few men under guard to join Present Camp.

I am sir

Your obedient & very Humble

Sert

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

COL. LACEY

CAMP NEAR BARTHOLEMIES

Dec 23rd 1777

having joined the whole body of the Pennsylv^a Militia at Germantown at the Hour appointed in the foregoing order the whole marched toward the City We drove in the Enemies Pickets and commenced an attack at long shot with a few field peices & small arms on a Redoubt thrown up by the Enemy on a nole some distance from the City in the Northern liberties—Our fire was returned from the Redoubt by some heavy Cannon the balls of which plow^d up the Ground about us—threw some dirt on us; but did us no other harm, we retired beyond the reach of their Cannon, remained about two Hours under arms, when orders came to return to our former Camp near the Cross Roads I understood a corrispondent Party from the Main Army had moved down on the opposate side of the schoolkill; but for what austenciabile object this movement was made, I never learn't no other occurence worth relating happened during the time of this Corps of the Militia—The two months service longer than which they could not be retained in the field expired the last of this Month—I had only time to have them Mustered and paid; before they were discharged. every one as well officers as Men tho' glad to be released from the arduous duty discipline of a Military life, seme to leave the Camp and their brother soldiers with evident regret. I had kept a strict discipline being always present and partaking of every privation, equally accepting

of Camp fare with them both night and Day, instantly checking & regulating misunderstandings on the moment of their appearance. The Regiment resembled that of a Band of Brothers & departed well satisfied with their officers and in good humour with each other.

This ended the Campaign of the year, 77, The main British Army under Genl. Howe Cooped up in the City of Philad^a—The American Army under Genl. Washington in Hutts at the Valley Forge. The tumult and noise of War seeme to be over. The Combatants retiring to their homes or other places of safety to repose for the Winter. I return to my Fathers in Buckingham Township, with but little hopes of enjoying much Comfort, as the Tories & Refugees began to threaten hard against my life, and to burn my Fathers House and Mills. They had become bold & daring, used many threats and menances against the Whigs, threatning great venjence against all who offered to oppose them as to my own part I disregarded them or their Menances but I was mortified to find the Whigs, Who had before been active were seeking hiding places, and some of them even Courting the Tories for Safety. An almost open and uninterrupted intercourse existed between the disaffected in the lower part of Bucks and Philad^a Counties along the vicinity of the River Delaware, and the Enemy in the City of Philad^a. I had serious thoughts myself of removing further from the City. These were indeed the times that really tryed mens Souls; but before I had time to adopt any resolution, only being a few days at Home I rec^d a letter from the President of the Executive Council of Pennsy^a covering a Commission from that Body to me of a Brigadier Genl. of the Militia requiring me immediately to Join them Encamped near Graham Park in Philad^a County. I was almost induced to reject the Commission, on account of the very great and intire responsibility the Command of the Militia at this time must lay me under Gen. Potter was to leave them, Genl. Armstrong was already gone—I was to command alone, no one to advise or consult with. I fore-

saw many and weighty occurrences unavoidable, that I knew must happen but I did not contemplate Ninety nine of a Thousand I afterward experienced, or I should doubtless shrunk from such an important undertaking. Had I been supported as the Executive Council promised with men and provision, the rigor of my Command would have been greatly allviated, and of more use to my Country, I had no one to consult with on whose council I could rely on, my Father being from home, he had gone to the State of Maryland to visit his old friend Joseph Ellicott. Colo^l Kirkbride was in the Legislature at Lancaster, his advice would have had great weight in my decision. while deliberating on the subject I rec^d a pressing letter from Genl Potter to come to Camp—I determined to go and consult with him on the subject. unfortunately for me he departed the Day before my arrival. I found the Camp in a deplorable condition, Major Genl. Armstrong and Genl. Potter gone. the numbers of Troops reduced from three thousand to about six Hundred: Those lately departed left their Camp Equipage strewed every where, Muskets, Cartouchboxes, Camp kittles and Blankets, some in and some out of the Huts the Men had left, with here and there a Tent—some standing and some fallen down. No one seeming to have the charge or care of them my first efforts were made to have them Collected and sent off to a place of safety. how easy would it have been for a few of the Enemy to have driven the Scattered Militia, at different posts on the Roads to Philad^a few of them not more than sixty rank & file being at this Camp, the distruction of Near three thousand stand of Arms and accoutrements here might have been easily effected—which they moust certainly would have done, had they known the real situation and unprotected state they were in.

Before I proceed to enumerate the occurrences that issued during the Winter of 1778 I will close the Campaign of 77, by producing the Orders of Council to show the Ardent manner they enjoined the Lieut and Sub Lieut to

execute the duty allotted them—some things will be here unfolded which the Lieut. got much blame for at the time, especially from the Tories and disaffected part of the People, some of them are in print the originals will be added to these sheats.

PHILADA April 25th 1777.

TO JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE ESQR

Lieut of the County of Bucks

SIR

Agreeably to the inclosed resolve of Congress and with the advice of the Board of War, I have determined that the Counties of Philad^a, Bucks, Cumberland, Berks and Northampton send their proportion of Militia to Bristol to form a Camp, at or near that Borrough. The Counties of Chester, Lancaster and York to form a Camp at or near Chester.—Your County is to furnish four hundred Men to march immediately to Bristol, with as many arms and accoutrements as can be procured in the County. If the first class does not amount to that number, the second class are also to march.

You are to procure by purchase or otherwise a Blanket for each man, which are to remain the property of the State. Money will be sent you for this purpose. If they cannot be purchased, they must be impressed and their value paid, this is to be done in a way that will give the least offence. You are to exert yourself to the utmost to comply with this Order, with all possible expedition as the Enemy are preparing to make an immediate attack on this State.

I have the honor to be with great respect your most ob^t
Humb^l Serv^t

THOS. WHARTON JR *President*

PHILADA 11th Sept 1777.

IN COUNCIL

As the Enemy is near at hand and this moment Ingaging our Army under the Command of Gen^l Washington. Ordered, That every able Bodied Man in the County of

Bucks turn out with his Arms, accoutraments and Blankets, and that those that cannot furnish themselves with Arms, to take With them Axes, spades and every other kind of Intrenching Tools, and that Colo^l Roberts, Ervine, and Heller, randesvous at the sweeds Ford, and that Colo^l Toom and M^cIlwain randevous at this City.

Extract from the Minutes

TY MATLACK *Secrv.*¹

¹ Here the manuscript ends.

LETTERS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
AND "LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE."

(Concluded from page 125.)

PRIVATE.

WASHINGTON CITY

January 13th 1860 [1861]

HON. JOHN TRIMBLE

MY DEAR SIR

Your letter of the 27th ult was received a few days since and was read with pleasure & interest and would have been answered sooner; but for the great press upon me at this time mentally and physically—And now write for the purpose of tendering to you my sincere thanks for such a letter; for under the circumstances I needed just such a letter—While I was gratified to know that the views taken and the doctrines laid down in my speech met the approbation of one esteemed so highly for talent and sterling integrity it was encouraging to press on the cause of right and if possible thereby to save the Govmt from Treason and disruption—I repeat I was more than gratified to receive words of encouragement from such a source—There has been an attempt here as in So' Ca' to get up a reign of terror like that in Charleston, for the purpose of silencing the timid and to carry the hesitating along with them, and have here as well as there succeeded to some extent. I think the true policy for Tennessee to pursue is, not to be committed to any moves that are now making—There is no good reason why we should act in such haste—Tennessee had better stay where she is until she can see very clearly where she can do better—If there is a convention called by the Legislature let it be put off to the latest period so that the people can have time to understand the whole question and the follies of So' Ca' can be made fully

manifest—I do not see why there should be any Convention at all at present—The States which have seceded would not wait to consult the other States, and we should now have the full benefit of their future proceedings.

My opinion is that if Tennessee will stand firm that in the end she can and will act a very important part in bringing back the seceding states into the Confederacy, instead of being dragged out of the Union or drawn into a Southern Confederacy by them. I think and am satisfied that, if the middle states will remain in union that they can obtain any reasonable guarantee they may demand from the northern states which will protect and secure slave property in the border states, which would be much better than being separated into two hostile powers and that hostility resulting from the institution of Slavery—It would in fact be moving Canada down to our northern border with the difference of one being friendly and the other hostile—It will be as hard for the border states to agree with So' Ca' (and the gulf states as they are called) upon a form of Govmt as it would be with the northern States. And if this doctrine of secession is to become a fixed principle in any Govmt which may be organized including So' Ca'—It would hardly be six weeks before some of them would be for withdrawing again—I do not see what we are to gain by the operation except it is to be involved in the quarrels of So' Ca' and to incur the inormus expense of building another Govmt, Navy, Army &c. I can see no good reason why the state should be now involved in buying large amount of arms—The Genl Govmt is not going to make war upon Tennessee nor no other state—unless we intend to join So' Ca' in making war upon the Genl Govmt which I hope we are not prepared to do—However this matter which must be determined by future developments—If Tennessee will stay where she is, that is in the Union there will be no necessity to run the state in debt as some of the states have been doing—South Carolina now begins to feel the wait of her folly with debt created in a few weeks of

nearly a million and a half of dollars—The federal Govmt does not intend to make war upon So' Ca' but she seems determined to make war upon the Govmt and in fact has done so in seizing the public property and in firing upon the "Star West" while sailing under the flag of the U. S. I hope that Tenn will keep out of the present move until she can see and understand what course she ought to take.

I must be candid and speak of the move as believe it ought to be spoken of—The ostensible object is to obtain protection in regard to slave property—This is in my opinion a pretext and not the real design. The intention is to disrupt the Govmt and then to form one in the South as far removed from the people as they can get it—There is not merely a conspiracy on foot against the existing Govm't; but the liberty of the great mass of the people—Treason is rife in the land and the Country full of Traitors—They are moving heaven and earth to carry the country before there is time for reflection by arousing their apprehensions in reference to slave property. If we were in a Southern Confederacy now Tennessee would have her own slave property to protect none of the states south of her would have it do, So as to the protection of slave property we have that to do our selves either in a Northern or Southern Confederacy. Then what are we to gain by precipitating Tennessee out of the Union without knowing where we are going or what we are going to do—I do hope that Tennessee may be kept out of this treasonable revolutionary move and when she does move let her steps be guided by wisdom, discretion, and moderation. As to all the effigy burning and rabble denunciations I care not, or the abuse of a subsidized and mendacious press, neither the one or the other will draw me from a discharge of my duty—I feel and believe that the best Govmt in the world is in the most imminent peril, that traitors are trying to overthrow it, and God being willing, to the utmost of my ability I intend to expose and rebuke the vile miscreants who are engaged in the nefarious work—I merely sit down to acknowledge the

receipt of your very welcome letter and hope you will pardon this incoherent scrawl.

The speeches you mentioned in your letter have been sent. I thank you for your kind offer, all they will cost will be your trouble of distribution—

May God and the people save the Country—for I fear Congress will not.

You will please accept
assurances of my high esteem
and sincere regard

ANDREW JOHNSON.¹

HOME, TENN.

Nov. 24th 1878.

MR. GEORGE W. CHILDS,

DEAR SIR,

It will afford me great pleasure to furnish you with a letter of my dear Father to bind with your letters of Presidents. All family letters were lost or destroyed during the late war.

At an early day I will look over all I have in my possession and make enquiry among old friends and if I find one I think suitable I will forward at once.

Very Respectfully

MARTHA J. PATTERSON.²

HEAD QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TN.

VICKSBURG MISS. July 14th 1863

SURGEON J. MOORE,

MEDICAL DIRECTOR.

SIR,

Gen. Smith, C. S. A. complains that the prisoners in hospitals, in many cases have not received proper supplies of either medicine or food. In some cases the sick have only had hard bread and pork although requisitions have been sent to the Medical Purveyor for articles required.

I wish you would have this matter enquired into as soon

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

as possible and have everything necessary for the health and comfort of those confined in hospital supplied.

Let me know the facts about those supplies being furnished as soon as you can.

Very Respectfully

U. S. GRANT.¹

Maj. Gen.

EXECUTIVE MANSION

April 18th 1870

MY DEAR MRS. CHILDS

Your kind invitation is a great temptation for me but one I shall have to resist having so much to do just now at home—attending to the summer shopping for the children &c.

Please present my regards to Mr. Childs & thank him for the fine photograph of Mr. Borie—it is indeed very fine & I prize it highly.

All join me in regards to yourself & Mr. Childs.

I will close with the hope of an early meeting at Long Branch.

Yours truly

JULIA D. GRANT.²

JERSEY CITY, N. J.,
Oct. 28, 1879.

TO HON. G. W. CHILDS,
Philadelphia, Penn^a.

DEAR SIR:

It gives me great pleasure to heartily thank you for your agreeable letter. I hope my son will ever so act during the remainder of his life as to command the respect of the people and win the love of all of his acquaintances.

I promise to myself much pleasure from the reading of the very attractive volume which you were so good as to

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

send to me—it came to me in perfect order, and for the beautiful book I would thank you with much emphasis.

With great respect,

Your Friend,

HANNAH GRANT

SPIEGEL GROVE

FREMONT, O.

25 Nov. 1882

MY DEAR SIR :

Your kind invitation for this evening came during my absence from home, or it would have received an earlier reply.

I would like very much to attend a meeting of the Saturday Club, and my regret is more than the usual formality, that I can't do so.

With thanks and best wishes

Sincerely

R. B. HAYES¹

MR. A. J. DREXEL

PHILA.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

WASHINGTON.

MY DEAR MRS. MOHUN,—

This morning as I passed through the Conservatory the bright blooming plants seemed to say, Send us to cheer the sick room with our freshness and fragrance, and so, asking you to accept them as an evidence of my true friendship and sympathy, I send them.

Sincerely

LUCY W. HAYES.²

WASHINGTON Jan. 30, 1865

DEAR SIR

Your favor of the 28th is received. I thank you for your kind expressions concerning me and my efforts in public life, and I particularly thank you for your noble course

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

towards my dear old chief, Gen. Rosecrans. I regard his case as standing almost alone in military history—Is there another example of a General who made three great and successful campaigns—and at the end of each was removed by his government and sent into Exile? He is now at his home—Yellow Springs, Greene Co., Ohio—where he will be pleased I have no doubt to receive from you any word of recognition and kindness—

I shall, in a few days, introduce a resolution, directing the Committee on the Conduct of the War, to investigate and report upon Gen. R's campaigns—beginning with that in Western Va.—where he outgeneraled and expelled Lee from the territory. Indeed Gen. R. may strictly be said to be the only man that has completely beaten Lee in a campaign—

Enclosed please find a speech which I delivered on the Constitutional amendment to abolish Slavery—I also send you a *Globe* containing a short speech I made last week on admitting Heads of Departments to the floor of the House.

I beg to apologize for my speeches as not having the ornate character of elaborately prepared addresses. They are all made as the current of debate dictated—and not written.

Very Truly Yours
J. A. GARFIELD¹

DEAR MRS. CHILDS

Accept our thanks for your lovely flowers. Each hour my heart is touched with some expression of the tenderness felt for our poor suffering man, and my "faith" and "hope" are sustained by this great loving kindness. Present our kindest regards to Mr. Childs.

Very Sincerely
Yours
LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD.²

Thursday P.M.,
Sept. 8th 1881.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² *Ibid.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. CHILDS:

I beg to thank you for your kind letter of the 6th instant, and for a copy of the Ledger containing an article which I have read with much interest.

Very faithfully yours,

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.¹

GEORGE W. CHILDS ESQ.

EXECUTIVE MANSION
WASHINGTON

April 2^d 1890

MY DEAR SIR

I am very much obliged to you for placing in my possession the old letter of my kinsman Benjamin Harrison Jr., of Berkley Va. It is an interesting family relic.

Very Sincerely Yours,

BENJ. HARRISON.²

TO FERDINAND J. DREER ESQ.

EXECUTIVE MANSION
WASHINGTON

May 29th 1889

MY DEAR MISS SCHROPP.

Your "Moravian Rag Baby" came in this morning's mail. I cannot thank you enough for the loving and kind thoughts that prompted the sending of it to our dear Grand Child. He took to it very kindly—although he is a boy—for the first thing I saw this morning after I returned from my breakfast was Benjamin carrying it around.

These children are very dear to us, and Benjamin being named for his Grandpa, and also looking very much like the President, he has a very warm place in our hearts.

¹ Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Ibid.

Any thing done for his comfort and happiness, draws the giver very near us. With many thanks for your thoughtful kindness,

I am truly,

CAROLINE SCOTT HARRISON.

MISS RUTH C. SCHROPP,

BETHLEHEM, PENNA.

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

(Continued from page 143.)

<i>1759</i>	<i>Vessels</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Owners</i>	<i>Where built</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Jan. 11	Brig't Rebecca	Rob't Gardner	John Mifflin, Junr	Philadelphia	75
Jan. 15	Ship Severn	Peter Hatton	Thomas Willing John Kidd Robert Morris all of Philadelphia	Marcus Hook, Pa.	60
Jan. 16	Brig't Recovery	Geo. Houston	Samuel Perviance Thomas Lightfoot Geo. Houston all of Philadelphia	Taken from the French by the private Sloop of War, Jolly Batchelor, Samuel Angle, Comr, and the Sloop King Hendrick, James Aborne, Comr	85
Jan. 19	Ship Forbes	James Gibbon	Samuel Mifflin, Esq. William Moore Charles Cox all of Philadelphia	Taken by the Brig't of 200 War, King Hendrick, Frederick Hamilton, Commander, and the Schooner of War, the Sampson, Telenon Phenix, Commander	

Jan.	25	Brig't Rebecca	Thomas Powell	Samuel Mifflin, Esq. of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	35
Jan.	25	Ship Somerville	Blaithwaite Jones	W ^m Griffiths Samuel Morris both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	120
Feb.	5	Ship Boreas Frigate	Henry Allen McDougal	Joseph Stamper John Gibson William Bingham all of Philadelphia	A French Prize	160
Feb.	7	Schooner Betsey	Daniel Howell	Samuel Howell Daniel Howell both of Philadelphia	—	20
Feb.	8	Brig't Louisburg	John Dalton	Samuel Beane of Jamaica Rees Meredith of Philadelphia	Prize taken from the French	40
Feb.	8	Brig't Carpenter	John Lamont	Rees Meredith William Buckley both of Philadelphia	New Jersey	60
Feb.	14	Sloop Good Intent	Robert Shewbert	Samuel James Robert Shewbert both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	16
Jan.	25	Schooner Recovery	Humphry Mossen- burg	John Wilcocks William Plumstead both of Philadelphia	Island of New Providence	20

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1769	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built
Feb. 19	Sloop Harlequin	Edw ^d Vaughan	John Taylor of Philadelphia	New England
Feb. 20	Sloop George	John Burrows	Geo. Robotham of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
Feb. 19	Ship Tyrrell	James Miller	Sam ^l Milfin, Esq ^r W ^m Dowell both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
Feb. 23	Schooner Mulberry	Thomas Albertson	Thomas Albertson James Warner both of Philadelphia	Indian River
March 1	Snow Success	Henry Styles	Charles Meredith William Griffiths both of Philadelphia	Maryland
March 6	Sloop Sea Flower	Michael Trench	Peter Hynnan Timothy Kelly both of Philadelphia	Branford, Connecticut
March 8	Sloop Dolphin	Charles King	Preston Payne Charles King both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
March 16	Schooner John & Eliza- beth	Joseph Durham	Richard Styles of Philadelphia Joseph Kiril	—
				20

March 16	Brig't Boscawan	Thomas Marshall	Walter Marshall Robert Houston Thomas Marshall all of Londonderry, Ire- land	Philadelphia	60
March 8	Ship Molly	Thomas Powell	Walter Shee of Philadelphia Henry Harrison of Philadelphia	A French Prize	85
March 19	Snow Adventure	James Coubourn	Abel James of Philadelphia B. Sweatt John Parrock Henry Drinker William Warner Jo ^s Lee both of Philadelphia Anthony Rawlins William Revell both of Murtherkill, Kent Co., on Delaware	Newberry	80
March 28	Sloop Endeavour	Thomas Albertson	Michael Paquinet of Beaufort James Gordon both of North Carolina	Philadelphia	12
April 2	Sloop Mulberry	William Revell		Little Creek	12
April 2	Sloop Priscilla	Michael Paquinet		Marcus Hook	9

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1759	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built
April 6	Ship Hopewell	John Ford	James Cowles Rob ^t Lucas both of Bristol William Fisher of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
April 6	Brig't Elizabeth	Thomas Warner	Nephthali Hart James Hart both of Rhode Island Abraham Hart of London Samuel Hart of New York City	—
April 10	Brig't Dolphin	John Lea	Thomas & William Lightfoot Joseph Saunders John Cooper John Lea all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
April 25	Sloop Elizabeth	John Giles	Gustavus Brown John Giles both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia
April 25	Schooner Nancy	Charles King	Preston Paine Mathew Clarkson both of Philadelphia	Falmouth, New England

(To be continued.)

The Late Ferdinand Julius Dreer.

We regret to announce the death of Ferdinand Julius Dreer, an Honorary Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, which occurred on May 24, 1902, in this city, where he was born March 2, 1812. He was elected a life member December 13, 1852, and at the date of his death was the oldest member of the Publication Fund.

Mr. Dreer enjoyed a well-merited reputation for philanthropy, and was also known for many years as a collector of autograph letters. In 1890 he generously presented to the Historical Society "The Dreer Collection of Manuscripts," one of the most valuable collections of autographs and rare historical documents made by a private collector. It is arranged topically in volumes, and among the upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand manuscripts of special interest to students of American history are eighty-five letters of Washington (including the last letter written by him), forty-three letters of William Penn, two sets of the "Signers," members of the Continental Congress, generals and officers of the Continental army, Presidents of the United States, and numerous letters of Franklin, Lafayette, Jefferson, Robert Morris, Lincoln, Grant, and others equally well known. A few years later he supplemented this gift by a donation of fifteen thousand dollars, the income from which is to be used for the care and enlargement of the collection. Under his will an additional sum will be received for the same purposes.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF REBECCA LEE TO ANNE SHIPPEN, AT LANCASTER, 1778.—

MY DEAR NANCY,

I received your agreeable Letter about an hour ago, and thank you for it. The last time I heard of your Mamma, she was at General Washingtons, on her way to your uncle Tom Lees. I dont like York Town, at all, the place you are at present at, we hear was much injured by the Enemy. I hear very frequently from Virginia, am much obliged to you for your enquiries after my friends there. present my Compliments to Mrs. Rogers. I am happy my dear, you are in the care of so good a Lady, flatter myself you will to have in a manner to merit her regard, Your Uncle if possible, is more closely engaged with business than ever, but I am sure loves his Dear Niece, as well as her tenderly

Affectionate Aunt,

REBA LEE.

YORK TOWN JAN^y 3^d 1778.

LETTER OF MARY LEE TO ANNE H. LIVINGSTON, 1784.—

I thank you My dear Cousin for your very kind Letter by Mr. Washington. Strange as it may seem the letter gave me both pleasure and pain. I was pleased with your affectionate manner of writing, but much grieved to know that my dear Aunt is in an ill state of health. My hopes are great that my Uncle's skill will prevent bad consequences, and I am sure that we shall be made very happy here if he should advise my dear Aunt to try the effect of her native air, which I have heard my Papa say was sometimes excellent for restoring health. Be so good my dear as present my love and duty to my good Aunt and tell her that I am extremely thankful for the pretty Cap, Apron and Ribbon, that she has been pleased to send me, and except yourself of my thanks for the pretty handkerchief. Our family are well as usual and present their best affectionts to your family.

I am most truly my dear Cousins affectionate relation and sincere friend

MARY LEE.

CHANTILLY April y^e 25 1784.

LETTER OF JAMES ALLEN TO COLONEL TIMOTHY MATLACK, 1778.—

NORTHAMPTON 9 Febr'y. 1778

SIR

The enclosed paper from his Excellency the General will inform you, that I had his permission to go into Philada. with my family, on the terms therein expressed. Consistent, however, with that prudence, that I flatter myself, has always governed my conduct, I chose to remain in

my present situation ; till the late misfortune in our family has, in consequence of the earnest solicitations of my relations, constrained me to depart from that resolution. I go therefore for a short time, to endeavour to comfort an aged father for the loss of a much loved Son, & propose returning as soon as my wife's health will permit her to travel. I understand my Father intends to remove his family into the Country & it is one part of my errand to persuade him to fix himself here.

I persuade myself that the feelings of Humanity will fully justify the measure I am about to take ; & that the uniform tenor of my conduct will induce the Executive Council to grant me the liberty of returning hither. The favor therefore I have to ask of you, is, to lay this letter before them & transmit their answer hither, as soon as it can be obtained.

I am Sir

Your very humble Servant

To COLL MATLACK.

JAMES ALLEN.

LIST OF SERVANTS who sailed from Dublin February 25th 1746/7 on the Euryal, and arrived at Philadelphia April 11th.

Catherine Gainer,	Elizabeth Dunn,
Catherine Durcum,	Eleanor Dwier,
Catherine Whitehead,	Catherine Dwier,
Celia Byrne,	Mary Fling,
Hannah Row,	Mary Brady,
Margaret Poor,	Mary Mucklerow,
Catherine Cane,	Elizabeth Fox,
Margaret Connor,	Dorothy Jones,
Mary Whelan,	Margaret Traynor,
Eleanor Hanlan,	Mary Williams.

PHILADELPHIA July 17th 1773

HENRY WHITE PHYSICK

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE COLLEGE DR.

For 1 quarter's tuition, quills and ink, due this day . . . £1.0.6

Received the contents for the Trustees,

By FRA. ALISON.

Queries.

PENN.—I am tryin to find out all the Information I kan a bout Sir William Penn and his descendents thar us to be writing in my fathers famley but tha have ben lost by sum means. I wonto pruve my relashen ship to the Penn if it can be dun. I was told if I would write to you I could find out all I wonted to know so if I can get eney Information of his sons or grand sons I should lik vearey much to learn of them and if you could tell me if you new of eney of his money or realastate that hasent ben clamd by his descendents or his sons desendents and so on.

SAMUEL H. PENN.

BROOKVILLE, N. J.

HOSS—BOONE.—Between 1780-85 Jacob Hoss removed from near Hanover, Adams County, Pennsylvania to East Tennessee, then North Carolina. He married before this time Margaret (or Catharine) Boone. She had three sisters, who married Peter Miller, — Sullivan, and

— Powder. I desire information regarding the ancestry of Jacob Hoss and Margaret Boone his wife ; also information regarding the emigration of the Hoss family to America.

BAYLESS—LAKE—TRODDING.—Daniel Bayless md. Johanna Lake, John Trodding (or Troddy) md. Priscilla, and their son, William Trodding, md. Mary. These three families removed from Pennsylvania or Maryland to East Tennessee about 1780. They were members of the Cherokee Baptist Meeting-House in 1783. Samuel Bayless, son of Daniel and Johanna, md., after coming to Tennessee, Mary Trodding, daughter of William and Mary. Information is desired concerning the ancestry of Daniel Bayless, Johanna Lake, John Trodding, and of Priscilla and Mary, wives of John and William Trodding.

BIGLER—LEASE—LESSLER.—Mark Bigler, b. 1747 ; d. April 14, 1826 ; md. Catharine Lease, who was b. 1763 ; d. January 4, 1832. Their daughter, Mary Bigler, b. March 14, 1780 ; d. March 2, 1865 ; md. John Lessler, who was b. 1781 ; d. December 8, 1850. I desire information regarding the ancestry of Mark Bigler, Catharine Lease, and John Lessler. They removed from Pennsylvania to Virginia.

MARY HOSS.

2106 WEST END AVENUE, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

Replies.

PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—Referring to the note of inquiry (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XXVI. p 156) about "the portrait of Washington painted on glass," I send extracts from two letters which came as the result of said inquiry.

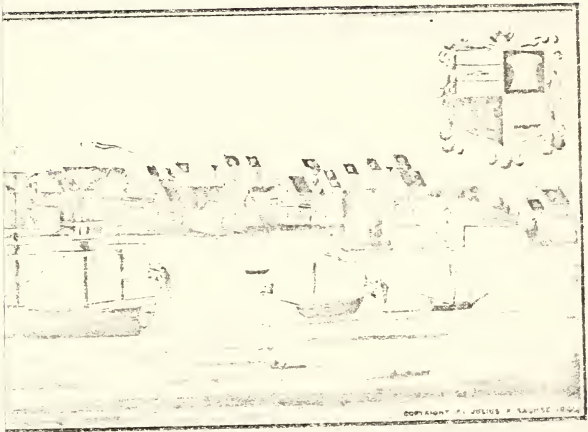
Louis C. Massey, of Orlando, Florida, writes, "I have a similar portrait which belonged to my grandfather Charles Massey, a merchant of Philadelphia, who was in business from 1799 to 1856 or thereabouts."

A lady in Trenton, New Jersey, who also owns one of the portraits, writes, "... Gilbert Stuart, while in Philadelphia, painted many portraits of Washington, all of which were speedily sold. One of the purchasers, Mr. Blight, a Philadelphia merchant engaged in the China trade, took his to Canton, where he had fifty copies painted on glass, and, returning to Philadelphia, offered them for sale at a much lower price than he had paid for the original painting. Mr. Stuart was naturally chagrined, and employed the eminent lawyer Horace Binney to obtain an injunction forbidding their sale. Most of them, however, had been previously disposed of, and they have been treasured heirlooms in many old families during the past century. . . ."

R. J. D.

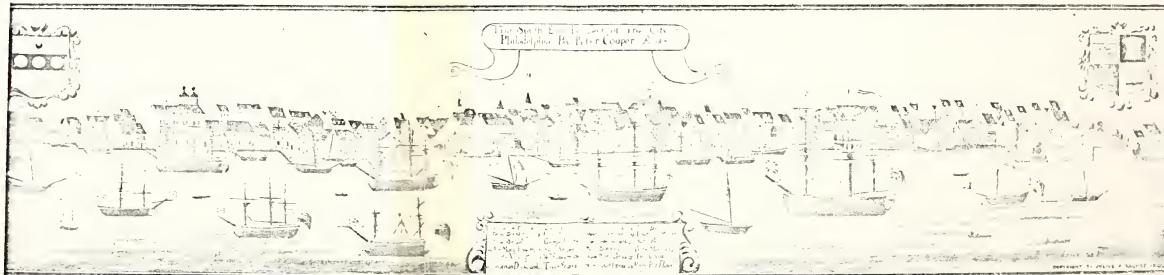
GRINNEL (PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. XXVI. p. 155).—"Last week died, at near seventy years of age, Capt. Thomas Grinnel, a native of this State, who during the last war, was Captain of the Ship Congress ; and on Friday his remains were interred in St. Paul's Church yard, attended by his relations, the gentlemen of the Vestry, a number of the Marine Society, and a numerous procession of our respectable inhabitants."—*New York, June 22, 1786.*

ED. PENNA. MAG.



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The South East View of the City
Philadelphia By Peter Cooper A.S.



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THE
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VOL. XXVI.

1902.

No. 3.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY, THE LOYALIST POLITICIAN.

BY ERNEST H. BALDWIN, PH.D.

(Continued from page 191.)

A SUPPORTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

The conduct of Mr. Galloway during the excitement attending the passage of the Stamp Act was conspicuously loyal; so loyal, in fact, that he was openly charged with having desired the execution of that measure.¹ As a matter of fact, he was opposed to Parliamentary taxation and was much pleased when the Act was repealed.² But the bold threats of resistance to constituted authority and the riotous proceedings of other Colonies, excited by the Stamp Act, alarmed him more than the Act itself. Parliamentary taxation with enforced law and order was, in his opinion, a greater blessing than liberty with lawlessness. He feared the tyranny of mob rule more than the tyranny of Parliament.

Mr. Galloway was not a member of the Assembly when the

¹ "Six Arguments against Chusing Joseph Galloway an Assemblyman," 1766.

² Galloway to Franklin, May 23, 1766. (Sparks, "Franklin's Works," Vol. VII. p. 317.)

Stamp Act was passed, but that he influenced the action of that body concerning the subject is not an unwarranted supposition. He was accused of having exerted his influence to prevent the appointment of delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, and of having done this at the request of William Franklin, the Governor of New Jersey.¹ But his influence may be detected in connection with the resolutions passed by the Assembly. They were much milder in tone than a series presented by Dickinson, and were drawn up by a committee from which that gentleman had been excluded.

In spite of his attitude towards this famous Act and his intimacy with Hughes, the collector, and in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Proprietary party, Mr. Galloway was elected a member of the Assembly again in 1765.²

The disturbances in Philadelphia on the arrival of the stamps were less tumultuous than was the case in other Colonies, and this was probably due to the presence of the Quakers.³ But no stamps were landed, and after November 1, when the Act went into effect, the courts were closed and all legal business ceased. Soon after this, and because of the distress it caused, a meeting of the members of the Bar was held to consider the advisability of opening the courts and proceeding without stamped paper. Mr. Galloway expressed his willingness to act without the stamps, provided the judges would also agree to the plan. No definite action was taken, however, and the courts remained closed. Shortly after this meeting Mr. Galloway was boldly charged with having embarrassed the anti-stamp movement by opposing the opening of the courts without stamps. This

¹ Franklin denied this in one of Galloway's broadsides, December 20, 1765.

² *Votes of Assembly*. In a letter to Colonel Burd, dated September 20, 1765, Samuel Purviance writes that his party (Proprietary) had been strengthened by the "opposition lately made by John Hughes and his friends against sending commissioners to attend the Congress at N. Y. . . ." ("Shippen Papers.")

³ Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," p. 80.

accusation caused him so much annoyance that he issued a broadside explaining his conduct and stating his position. He said that he was unwilling to proceed without stamped paper, unless the consent of the judges could be obtained; that they ought to join with the attorneys in disobeying the law, and not remain in a position to enforce its penalties in case it was executed; that no good argument was advanced against his proposal; that the same thing was done in New Jersey, and business was going on. He did not see why the "safety of the persons and estates of some men" should be endangered and "those of others who hold the Executive Powers of government" be exempted from that danger. He finally declared that an agreement had been entered into at the meeting to divulge nothing of its proceedings, although he himself had declared that there was nothing he had said or done which he was unwilling should be proclaimed from the State-House steps. Why he had been attacked in such a manner he could not understand.¹

The continuance of the disturbances and tumults in the Colonies after the Stamp Act went into effect filled Mr. Galloway with such grave apprehensions that he determined to give expression to them. In a piece signed "Americanus," printed in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of January 9, 1766, he warned his countrymen of the evils to which their seditious conduct would lead; declared that they had justly provoked the mother country, and only her tenderness had prevented the enforcement of obedience; and unless they stopped it would become the indispensable duty of the British Parliament to use compulsion.

This article aroused great indignation against him. He was called a Tory and went by the nickname of "Americanus" for some time.²

Mr. Galloway had an extreme aversion to the Presby-

¹ "To the Public," December 20, 1765. (Philadelphia Library, Ridgway Branch.)

² Testimony of William Franklin before the Loyalist Commission (MS. in the Congressional Library).

terians. He associated them with rioters and the baser elements of society. Their connection with and support of the Paxton rioters convinced him that they were dangerous characters, and he now deemed them responsible for the Stamp Act disturbances. In a letter to Franklin, dated January 13, 1766, he comments on the condition of affairs and expresses his opinion of the Presbyterians :

"We impatiently wait for the resolutions of the British Parliament respecting the Stamp Act. For while on one part the law is prevented from being executed by the mobs in the principal colonies of America, on the other no business is transacted in any of the courts of justice, which is attended with inexpressible mischief. A certain sect of people, if I may judge from all their late conduct, seem to look on this as a favorable opportunity of establishing their republican principles and of throwing off all connection with their mother country. Many of their publications justify the thought. Besides, I have other reasons to think that they are not only forming a private union among themselves from one end of the continent to the other, but endeavoring also to bring into their union the Quakers and all other Dissenters, if possible. But I hope this will be impossible. In Pennsylvania I am confident it will." ¹

Mr. Galloway's anxiety lest the mother country be provoked by the undutiful behavior of the Americans appears in another letter to Franklin, dated May 23, 1766, in which he relates the proceedings in Philadelphia upon receipt of the news that the Stamp Act was repealed. He announces that the news of the repeal had arrived :

"Upon its arrival, agreeable to your advice, our friends exerted their utmost endeavors to prevent any indecent marks of triumph and exultation. We opposed the intended fire-works, illumination and cannon firing and advised more temperate and private rejoicing on this great occasion. The chief justice, mayor, recorder and several other of the magistrates were spoken to, but to no purpose. The city was illuminated by the proprietary party. Our friends refused to join with them, but were constantly patrolling the streets in order to preserve peace. Found an indiscreet puff in Mr. Hall's paper on the occasion. Hope it will not fix the complexion of the whole province. The Assembly will meet June 2nd and will send an address of thanks for their care and

¹ Galloway to Franklin, January 13, 1766. "A certain sect of people" meant the Presbyterians.

attention to the ease and happiness of the colonies. I have fixed the measure with all the members our friends, whose hearts cannot utter the gratitude they owe to the present virtuous and worthy ministry for their infinite trouble and fatigue. No doubt all discontent will subside in America."¹

The wording of the address of thanks which Mr. Galloway had thus "fixed" with the members of the Assembly is further evidence of his wish to avoid even the appearance of disloyalty which might incur the displeasure of the Crown. After expressing the thanks of the Province for the repeal of the Stamp Act, they declared themselves grateful to the King for his "approbation of the dutiful behavior of the province of Pennsylvania amidst the too prevailing distractions which have agitated the other colonies." The remainder of this short address was an expression of Mr. Galloway's sentiments at the time, and evinced his intention so early to head off the efforts which he suspected were making for ultimate independence:

"Fully sensible how much the happiness of your people depends on a perfect harmony and connection between Great Britain and her colonies, we assure your Majesty that no care or endeavors shall be wanting, on our part, to promote and establish that union of affections and interest so essential to the welfare of both, and to preserve that loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person and government which we esteem to be one of their first and most important duties."²

John Dickinson, in his "Farmer's Letters," pays his respects to this "Address" of the Assembly. He warns his countrymen to be on their guard against men who set examples of servility. "From them we shall learn how pleasant and profitable a thing it is to be for our submissive behavior well spoken of at St. James or St. Stephens; at Guild Hall or the Royal Exchange. Specious fallacies will be dressed up with all the arts of delusion to persuade one colony to distinguish herself from another by unbecoming condescensions which will serve the ambitious purposes of great men at home and therefore will be thought by them to entitle their assistants in obtaining them to considerable rewards."

And in the same letter Dickinson seems to refer more directly to

¹ Galloway to Franklin, May 23, 1766.

² Printed in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 2, 1767.

Galloway when he says, "remarkable instances of wrecked ambition" may be seen, men "who after distinguishing themselves in the support of the Stamp Act, by a courageous contempt of their country, and of Justice, have been left to linger out their miserable existence without a government collectorship, . . . or any other commission. . . ."¹

Thus it may be seen that Mr. Galloway was a thorough loyalist in 1766; that he suspected the independent schemes of the Presbyterian elements, and was determined to resist them with energy.

SPEAKER OF ASSEMBLY.

Although he had taken a rather unpopular stand in the Stamp Act controversy, and was opposed by the Presbyterian party, which concentrated all its energies to accomplish his defeat, nevertheless, Mr. Galloway was not only re-elected a member of the Assembly in 1766, but also chosen its Speaker. James Pemberton, who was a member of the Assembly, in a letter containing the political news of the day, said that the Presbyterian party had been unable to arouse much enthusiasm before the election:²

"They at length concluded to attempt the change of one member in this county, Jos. Galloway, concerning whom they alleged he had written in favor of the stamp act; in opposition they set up Dickinson, his former opponent, which, it is said, was encouraged by a few of our friends, but in this scheme they failed much beyond their expectation."

A broadside was issued just before the election, entitled "Six Arguments against Chusing Joseph Galloway an Assemblyman." This alleged that Mr. Galloway had "long been the cause of contention" in the Province and had often deceived people by his "pretended zeal for liberty." The six arguments were: his slander of Americans by representing their efforts to preserve their liberties as disloyal

¹ "Farmer's Letters," No. XII; *Memoirs Historical Society*, Vol. XIV.

² James Pemberton to Dr. Fothergill. (Sharpless, "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," p. 89.)

menaces; his attitude towards the Stamp Act; his disposition to surrender the rights of the Colonial Assemblies in the matter of taxation; his quarrelsome and overbearing disposition in the Assembly, making good men unwilling to serve in the House with him; his political connection with John Hughes; and his efforts to rob poor Germans of their land by means of the Act for recording warrants and surveys.¹

The answer to these "Arguments" was the re-election of Mr. Galloway to the Assembly and his appointment to the Speakership, an office which he continued to hold uninterruptedly until 1774. His candidacy for this honor met with considerable opposition, apparently. The same letter of Pemberton quoted above says,—

"The present assembly . . . met . . . on the 14th ulto., and proceeded on the business appearing necessary at that time, having first chosen a new speaker (Galloway) whose qualifications must be allowed superior to the former speaker (Fox), but as there appeared too much of a spirit of party, as I apprehended, I could not join therein; the choice has been an occasion of speculation among the people, but I hope will not be attended with much ill consequence."

The minutes of the Assembly indicate that Mr. Galloway was not chosen Speaker by a very large majority of votes, and that some of the more important privileges usually granted the presiding officer were not accorded him.² This is especially noticeable in the matter of appointing committees. The privilege of nominating members for committees was not accorded him until the following year, when there were several changes in the membership of the House and he was elected Speaker unanimously. He was then given the power also "to stop all unnecessary, tedious

¹ "Six Arguments," etc. "I attended the Supreme Court the other day and had the pleasure to see, by the integrity of the judges and equity of the jury, and the abilities of your antagonist Dickinson, one of these causes determined against you. . . ."

² The minutes of the Assembly do not give the figures.

and superfluous discourse, and to command silence when needful.”¹

The position of Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly was one attended with peculiar difficulty, and the retention of that office by Mr. Galloway during the years of agitation preceding the Revolution is a sufficient testimony to that gentleman's ability and tact. In the first place, the relations between the Assembly and the Proprietors were not only not cordial, but at times quite hostile. Furthermore, Mr. Galloway represented the extremists among the opponents of Proprietary rule. And then the disputes which arose between the Colonies and the mother country over the revenue acts of Parliament caused great trouble. Mr. Galloway sought to uphold the rights of the Colonies with resolution, but through “decent and respectful” petitions, and a threatened attempt to abrogate their charters was firmly resisted by him.²

Other difficulties which had to be met concerned their relations with the Indians, disagreements over paper money, and conflicts with the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming.³

In the midst of all these concerns Mr. Galloway was in

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, October 16, 1767. The necessity for such a rule would indicate that the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania was a rather disputatious and “filibustering” one. By 1774 Mr. Galloway had evidently put an end to all that. A description of the House in that year by a contemporary (quoted in Keith's “Provincial Councilors”) is interesting:

“Our Honorable House made but a scurvy appearance . . . it was enough to make one sweat to see a parcel of countrymen sitting with their hats on, great coarse cloth coats, leather breeches, and woolen stockings in the month of July. There was not a speech made the whole time; whether their silence proceeded from their modesty or from their inability to speak, I know not.”

² Gordon, “History of Pennsylvania,” p. 453.

³ Mr. Galloway's labors and anxieties caused his illness in the spring of 1769 and interrupted the proceedings of the House. He proposed, however, to accommodate the members of the Assembly at his own house, but this proved impracticable, and a Speaker *pro tem.* was appointed to serve the remainder of the session.

continual correspondence with Benjamin Franklin in England, persistently urging the old scheme for a Royal government and at times expressing the most pessimistic views of Colonial affairs. Mr. Franklin could give little encouragement for the success of their petition, pictured the corruption at London, and urged Galloway to "try and lessen the unpopularity of the American cause. Increase our friends and be careful not to weaken their hands and strengthen those of our enemies by rash proceedings on our side, the mischiefs of which are inconceivable."¹ He then suggests that if the Assembly was discouraged or tired of the expense, he would not have him propose to continue him as agent at the meeting of the new Assembly.

Mr. Galloway labored diligently to lessen the causes of complaint and destroy the spirit of sedition, as desired by Franklin, but used his influence to have him retained as agent in England. On March 10, 1768, he wrote Franklin a most doleful letter giving an account of the situation of affairs in the Province. He enclosed messages of the House :

"By them you will be able to form a proper judgment of the affairs of this province, which, in the opinion of all good men here, are at length reduced to the most desperate circumstances. All the mischiefs we have long expected, if not come to pass, are now in full prospect. We have long seen that the powers of government united in the same hands, with immense property, would necessarily be attended with many inconveniences both to the Crown and to the subject, and that those powers, vested in the feeble hands of private subjects, would prove too weak to support his Majesty's authority or to give safety to his people. The first will ever naturally lead to acts of injustice, ambitions and oppressions ; and these things in private men will more especially beget disrespect and that disrespect soon ripen into contempt ; the consequences whereof in this province is we have the name of a government, but no safety or protection under it. We have laws without being executed, or even feared or respected. We have offenders but no punishment. We have a magistracy but no justice, and a governor but no government. And, you well know, we possess the warmest allegiance to our sovereign

¹ Franklin to Galloway, August 8, 1767. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. IV. p. 25.)

and our mother country ; and yet our persons and estates are every hour liable to the ravages of the licentious and lawless, without any hope of defence against them.

"The impunity with which offenders escape is a perpetual encouragement to the licentious and wicked to commit new offences. . . . Take a view, dear sir, of these facts with what you know has heretofore passed in the government and add to them the declaration of our Governor that he can do no more in his station towards bringing offenders to justice than issuing a proclamation and writing a few mild letters to his magistracy, and tell me whether you think we can believe ourselves or our estates safe under the present government. I do most candidly assure you, could I convert my estate into personalty, without great loss, I should immediately remove it with my family into a government where I could reasonably expect they would be safe from violation. In this, it is the opinion of all who are active in supporting the honor of the government and the authority of the Crown, that their lives and property are in great jeopardy and danger.

"Under these circumstances the Assembly think it their indispensable duty to acquaint his Majesty and ministry of the state of the province, for which purpose the papers are sent to the agents in hopes that our distracted and distressed situation will draw his Majesty's attention and compassion so far towards us as to take the government under his immediate directions."

Franklin's reply to this pessimistic epistle was a letter written to another friend, May 14, 1768.¹ He said that there was no use in representing the riots and lawlessness under the Proprietary government, for things were just as bad in England, and a mob was a frequent occurrence in the streets of London.

Notwithstanding this discouraging outlook for the petition, Mr. Galloway returned to the subject in a letter dated October 17, 1768. He announced the reappointment of Franklin and Jackson as agents and the renewal of instructions regarding the change of government, "every member now approving of the measure save the chief justice."

"You really judge right. Should the petition be rejected or neglected the Crown will never have the like request made by the people, nor

¹ Franklin to Ross, May 14, 1768. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. IV. p. 163.) Mr. Galloway was referred to this letter by Franklin, later.

such another opportunity of resuming one of the most beneficial governments in America. Their own welfare will oblige them to court the proprietary favor; and should they continue to gratify the people, by the lenient measures adopted during the last year, they will place all their confidence in them and lose all ideas of loyalty or affection to the person where alone they ought to be fixed.”¹

He then refers to the arrival of regiments at Boston, and hopes no mischiefs will follow.

The burden of the correspondence between Galloway and Franklin was then changed to the subject of paper money, the issuance of which by the Colonies had been prohibited by Parliament. Mr. Galloway greatly favored the emission of paper money and wrote in support of it:

“A farmer pledges his land to the government and takes paper. When he comes to redeem his pledge ought he not to return the paper, and ought not the government to be obliged to receive it in discharge of the land?”²

Several years before this he had presented an argument for this money which was the very common one at the time:

“Without money labor will be low; and manufacturing may and must from necessity be carried on in America which must diminish our British importations. Let us have money and we shall never think of manufacturing, or, if we do, we shall never be able to perfect it to any degree.”³

One of the most annoying episodes in the life of Mr. Galloway was his connection with one William Goddard in the publication of a newspaper. This ill-tempered and quarrelsome printer came to Philadelphia just at the time when Mr. Galloway was entering upon his career as Speaker. The opportunity thus offered to establish a newspaper which would serve in a measure as his personal organ was gladly seized by the Quaker politician, particularly as the existing papers had abandoned the popular party and were support-

¹ Galloway to Franklin, October 17, 1768. (Bigelow, “Franklin's Works,” Vol. IV. p. 210.)

² Ibid., June 21, 1770. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 197.)

³ Ibid., January 13, 1766.

ing the Proprietors.¹ A partnership was accordingly formed, of which Mr. Galloway and Thomas Wharton were secret members, and the publication of the *Pennsylvania Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, with Goddard as editor and manager, was begun in January, 1767. Galloway and Wharton supplied the necessary capital to start the enterprise, and the partners agreed to consult one another in every material step. Mr. Galloway was to see that the Assembly printing was given to the *Chronicle* and the assistance of members of the Assembly was to be secured in obtaining subscribers in their respective counties.²

Notwithstanding its bright prospects of success, the enterprise proved a miserable failure. The partnership lasted but two years, and was then broken up by a most unfortunate quarrel between the secret partners and Goddard. The cause of the trouble was political. The obstinate Goddard refused to conduct the paper according to the wishes of the dictatorial Galloway, and the *Chronicle*, instead of supporting the Assembly party, became a bitter opponent of its former patron.

The chief reason for Mr. Galloway's dissatisfaction with Goddard, apparently was the latter's insistence on publishing Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters," which first appeared in the *Chronicle*. The profits from the increased circulation of the paper caused by the publication of these popular letters appealed to Goddard, while Galloway could see only greater encouragement to the independents and fame for the hated author.³

¹ Correspondence of David Strahan and David Hall. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 229.)

² Goddard, "The Partnership," 1770. William Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, 1766. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. III. p. 509.)

The articles of agreement provided for the addition of Franklin to the partnership should he desire to join on his return from England. "The Partnership" was a history of the firm from its beginning in 1766. It contained some bitter aspersions on Galloway's character.

³ The following is an interesting extract from "The Partnership." "Mr. Galloway ridiculed my notions about liberty and the rights of

The publicity given to this quarrel by Goddard served to enliven the political campaigns of 1770 and 1772 and greatly irritated Mr. Galloway. As there was some doubt of his election in Philadelphia County in 1770, he ran for the Assembly in Bucks County (where he owned a country estate) and was elected.¹

But the persistent attacks of Goddard and the apparent loss of support in the Assembly, where in 1770, for the first time since 1766, he failed to be unanimously elected Speaker, tempted Mr. Galloway to retire from political life in 1771. This proposition was opposed by Franklin, who thought that he "could not be spared without great detriment to the general welfare of America."² But at the meeting of the new Assembly in 1771 he was again unanimously elected Speaker.³

This success did not put an end to the attacks, however, and he still thought seriously of withdrawing from the field of politics.⁴ Franklin thought to cheer him up, and wrote him as follows :

"I am glad you are returned again to a seat in the Assembly, where your abilities are so useful and necessary in the service of your country. We must not in the course of public life expect immediate approbation and immediate grateful acknowledgement of our services. But let us persevere through abuse and even injury. The internal satisfaction of a

mankind and observed that the people in America were mad—they knew not what they wanted ; that such factious pieces (Farmer's Letters) would answer for the selectmen of Boston and the mob meetings of R. I., but he was sure they would soon be despised here, Pennsylvania being of a different make, of more solidity, none of your damned republican breed."

¹ Edward Burd to Colonel Burd, October 4, 1770. ("Shippen Papers.")

² Franklin to Evans, July 18, 1771. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. IV. p. 410.)

³ *Votes of Assembly*, October 14, 1771.

⁴ Early in 1772 Mr. Galloway received a threatening letter (anonymous) demanding fifty pounds. Goddard was suspected of having had something to do with this and was arrested. No evidence could be produced, however.

good conscience is always present, and time will do us justice in the minds of the people, even those at present the most prejudiced against us."

And a few weeks later he wrote again:

"I must . . . beg you will not think of retiring from public business. You are yet a young man and may still be greatly serviceable to your country. It would be, I think, something criminal to bury in private retirement so early, all the usefulness of so much experience and such great abilities. The people do not indeed always see their friends in the same favorable light . . . therefore preserve your spirits and persevere; at least to the age of sixty, a boundary I once fixed for myself, but have gone beyond it."¹

Mr. Galloway's life during these years of political activity and strife was not void of enjoyment, however. One of his contemporaries has left a record of social activity in which the name of Galloway appears repeatedly.³ Dinners and "frolics" at Greenwich Hall, a favorite resort outside the city, were frequently attended by the leading members of the Assembly, and Mr. Galloway often entertained at his own home. It is not in the least improbable that political questions were discussed at these meetings and measures "fixed" by what the Speaker of the Assembly was often wont to call "interest out of doors," and with the machinery of which he himself was perfectly familiar.

A DELEGATE TO CONGRESS.

In the quarrel which arose between the Colonies and the mother country, and which reached such an acute stage at Boston early in 1774, the concurrence of the Province of Pennsylvania was necessary to the success of any plan of resistance to Parliamentary authority. Its importance both in wealth and number of inhabitants, as well as its position,

¹ Franklin to Galloway, December 2, 1772. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. IV. p. 549.)

² Ibid., January 6, 1773. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. V. p. 87.)

³ Jacob Hiltzheimer, "Diary."

made it the keystone to any Colonial arch, political or commercial. The patriot leaders of Massachusetts and Virginia recognized this fact, and lent their efforts to place the Quaker Colony in sympathetic line with the Boston Sons of Liberty. But they found the task a difficult one. The controlling Quaker influence was strongly conservative and avowedly opposed to revolutionary measures. This barrier must be broken down before Pennsylvania could be induced to join in, or even sympathize with, open resistance to constituted authority. This conservatism—this aversion to violence—was personified in Joseph Galloway; he represented the barrier; nay, more, he was the barrier.

No person not ignorant of Mr. Galloway's character could have expected the slightest sympathy from that gentleman for the riotous conduct of the New Englanders in 1774. Their actions were abhorrent to all his feelings. He believed that their deeds were those of lawless Presbyterian and Republican mobs, and a mob was an execrable thing.

When, in the spring of 1774, the proposition was made that the other Provinces send messages of sympathy and approval to Massachusetts, Mr. Galloway was in the country. There was a popular demand in Philadelphia that the Assembly Committee of Correspondence send such a message; but the members of the committee in the city were unwilling to move in the matter without the approval of Mr. Galloway. The following letter of that gentleman indicates a disposition on his part to move slowly and with great care:

"Your favor conveying me the request of the gentlemen appointed by a considerable number of very respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia, that the Committee of Correspondence 'would take into their consideration the Act of Parliament passed against the town of Boston, and communicate their sentiments and advice thereon to the committees of the sister colonies,' came to my hands yesterday, and I should have immediately waited on you to have conferred with you on the measure proposed; but in pursuance of an appointment made with a number of people, I am under the necessity of meeting them to-morrow at Durham, and the business I have to transact will not admit of my return before

the beginning of next week. Immediately after I shall be in the city; so that it will not be in my power, before that time, to consult with you on the propriety of calling the Committee of Correspondence, or of their undertaking, when met, to advise in a matter of so great difficulty, and so much importance to the liberties of all America, before it has been fully debated and considered by the representatives of the whole province, and without their special order. However, should you continue in your opinion that 'the calling of the Committee can be attended with no disagreeable consequences but will answer a good purpose' before my coming to the city, I hope you will not delay it on account of my absence, which is unavoidable."¹

Meantime the proposal for a Continental Congress had been received and met with favor, Mr. Galloway himself approving of such a meeting. He thought, however, that it was of the greatest importance that the delegates be elected by the legally constituted Assemblies of the Colonies and not by illegal and unauthorized gatherings of irresponsible persons.² His opinions are so clearly expressed in the letter which the Committee of Correspondence sent to Massachusetts, June 28, that it is here given at length:

"It behooves us coolly and dispassionately to meditate on the consequences [of the Boston Port Bill] and to leave no rational or probable means unessayed to avoid them and to obtain that relief which our rights as English subjects entitle us to demand. What those means ought to be, we think the several branches of the American legislatures, in which the people are constitutionally represented and who are vested with their whole powers, ought to determine. We therefore only presume to give you our private sentiments, which must ever be subject to the amendment and control of the body of which we are only members, when we again mix with them. We hope and earnestly recommend that the great cause of American rights may be left to the management of the representatives of the people in every colony, as they alone are vested with the constitutional power of inquiring into and redressing

¹ Manuscript letter of Galloway to Samuel Rhoads and Thomas Mifflin, dated at "Trevoze," May 30, 1774 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania Collections). Trevoze was the name of Mr. Galloway's country-seat.

² In his testimony before the Loyalist Commission (1784) Mr. Galloway said that he expected to meet representatives from the various Assemblies at the Congress, and had they been such, America would never have revolted.

those grievances, under which the subject may at any time be oppressed. Until this measure shall be fairly attempted, and a failure shall ensue, we cannot conceive the present dispute between Great Britain and the colonies can with any propriety or prudence be assumed by any other person whatever, or that in other hands any good consequences can be rationally expected. And as we are in a state of society where order, reason, and policy ought to prevail, every measure which can only serve to irritate and not convince, every act of violence or even appearance of it, should be carefully avoided, as they cannot, under our present circumstances, obtain us that relief we desire, and have a right to expect; but on the contrary, may involve all America in difficulties which no after wisdom or prudence can surmount. A Congress of delegates chosen either by the representatives in Assembly or by them in convention appears to us the first proper step to be taken. Nor are we dubious but that it may be happily effected in a short time, should calm and prudent measures be pursued to obtain it. In this Congress composed of the Representatives constitutionally chosen, of all concerned and who would of course act with weight and authority something might be produced, by their united wisdom, to ascertain our rights, and establish a political union between the two countries with the assent of both, which would effectually secure to Americans their future rights and privileges. Anything short of this will leave the colonies in their present precarious state, disunited among themselves, unsettled in their rights, ignorant of their duties, and destitute of that connection with Great Britain which is indispensably necessary to the safety and happiness of both.”¹

This circular letter, which was more of a protest against the popular meetings then being held in the different Colonies than an encouragement to the Boston patriots, is interesting as containing the first suggestion of a plan of union on the part of Mr. Galloway, for this, it must be admitted, was inspired by him. It was very severely criticised by the popular party, however. It was what might have been expected from “*Americanus*,” they said. It was to no purpose anyway; nor was it clear by what authority its signers called themselves the Committee of Correspondence; certainly it was not the Provincial Committee of Correspondence. But the people of the Province would disown it and authorize their true Committee to write something that would really be to the purpose.²

¹ Force, *American Archives*, Vol. I. p. 486.

² *Ibid.*

So pronounced were the views of Mr. Galloway, and so opposed was he to the measures aimed at by the popular leaders, that these were not disappointed when Governor Penn refused to call a meeting of the Assembly to take action on the proposal for a Congress and to appoint delegates.¹ It was thought advisable, however, to ask the Speaker to summon a meeting of the Assembly to consult on public affairs, and he assented.² His action was unnecessary, though, for a sudden Indian uprising caused the Governor to issue the summons.

Mr. Galloway's willingness to have the Assembly take some action regarding the Congress was due, of course, to his fear lest the popular party, under the leadership of John Dickinson and Charles Thomson, should throw the influence of Pennsylvania over to the side of what he was pleased to call the independents. He was anxious to prevent what he regarded as the illegal and meddlesome influence of those spirits.³ And although the Provincial Congress, which was then holding its meetings in the city, presented to the Assembly some lengthy "instructions," these were ignored, as was also the evident wish of the Congress that John Dickinson be appointed one of the delegates to the Continental Congress. The Assembly appointed the delegates from its own number (thus barring out Dickinson, who was not then a member) and prepared their instructions conformably to the wishes of Mr. Galloway, who, upon this condition, and at their earnest solicitation, consented to serve as a delegate himself.⁴

¹ Thomson to Drayton, Stillé, *Memoirs Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XIII. Appendix.

² Keith's "Provincial Councillors." Gordon's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 490.

³ The night before the Provincial Congress visited the Assembly (which they did in a body) a paper was distributed among the members of the Legislature which was thoroughly Gallowayan. It warned them to be on their guard against the insidious influence of the Provincial committees. "It is the beginning of Republicanism," it declared. It also contained a quotation from Hume on "mobs."

⁴ *Examination*, p. 42; Bancroft, "History of the United States,"

Mr. Galloway's position and intentions regarding the first Continental Congress are clearly manifest from both his public acts and private correspondence. He was opposed to the policy of the British ministry, but extremely averse to the rash measures proposed by the Bostonians and Virginians,—measures which he believed could lead only to revolution and were so intended.¹ He realized that the passage of the Stamp Act had had very unfortunate results in both England and America, and thought that both countries should retreat a little and take other grounds.² He was also firmly opposed to allowing the fiery independents to take the lead in these important questions. In his opinion, they comprised the baser elements of society, the dangerous classes, men without property or influence; and as a man of wealth and influence he feared the rule of men who had nothing to lose and no property interests to subserve. He thought that the establishment of a standing army in their midst would be serviceable not only as a restraint upon these turbulent spirits, but as a defence against the French and Indians; without the powerful aid of the mother country, America would soon sink into anarchy.³ And so far as the particular point in dispute affected Pennsylvania, its charter expressly reserved to the King and Parliament the right of taxation by duties on commerce.⁴ Mr. Galloway,

Vol. IV. p. 33. His experience in political life, his familiarity with affairs, and his controlling influence over the Assembly made his appointment eminently fitting and certain. But he was a man who would not go unless he could go "his way." His expressed conviction that only legal Assemblies should act in the matter conveniently excluded the famous farmer.

¹ Galloway to Franklin, January 13, 1766. (Sparks, "Franklin's Works," Vol. VII. p. 303.)

² Galloway to Richard Jackson, August 10, 1774. (Hist. MSS. Commission, Vol. XIV. p. 10.)

³ *Examination*, note, p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.* Mr. Galloway, in his "Reply" to "An Address to the Author of the Candid Examination," said, "Persuade not yourselves to believe what one of you has said, that 'you can find employment in America for all the British troops.' For you may as well attempt to scale

as a representative from that Colony, could not consistently object to such taxation. And non-importation he did not believe in, and hoped to prevent the adoption of such a policy by the Congress.¹

But Mr. Galloway did have a firm conviction that there was a grave defect in the British Constitution, and that the aim of the disputants should be to remedy that defect and establish a closer political union.² To this end he prepared the instructions which definitely required the delegates from Pennsylvania to exert their "utmost endeavors to form and adopt a plan which shall afford the best prospect of obtaining a redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights and establishing that union and harmony which is most essential to the welfare and happiness of both countries."³

When Mr. Galloway was appointed a delegate to the Congress he felt that there was little prospect of his doing any good; he realized that he was almost alone in his views among the men who were taking the lead in the dispute.⁴ But as the delegates began to arrive and he found opportunity to present his views to them in informal conversations, he was more encouraged. In a letter to William Franklin dated September 3, 1774, he comments on the temper of the delegates, and mentions the efforts he has already taken to form a party among them committed to his measures; he said that nearly two-thirds of the delegates had arrived:

"I have not had any great opportunity of sounding them, but so far as I have, I think they will behave with temper and moderation. The

the moon and wrench her from her orbit as withstand the power of Britain."

¹ Governor Franklin to Dartmouth. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 474.)

² Governor Colden to Dartmouth, December 7, 1774, "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. VIII. p. 513.

³ See Appendix B.

⁴ Galloway to Richard Jackson, August 10, 1774. ("Hist. MSS. Commission," Vol. XIV. p. 10.)

Boston Commissioners are warm and, I believe, wish for a non-importation agreement, and hope the colonies will advise and justify them in a refusal to pay for the tea until their grievances are redressed; they are in their behavior and conversation very modest; and yet they are not so much so as not to throw out hints, which like straws and feathers, tell us from which point of the compass the wind comes; I dined with them on Thursday.

"I have had two opportunities, one with the elder Rutledge of Carolina, whose sentiments and mine differ in no one particular, so far as I explained myself, and I was reserved in no point save that of a representation in Parliament. He is a gentleman of an amiable character, has looked into the argument on both sides more fully than any I have met with, and seems to be aware of all the consequences which may attend rash and imprudent measures. His younger brother is rather warm. My other opportunity was with the two New Hampshire gentlemen. I found Col. Folsom very cool and moderate; Major Sullivan rather more warm, but very candid and has thought solidly on the subject. I think neither of them intends to attach himself more to the particular cause of Boston than will be for the general good. They requested opportunities of exchanging sentiments with me often on the occasion; and all my observations seemed to have full weight with them. The Marylanders are not arrived and but three of the Virginians. . . .

"I have intimated to several of the delegates the necessity of sending Commissioners over fully authorized to the British Court, as a mode pursued by the Roman, Grecian and Macedonian Colonies, on every occasion of like natures. That through them we may be enabled, in case our first plan for accommodating our unhappy differences should not be acceptable, to know the better what to propose next. That having these gentlemen at the scene of action we shall be no longer misled by newspaper accounts and private letters, but shall proceed on solid information and principles of safety. That without this any petitions or plans, not having any persons to explain or support them, will have very little effect. That in all probability the measures of the present Congress will be deemed illegal and unconstitutional, and that upon this point only the necessity of sending persons home to insist in the right in the colonies of being heard and to prove that the illegality of the Congress arises of power in not suffering the Assemblies to meet; and if, after all, those reasons should not procure due attention to the propositions of the Congress, to pray that the Governors may have orders to permit such meetings and to give assurances that their conduct will be decent, respectful, and dutiful to the mother state. That a conduct of this kind cannot fail to give strength to our cause, and if not immediately, in the end bring the government to attend to reason and redress our grievances. These inti-

mations seemed to have their weight ; and as far as I could observe met with approbation."

The first day's proceedings of the Congress did not encourage Mr. Galloway, however, but served rather to dampen his ardor :

"The Congress this day met at Carpenters' Hall, notwithstanding the offer of the Assembly Room, a much more proper place.² They next proceeded to choose a Secretary, and to my surprise, Charles Thomson (one of the most violent sons of Liberty so called in America) was unanimously elected. The New Yorkers and myself and a few others, finding a great majority, did not think it prudent to oppose it. Both of these measures it seems were privately settled by an interest made out of doors.

"I cannot say but from this day's appearance of proceedings I have altered very much my last sentiments. The Virginians and Carolinians (Rutledge excepted) seem much among the Bostonians, and have at their instance adopted the two above measures. The gentlemen from New York have as little expectations of much satisfaction from the event of things as myself." ³

This action of the Congress made it evident to Mr. Galloway that his efforts to persuade that body to adopt a policy of conciliation and plan of union would meet with serious opposition. His view of the situation, as later expressed in the "Historical and Political Reflections," while extremely prejudiced, was his honest conviction :

"Upon the meeting of the Congress two parties were immediately formed with different views and determined to act on different princi-

¹ Galloway to William Franklin, September 3, 1774 (enclosed in a letter from Franklin to Dartmouth, *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, Vol. X. p. 475).

² Mr. Galloway had offered the use of the Assembly Room. The New York delegates thought, if it was as convenient as the Carpenters' Hall, it ought to be preferred, as it was a Provincial instead of a private house (Flanders, "Lives and Times of the Chief-Justices," Vol. I. p. 82). The desire to please the mechanics influenced the choice, however (Bancroft, Vol. VII. p. 127), and the Provincial Congress had held its meetings there.

³ Galloway to William Franklin, September 5, 1774. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 477.)

ples. One intended candidly and clearly to define American rights and explicitly and dutifully to petition for the remedy which would redress the grievances justly complained of—to form a more solid and constitutional union between the two countries and to avoid every measure which tended to sedition, or acts of violent opposition.

“The other consisted of persons whose design from the beginning of their opposition to the Stamp Act, was to throw off all subordination and connection with Great Britain; who meant by every fiction, falsehood and fraud to delude the people from their due allegiance, to throw the subsisting governments into anarchy, to incite the ignorant and vulgar to arms and with those same to establish American Independence.”

As soon as the Congress was organized, several committees were appointed for the consideration of the various matters which were to come before it. Mr. Galloway was assigned to the Committee for stating the Rights and Grievances of the Colonies, and from the notes in John Adams's diary we find that he took a prominent part in the debates of that important committee.

A lively discussion took place on September 8. The question under consideration was a fundamental one,—namely, the basis of their rights. Was it to be found in the law of nature, in the British Constitution, or in the American charters? Mr. Galloway waited until he had heard the opinions of the others, and then spoke at length.¹ He said that he could not find the rights of Americans in the refined distinctions between taxation and legislation, between internal and external taxation, between taxes laid for the purpose of revenue and for the regulation of trade, or between the right in Parliament to bind the Colonies by some laws and not by all. Those were distinctions without a difference, and could they be supported they could not draw from them anything beneficial to the freedom of the Colonies. He had searched for them in the common law, in the usage and customs of England, in the statutes and laws and journals of

¹ This analysis of Mr. Galloway's remarks is based on the “Arguments on Both Sides” and the “Notes” in Adams's diary. Their essential agreement indicates conclusively that the remarks were substantially the contents of the “Arguments,” etc.

Parliament, but they were not to be found. Nor could we find them in the law of God and nature, because they were not in a state of nature; nor on the common rights of mankind, nor on American charters, but always in a state of political society. "I have looked for them in the constitution of the English government" and the principles and policy upon which it is founded, and there found them. He then gave voice to an honest conviction which twenty years of legal and legislative experience had formed and which was the key to his whole political career,—namely, that "power results from the real property of a society," and wherever it is lodged it is intended for its protection and security. And as the lands of every community are the most permanent and unchangeable of all kinds of property, the supreme heads of most states, not despotic, derive their power chiefly from the landed interest. The states of Greece, Macedonia and Rome were founded on this plan, and none but landholders could vote in the comitia or stand for offices.

The English Constitution was founded on the same principle. Among the Saxons the proprietors of the land were obliged to attend the legislative council and shared the power of making laws. The same principle was continued in the Norman period. And when the landholders could not all attend, the representatives of the freeholders came in. Before the reign of Henry IV. an attempt was made to give the tenants-in-capite a right to vote. This power of legislation had ever been fully enjoyed by English subjects and landholders, except when invaded by arbitrary power; but it had been uniformly restored. King John in *Magna Charta* agreed not to impose any taxes without summoning the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, and tenants-in-capite, who held all the lands in England. And it is of the essence of the English Constitution "that no laws shall be binding but such as are made by the consent of the proprietors in England."

"How then did it stand with our ancestors when they

came over here? They could not be bound by any laws made by the British Parliament excepting those made before. I never could see any reason to allow that we are bound to any law made since, nor could I ever make any distinction between the sorts of law." Their rights, therefore, might be reduced to one,—namely, an exemption from all laws made by Parliament since the emigration of their ancestors. It followed from that that all acts of Parliament made since were violations of their rights. These claims he held to be defensible upon the principles even of their enemies.

He concluded by admitting that his arguments tended to independency and opposed the "maxim that there must be some absolute power to draw together all the wills and strength of the empire." Whether he stated at that time how he would meet the difficulty, Adams's notes do not indicate. It is not unlikely that he did, for he later said that he had previously mentioned his purpose to introduce a plan of union. While he denied that the Colonies owed obedience to the supreme authority of Britain, he thought that such a denial, accompanied by an express desire of establishing a political union with the mother country which would remove all differences, would not be offensive or indelicate, but justifiable.

Mr. Galloway vigorously combated the proposal for a non-intercourse agreement, and he was not only not alone in this (for Duane also opposed it), but was wiser than his colleagues, in that he foresaw that the effect of it would be more disastrous to the Colonies than to the mother country. The policy was adopted, nevertheless, September 27.

When he had announced early in the Congress that it was his purpose to introduce a plan of union, some objections had been offered. He postponed it, therefore, hoping to "hear a more effectual one," determined to support any measure which might tend to reconciliation. He was unwilling to delay longer, however, and September 28 presented his plan with a speech in which he sought to prove

the necessity of a supreme authority over them, tracing Colonial rights to their origin, and showing the necessity of a union with the mother country for their recovery.¹

He thought that non-importation would be too gradual in its operation for the relief of Boston, and non-exportation he considered an "undigested proposition." America could not exist under a total non-exportation. Pennsylvania would have "tens of thousands of people thrown upon the cold hand of charity." Shipping would rot, seamen would go hungry, shipwrights remain idle, and agriculture would be affected. Then it would weaken them in "another struggle" which he feared was "too near." In explaining his plan he considered it necessary to state a number of facts relating to the two countries, Great Britain and America, which he hoped would not be disagreeable. He called attention to the last war, when America was "in the greatest danger of destruction." Massachusetts and the Albany Congress of 1754 had declared it, and had called attention to their disunion and lack of an "indifferent arbiter" between them. "Requisitions came over. A number of the colonies gave most extensively and liberally; others gave nothing or late. Pennsylvania gave late, not for want of zeal or loyalty, but owing to their disputes with Proprietors, their disunited state. These delinquencies were handed up to the parent state, and these gave occasion to the Stamp Act. America with the greatest reason and justice complained of the Stamp Act.

"Had they proposed some plan of policy, some negotiation been set afoot, it would have terminated in the most happy harmony between the two countries. They repealed the Stamp Act, but they passed the Declaratory Act.

"Without some supreme legislature, some common arbiter, you are not, say they, part of the state.

"I am as much a friend of liberty as exists; and no man shall go further in point of fortune, or in point of blood, than the man who now addresses you."

¹ Adams, "Life of John Adams," Vol. II. p. 387.

He sustained his arguments by quotations from the political philosophers Burlamaqui, Grotius, Puffendorf, and Hooker. He declared the necessity of a union of wills and strength, and made a distinction between a state and a multitude: "a state is animated by one soul." He again declared that they were not within the circle of the supreme jurisdiction of the Parliament, but independent states. The law of Great Britain did not bind them in any case whatever. But they needed the aid and assistance and protecting arm of the mother country. But protection and allegiance were reciprocal duties. Could they lay claim to the money and protection of Great Britain on any principles of honor or conscience? Could they wish to become aliens to the mother state? No; they must come upon terms with Great Britain.

He knew of no American Constitution; each Colony had a constitution, but they were totally independent of one another. All agreed that Parliament ought to have the power over trade, because Britain protected it and them. Then why not declare it? "Because Parliament and Ministry is wicked and corrupt, and will take advantage of such declaration to tax us, and will also reason from this acknowledgment to further power over us." But "we shall not be bound further than we acknowledge it." "Is it not necessary that the trade of the empire should be regulated by some power or other? Can the empire hold together without it? No. Who shall regulate it? Shall the legislature of Nova Scotia or Georgia regulate it? Massachusetts or Virginia? Pennsylvania or New York? It can't be pretended. Our legislative powers extend no further than the limits of our governments. Where then shall it be placed? There is a necessity that an American Legislature should be set up, or else that we should give the power to Parliament or king."

The plan for an American Legislature which Mr. Galloway then proposed, and which will be considered at length in a later chapter, was warmly seconded by James Duane,

considered a "perfect plan" by Edward Rutledge, and supported by John Jay. Colonel Lee objected that "it would make such changes in the legislatures of the colonies" that he could not agree to it without consulting his constituents. But John Henry attacked the scheme most bitterly. They would merely free themselves from a corrupt House of Commons to "throw them into the arms of an American Legislature that may be bribed by that nation which avows in the face of the world that bribery is a part of her system of government." No, "we are not to consent by the representatives of representatives."¹

Mr. Galloway's forcible and earnest presentation of the subject secured a sufficient number of votes to have the plan referred to further consideration "under a rule for that purpose."² But it was never formally discussed again. Its author tried in vain to secure it another hearing, but the sentiments of the delegates underwent a change, and it was rejected and all reference to it even expunged from the minutes of the Congress.³ The reasons for this action cannot be certainly known, although Mr. Galloway held Samuel Adams responsible for it. He declared that the fear lest the plan meet with favor among their constituents, and so defeat their measures for independence, led the Bostonians and Virginians to attempt to destroy all trace of it, believing its author would not venture to publish it; and, further, that intimidation was used by exciting mobs among the people of Philadelphia against him and his supporters.⁴ And, finally, that, at the close of the session, when a gentleman from Virginia (Henry?) challenged him to argument and

¹ Adams "Notes." John Henry expressed a great aversion for Mr. Galloway, and could hardly tolerate him in the Congress!

² *Examination*, p. 45. The vote to refer was six to five.

³ *Candid Examination*. The account as given by Mr. Galloway is accepted by Adams in his "Life of John Adams." Ramsey ("History of the Revolution," Vol. I. p. 411) says one of the rules of the Congress was that "no entry should be made on their journals of any propositions . . . to which they did not finally assent."

⁴ "Historical and Political Reflections."

he agreed, it was objected that the hurry and confusion of closing afforded no suitable occasion, and *that* in the face of the fact that it had been determined previously at the New Tavern to expunge the subject from the minutes.¹

Some other causes for the rejection of the plan doubtless lay in the opposition made by its author to the adoption of the revolutionary Sussex Resolves, and his support of the motion made by Mr. Ross that "Massachusetts should be left to her own discretion with respect to government and justice, as well as defence."² Furthermore, the exclusion of John Dickinson from the Congress no doubt surprised and offended many delegates. Efforts were accordingly made to secure his election to the Assembly October 1, 1774. Success attended these efforts, and Dickinson was elected, and soon after appointed a delegate to Congress, where it is probable he exerted his influence against Mr. Galloway and his plan of union.³

Historians have alleged that Mr. Galloway, notwithstanding the solemn promise made by all the delegates not to divulge the proceedings of the Congress, acted as a voluntary spy for the British ministry.⁴ This damaging assertion appears malicious and is false. The charge is based upon two letters which were written by Mr. Galloway to his friend, Governor William Franklin, of New Jersey, and extracts from which were sent by him to Lord Dartmouth,

¹ Reply to the "Address to the Author of the Candid Examination."

² Adams, "Life of John Adams," Vol. IX. p. 349. The Sussex Resolves were strongly opposed by Galloway and Duane. "When overruled, they asked permission to enter a protest against it on the journals, which was refused. On leaving Congress they exchanged memoranda to the effect that they had objected to it on the ground of its treasonableness." (Frothingham, "Rise of the Republic," p. 369.) They even thought of leaving Congress, but were advised by friends to remain for fear of tumult in the city.

³ The Plan is said to have been expunged from the minutes October 22 by a vote of six Colonies to five. (See *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Vol. III. p. 259.)

⁴ Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. VII. p. 126. Wells, "Life of Samuel Adams," Vol. II. p. 228.

September 6, 1774.¹ The first of these letters contains an account of the gathering of the delegates to Congress, with comments upon their dispositions. This is dated September 3, 1774, two days before the Congress met. The second letter, dated September 5, 1774, the day Congress convened, gives an account of the first day's proceedings. These letters purport to be from one of the delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, and are undeniably from the hand of Mr. Galloway himself. Franklin said that they were "communications made to me by a gentleman of character, in confidence that they will be kept entirely secret." This certainly indicates that there was no expectation of their being transmitted to England. There was no impropriety in writing them, and there was good reason for having such correspondence kept secret at that time. They were written by one friend to another on matters in which both were extremely interested; but Franklin was a Royal Governor, and had it become known that Mr. Galloway was in correspondence with him on matters connected with the Congress, however proper such correspondence, the writer would have been greatly embarrassed in his efforts to promote harmony in the Congress or secure the adoption of a plan so contrary to the intentions of the patriots. Determined characters like the Adamses and Henry would have taken advantage of such a thing and used it to discredit Galloway and destroy his influence.

But these letters are dated and relate to matters previous to the adoption of the rule forbidding members to divulge the proceedings of the Congress. That rule was not adopted until September 6, or the second day of the meeting of Congress, and after Mr. Galloway wrote the letters to Franklin.

One of the letters contained the following sentence: "You may depend on my communicating to you from time to time the transactions of the Congress." No evidence has been discovered to indicate that Mr. Galloway ever did

¹ Quoted ante, pages 308-310.

this, and the fact that Governor Franklin knew nothing about the proceedings of the Congress except what were published, as is evident from his later correspondence, supports the contention. Furthermore, it may be noticed that little is known of the proceedings of the first Continental Congress, and particularly concerning its action on the plan of union.

Still more interesting evidence in support of the theory that Mr. Galloway, in his correspondence with Governor Franklin, was unaware of the use being made of it, appears in a letter written by the latter to Earl Dartmouth some months after the meeting of the Congress, containing an account of the proceedings in the Pennsylvania Assembly early in 1775. Franklin wrote,—

“They were not wrote with the least intention of any such communication but merely as private intelligence from one friend to another.”

And in the same letter he said,—

“As the persons from whom I may procure intelligence will most probably be entirely ignorant of my intentions of communicating it to his Majesty or his ministers, and as it is best they should be so, lest they might be deterred from giving me information, it is of the utmost consequence that it should be kept as secret as possible.”¹

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Galloway went to New York, where he met Governor Colden.² There is nothing in the latter's published correspondence, however, to indicate that Mr. Galloway conveyed to him any secret or improper information.

Benjamin Franklin received the intimation in England that Mr. Galloway was concerned with Mr. Jay, of New York, in giving the ministry private intelligence. He

¹ Governor Franklin to Earl Dartmouth, April 3, 1775. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 570.) That Mr. Galloway sent information intended for the ministry after he joined the British there is no question, and he never denied it.

² Governor Colden to Earl Dartmouth, December 7, 1774. (“Documents relating to Colonial History of New York,” Vol. VIII. p. 513.)

acquainted Mr. Galloway with the report, but told him he did not believe it.¹

Mr. Galloway's confidential correspondence with intimate friends was conveyed to the authorities in England without doubt, but without his knowledge or consent. That he acted as a "voluntary spy" is certainly not borne out by the facts.

After Mr. Galloway became a pronounced Tory he was denounced for another act in connection with the Congress. He had signed the non-importation agreement, but sought to impede its execution. His own explanation of this is as follows. Encouraged by his success in having the plan of union referred to further consideration, and expecting the rule would be regarded or some other rational plan take its place, he was "weakly led to sign the non-importation agreement, although he had uniformly opposed it." He denied that he signed it as his own private act, or that he considered it as binding on himself or his constituents. Others did the same. It was not considered as his private act in the Congress, since he had voted against many parts of the Association and particularly the non-importation agreement; nor did he consider that a pledge that he would see it executed; he never would have signed it so. Congress knew this, and to prevail on him to sign it it was said it should be done *by order* of the Congress, and then it would be the act of a majority and not of each private person, nor his particular act. He compared it to the case of a Speaker who signed a bill or other legislative act by order, though against his judgment. The clause next preceding the delegates' names proved the assertion:

"The foregoing Association being determined upon by the Congress, *was ordered* to be signed by the several members thereof, and *thereupon* we have hereunto set our respective names *accordingly*."

"However just this reasoning may be thought," said he,

¹ Benjamin Franklin to Galloway, February 25, 1775. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. V. p. 435.)

"it was the reasoning of the Congress and it was one among other reasons which prevailed on me and a number of other delegates to sign it."¹

Although Mr. Galloway had been disappointed in the conduct of the Congress, and was convinced that the measures adopted were not the proper ones to lead to a settlement of the quarrel with the mother country, yet he seems to have continued to take an active part until its meetings closed. On October 21 he was appointed to serve on the committee chosen to revise the minutes. It was in connection with the report of this committee that the vote expunging his plan probably passed the Congress. While his own propositions had met with disfavor, and his plan of union was rejected, he felt that he had acted for the best interests of the Province he represented; and he had done so conscientiously, courageously, and persistently.

¹ "Reply to An Address to the Author of the Candid Examination." In his testimony before the Loyalist Commission, Mr. Galloway said that a further reason for signing the non-importation agreement was the fact that his friends "outside" advised it for fear of trouble among the people.

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT
ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Continued from page 244.)

PHILADA. 28 March 1802.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER;

I am most sensibly affected by your feeling letter delivered me by Mr. Bond, who was kind enough to forward my several letters which you regret the not receiving. Whatever delays may have prevented their safe or speedy conveyance, I have no doubt they have reached your hands long before this.

I most sincerely wish it were in my power to alleviate your Afflictions, what I can do I certainly will. I inclose you a little present of £200 Sterling in a Bill of Exchange drawn by William Waln on Bainbridge, Ansley & Co—besides observing your directions as to sending £500 Sterling to Miss Fitch under cover to Mr. Coxe for the payment of which, I have sold your shares in the Bank of North America & Pennsylvania. I shall in future endeavour to repeat a present to you annually of £100 Sterling to enable you to enjoy some few comforts which I fear from your letter you have been deprived of by your distresses.

It is natural that you should assist your Sons for whose welfare you seem so much concerned—but after the two eldest are possessed of a present provision and probably in a way to acquire a still better, I should suppose they would not in future, when they knew your situation, oppress you with their draughts for money; they will rather pinch themselves a little & endeavour to proportion their expences to their incomes:—at my death, which from the course of nature cannot be very distant, you will find yourself enabled further to assist them.

I feel very grateful to Mr. Coxe for his very kind exertions in your behalf: if it should ever be in my power to shew my sense of them, I shall certainly demonstrate it more than by words. I am glad to find by the death of his Aunt Rebecca Coxe that he will probably come in for a part of her Estate

which I am told in land & money will amount to the value of near two Hundred thousand Dollars.

I am glad you have taken a smaller house, & shew such a disposition to economise. I presume you find it necessary to reside in London, otherwise I suppose you could live with as much comfort, and at a much less expense in some convenient Country town: but as I never had reason to distrust your prudence I know you will do in this respect what is right.

All your friends here desire to be most cordially remembered to you.

I am my dear Child
ever most affectionately Yours.

PHILAD. 13 May 1802.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I have been much affected by your last letter rec'd a few days ago. I feel exceedingly for your distress as well as for the delicate Situation you are in; but do not my dear Child suffer your mind to be debilitated by Anxiety, consider your future Welfare & that of your Children may depend upon the firmness with which you support present distresses. I wonder much that my several letters have never come to hand,—three of them contained Bills of Exchange, one for £120 Sterling, one for £200 & one for £500, the latter enclosed according to your directions to Miss Fitch: duplicates of all which I have sent by different opportunities.

If you should be obliged to give up the Affairs of Gen'l Arnold to his Creditors, you must of course deliver up your brother's bond, which however they may consider as a desperate debt he possessing no property, & depending for the Support of himself & family upon my occasional Assistance, his little business as a Physician, being by no means sufficient; if they should push him, he will doubtless take the benefit of the Act of Bankruptcy. I have desired Mr. Burd to write you his Sentiments on this Subject.

I would with the greatest pleasure afford Mr. Coxe every assistance in my power respecting his Aunt's Estate, being fully satisfied of his Merit & kind exertions in your behalf. I have written him on this Subject, but find that Mr. Bond has before informed him fully what may be expected. I sincerely hope no well founded objections will be made to his just Claim, which

amounts to something very handsome. The family here are not disposed to throw any difficulties in his Way, and yet will probably insist upon their *legal* rights whatever they may be. If the Question of Alienage should be made in his case & not in his Sister's (as she took no active part) it would not encrease their Share of the Estate, and would only be a matter between Mr. Coxe & Mrs. Kempe, about which they would probably not concern themselves. I hope however no difficulties will arise from any question, yet it would be prudent in Mr. Coxe to get the best legal opinion from New York where the most valuable part of the Real Estate lies.

PHILADA. 18. June 1802

MY DEAR DAUGHTER,

Reflecting upon the disconsolate life you must lead in London, as well from the absence of all your natural friends, as the frequent attacks on your health and the distress of your mind, I cannot feel myself easy without giving you another invitation to my house—the Change of Scene and the Company and Sympathy of your best & most natural friends & relatives here will tend to dissipate the gloom which I cannot but discover from your letters to have taken possession of your mind. If you cannot bring yourself to consent to a permanent Stay with us on account of your Children's interest, you can at least make us a visit for a year or two, by which time I have no doubt you will recover your health & Spirits, so as to enable you to form your future plans with correctness.

Your Sisters are all happily situated & will have the highest pleasure in contributing to your Agrément. If this plan should meet with your Concurrence, you will bring with you, your sweet daughter Sophia, and your youngest son William, who can be accommodated with a good School either in the City or at some Seminary in the Neighbourhood. I presume George is in a better way of receiving a proper Education where he is & will be within reach of profiting by his elder brothers wishes' to serve him. Mr. Daniel Coxe has been so good a friend to you that I dare say he will undertake to manage the business of the General's Estate in your absence, either alone or in conjunction with one or two others whom he may recommend, and also to conduct the business of your & your Children's Pensions under proper

powers of Attorney.—the Relief you will receive from the perplexing business of that Estate, by a temporary absence will tend to tranquillize your mind & restore you to your wonted health. Pray my dear Child give this matter your best Consideration, and when resolved put the plan into immediate execution. We shall all receive you here with heartfelt Satisfaction, and flatter ourselves we shall, under God, be the happy means of adding to your felicity.

I make no doubt you have long since received my former letters inclosing Bills of Exchange.

With my best love to my dear Child, I subscribe myself
Your ever affectionate father.

PHILADA. 30 Nov 1802

MY DEAR PEGGY.

It was with the utmost pleasure I received your last Letter of the 5th of October, as it convinced me of the returned Serenity of your mind as well as of the restoration of your health. It is indeed a Letter fraught with good Sense and just reflections & leaves me no room to doubt but that you will in future possess all the Intellect you ever had:—the mind has certainly a powerful Effect on the Body, from whence I likewise hope your health will be completely restored. It must greatly conduce to your happiness that your Children have conducted themselves so much to your satisfaction and that their prospects are so promising.

You appear to have friends sensible of your Worth, which gives me great Comfort, being certain that your correct Conduct & good dispositions will secure to you a continuance of their friendship.

I am sorry to hear that your friends Mr. & Mrs. Coxe have met with so severe a loss as the death of their beloved daughter. I shall always respect & love them for their kindness to you. I had frequently told their Son Doct. John Redman Coxe how sincerely I was disposed to do every thing in my power to show my gratitude. He has thought it right to apply to our Government for a pardon for his father: he having been with divers others in the early stages of our revolution attainted of High Treason on account of his adherence to the British. I was the first Signer of the Application to the Governor for that purpose

& hope it will be successful. This may be of use to him if he should ever find his Affairs will call him to this Country.

I have given your Sisters a hint how pleasing it would be to you to receive frequent Letters from them;—they promise well but have all lazy fits in the article of letter-writing.

My best love attends you & all your dear Children.

I am &c.

PHILADA. 3 April 1803.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

Your Letter of the 5th of January gave me great pleasure, not only as it proved to me the restoration of your health & Spirits, but as it gave me expectations that your late embarrassments are subsiding.

I inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £250 Sterling, £100 of which I mean as a present, the remaining £150: I shall charge to your Account of Moneys here which altho' not yet received, will come to my hands in course; having an Opportunity of purchasing what I esteemed a good bill, and thinking the Money might be convenient to you at this time, altho' by way of anticipation I have ventured to send it, altho it will diminish your next remittance.

You mention Mount Pleasant Farm. I thought I had before explained this business to you. The Mortgage of Macpherson to Osborne which lay upon the place when it was purchased, was some years ago put in Suit & the reversion by this means sunk; about 25 or 26 Acres of the land was not included in that Mortgage, but was incumbered by another Mortgage of Macpherson to one Mason, who is now about selling it, & I am told it will not yield sufficient to discharge his Mortgage. So that no hopes can arise from any residue of that Estate. When the House part was sold under Osborne's Mortgage, I likewise sold the life Estate which I had purchased from MacLanagan, for two hundred pounds less than I gave for it.

I am pleased you have taken a house of small Rent in London; your Oeconomy can reflect no disgrace, but on the contrary much Credit on you with all those who knew you before, and I dare say you are not ambitious of making new friendships.

Your Sister Sally lives with me still, much to our mutual sat-

isfaction and happiness. Whatever Reports may have gone abroad as to changing her Condition by Marriage, all that matter has been long at an end; the Gentleman who wished to have her, altho a Man of fortune is incumbered with so many Children, some of them grown up, that Sally wisely foresaw evil at a distance & declined the Connection, altho if he had been differently situated as to family, I believe he was himself much to her taste.

I think it probable one of your Sisters will write you by this Opportunity; from them you will hear any little details relating to your family & friends. I feel myself tolerably well except a little Sciatica and some Symptoms of advanced Age, which remind me that a better world is in View. My best love to your dear Daughter & your good Sons. I am always with truth & sincerity,

Your affectionate father,

E. S.

PHILADA. 18 April 1804.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

With much grief I have heard of the precarious State of your health: your family are greatly interested in it, and I hope in God you will be speedily reinstated. It must be a great Addition to your Afflictions, that the public affairs of England are in so distracted and hazardous a Condition. We have been in continual Expectation of hearing of Buonoparte's attempt to land in England; it is strangely protracted if it is really intended. I have no doubt of his eventual failure if he persists; his delay has given the British Administration ample time to make full preparations for his reception.

I am grown old, after having experienced my Share of distress both public and private & hope in God I shall go out of the World, without feeling more of either.

I inclose you a Bill of Exchange drawn by John Collet on Thomas Wilson for £180 Sterling, which I hope will be duly honored; Eighty pounds of this is of your own Money & the remaining hundred Pounds you will accept as a present.

My best love to all your dear family and believe me to be with the utmost truth & sincerity,

Your ever affectionate father.

MY DEAR PEGGY,

I wrote you on the 18th instant a letter inclosing a Bill of Exchange for £180 Sterling of which £80 was your own money; the remaining £100 a present. I take this opportunity of sending you a Second Bill of the same Sett.

I received a very kind letter from Mr. D. Coxe your very valuable friend acquainting me with the very critical State of your health & the apprehensions of your friends as to the Result, and advising me to make a proper provision in my Will in favor of your Children in Case of your death. I cannot bear to think of the possibility of losing you thus early in life: but for fear of Accidents, I shall certainly follow Mr. Coxe's advice & especially in favor of your lovely daughter.

Since the receipt of his letter I have the superlative pleasure of hearing through the medium of Doct. Redman's family that your recovery is almost beyond a doubt. I hope in God, I shall be confirmed in this pleasing Intelligence by your next Letter.

I am &c.

March 28, 1802.

DANIEL COXE, LONDON.

At the request of my daughter Mrs. Arnold I have taken the liberty to trouble you with the inclosures.

I feel infinitely obliged to you for the many acts of friendship and kindness, which my daughter assures me you have conferred upon her. Your Exertions in her behalf shall never be forgotten, by

Sir,

Your &c.

PHILADELPHIA May 13, 1802.

DANIEL COXE.

My daughter, Mrs. Arnold inclosed me a memorandum of yours respecting your and your sisters claims to the estate of your late Aunt Rebecca, with her wishes that I would afford you my best advice or assistance on this subject.

I most sincerely wish it were in my power to manifest my Sense of the kind assistance you have afforded to her in her distressed Situation. As I find Mr. Bond has investigated this Subject so as to give you a full and true state of every thing relating to it, less will be necessary for me to say. I understand by the laws of New Jersey and New York the personal Estate will be

distributed per capita, real Estate per stirpes. So that you and your Sister will take one half of the latter, the males to take double shares: in New Jersey however the real estate will not be confined to the Brother's and Sister's Children but Grandchildren will come in as Representatives of their deceased parents. I would be fuller on this Subject if Mr. Bond had not exhausted it; he has had conversations with Judge Coxe the eldest son of your Uncle William, from whom he has received all possible information.

I understand that branch of the family have consulted Lawyers of Eminence in New Jersey and will probably act in conformity to their Opinions. I believe however they have not yet obtained any Opinion upon the only point that can possibly affect the case to your disadvantage, (there being it seems no corruption of blood) I mean the question of alienage—this point has been taken up in different lights in different States. Men have been acquitted on a Charge of treason on the ground of their having taken their Sides before the Declaration of Independence, and by that means changed their Allegiance before any treasonable Act committed, from whence some have supposed that from that Moment they became Aliens and incapable of taking by descent. On this point, as well as how far the case is affected by the treaty of Peace, I think you ought to take the Opinion of good Counsel in the State of New York, where the most valuable parts of the realty lies,—perhaps it would be best to consult both Mr. Alexander Hamilton and Brockhurst Livingston, who are among the heads of the two parties there and both esteemed good Lawyers. I mean to suggest this to your Son John as a prudent step.

The family here would no doubt take all they have a legal right to, but I believe do not wish to act an unfriendly, much less an unfair part by you or your Sister. If I can hereafter collect any intelligence that would be useful for you to know, I shall make a point of communicating it either to yourself or your Son.

PHILADA June 18 1802

DANIEL COXE,
MY DEAR SIR;

I cannot sufficiently express the Warmth of my gratitude for your very kind and active exertions in behalf of my unfortunate daughter Mrs. Arnold, and particularly for the last proof you

have given of it, by writing me so fully the State of her mind and health. I had before invited her to my Arms and house, but from the Situation of her deceased husband's Affairs, and from a belief that her remaining in England would benefit her Children, she declined accepting my Invitation: but I have now in consequence of your kind representation and Advice again invited her to at least a temporary Visit of a year or two, and have endeavoured to enforce my invitation with such reasons as I hope will prevail on her to oblige me. I have suggested to her that from your former kind exertions I make no doubt you will accept a power of Attorney in conjunction with any other person or persons whom you may recommend, to manage the affairs of the General's estate, and of her and her Children's pensions. I doubt not but on the receipt of my Letter, she will consult you on the Subject of it, your best advice will be ever gratefully acknowledged.

PHILADELPHIA Sept 17, 1804

DANIEL COXE, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:

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 any 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.

Among other things, I am much obliged to you for your kind and well judged Advice as to settling the property I mean for my daughter upon her Children in case of her untimely decease. I did indeed in consequence of your former letter make a provision in my Will for that Event, allotting one half of my daughter's share to her daughter and the remainder to the Sons according to their wants. This was a sudden arrangement; any other which you may recommend considering your knowledge of the family and kind disposition towards them, I shall gladly listen to and be disposed to adopt.

In case of the Calamitous Event so much to be apprehended,

Sophia will be at some loss as to her future destination. I shall think it my duty, if she can reconcile herself to a life of some retirement, to give her an invitation to come over to America, and reside in my family: in this way I shall be very happy to provide for her, till my departure from this World, which considering my Age and growing Infirmities cannot be at a very distant period, after which she will not want a decent provision, tho' not an affluent one.

Pray present my tenderest Love to my dear Peggy, and acquaint her with as much of the contents of this Letter as you think prudent in her Situation.

Accept my sincerest and most fervent thanks for all your kindness and believe me to be, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate Friend and humble Servant.

PHILADELPHIA Feby. 13, 1805.

DANIEL COXE,

DEAR SIR;

I received your obliging favor of the 7th of November last. I observe you had not received my letters of the 8th and 14th of November, answers to which I impatiently wait. The latter was sent under the care of Mr. Warren, in which I suggested a doubt which was excited in my Mind by some of our female friends, whether my dear Granddaughter might not experience some Mortifications in this Country from the remembrance still retained of her Father's conduct. I however left it to her own choice whether to come or not: her being here in the bosom of her Mother's family would certainly be a very desirable thing to us: but as I would wish of all things to promote her Ease and happiness, I should be grieved if any unpleasant Circumstance should induce her when she did come, to repent it. I observe you suggest a considerable unwillingness in her to be separated from her little brother William. As to his coming here, it would certainly be an unadvised and imprudent Step; his life would be made uncomfortable even among the boys he must associate with at School;—it must not be thought of;—England is the country he must look to for advancement in the World. I do not wonder at Sophia's solicitude about him; it is a proof of the goodness of her heart. Poor dear creature! I wish I could determine with certainty what would most conduce to her happiness: that surely should be my Choice; as it is, she must

choose for herself; if she should make up her mind to remain in England, do let me know what it will be necessary for me to do in her behalf. I shall cheerfully contribute to her support and comfort as far as will be consistent with my ability and the duty I owe to my other Children. My Income will be necessarily much diminished, when I resign my Office, which will probably take place very soon, as I am growing feeble and unable to bear the fatigue of long Journeys.

You will doubtless confer with the dear Girl on this subject, the result of which I should wish to hear as soon as possible.

I am, Dear Sir, with great Esteem

Your obliged humble servant.

PHILADELPHIA April 11, 1805.

DANIEL COXE,

DEAR SIR:

I am favored with your obliging Letter of the 2^d of January last. I observe my dear Granddaughter Sophia is for various good reasons averse to coming to America: happy as I should be to have her with me, I cannot but approve her determination to remain in England. I wish it was in my power to make her life comfortable in whatever part of the World she should choose for her residence. The Residue of the property my dear daughter left in my hands consists of 48 shares of our 8 per cent Stock of the value of one hundred dollars each Share. I find however I remitted in advance to her more than I received of the interest of this Stock, so as to leave yet a small balance due to me. I however inclose you a Bill of Exchange for £100 Sterling which is to be considered not as on account of my daughter's property, but as a present to Sophia, which she will please to accept for her own Use, it may enable her to indulge her generosity to her brother William.

As I am becoming feeble from my advanced age, and as Mr. Burd is one of my daughter's Executors, I think it would be proper for me to transfer the above mentioned Stock to him in trust for the purposes of her Will.

He will be very careful to remit the produce to you as soon as he receives it. I shall by this Opportunity answer my dear Granddaughter's affectionate Letter.

I am Dear Sir

Your obedient and obliged humble Servant.

PHILADELPHIA April 11, 1805.

MY DEAR SOPHIA.

Your very affectionate Letter of the 25th of December came safely to hand. I am not the least surprized at the repugnance you seem to feel at the leaving your brothers, and what may be almost called your native Country in order to embark for America. Your ties there are strong, this would be a new Country to you, and for which you have little reason to entertain any affection, independent of that which is confined to the individuals of your and your dear departed Mother's natural friends and family:—they would all be extremely rejoiced to have you in their bosoms, but by no means at the risk of your happiness or comfort. Your Sentiments regarding the attachment to your brothers do you honor, and I cannot but applaud the determination you make of remaining with them—this indeed is not a Country for them and I strongly suspect not even for you, even for a Visit. I find I remitted to your Mother, at a time when I thought she would stand in need of supplies more than arose from the Interest of her property, so that nothing can be remitted to you now on that account, but lest you should be straitened for money, I now send to Mr. Coxe, a Bill of Exchange for £100 Sterling, to be considered solely as a present to you.

Your dear Mother's property in my hands consists of 8 per cent Stock in the funds of the United States, which I mean to transfer to Mr. Burd, one of her Executors, for the use of those she intended it for by her Will.

He will accordingly remit the produce from it as it comes to his hands. What I can spare I shall occasionally send you myself, under the care of your good friend, Mr. Coxe.

Believe me, my dear Child, Your ever affectionate

Grandfather.

PHILADELPHIA April 30 1805

DANIEL COXE Esq

DEAR SIR;

I take this opportunity of sending you the second of the sett of Bill Exchange for £100 Sterling, which I mean as a present to my dear Granddaughter Sophia Arnold. I inclosed you the first of the sett in a Letter I wrote you on the 11th of this month, which I hope you will have received before this arrives.

Since my last I have received your & Miss Arnold's esteemed favours, yours without date, hers of the 29th of January. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude for the Interest you take in her Affairs and for the communications you make of your Sentiments on her Subject. I shall endeavour to avail myself of every thing you recommend.

I am, &c.

PHILA. April 15, 1806

TO EDWARD ARNOLD, ESQ., CALCUTTA.

DEAR EDWARD,

The Bearer hereof is Mr. George Emlen, a young Gentleman of good Character and respectable family who goes to Calcutta on mercantile business. As it may possibly be of some use to him to be known to some Gentleman of that country, I beg leave to introduce him to your acquaintance, more especially as he has a prospect on his return to America of forming a nearer connection with my family.

I lately received a handsome letter from your amiable Sister, who is in good health, and situated in London to her Satisfaction. She always expresses herself with much affection and gratitude to her absent Brothers. I understand your brother George is arrived in India with good prospects. Give my love to him, and believe me to be

Your affectionate Grandfather.

(To be continued.)

THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY FRANCIS VON A. CABEEN.

(Continued from page 223.)

The account of the celebration of Saint Tammany's Day, which took place on Monday, May 21, 1785, is as follows :

"On Monday last, the Sons of St. Tammany¹ celebrated the anniversary of their Saint, at Mr. Beveridge's seat on the Banks of the Schuylkill. At 12 o'clock the flag of the United States ornamented with a fine figure of St. Tammany drawn by Mr. Wright, was displayed in the centre, that of France on the right, and that of Holland on the left. The Chief and Sachems of last year then appeared, grounded the ensigns of authority, and mixed with their brethren, upon which a brother came forward, reminded the nation of the presence of their Saint, and that they had neither chief nor councillors. Whereupon they unanimously re-elected their old chief, and such of their former councillors as were present, adding as many new as completed the number thirteen. The compliments of his excellency, Gen'l. Washington for the attention and respect paid him last year, being communicated by the Secretary, produced thirteen cheers, which came from the heart. The unlimited authority of the Sachem to do good to his children was acknowledged, the old law which commands 'every man to do as he pleases' being proclaimed and obedience on pain of compulsion, the festivity of the day began and continued throughout with that perfect liberty which feels no restraint than affection and respect towards each other which eminently distinguishes the Sons of this

¹ Pennsylvania Packet, May 5, 1785 ; Freeman's Journal, May 2, 1785 ; Mercury, May 6, 1785.

Saint. No healths were drank nor any court made to great men having no ambition to be greater, they determined not to be less than their fellow citizens. Among the great number of Songs which were sung as St. Tammany's due, the old song was sung with great spirit . . ." The following ode was also composed :

"Ode for Saint Tammany's Day, May 1st, 1785.

"(Written by Tenxogrondi, a Delaware Chief.)

"Donna makoo makoonos !
 Kuikoo donna makoo ;
 Wawa nekoonos ;
 Guahee honigee.

"(Full Chorus.)

"Ever sacred be this day,
 Genial morn of rosy May.

"(Recitative.)

"To Schuylkill's fair banks let us cheerful repair,
 For pure is the æther, and fragrant the air ;
 Soft Zephyrs shall fan us, and eke thro' the grove,
 The genius of Tammany shield us with love,
 No foes shall intrude with inquisitive eye,
 Our orgies, our dances, our mystries to spy.

"(Air.)

"Adieu to your wives,
 Come gird on your knives,
 Your tomahawks, arrows and bows !
 Your bodies besmear,
 With oil of the bear,
 And look undismay'd on your foes.

"(Recitative.)

"Kindle up the council fires,
 Lo ! our Saint the flame inspires,
 Whilst we pass the flowing bowl,
 Let the smoky volumes roll,
 From the calumet and pipe,
 Of sweet Peace the welcome type,
 Let our Sachems, healths go round,

Beat with nimble foot the ground ;
Till the woods and hills reply,
Vocal mirth and symphony.

“(Chorus.)

“Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

“(Recitative.)

“Now the hatchet we'll bury, since war is no more,
And peace with rich plenty revisits our shore ;
To hunt the fleet stag o'er the mountains we'll run ;
In sports we alone will employ the fell gun ;
Our fields shall be cloath'd with gay heavens again,
And friendship will brighten the blood rusted chain ;
But should war call us forth then adieu to our glee,
Each shoulders his rifle and takes to his tree.

“(Air.)

“Hail, Columbia Tutelar !
Tho' thy ashes distant are—
Hid beneath the mountain side,
Or below the rapid tide :
Still thy warlike shade attends,
Smiling on thy filial friends ;
Leads their dances, aids their pleasure,
Joys dispensing, without measure.

“(Recitative.)

“Now each Sachem join hands round the Liberty Pole,
And briskly again pass the heart cheering bowl ;
To Washington's mem'ry, the chief of our train,
The full flowing goblet, repeated we'll drain ;
Then next to each chieftain, who fought, and who bled,
Let's sing a Requiem, and toast him, tho' dead.

“(Air.)

“For Tammany's holy,
Let's fire a volley,
That hills, woods, and rocks may reply,
We'll found him in powder,
Still louder and louder,
Till echo shall rend the blue sky.

“(Chorus.)

“Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

“(Recitative.)

“In volumes of smoke, and in spires of flame,
Our Tutelar flew to the spheres,
He left us his blessing, his weapons, his fame,
And hearts unacquainted with fears.
The shades of our ancestors cluster around,
To welcome our chief from the wars ;
With laurels celestial his temples they bound,
Then thron'd him on high 'midst the stars.

“(Air.)

“Sound the horns, ye tuneful choirs,
'Tis our Saint the notes inspires ;
Brace the drums and make them roll,
Martial music charms the soul ;
Soon, responsive to the chorus,
Tammany shall stand before us ;
On the mossy velvet green,
Smiling on us, tho' unseen.

“(Chorus.)

“Charge the bowl again with liquor,
Pass it briskly, pass it quicker ;
Sachems, warriors, now advance,
Form the ring, begin the dance,
Music summons us to pleasure,
Mark the tune, and time the measure,
Full of mirth, and full of glee,
Thus conclude our jubilee.

“(Grand chorus.)

“Ever sacred be this day,
Genial morn of rosy May.

Exeunt Omnes—Indian file.

“To Captains

KAIAPCUTA,

KILL BUCK,

CORN STALK,

TURKEY TAIL, and

MYMNA,

} Great Sachems and warriors.”

Another account of the above event says, "Mr. Chief Justice McKean, Judge Bryan, and several other officers of State mixed with their brethern on this happy festival."¹

From the diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer is the following:

"Went to the St. Tammany Anniversary at David Beveridge's place over the Schuylkill, late Reese Meredith's. A large number of gentlemen collected, with tickets in their hats which cost 8 s. 4 d. but afforded us ample food and drink. The first thing done was the gentlemen formed a ring, and chose James Read Esq., their chief: Timothy Matlack, his Secretary and the following gentlemen the Chief Council; George Bryan, Plunket Fleeson, William Moore, Frederick Phile, Esqrs., General Daniel Heister, Colonels Coats, Dean, Will, Boyd, Wade, Proctor, and Jonathan Bayard Smith."²

In order to give a clear idea of the kind of men that occupied high positions in this Society we give some short biographical sketches of those mentioned above:

Chief-Justice McKean was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Born in New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania, March 19, 1734; died in Philadelphia June 24, 1817. He was admitted to the bar before he was twenty-one years old, appointed Deputy Attorney-General of Sussex County a year later, and in 1757 was clerk of the Assembly. Was a member of the Assembly from 1752 to 1769. In 1774 was elected to the Stamp Act Congress, and from 1774 to 1783 was a member of the Continental Congress. He was Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania from 1777 until 1817.

George Bryan was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1731; died in Philadelphia January 27, 1791. He came to this country in early life and was engaged some years in commercial pursuits in Philadelphia. He was a member of the Assembly, and in 1765 was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, in which he took an active part. He was Vice-President of

¹ Independent Gazetteer, May 7, 1785.

² Hiltzheimer's Diary, May 2, 1785.

the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from the period of the Declaration of Independence, and in March, 1778, was advanced to the Presidency. In November of that year he sent a message to the Assembly pressing upon its attention a bill proposed by the Council in 1777 for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. In 1779 he was again elected to the Assembly, and on his motion the subject was referred to a committee of which he himself was a member, and he proposed a draft of a law for gradual emancipation. He was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court in 1780, and remained in that position until his death. In 1784 he was elected one of the Council of Censors. He strenuously opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

James Read was born in Philadelphia; he went to Reading at an early period in its history, and, by appointment from the Provincial government, filled the county offices of prothonotary, recorder, register, clerk of the Orphans' Court and of the Court of Quarter Sessions continuously from the time of the organization of Berks County in 1752 till 1776. He was one of the first attorneys admitted to the bar at Reading, and also practised his profession whilst filling the offices above named. He officiated as one of the justices of the county courts under the Provincial government, and served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council for two terms, from 1779 to 1782, and 1788 to 1791. Under the Constitution of 1776 he was elected, in 1783, to represent Berks County in the Council of Censors. The numerous positions filled by him indicate that he was a man of recognized ability.¹

Timothy Matlack was born in Haddonfield, New Jersey, in 1730; died near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, April 15, 1829. He had been a member of the Society of Friends, but at the beginning of the Revolution left it for that of the Free or "Fighting" Quakers, and is described by Christopher Marshall as "one of the most active spirits of the days of

¹ Montgomery's History of Berks County.

1775-6." When he first wore his sword in the streets of Philadelphia, some of the orthodox Friends ridiculed him and inquired what its use was. "It is to defend my property and my liberty," he replied. In 1776 he was a member of the general Committee of Safety, and colonel of the battalion that served against the Delaware Tories, who in June of that year had cut off the land communication to Dover. He was a deputy with Benjamin Franklin, Thomas McKean, Colonel John Bayard, and others from Philadelphia, to attend the State Conference of June 14, 1776. In 1780-87 he was delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress, and for many years was Master of the Rolls of the State, residing in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, but on becoming prothonotary of one of the courts of Philadelphia he returned to that city. In 1783 the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia presented him with a silver urn "for his patriotic devotion to the cause of freedom, and the many services rendered by him through the struggle." With Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and others he established and contributed funds to build the Free Quaker Meeting-House of Philadelphia. He lived to the age of more than ninety-nine years and retained his faculties to the last.

Phunket Fleeson was commissioned a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Orphans' Court of Philadelphia on March 28, 1777, and Presiding Justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions on November 18, 1780. He was appointed Presiding Justice of the City Court, January 13, 1781, by the Executive Council, to hold his office during pleasure. He was in office in 1785, and is buried in Roxborough, Philadelphia.¹

William Moore was born, probably in Philadelphia, about 1735; died there July 24, 1793. His father, Robert, came to this country from the Isle of Man. The son began a mercantile career, and on December 11, 1776, was appointed by the Assembly on the Council of Safety, which, on

¹ Martin's Bench and Bar.

March 13, 1777, placed him on the newly organized Board of War. In the same year he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress, but declined to serve. He became a member of the Supreme Executive Council of the State in 1779, was elected its Vice-President, and in 1781 was chosen President and proclaimed "Captain General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." His term as Councillor expired in October, 1782, and the Constitution prohibited a re-election. In March, 1783, Governor Moore was commissioned a Judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, and was chosen a member of the Assembly in 1784. In February of that year he was made a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania, and in July was chairman of a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, convened to place the public debt on a permanent foundation. From 1784-89 he was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. His only daughter, Elizabeth, married the Marquis de Marbois, French chargé d'affaires in this country, who negotiated the treaty for the sale of Louisiana to the United States.

Frederick Phile was a doctor of medicine, and during the occupation of Philadelphia resided with Christopher Marshall's family at Lancaster. Marshall notes in his diary that he and Doctor Phile remained up until midnight celebrating the surrender of Burgoyne, which they heard of at Lancaster October 20, 1777. On April 5, 1777, he took the oath of office as Naval Officer of Philadelphia; (his bondsmen were John Bayard and Isaac Howell), and he held the office until April 18, 1789. On his retirement the following resolution was passed:

"*Resolved*, That Frederick Phile Esq., hath acted as Naval Officer for the Port of Philada., from April 5, 1777, 'till this present time, and hath executed the several duties of the said office with fidelity and to the satisfaction of the Board."

General Daniel Heister was born in Upper Salford township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, June 25, 1747;

died March 8, 1804. In 1777 he was appointed colonel of the Fourth Battalion Philadelphia County Militia. His battalion, with others, was ordered to the defence of the Swedes Ford, situated just below Norristown, at the time of the battle of Brandywine. In 1782 he was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and in 1784 was elected to represent Montgomery County in the Supreme Executive Council.¹

Colonel Joseph Dean was the son of Rev. William Dean, a Presbyterian clergyman, and was born in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, August 10, 1738; died September 9, 1793. He became a large importing merchant in Philadelphia previous to the Revolution, and was a signer of the non-importation resolutions. In December, 1776, he was appointed by the Assembly on the Committee of Safety, and on the organization of the Board of War, a member of that body. In January, 1781, the Supreme Executive Council appointed him one of the auditors "to settle and adjust the accounts of the books of this state in the service of the United States," and in October following a warden of the port of Philadelphia. In 1790 he was chosen auctioneer.

Colonel Alexander Boyd was ordered by the Council of Safety, in 1776, to report on the movements of the British from New York, which he did in a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of that Board. On November 2, 1780, he was commissioned auctioneer for the Northern Liberties, and held this office until July 12, 1786, when he tendered his resignation. In 1782 he commanded a ranging company on the frontier.

Colonel Francis Wade. On May 18, 1779, Colonel Wade wrote to Colonel John Mitchell, from Wilmington, Delaware, that the British had landed and taken possession of Portsmouth, Virginia, and that they were four thousand strong; marching to Suffolk; thought to be on their way to Baltimore. He signed himself Deputy Quartermaster-General. On May 28, 1780, he wrote to President Reed

¹ Perkiomen Region, by Henry S. Dotterer.

from Wilmington, giving a very full account of a boat of the enemy making captures of small boats, such as fishing vessels, etc. He says "this boat is very long and light and rows with ten oars. They took a small schooner with clams but let her go on account of a sick man on board. They laughed at our armed schooner and boats, and did not let on to be under the least apprehension of danger from them."

Colonel Benjamin Eyre was one of the three brothers Eyre, shipbuilders of Philadelphia, who built some of the first frigates for the government in the Revolutionary War, and all three of whom took an early and active part in that conflict. Benjamin G. Eyre was a volunteer aid de camp on the staff of General Washington, with the rank of colonel, during the Princeton and Trenton campaign in the winter of 1776-1777. He is on Trumbull's famous picture of Washington and staff at Princeton. He was engaged by the government on several occasions to oversee the building of boats, fortifications, gun-platforms, etc., and was with General Sullivan, in charge of a party of ship-carpenters, in the Newport expedition in 1778.

Colonel Thomas Proctor was born in Ireland in 1739; died in March, 1806. He raised and commanded the first and only regular organization of Pennsylvania artillery in the Revolution. In 1776 he was made major, and was so much thought of as an artillery officer that he was given command of the Continental artillery during General Knox's temporary absence. He participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and was with the army at Valley Forge. On April 21, 1780, he was commissioned by Congress colonel of the Fourth Battalion of Artillery. He was sheriff of Philadelphia County from October 20, 1783, to October 14, 1785, and was a prominent Mason. He was buried in St. Paul's Episcopal Church grounds, Philadelphia, and a monument was erected to his memory by the Carpenters' Association, of which he was a member from 1772 until his death.

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Jonathan Bayard Smith was born in Philadelphia, February 21, 1742, and died there June 16, 1812. He was among the earliest of those who espoused the cause of independence, and was active in the Revolutionary struggle. In 1775 he was chosen secretary of the Committee of Safety, and in February, 1777, was elected by the Assembly a delegate to the Continental Congress, and a second time from April, 1777, to November, 1778. He was prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas. In December, 1777, he presided at a public meeting in Philadelphia of "Real Whigs," by whom it was resolved, "That it be recommended to the Council of Safety that in the great emergency . . . every person between the age of 16 and 50 years be ordered under arms." During this year he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of a battalion of Associators under Colonel John Bayard, who was Colonel Smith's brother-in-law, and later commanded a battalion. In 1778 he was appointed a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court, which position he held for many years.

Colonel William Coats was lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of City Militia, and on January 4, 1777, he reported to the Council of Safety, from Bristol, Pennsylvania, that General Washington had captured Princeton. Again, on August 16, 1777, he urged Timothy Matlack to forward certain commissions for some of the officers of his battalion, fearing that, as they had orders to march, said officers would not go without them, believing, as they did, that they were not officers without their commissions. He wrote from the camp at White Marsh to Matlack that he was trying to organize some artillery out of those men whose time was up, and desired money sent to him to help him do it. He ended his letter with, "Shall be glad if I am wanted to attend the House [Assembly]. You will please let me know by the return of Col. Dewees. Our enemies to the Constitution here say that, we can't make a house and that we have given up the constitution [State]." On February 4, 1778, he was captured by the British, but was paroled in

his civil as well as military capacity; and in 1779 he suggested that he be exchanged for Mr. John Foxcroft, who was formerly Postmaster-General. He was for many years lieutenant for Philadelphia County, and held that position at the time he attended this dinner.

Colonel William Will. In 1776-77 he organized a company known as Captain Will's Company of Associators. In 1777 he was made lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion, also of the Third Battalion, of which Jacob Morgan was colonel, and which he afterwards commanded. On October 2, 1779, he was thanked in a letter by President Reed, of Pennsylvania, for his care of the salt which was under the supervision of the State, and later in the same month was informed that some one was selling salt contrary to law. On December 16, 1780, he informed President Reed of a "suspicious carracter," cleared for Boston, but thought bound for New York. He was a member of the Assembly in 1785.

We must not forget our diarist, Jacob Hiltzheimer.

During the war of independence he sided with the colonies, attached himself to the First Battalion City Militia, and was also connected with the Quarter Master's Department, in which he rendered valuable service to the army in the field. He became a prominent member of the Patriotic Association. As Street Commissioner for three years he discharged the duties of the office in a manner worthy the emulation of public servants at the present day. He was elected in 1786 a Representative of the city in the Assembly, and served eleven consecutive years, being chairman of the committee on claims and on other important committees.

That the men who were officers of the Saint Tammany Society this year were the most prominent in affairs we think we have shown by the foregoing short sketches of them: judges, generals, colonels, and civic officers, all occupying prominent positions in the community in which they lived. If we look carefully into their records we will see

that many, if not all, were identified with the Constitutional Society or party whose object was the preservation of the State Constitution inviolate.¹ Later in the year William Will and William Moore were on the Constitutional ticket for the Assembly, and at the same time Edward Pole was suggested as a candidate upon the same ticket.² He, it will be remembered, was in earlier years the secretary of the Constitutional Society. We think, too, that the point made earlier in this history is maintained, that the Constitutional Society and Saint Tammany Society were so closely identified that it would at this late date be difficult to state the difference, if any, which existed between them. Party feeling ran very high at this period, and the language used by Oswald, in the *Independent*, against Bailey, in the *Freeman's Journal*, who espoused the constitutional side, was of such a character that we are unable to reproduce it here.

That the singer (Mr. John Leacock) at last year's dinner sang to some purpose is shown by the fact that he offered himself as a candidate for the position of coroner at the election held this year, and secured the office.

Our Society was now evidently in the heyday of prosperity and commanded a great deal of attention. An almanac printer advertises that there will be offered in Philadelphia and different towns through the State "Father Tammany's Almanac For the year of our Lord 1786," with a neat "engraving of Father Tammany Shooting a Deer." We also see by the Directory of this year (1785) that George Savell is inn-keeper at "St. Tammany's Wigwam," banks of Schuylkill near Race Street. This tavern was situated on the east bank of the river, and later became a noted meeting-place of the Society.

¹ "The distinction was that the Republicans wanted an alteration in the Constitution. They wished to have a House of Representatives and a Senate. The other party (Constitutionalists) thought no alteration necessary."—*Autobiography of Charles Biddle*, page 202.

² *Independent*, September 17.

WILLIAM BILES.

BY MILES WHITE, JR., BALTIMORE, MD.

(Concluded from page 206.)

William Biles was a member of the Assembly which began its session at Philadelphia October 14, 1707,¹ and he and John Bethell were sent with a message to the Governor (Evans), to find out when the Assembly should meet him. They waited on him, and he made an address, the beginning of which was to the effect that he noticed that most of the members were the same as those of last year, who had lost so much time and fallen into unnecessary disputes. However, he addressed them as a new body and hoped that they would begin afresh. He made no allusion to his personal affair with William Biles in the Assembly of 1704, though this was the first time that Biles had been in the Assembly since.

The Assembly which met in Philadelphia October 14, 1708, Charles Gookin being Lieutenant-Governor, was the last one of which William Biles was a member, and on 2d mo. 13, 1709, he was on a committee to draw up an answer to the Governor's speech.

William Penn made several treaties with the Indians, the last of which was in 1686, though the place where it was held is not mentioned anywhere. After Penn's death a document was found among his papers in England, which was endorsed "Copy of the last Indian Purchase." Davis² says,—

"there was never any attempt to prove the deed by calling the persons who witnessed it; and the only personal evidence is that of William Biles and Joseph Wood, who declared they remembered a treaty being held, but did not know that a deed had been executed."

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, vol. ii. p. 1.

² *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 490.

William Biles's active participation in civil affairs was not greater than in religious ones. As has previously been stated, meetings for worship had been held at his house before the arrival of Penn, and the first meeting for discipline, which was the germ of Falls Meeting, took place there on 3d mo. 2. 1683,¹ as also the first Quarterly Meeting, which was held 3d mo. 7, 1684.

Charles W. Smith, in his *History of the Early Settlement of Wrightstown*,² gives a copy of the opening minute of the first Monthly Meeting. It was as follows :

“Men's Monthly Meeting held near the Falls of Delaware in the County of Bucks in the Province of Pennsylvania.

“At a meeting at William Biles House the 2^d day of the 3^d mo. 1683, then held to wait upon the Lord for his wisdom, to hear what should be offered in order to inspect the affairs of the church, that all things might be kept sweet and savoury therein, to the Lord, and by our care over the church, helpful in the works of God”—“and we whose names are as follows, being present, thought it fit & necessary that a Monthly Meeting should be set up, both of men and women for that purpose, and that this meeting be the first of mens meetings after our arrival in these parts.”

The friends present were William Yardley, James Harrison, Phineas Pemberton, William Biles, William Dark, Lyonell Brittain, and William Beaks. All of William Biles's services in behalf of the meeting's interests are of course not known, but the minutes record, among others, the following :³

On 1st mo. 4, 1685, the matter of difference so long depending between William Yardley and Eleanor Pownall was brought before the Mo. Mtg., and Henry Baker and William Biles were appointed to settle same, and on 4th mo. 3, they reported that the dividing line should be run according as surveyor first laid it out by Governor's order. 6th mo. 5, 1685, Thomas Janney, William Biles, Henry Baker and Richard

¹ Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 105 ; MS. Minutes Falls Monthly Meeting and Bucks Quarterly Meeting.

² P. 21 ; see also *Hist. Sketches relating to Early Settlement of Friends at Falls*, p. 30.

³ MS. Minutes Falls Monthly Meeting and Bucks Quarterly Meeting.

Hough were appointed by the Qtly. Mtg. to adjust the difference between Jno. Brooks and Lydia Wharmby, and on 6th mo. 17, 1687, William Biles was dealt with for selling liquor to Indians.

In 1690 the first meeting-house was built near Fallsington, and was deeded to Thomas Janney, William Biles, Richard Hough, and Joshua Hoopes, in trust for the meeting. On 11th mo. 6, 1691, certain Friends, including William Biles, agreed to take the meeting's share of all books that shall be printed in the unity of Friends and by their approbation. On 12th mo. 1, 1692, William Biles took upon him to pay the balance of carpenters' account for the meeting-house. On 5th mo. 1, 1696, William Biles and wife proposed to visit Friends in New England, and were given a Certificate. On 9th mo. 3, 1697, it was "agreed that a Testimony be drawn concerning Thomas Janney's labors and service amongst us in the Truth," and Joseph Kirkbride, William Biles, Phineas Pemberton, Richard Hough, Jane Biles, and Margery Hough were appointed to prepare the same. In 1699 it was decided to enlarge the meeting-house, and William Biles, Richard Hough, and Joshua Hoopes were appointed to make the agreement with workmen. On 7th mo. 4, 1700, Joshua Hoopes and his wife Eleanor, who had had some differences, were present, but did not agree in their accounts, and Richard Hough, William Duncan, and William Biles were appointed to hear them together and give an account to the meeting. On 8th mo. 2 they reported that Elinor did not sustain her position, and a paper of Condemnation which Joshua had formerly brought in against his wife was read and approved by the meeting. On 11th mo. 5 Jane Biles proposed to go to visit Friends in some parts of Europe, and William said he formerly had opposed it, but now gave his consent and would go with her, and on 1st mo. 5, 1701, certificates for both were read and signed. On 7th mo. 6, 1704, William Biles, Joseph Kirkbride, Richard Hough, and Jacob Janney were appointed to assist Elizabeth Brock to settle her deceased husband's estate. On 11th mo. 4, 1709, William Biles was reported as being very weak, and unfit to take care of the meeting's accounts, and on 5th mo. 5, 1710, he was reported as being dead, and a committee was appointed to call on his son William for the meeting's books and papers.

George Keith caused much trouble and dissension among the members of the Society of Friends, and finally was disowned by the meetings. On 4th mo. 17, 1692, William Biles, William Yardley, and others wrote a letter to London Friends about the difficulties and divisions occasioned by Keith's separation.¹

¹ Evans's *Exposition*, etc., p. 218.

On 4th mo. 20, 1692, the Meeting of Public Friends, in Philadelphia, gave forth its Testimony¹ of Denial against him, and among the signers was William Biles;² and the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington 7th mo. 7, 1692, sent out its Testimony signed by over two hundred members, including William Biles.

On account of the misrepresentations made by Keith in regard to the teachings of the Society, it was deemed wise to state clearly what these really were, and this was accordingly done; and in 1695 T. Sowle published, in London, a pamphlet entitled *Our Antient Testimony renewed concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Holy Scriptures and the Resurrection, given forth by a Meeting of Public Friends and Others, at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania*; and this was also published in 1696 as an Appendix to the English translation of *The General History of the Quakers*, by Gerard Croesse. Among the thirty-nine signers of this statement were Griffith Owen, William Biles, Richard Gove, and Thomas Janney.

William Biles seems always to have been a clear-headed advocate of the principles of Quakerism, and it has been said that³

“There appears to be good evidence in the testimonies of various kinds left concerning this Friend, that he was one qualified by the Great Minister of Ministers, to labour in his cause, and that his Gospel labours were blessed to the good of the church. How much more useful in the Lord’s hand, he and many of his fellow-ministers would have been, if they had refused all public offices, we cannot tell.”

William and Johannah Biles had eight children, five of whom were born in England and three in America. The dates of birth of the former are taken from Friends’ Records at Devonshire House, London, where the name is spelled “Byles,” and of the latter from Records of Middletown

¹ *The Friend*, vol. xix. p. 86; Proud’s *Hist. Penna.*, vol. i. pp. 365, 368; Hazard’s *Register Pa.*, vol. vi. pp. 279, 280.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 302; *The Friend*, vol. xix. p. 109.

³ *The Friend*, vol. xxviii. p. 109.

Quarterly Meeting, Pennsylvania, where the name is spelled "Biles." Many of the certificates of early marriages in Pennsylvania were not recorded, and this is the case with those of most of these children. From the minutes, which show when six of them received permission to marry, and from their father's will, it appears that they married as stated below.

CHILDREN.¹

1. *Elizabeth*, b. 4th mo. 3, 1670; m., 1st, at house of William Biles, 8th mo. 31, 1688, Stephen Beaks, and had five children. She m., 2d, Matthew Hughes.

II. 2. *William*, b. 11th mo. 12, 1671; m., at Middletown Meeting, 11th mo., 1695, Sarah Langhorne, daughter of Thomas and Grace Langhorne, and had nine children.

3. *George*, b. 7th mo. 4, 1673; bur. 12th mo. 27, 1708/9; m., 1697, Martha Blackshaw, who d. 1720. They had six children. She m., 2d, 1713, Joseph Waite, of Philadelphia, who d. before her, in 1720.

4. *Joanah*,² b. 1st mo. 1, 1675; m., 1695, Samuel Beaks, and had six children.

5. *John*, b. 1st mo. 31, 1678; m., at Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, New Jersey, 1707, Mary Lambert, b. 2d mo. 2, 1681, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Lambert, and had five children.

6. *Rebeckah*, b. 10th mo. 27, 1680;³ m., at Falls Meeting, 6th mo. 18, 1703, Joseph Janney, b. 1st mo. 26, 1675/6; d. about 1728; son of Thomas and Margery (Heath) Janney, and had six children, five of whom moved to Loudoun County, Virginia.

7. *Mary*, b. 11th mo. 1, 1682; m. — Robbins, and had one child.

8. *Ann*, b. 4th mo. 13, 1685; m., 12th mo., 1706/7, Thomas Yardley, who came to America, in 1704, from Rushton Spencer, County Stafford. They had ten children. For account of them; see the *Yardley Genealogy*.

From Phineas Pemberton's letters⁴ we learn that in 3d mo., 1687, a great land flood and freshet at the Falls occa-

¹ The number of children that each of William Biles's children is stated in this list to have had is the number whose names have been ascertained. Each of his children may have had more than herein mentioned.

² So spelled in English Records; in American it is Johannah.

³ Burlington Monthly Meeting gives her birth as 11th mo. 27.

⁴ Buck's *Bucks Co., Pa.*, p. 23; *Hist. Sketches relating to Early Settlement of Friends at Falls*, p. 55.

sioned much sickness. Whether this was the cause of the death of William Biles's wife cannot now be stated, but she died that year and was buried 7th mo. 4.

On 10th mo. 11, 1688, he married, at his own house, Jane Atkinson,¹ widow of Thomas Atkinson, and it has been said that

"in her he had a faithful helpmeet, and one well calculated to assist him on his journey heavenward." She was a minister, and is said to have had an eminent public testimony, and is shown by the Minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting to have been useful in meetings for discipline, and to have served on numerous committees. They appear to have often travelled in the ministry of the Gospel. In 1st mo., 1689, she visited Friends in East Jersey and on Long Island, and in the summer of 1696, accompanied by her husband, she visited the meetings of Friends in New England, to their satisfaction. A concern for a long time rested on her mind to pay a religious visit to the land of her birth, but her husband discouraged it as far as he could. In 10th mo., 1699, she laid the matter before the General Meeting of Ministers, and towards the close of that year William Biles, writing to William Ellis, who had just returned from a religious visit to Friends in America, said, "My wife talks of coming to you, but how it may be upon that account I shall at present leave to the ordering hand of the Lord; the voyage is great, and she but weakly in body." When the meeting finally gave her liberty to go, "not being satisfied with the opposition her husband made," he decided to go with her, and in the early part of 1701 they both went to England and Ireland and returned towards the close of 1702, and the visit seems to have been well accepted there.

Quite a lengthy sketch of her life and labors was published in *The Friend*,² from which it appears that she resided in Yorkshire, and in 1678 married Thomas Atkinson, a minister in the Society of Friends; that in 1682 they removed to New Jersey, and brought a recommendation from Beamsley Meeting in Yorkshire. In 1687 she was taken very ill, and both she and her husband thought she would die. After a time he told her he believed she would be raised up again and that he should be taken instead. This proved to be true, for that very day he became unwell, and, after lingering for eight or nine weeks, died; while she, by

¹ Yorkshire Friends' Records at Devonshire House, London, show the marriage of "Thomas Adkinson of Sandwich, Adingham psh., Yorkshire, to Jane Boid, 4th mo. 4, 1678, at Knaresborough Meeting." No residence or parentage of Jane Boid being given.

² Vol. xxviii. pp. 93, 102.

whom much labor in the militant church was yet to be performed, grew stronger and stronger.

Her testimony in regard to her husband, Thomas Atkinson, has been published in *The Friend*.¹ She died in 1709, and was buried 10th mo. 21, leaving three children by her first husband and none by her second. William Biles did not long survive his wife, but died in 1710, and his burial took place 3d mo. 19.

His will appears not to have been recorded, but an abstract of it was published in PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG.² It was dated January 5, 1709, and contained the following bequests:

“To my son John Biles, 300 acres of land.

“To my daughter Elizabeth Hewes, wife of Matthew Hewes, the sum of twenty shillings.

“To my three grandchildren, John, Mary, and Grace Beakes, the sum of fifty pounds, to be equally divided between them.

“To my daughter, Johannah Beakes, the wife of Samuel Beakes, the sum of twenty shillings.

“To my daughter, Rebeckah Janney, the wife of Joseph Janney, the sum of one hundred and forty pounds.

“To their two daughters, Martha and Ann Janney, the sum of ten pounds, to be equally divided between them.

“To my daughter, Ann, the wife of Thomas Yardley, the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds.

“To my daughter-in-law, Martha Biles, the sum of five pounds.

“To my three grandchildren, Johannah, Phebe, and Sarah Biles, the daughters of my children George and Martha Biles, the sum of fifteen pounds, to be equally divided between them.

“To my three granddaughters, Ann, Grace, and Sarah Biles, the daughters of my son and daughter, William and Sarah Biles, the sum of fifteen pounds, to be equally divided between them.

“To my sister-in-law, Mary Biles, the widow of my brother, Thomas Biles, of Dorchester, in the county of Dorset, in old England, eight pounds.

“To my grandson, William Robbins, the son of my daughter, Mary Robbins, the plantation where I last lived, lying betwixt the land of Anthony Burton, and the land of my son John Biles. It being part of

¹ Vol. xxvii. p. 172.

² Vol. xv. p. 503.

the same land I purchased from Henry Barkar [Baker?] by estimation, about 200 acres.

"To my grandchildren, Johannah and Rebeckah Beakes, the daughters of my son and daughter, Samuel and Johannah Beakes, the sum of twenty-four pounds.

"To my son William Biles, all the rest, residue of my lands in West Jersey, etc.

"Signed, published, and declared this fifth day of the Eleventh month called January, 1709, in the presence of us,

"JER. LANGHORN,

"JOS. KIRKBRIDE,

"ROBERT SOTCHER."

It may be of interest to add, that upon William Biles's plantation, near Penn's Manor, there now stands a large brick dwelling of ancient date,¹ which has been represented by tradition and from the initials inscribed upon it as the homestead of William Biles, Sr., who is said to have built it of bricks brought from England.²

There is also a tradition that the Bible William Biles brought to America had belonged to John Waite, and had the latter's name in it, with the statement that he bought it in 1633. It has been surmised by some that this John Waite was the father of either William Biles's mother or wife.

The children of William Biles do not seem to have occupied so prominent a place in the meeting as their father did, Johannah, William, and Ann having been dealt with by Falls Monthly Meeting, though they all retained their membership.

II. William seems to have been the most prominent of the sons in civil life, and he occupied many public posi-

¹ *Hist. Sketches relating to Early Settlement of Friends at Falls*, p. 26; Davis's *Hist. Bucks Co.*, p. 105 n.

² Some few Colonial houses were built of "bricks brought from England," but most of such brick houses were built of bricks made near the spot. In those days bricks of two shapes or sizes were used, one called "Dutch bricks" and the other "English bricks." From "English bricks" to "bricks brought from England" was an easy step for tradition to take.

tions.¹ He was Sheriff of Bucks County 1704-1707; Coroner October 3, 1717; Justice of the Peace September 6, 1718; January 4, 1722; May 12, 1725; September 14, 1725; September 13, 1726; September 10, 1727; November 22, 1738; member of Assembly 1710, 1711, 1718-1725, 1732, 1735-1737; and Speaker of Assembly 1724-1725, having been so elected October 14, 1724.²

In 1721 he and five others were appointed by the court as viewers for a road from "Yardley's Ferry to the Cross Roads near Neshaminy meeting-house,"³ and in 1724 he was on the committee to build a new court-house and prison at Newtown, the new county-seat of Bucks County.⁴ He was admitted to the Bar in New Jersey December 5, 1721,⁵ was a member of the "Council of Proprietors of West Jersey," and as such was one of the signers of the paper sent by that body to Governor William Burnet, against repealing an act for ascertaining the line between the eastern and western divisions of New Jersey.⁶

He was a large land-owner, both in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and in New Jersey, having inherited some tracts from his father and bought others; among the latter was a half interest in 4000 acres in Evesham, Burlington County, which he bought of John Borradail in 1717, and sold in 1726 to Thomas Marks for £284,⁷ in which deed he is styled "William Biles of Bucks County, Penna., Esq'."

In his will, made in 1737, he left certain lands on "Morris" River to his children, but they did not inherit them, for he (and various members of the Lambert family), January 15, 1738/9,⁸ released for £1500 to Abraham Bennet

¹ *Pa. Arch.*, 2d. ser., vol. ix. pp. 742-759.

² *Votes of Assembly*, vol. ii. p. 403.

³ *PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG.*, vol. vii. p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73; *Votes of Assembly*, vol. ii. p. 238; *Colonial Records*, vol. iii. p. 255.

⁵ Snell's *Hist. Hunterdon Co., N. J.*, p. 206.

⁶ Smith's *Hist. N. J.*, Reprint 1890, pp. 551-554.

⁷ W. J. Deeds, *Liber D*, fol. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Liber E F*, fol. 108.

and others 10,000 acres, being part of several properties situate in Quohocking, Cohansie, and Maurice River, West New Jersey, which James Wass had released in 1707 to William Biles, his father.

The wife of William Biles, Jr., was Sarah Langhorne,¹ sister of Jeremiah Langhorne, who was Chief-Justice of Pennsylvania, Speaker of Assembly, member of the same for many years, and also filled other offices. Indeed, most of those connected with the Biles family seem to have been office-holders. Thomas Biles was Sheriff 1726-27; Langhorne Biles, Justice of the Peace 1749 and 1752; and other connections of the family for years served as Justices, and in the Assembly.

The will of William Biles, of Falls Township, was dated December 3, 1737, and proved September 27, 1739. It is recorded in *Liber I, fol. 267*,² and in it mention is made of his wife Sarah; his sons William, Charles, and Langhorne; his daughters Sarah and Elizabeth Biles, Ann Pennington, and Hannah Janney; his grandchildren William, Jeremiah, and John Beatts, [Bates], Edward, Mary, and Sarah Pennington, Thomas and Margaret Biles; to all of whom he left land, mostly in West Jersey, on "Morris" River, and to most of them some negroes. By a codicil he left the Island to his son William, who also received the home plantation after his mother's death.

The following is a list of his children and the persons they married:

CHILDREN (ORDER OF BIRTH UNCERTAIN).

1. *Thomas*, b. 6th mo. 30, 1696; d. 1743; m., 12th mo. 1729, Elizabeth Lambert, daughter of Thomas, of New Jersey. She returned to Chesterfield Meeting 11th mo., 1763. Her will proved 1771 (N. J. Wills, *Liber 15, fol. 474*).

2. *William*, d. 1775; m., 1st, 3d mo., 1725, Ann Stevenson,³ b.

¹ For account of Langhorne family, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. vii. pp. 67-87.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xv. p. 382.

³ See *Our Family Ancestors*, p. 300.

12th mo. 6, 1704; *d.* 3d mo. 8, 1734; daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Jennings) Stevenson; *m.*, 2d, Jane —; *d.* 1777. William and his two sons, Thomas and William, were disowned by Falls Meeting, 6th mo., 1756, for joining a military association; his will is recorded in Bucks Co., *Liber 3, fol. 385.*

3. *Charles, m.*, 1729, Ann Mary Baker, *b.* 4th mo. 16, 1704, daughter of Samuel and Rachel (Warder) Baker, for account of whom see *Publications So. Hist. Assoc.*, vol. v. p. 480. In 1732 Charles and his wife removed from Falls to Buckingham Meeting.

4. *Langhorne, m.*, 1749, Hannah Kirkbride, *b.* 9th mo. 23, 1726, daughter of Joseph, Jr., and Sarah (Fletcher) Kirkbride. Langhorne was disowned by Falls Meeting, 1748, for joining a military association; upon his marriage, his wife was taken under dealings, and in 1756 disowned therefor.

5. *Ann, b.* 12th mo. 4, 1702/3; *bur.* 12th mo. 22, 1748/9; *m.* 10th mo., 1725, Isaac Pennington, *b.* 1700, son of Edward and Sarah (Jennings) Pennington.

6. *Grace, d.* before 1737; *m.* — Bates, who was twice married. The will of her daughter Sarah Bates, dated 1760 (Bucks Co. Wills, *Liber 3, fol. 21*), mentions sister Hannah, wife of Saml. Yeardley; aunt Hannah Janney; cousin Charles Janney; cousin Bettie Janney, daughter of Abel Janney; niece Sarah Bates, daughter of brother John; cousins Ann and Elizabeth Janney; brother John Bates and half-brother Job Bates.

7. *Sarah, d. s. p.* 1781; *m.*, 1740, Lawrence Growden, who was twice married. Her will is recorded in Bucks Co., *Liber 4, fol. 336.*

8. *Elizabeth, m.*, 1740, Abel Janney. The marriage license, issued in New Jersey June 5, 1740, describes them as Abel Janney, of Maidenhead, New Jersey, and Elizabeth Biles, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. It is not certain whether Abel was the son of Thomas and Rachel (Pownall) Janney or of Abel and Elizabeth (Stacy) Janney, though probably the former, whose wife was named Elizabeth, and joined Middletown Monthly Meeting in 1745; she and her husband moved to Virginia in 1746 and returned to Pennsylvania in 1748, he dying that year (see *Publications So. Hist. Assoc.* vol. v. p. 481). The latter Abel married out of meeting, prior to 1742, and that year was in Virginia, whence he returned in 1745, and in 1752 and 1753 kept a tavern in Ridley Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He married a second time in 1755. Whether Elizabeth (Biles) Janney had other children than a daughter Betty is not known. Records of Race Street Meeting, Philadelphia, show the burials in 1758 and 1759 of four children of Abel Janney, but do not give their mother's name.

9. *Hannah, m.*, at Falls Meeting, 3d mo., 1735, Thomas Janney, son of Abel and Elizabeth (Stacy) Janney. One of their sons, Thomas, was a Lieutenant in the Falls Company Bucks County Associators in 1775, (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. xiv. p. 151), and later an officer in the Revolutionary army (*Ibid.*, vol. x. pp. 153, 449; PENNA. MAG. HIST. AND BIOG., vol. vii. p. 167).

THE CAPTURE OF STONY POINT.¹

ORATION BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D., AT THE DEDICATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE PARK, JULY 16, 1902.

Each year of the War of the Revolution, the struggle of the Colonies for independence and for the establishment of a nationality that should present to the world a new and permanent system of government was marked by some event which may be regarded as distinctive and representative of the campaign and the time. In 1775 the contest was begun by the farmers with their shotguns and rifles behind the stone walls running along the road from Concord to Lexington. In 1776 the tide of disaster and depression was turned, and the hope of final success dawned at Trenton. In 1777 there was victory over the army of Burgoyne in your own beautiful valley of the Hudson, and there were valor and tenacity shown in the attack upon the main army of the British at Germantown. In 1778 were displayed the sufferings and the persistence at Valley Forge. In 1780 were begun the successful campaigns of Greene in the South. In 1781 the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown led to the practical cessation of hostilities.

The important event of 1779, the central year of the war, was of a character to catch and forever hold the attention of mankind, one which the State of New York has even now recognized by the opening of this attractive park. We are here to commemorate that event and to tell it over again, though with meagre and inadequate words.

The main purpose of the campaign of 1779, upon the part of Clinton, who was in command of the British forces, was

¹ In the preparation of this paper I have been much indebted to Dawson's "Assault upon Stony Point" and to Johnston's "Storming of Stony Point," but I have differed from both of these authors in assigning the credit for the plan which was adopted.

to break, and upon the part of Washington to maintain, the lines of communication between the Eastern States and those to the southward by means of the occupation of the Valley of the Hudson. The most important position upon the strongest of these lines was West Point, fortified in such a way as to render it almost impregnable, and held by the centre of the American army under General McDougall. The American right, under command of Putnam, lay near Dean Furnace, and the left, under command of Heath, was on the opposite side of the Hudson, extending eastward from the Sugar Loaf Hill. Into this position it had been drawn by Clinton's seizure in May of King's Ferry and its termini Stony Point and Verplanck's Point. West Point was regarded as the key to the American Continent. To gain possession of it by force the British had sent the army of Burgoyne in the year preceding, and in an attempt to accomplish the same end by the persuasive influence of money and rank, offered to the unfaithful Arnold, were to send André to his death in the year to follow: It was held fast in the clutch of Washington with an army of about nine thousand men.

Fearing that his grasp could not be loosened by any direct effort that might be made, and hoping to tempt him to come down and deliver battle in the open plain, Clinton sent a force, under Tryon, into Connecticut to devastate and lay waste the towns and farmsteads, and there they burned two hundred and forty dwellings, seven churches, and caused a general destruction of farms, mills, stores, and vessels. Fairfield and Norwalk suffered the most severely.

These depredations and this diversion of a portion of the army of Clinton failed utterly to persuade Washington to leave the security of the hills, but he made response in a way which was as unexpected to the foeman as it was unsatisfactory. Thirteen miles below West Point, upon opposite sides of the river, are the promontories of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, and between them ran the ferry which constituted a link in what was the shortest and

most effective line of communication between the Eastern and Southern Colonies. Since the beginning of June they had been in the occupation of the British, and now Washington determined to make an effort for the capture of both of these important positions. As to one of them, his plans resulted in an entire and remarkable success which has seldom been equalled in the annals of warfare, and gave to American arms a reputation such as earlier achievements had never been able to win for them.

Stony Point was a rugged promontory, covered with rock and wood, extending into the river for half a mile from the western shore line, and rising to a height of one hundred and fifty feet. It stood like a solitary sentinel, ever keeping watch and ward over the gateway of the Highlands. Bending around its western base and separating it from the mainland, a marsh sometimes to the depth of two feet crept from an entrance in the river to the north to an outlet in the river to the south. An island fortress, likened often in its strength and conformation to Gibraltar, it seemed to present insurmountable obstacles to any attacking force, and with quiet and sardonic frown to threaten its destruction. Upon the summit the British had erected a series of redoubts and had placed seven or eight disconnected batteries, while immediately below them an abatis extended the entire length of the crest. Within this fortification were four companies of the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry, one company of American Tories, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. About one-third of the way down the hill from the summit ran a second line of abatis supported by three redoubts, on which were brass twelve-pound cannon, defended by two companies of the Seventeenth Regiment and two companies of Grenadiers. At the foot of the hill near the morass were five pickets, and the British vessels of war which rode in the river were able to sweep with their guns the low ground of the approaches. Four brass and four iron cannon, one howitzer and five mortars, amply supplied with ammunition, were at

the service of the garrison, which consisted of over six hundred of the best disciplined and most trustworthy troops in the British army, under the command of Colonel Henry Johnson, of the Seventeenth Regiment, a young and gallant officer.

This formidable fortification so manned and protected it was proposed to capture, not by slow approaches or the modern convenient method of turning, but by storm. Could the Continental troops which had been driven from Bunker Hill, Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown be relied upon for such an unprecedented and heroic effort?

The hope of success depended upon the secrecy of the preparations, upon the courage and morale of the troops, and above all upon the character of their commander and his capacity to take advantage of every opportunity which might be presented. For this purpose the wise chieftain at the head of the American army selected Anthony Wayne, a Pennsylvania brigadier, thirty-four years of age, whose soldierly qualities indicated a rare blending of keen intelligence and impetuous courage, and who had won a distinction at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth which his defeat at Paoli, due to the wide separation by his superior of the wings of the army, had failed to tarnish. He was destined later to add to that high reputation by numerous campaigns in the South, and to gain unperishable renown when, as general in command of the armies of the United States, he broke the power of the savages of the West where others had failed, and secured that seat of future empire for civilization. His sword was always drawn from the scabbard, its edge was always turned towards the foe, and in the councils of war it had come to be known that the voice of Wayne was ever in favor of taking the risks of battle. His force was selected from the Light Infantry, the brawniest and pluckiest material in the Continental army, welded into shape and tempered by the experience of four years of warfare. It consisted of four

regiments of three hundred and forty men each, the first composed of troops from Virginia and Pennsylvania, under Colonel Christian Febiger, of the blood of the old Norsemen; the second of troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, under Colonel Richard Butler, one of the most efficient officers of the Pennsylvania line; the third of troops from Connecticut, under Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, from that State, who had won laurels and gained experience at Quebec; and the fourth of troops from Massachusetts and North Carolina, under Colonel Rufus Putnam, of Massachusetts, who had seen hard service at Saratoga.

Every feasible effort to secure accurate information had been made. Light-Horse Harry Lee, with his partisan legion, had patrolled the whole country and picked up stray facts from farmers and deserters. Allen McLane had gone to the post with a flag of truce and kept his eyes open while there. Rufus Putnam, the chief engineer, had made a careful survey from the vantage-ground of the neighboring hills, and by the 6th of July both Washington and Wayne had made personal tours of inspection.

“When all the doors were fastened,
And all the windows shut,
There was yet one little window,
And that one was forgot.”

From a deserter it was learned that the Point could be approached from the southward along a beach of sand where the marsh reached the river, and here Washington suggested the advance should be made. On the 10th he wrote a letter to Wayne containing his views of a plan for the assault, and even elaborating such details as the putting of a white feather upon the cap of each man, but he left the responsibility for its acceptance with Wayne, saying,—

“These are my general ideas of the plan for a surprise; but you are at liberty to depart from them in every instance where you think they may be improved or changed for the better.”

It appears that for some reason a delay had been proposed and that Wayne was eager to make the attempt at once, because Washington again wrote, on the 14th, giving his permission for the following night, and adding, "You are at liberty to choose between the different plans on which we have conversed."

By the next morning at eleven o'clock the arrangements were completed and the "order of battle" prepared. Without hesitation Wayne made a fundamental change in the proposed plan. Instead of an assault in a single column from the southward, he ordered that Colonel Febiger form a column upon the right, to be preceded by one hundred and fifty picked men "with their arms unloaded, placing their whole dependence on the bayonet," and that Colonel Butler form a column on the left, "preceded by one hundred chosen men with fixed bayonets" and with arms unloaded. Major Murfree was directed to move in the centre and, dividing a little to the right and left, await the attack, and thereupon keep up a galling fire as a feint. It will be observed that this plan involved an apparent frontal attack accompanied by the noise of musketry, and that the real attack should be made by the silent columns. Any soldier who presumed to take his musket from his shoulder or attempted to fire without orders was to be instantly put to death. Any soldier so lost to a sense of honor as to retreat a foot or skulk in the presence of danger was likewise to be immediately put to death by the nearest officer. At the head of each column, sixty feet in advance, were to march twenty men and an officer, designated as the "Forlorn Hope," that on the right led by Lieutenant Knox, of the Ninth Pennsylvania, and that on the left by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of the Sixth Pennsylvania. Upon entering the works the victorious troops were to shout the watchword, "The fort's our own!" Wayne, who was determined to share in the danger and participate in the glory, as his order declares, concluded to march with the right column.

On the morning of the 15th of July the troops, thirteen

hundred and fifty strong, "fresh shaved and well powdered," were drawn up for inspection, and when that ceremonial was completed, instead of being dismissed to their quarters, they started on the road to the southward. Then for the first time officers and men knew that some event of more than ordinary moment was in contemplation. Over a rough and narrow back road dwindling away at times to a mere path, across rocky hills and through swamps and ravines, they marched thirteen miles, and at eight o'clock in the evening arrived at the farm of David Springsteel, about a mile and a half to the westward of Stony Point. Not a soldier had been permitted to leave the ranks, every dog for miles around had been killed, and a detachment of the Pennsylvania battalion, under Captain James Chrystie, and the rangers of Allen McLane had meanwhile been sweeping the intervening country and gathering into their embrace all wandering countrymen who might perchance give warning to the garrison. The secret had been well kept and neither friend nor foe had yet heard a whisper of the coming event. Ere the storm burst there was a lull of three hours and a half until half-past eleven o'clock at night.

Picture to yourselves, if you can, you who are here one hundred and twenty-three years later to participate in this anniversary, the strain and suspense of that interval. After the columns had been formed and the "order of battle" read to them, after he had ridden forward for the last time to inspect the approaches, Anthony Wayne, upon whose shoulders the responsibility rested, keenly alive to the desperate character of the venture, its uncertainties and the personal danger, sat down "near the hours and scene of carnage" at eleven o'clock in the old farm-house. Securing a sheet of paper, he wrote to a near friend, "This will not reach you until the writer is no more. . . . I know that friendship will induce you to attend to the education of my little son and daughter. I fear their tender mother will not survive this stroke. . . . I am called to sup, but where

to breakfast either within the enemies' lines in triumph or in another world."

The thought of the strong man, with the scythe of the grim reaper flashing before him, was of his wife and children in their far-away home near the banks of the Brandywine.

The time had come. By half after twelve o'clock the right column had crossed the marsh, two hundred yards in width, with water up to the waists of the men, but ere they had reached the far side the pickets of the enemy opened fire and gave the alarm. Without a shot in return, in the face of a rapid fire from cannon and muskets, the men, led by Fleury and Knox, tore down the abatis and pushed forward up the steep. The Connecticut officers, Seldon, Phelps, Palmer, and Hall, and the Pennsylvanian, Hay, were grievously wounded, and on every side soldiers were falling; but who could halt to minister to them? At the second abatis Wayne was shot in the head and brought to the ground, but rising to his left knee and pointing to the front with his spear, he cried, "Forward, my brave fellows; forward!" and later was carried bleeding into the fort. The garrison within rushed to arms, and Colonel Johnson, the commandant, with about half of his force, hastened to the centre of the outer line, where he heard the rapid firing from Murfree, thus paying tribute to the wisdom of that part of the plan. In a few minutes Fleury was over the parapet and grasping the British flag, and with the honor of being first within the entrenchments, he shouted, with French accent and enthusiasm, "The fort's our own!" Following him and each other, and almost at the same instant, in rapid succession, came Knox, of the "Forlorn Hope;" Sergeant Baker, of Virginia, wounded four times; Sergeant Spencer, of Virginia, wounded two times; and Sergeant Donlop, of Pennsylvania, wounded two times.

So well were the arrangements planned and so efficiently were they carried out that the two columns, with different tasks and difficulties, separated in space, reached the para-

pet and entered the fort almost at the same time. There has been less detail preserved as to the occurrences in the left column, but the fact that when Lieutenant Gibbons, of Philadelphia, first of them all, crossed the parapet, seventeen of the twenty-one in the "Forlorn Hope" had been shot, sufficiently attests the desperate character of the struggle. Upon all sides now resounded the cry, "The fort's our own!"

There were clashing of sword and spear, and bayonet thrust; but the British, finding that the Americans had surmounted their defences, and that further resistance was useless, soon cried for mercy. One old captain refused to surrender and fell where he stood, fighting to the last.

Of the British, twenty men were killed, seventy-eight were wounded, fifty-eight were missing, and four hundred and seventy-two were taken prisoners. Of the victors, fifteen were killed and eighty-four were wounded.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 16th Wayne sent a despatch to Washington, informing him that "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnson, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free."

Up to this time no event of the war had produced such an ardor of enthusiasm in the minds of both the army and the people. The newspapers of the day teemed with praises of all the participants, and poets depicted the details of the affair in their most stirring verses. The Congress passed resolutions of thanks and voted gold medals. Washington wrote that the officers and men "gloriously distinguished themselves," and Greene, himself a hero, in earnest words declared, "This is thought to be the perfection of discipline and will forever immortalize General Wayne, as it would do honor to the first general in Europe." Said John Jay, later the distinguished Chief-Justice of the United States, "This brilliant action adds fresh lustre to our arms." And General Charles Lee wrote, "I do most sincerely declare that your action in the assault of Stony Point is not only the most brilliant, in my opinion, through

the whole course of this war on either side, but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history." But even high tributes of respect came from the enemy. General Pattison, who commanded the British artillery, wrote to Lord Townsend in London that the unfortunate event "has filled every one with astonishment," and Commodore George Collier did not hesitate to assert in his journal that "The rebels had made the attack with a bravery they never before exhibited, and they showed at this moment a generosity and clemency which during the course of the Rebellion had no parallel."

After the lapse of a century and a quarter, Stony Point yet remains the most conspicuous and imposing illustration of American military valor. At New Orleans the riflemen of Kentucky and Tennessee triumphed over the veterans of Wellington fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, but they stood behind and not in front of entrenchments. At Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, and Cold Harbor there were desperate and sustained charges against fortified positions, but in each instance they ended in failure. The great Empire State of the Union does well to set apart this beautiful park to commemorate the only instance in American history where the soldiers of the country were victorious over a disciplined European foe, protected by what seemed to be impregnable fortifications. She is to be commended for her effort again to brighten the memory of that remote time in our annals when upon her soil the men of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, all wearing the buff and blue of the Continental soldier, together faced death as they clambered up these steep heights in the defence of their own liberties and in the maintenance of those principles which meant the welfare of the human race during the ages that were yet to come.

INTERESTING LETTERS OF GEORGE MORGAN AND
AARON BURR.

BY HON. G. D. W. VROOM, TRENTON, NEW JERSEY.

Anything pertaining to the celebrated Reed-Cadwalader controversy is of interest. The following letter closely connected therewith has never before been published. The late General William S. Stryker, in his "Battles of Trenton and Princeton," refers to it for the purpose of fixing the time of General Cadwalader's reply to General Reed as early in the year 1783, and also as evincing that General Cadwalader, after the publication of his reply to General Reed, expected that Reed would challenge him. Colonel George Morgan evidently was in this matter acting as the friend of General Cadwalader and had in view a possible challenge; yet, notwithstanding his adroitness, he failed to draw out General Reed. General Cadwalader forwarded this letter to his brother-in-law General Philemon Dickinson at Trenton, among whose papers it was found.

PHILADA. 17th April 1783—Thursday.

SIR

Agreeable to your desire I called this morning on Genl. Reed at his house but he was engaged at the State House in a Cause at Law & I could not get to speak to him then; but I took the opportunity of the Courts adjourning to dine & waited on him at his own House; where as you desired I informed him that "you had last Friday sent him one of your Pamphlets & that you had since then waited in Town to give him an opportunity to call on you had he thought proper—that you were now anxious to return home to Maryland & intended to leave Town to-morrow morn'g at nine o'clock, of which you had requested me to inform him, lest it might be a disappointment to him—that at your

request I would convey to you his reply.”—He desired to know whether this message imported anything more than mere matter of information—I reply’d that it was merely for his information & that he should not be disapointed if he inclined to call on you or had anything to say to you—that I would with pleasure convey to you such answer as he thought proper to give—He Reply’d that if it was mere matter of information it was very well, but if it had any other meaning he would be glad to know it—I again repeated what I before mentioned to him & he changed the conversation to another subject.

I am, your &c.

GEO: MORGAN.

TO GENERAL CADWALADER.

At the time this letter was written Colonel George Morgan resided in Philadelphia; he removed from there to Princeton soon afterwards, probably in 1784, as Hageman, in his “History of Princeton,” says that his name appears in that year in a subscription to the church. He occupied the farm subsequently owned by Thomas Potter and now forming part of the University grounds. In 1804 he sold his Princeton farm and removed to Western Pennsylvania, not far from Canonsburg in Washington County. It was at the house of Colonel Morgan that Colonel Burr, in the summer of 1806, made what Parton terms a “fatal visit;” that Burr did at that time talk freely with both Colonel Morgan and his family and with that indiscretion which proved fatal to his schemes, whatever they may have been, must be admitted. After his departure, Colonel Morgan, thinking that there was danger in what he had heard from Burr, narrated the conversation to the judges of the court then sitting in the neighborhood, and these gentlemen wrote a joint letter to the President giving him the information and advising that Burr’s future movements be watched. According to Parton, Jefferson expressly said that this letter gave him the first intimation of Burr’s designs.

The following letter of Colonel Burr, written while confined at Richmond and during his trial, to Colonel Jonathan Rhea, a prominent lawyer and Federal politician of Trenton, New Jersey, is of great interest, and it will be noticed that he emphatically denies the truth of the statements made by Colonel Morgan :

RICHMOND, 25 July 1807.

DEAR SIR

It is with the utmost reluctance that I take the liberty of troubling you on my personal concerns; but there being no one in your part of the State sufficiently well informed and with whom I could use the freedom, I venture to ask your attention to the matters following.

George Morgan late of Princeton; his sons John & Thomas, the latter a lad of 18 or 19 have been swearing before the grand-jury & will doubtless swear again before the Pettit Jury to conversations with me of an extraordinary nature; such as never took place & by no probability could have taken place. I am told that the characters of George & John, whilst inhabitants of your State, were rather light & to say the least, equivocal in point of credit. It is interesting to me to establish this fact—a gentleman at Princeton to whom I wrote on the subject, recommended to me to summon as witnesses from that place Daniel Agnew, John Hamilton and Wm. Hight all of whom would testify to the bad character & credit of George & John; but that they would come with reluctance & *would not* without further compensation than the pay allowed by Law.

It is to be wished that some men of higher grade could be had to the same purpose; but better any reputable man than none—what I would propose is that you should procure the enclosed subpoenas to be served on such persons as you may know or suppose to be willing to depose to these things.—If A. Reckless should know their general characters, he would have no hesitation to declare boldly his belief and knowledge—I submit it wholly to your discre-

tion. If you should be averse to meddle with it, you have only to throw the papers into the fire.

The return of the subpoena or day of appearance may be altered so as to leave the witnesses a reasonable time. The expense will be repaid by the return of some of the gentlemen who will be here from N. York.

With great respect

Yrs

A BURR

What has become of my indictment in your State? Mr. Reckless wrote me that it was disposed of; but I should be gratified to learn how & whether finally.

It is singular that Burr should have sought to break down in this manner the testimony of Colonel Morgan, one with whom he had been associated during the Revolution, and one whose hospitality he had sought and shared, and who, as Parton admits, had "conceived for Burr a very warm friendship, which his misfortunes and 'persecution' had strengthened." It would seem as if he had doubted the possibility of contradicting the testimony of Morgan and his sons and was forced to resort to an attack upon their character and credit. Whether any effort was made by Colonel Rhea to secure the presence of these witnesses at the trial for the purpose of testifying to the bad character and credit of Colonel Morgan and his son John is not known, but I think it doubtful, as no further trace of any letters upon this subject appears among his correspondence. In any event it was unnecessary, as Colonel Burr was acquitted on the case made by the government. It is highly improbable, however, that any reputable witness could have been secured in Princeton to testify against either Colonel Morgan or his son Colonel John Morgan.

The query in the postscript to Colonel Burr's letter is interesting. He was then on trial at Richmond for high treason; still, he was not unmindful of the indictment for murder which had been found against him in November,

1804, by the Grand Jury of Bergen County, New Jersey, for the killing of Colonel Hamilton, and he desired to know what had become of it; and, knowing that Colonel Rhea was Clerk of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, he added this inquiry to the letter. This indictment had not then been disposed of, and was, in fact, not quashed by the Supreme Court until the November Term, 1807, when it was done on motion of Colonel Aaron Ogden.

RECORD OF MARRIAGES PERFORMED BY REV.
JOHN CONRAD BUCHER, 1763-1769.

CONTRIBUTED BY LUTHER R. KELKER.

[The Rev. John Conrad Bucher was born in Switzerland, June 10, 1730. In 1755 he came to Pennsylvania and settled near Carlisle. On February 26, 1760, was married to Mary M. Hoke, and shortly after entered the Provincial service as lieutenant in the Second Battalion, Colonel Hugh Mercer; and also served in the battalions of Lieutenant-Colonel Turbott Francis and Asher Clayton. About the year 1762 he entered the ministry of the German Reformed Church, and served as pastor of various congregations. Early in 1768 he became a resident of Lebanon. On August 15, 1780, he went to Annville to solemnize a marriage, where he died suddenly. The original records, from which this copy is made, are in the possession of his great-granddaughter Mrs. Eliza Bucher Hummel, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.]

*"Joined in the Holy Bonds of Matrimony."*¹

1763.

March ye 2d	James Findley & Jane McQuisten
May ye 23d	John Mold & Nancy Dougherty
Oct. ye 21st	Lowrence Crawford & Jane Bethy
Nov. ye 1st	Andrew Gillbreath & Cathrina Smith alias Robinson
ye 22d	Samuel Brady & Jane Simison
ye 23d	John Pirckins & Nancy Dougherty
ye 28th	James Anderson & Elizabeth Poeples
ye 30th	James Hamilton & Margreth Cisney, alias Gallacher
Dec. ye 6th	Peter Pearis & Rebecca Ramage
	John Dougherty & Ellse McDonald
	Samuel Leach & Mary Fleming

1764.

Jany. ye 3d	Jacob Boursman & Eliz: Streith
17th	William Beard & Mary Lucas
19th	Johanes Hamuth & Anna Margretha Herzeller
23d	William Willson & Jane McFall
Febry. ye 3d	William Sanderson & Jane Ervine
20th	Johanes Fuhr & Nancy Murphy
21st	Charles Bonner & Ann Gillpatrick
27th	Andrew Schneider & Isabel Grayton

¹ Places of Marriage not stated in record.

376 *Marriages by Rev. John Conrad Bucher, 1763-1769.*

Mar. ye 15th	John Davis & Jane Kofine
	William Walker & Marry Herring
19th	William Robinson & Bethy Eager
27th	Thomas Taylor & Ester Harley
Apr. ye 2d	William Kellsay & Agnes Goudy
16th	Samuel McCrue & Martha McKnight
Apr. ye 19th	Samuel McClure & Elizabeth English
23d	Isaak Botterum & Margreth Gallacher
May ye 7th	Samuel Glen & Elizabeth Morrow
17th	Abraham Adams & Elizabeth McCormick
May ye 18th	James Kirkpatrick & McKellhenny
28	John Maghan & Marry Morrow
30	Jacob Grojean & Mary Magdalena Kistler
June ye 12th	Thomas Askey & Elizabeth Baker
25	Willm Gallaghly & Hannah Gardner
July 18	Stephen Delph & Prudence McAlwain
25	Joseph Sample & Hannah Wallace
26	Willm McCalethon & Jenny Watson
31	John Wright & Susanah Armstrong
Aug. ye 4th	John Rose & Hanah French
Sept. ye 27	Charles McKennis & Martha Buttler
Nov. ye 30	Peter Rolleter & Judith Hickins
Dec. ye 4th	Benjamin Scitmore & Elizabeth Harribel
	James Forster Carson & Sarah Reyanth
1st	James Royle & Mary Willson
	John Hutlass & Elizabeth Frex
21	John York & Amy Beyers

1765.

Jany. ye 5	John Philip Ebers & Elizabeth Taylor
21	Robert Gelilan & Jane Galliforth
Feb. ye 19	Grafener Mash & Jane Boyd
25	James Duff & Ester McGill
March 5	David Dumbar & Frances Steel
	John Dumbar & Fanny Dumbar
March 14	David McBride & Margreth McFarlin
18	Saml Simpson & Eliz : Smith
29	Willm Collins & Margreth Poeples
Apr. ye 1st	Andrew Forster & Elizabeth Guthrie
4th	Willm Grahams & Mary Ann Brandon
May ye 2d	James Snotgrass & Jane Brown
May ye 15th	Abraham Jones & Mary Beard
17	James Collhoon & Mary Willson

June ye 4th	John Coblin & Pheby Ong
20	Willm Little & Grezil Means
E. D.	Christoph Quigley & Mary Crawford
E. D.	Francis Ellis & Mary Findley
27th	Patrick Jack & Martha Findley
July 4th	Joseph McKenny & Rebecca Latimore
24	Even Davis & Martha Martin
Augt ye 8th	John Davidson & Agnes Grahams
20	Andrew Wait & Mary James
27	Samuel Beyers & Agnes Beyers
28	James Brakon & Mary Dill
E. D	Georg Smith & Eleonora Grahams
Sept. ye 9th	Cookson Long & Rebecca McNight
13th	Robert Dickey & Agnes Dickey
Oct. ye 14th	James Clendenen & Isabel Huston
20th	Phillip Krafft & Anna Maria Keller
24	Johanes Goldenberger & Dorothea Lang, Gebohren Grepelman
28	John Rennels & Sarah Carnoughan
31st	James Maxwell & Mary Leighlin
Novr. ye 4th	Thomas Donn & Jane McEntekerd
12th	Nicklas Schneyder & Cathrina Fischer
14th	Moses Kerk & Mary Forster
22d	Samuel Chambers & Jane Crean
24th	Thomas Simpson & Mary Rose
27th	Thomas Hunter & Elizabeth Beard
Dec. ye 9th	Richard Long & Margreth Cample
24	Marcus Hulin & Mercer [Mercy] Dougherty
27	Thomas Gerdy & Ann Dotton
28	Jearad Pollock & Jennet Galliford
Dec. ye 30	Henry Dougherty & Sarah Baskin

1766.

Jany. ye 30th	John Reed & Brotherintown
Feby. ye 7th	John McDonald & Margreth Mitchell
13th	James McCowan & Eliz : Leard
18th	Edward McDuel & Margret Lormar
24	Francis Cample & Mary Rees
26	John McElhathon & Mary Little
March ye 18th	Dennis Balf & Britchet Brady
20	William Patrick & Margreth Dorough
Apr. ye 1st	Henry Schatto & Mary Cath : Stahl
30	Thomas Adams & Jane Shaw
22d	James Thompson & Ann Hamilton

378 *Marriages by Rev. John Conrad Bucher, 1763-1769.*

May ye 1st	Richard Morrow & Elizabeth Willcock
June ye 6th	John Beadle & Mary Dutton
E. D.	Georg Roller & A. M. C. Busholtz
24	John Williams & Eleanor Leard
E. D.	Peter Dickey & Mary Barckley
July ye 1st	Christoph Laubengeyer & Elizabeth Miller
6	Andrew Mehlhorn & Mar: Eliz: Breittingross
29th	Willm Wright & Mary Smith
30	Hugh Sherang & Elizabeth Armstrong
Aug. ye 9th	Fergus Moorhead & Jane White
11th	Jacob Schaz & Prudence Williamson
12th	Georg Habacker & Margreth Fresinger
21	Stephen Davis & Elenor Morrison
E. D.	Willm Morrison & Mary Carver
26	James Saye & Mary Reed
28	John Kistler & An: Marg: Strieker
Sept. ye 1	Jacob Weiser & Jane Mitchelltree
18	John Ulrich Seyler & Elizabeth Wolf
30	Michael Laplin & Ann Dorothea Ramberger
	Illa mortua est, March ye 16th 1767
Oct. ye 5th	Samuel Thompson & Mary Nugent
7th	Saln White & Cathr: Mitchell
15	Josua Rhoddo & Magdalena Kistler
25	William Martin & Isabel English
Novr. ye 3d	Georg McCanighel & Beggy Kennedy
25th	William Willson & Margreth Scot
Dec. ye 1st	John Brownfield & Elizabeth Clark
2d	William Campbell & Hanah Young
15	John Fiscus & Cathrina Fans
23	John McWever & Margreth Collins
27	John Burns & Elizabeth McGill
29	Samuel Jack & Martha Heran
31	Johanes Lanweyl & Maria Kistner

1767.

Jany. ye 2d	Absolom Meret & Mary Cathrina Bubach
13	John Johnston & Eva Betwy
Febry ye 3d	John Wyle & Eliz: McCibbens
10	Johan Philip Lauer & Mary Cathrina Goldstett
23d	John Davis & Isabell Hill
March ye 16th	William Gobbins & Esther Rheins
21	Willm McMeen & Elizabeth Sherang
24	James Rotch & Sarah Forster

March ye 25th	Georg Thoughly & Susanah Spray
E. D.	James Mappin & Sarah Welsh
28	David Harkness & Ann Armstrong
Aprl ye 8th	Lawrenz Kelleyah & Martha Smith
20	Philip Wegelin & Feronica Krafft
May ye 6th	John Rothrock & Dorothea Gump
8th	John Hunter & Jane Cuninghame
E. D.	Robert Donwan & Martha Turner
12	Andrew McMaghan & Eleonora Ray
25	Robert Chester & Eliz: Patterson
June ye 4th	James Turner & Elizabeth Morgan
9	Samuel Adams & Margreth Fleming
23	John Arbuckle & Rebecca Ross
July ye 1st	Georg Ezweyler & Mary Shorah
2d	William Samuels & Sarah Brown
3d	Jacob Seyler & Ferena Sherp
6th	Georg Welsh & Agnes Bethy
8th	James Morrison & Sarah Hodge
14th	David Lewis & Eliz: McGaffy
E. D.	Isaak Worral & Hanah Calvert
E. D.	John Moor & Eliz: More
E. D.	Antony Herbich & Nancy Daviss
28	Heinrich Hein & Cathrina Kinzler
Aug. ye 3d	Samuel Gorman & Nancy Kennedy
6th	Ennis Willson & Isabel Roads
E. D.	Alexander Brown & Deborah Clark
11	James Ross & Jean Steel
25	John Kearns & Sarah Galliforth
Sept. ye 9th	Clemence McGeary & Rachael Smiley
11	James Stevenson & Elizabeth Thompson
22d	Sebastian Grewass & Charlotta Pfannekuch
23d	Stephen Hildebrand & Hanah Beals
30	Francis Worley & Ruth Collins
Oct. ye 6th	John Marshall & Agness Clockstone
26	William Herron & Agness Brown
Nov. ye 5th	Alexander McNett & Jenny Piper
18	William Hunter & Mary Donnelly
24th	John Beard & Mary Erwin
Dec. ye 7th	Christian Shally & Elizabeth Wattman
8th	Johanes Meyer & Ana Cathrina Shaffer
17th	Archibold Hanah & Margreth Brady
21st	William Forster & Cathrina Lefever
28	Johan Georg Koch & Maria Elizabetha Schüz
29	Jacob Frosch & Cathrina Koch

1768.

Jany. ye 13th	John English & Jane Chambers
26	Thomas Douglass & Elizabeth Woods
Feby. ye 12th	John Cochran & Jane Fisher
15	Charles McCardy & Mary Skipton
Mch. ye 22	Hugh Hollan & Susannah Reed
E. D.	John McCall & Jane Robinson
Apr. ye 6th	William Dorward & Mary Burns
7th	James Newlon & Cathrina Bennett
16	Jacob Jordy & Ann Kingrich
May ye 17	Thomas Pumery & Mary Grahams
24	Jacob Bender & Magd : Stauffer
E. D.	Joh : Nicklas Meas & Sussanah Laubsher
26	Franz Geib & Eliz : Schneider
27	Adam Keener & Christina Hoch
31	Abraham Abbrecht De Rocke & Elizabeth Graff
June ye 1st	Alexander Setting & Mary Forster
13	Paul Cohan & Ann Gardner
20	Durst Thomah & Regina Spicker
21	Philip Graber & An : Cathr : Ebrecht
E. D.	Joh : Hemmig & Eliz : Thomah
22d	Nichlas Liverich & Cathr : Meyer
28th	Jacob Stricker & Dorothea Saur
E. D.	Franz Elias Daniel Ehinguer & Mary Magd : Cossey
29	Nichlas Cassel & Rosina Rambach
E. D.	John Morrison & Mary Devire
July ye 15	William McGee & Sarah Logan
25	John Albrecht & Marg : Barbara Stoffelman
26	Robert Armstrong & Isabel Forster
E. D.	Charles Stuarth & Eliz : Hunter
E. D.	Samuel Meek & Cathr : Parkison
Augt. ye 6th	Balthazer Fuchs & Dorothea Miller
8th	John Benrad & Saly Davidson
11	Hugh McCardle & Elizabeth Murray
18	William McConnal & Rose Kennedy
30	Peter Blaser & Cathrina Newer
Sept. ye 13	Robert Pickin & Alice Gordon
E. D.	John McAdams & Mary Ann Fisher
15	Elija Newland & Ann McGrew
26	Georg Lauman & Ester König
E. D.	Edward Lee & Elizabeth Money
28	John McCord & Nancy Sillick
Oct. ye 3d	Andrew Fleming & Ann Britewell
13	James McCean & Sarah Pierson
E. D.	Hugh Colhoon & Ann Proctor

- Oct. ye 18th Fridrich Kauffman & Barbara Geitlinger
 19 Alexander McGrue & Mary Blackburne
 21 James Curry & Else Abbet
 25 Georg Schank & Sussanah Meister
 29 James Driskel & Jane Pierson
 31 Joseph Reed & Mary Hoil
 Nov. ye 19 John Woodfine & Christy Hargus
 25 John McKinley & Sarah Robertson
 Dec. ye 16th Thomas Dillon & Margreth McCrackon
 E. D. Jacob Sweizer & Rahel Schadow
 20 William Boggs & Eliz : Quirey
 29 Georg Sweizer & Eleonora Ward
 31 William Poeples & Elizabeth Finley
 E. D. William Brownfields & Margreth Breyens

1769.

- Jany. ye 2. Andrew Walker & Mary Grahams
 E. D. James Thompson & Elizabeth Beyers
 E. D. Nicklas Obreyan & Susanah McCutcheon
 E. D. Hugh Logg & Nancy McCully
 ye 9th Charles Mair & Polly Hillman
 E. D. Nathaniel Miller & Margreth Cuningham
 Feby ye 7. Philip Eckle & Cathr : Becker
 22d Johanes Lauman & Magdalena Zindmeyer
 28th James McEllway & Nancy Lean
 March ye 5th Jacob Trewer & Susanah Shnebel
 E. D. Christoph Bouman & An : Cathrina Bauman
 8th Martin Billmeyer & Cathrina Thomas
 March ye 9th John McClellan & Margery Rippy
 E. D. Alexander Mitchell & Jenny Moorhead
 20 Joh : Jacob Zufall. V. D. M. & Ferronika Brunner
 22 Abrah : Korey & Jane Nees
 27 Philip Schock & Eliz : Sanger
 Aprl. ye 2 Heinrich Kuntz & Dorothea Praganier
 E. D. Jacob Cook & Eliz : Small
 3d Christian Nesler & Sybilla Lincking
 4th Peter Schlosser & Sussanah Regnas
 5 Adam Umberger & Mary Gertrauth Wernan
 6th Peter Schuck & Maria Margreth Ruth
 E. D. Georg Danzer & Cathrina Simon
 E. D. James Crutchlow & Jane Andrew
 14 Wm Miller & Charity Calvert
 18th Martin Böhler & An : Eliz : Dieffenderfer
 E. D. Melchior Fortune & Margreth Meyer
 25th Charles Finley & Hester Hodge

LITHOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF ALBERT NEWSAM.

BY D. MCN. STAUFFER.

(Addenda to Vol. XXV. page 113.)

This supplementary list of lithographic work by Albert Newsam is made up from such plates as have been found by the compiler since the publication of the fuller list and from notes sent in by others. In the latter case the descriptions are often incomplete, but the names are included in their proper order for the information of those interested.

ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE.

Bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | P. S. Duval, Lith., Phil'a. | Alex. Dallas Bache (auto.). | Size 5 x 4.7 ins.

WILLIAM BALDWIN.

Undescribed as to figure and size. Inscription—C. W. Peale, Pinx't. | On stone by A. Newsam. | P. S. Duval's lith., Phila. | Ever yours | W. Baldwin (auto.). | From Selection from Correspondence of the late William Baldwin, M.D., Surgeon in the U. S. Navy. Compiled by William Darlington, M.D., Phila., 1843.

GEORGE W. BEHN.

The portrait of Captain George Washington Behn, in the U. S. Military Magazine, Vol. I., is drawn on stone by A. Newsam.

ANNA BISHOP.

Portrait on sheet music—"On the Banks of the Guadalquivir." Drawn on stone by A. Newsam.

THE BOLD BRIGAND.

Man in brigand dress among rocks, firing a pistol; other brigands in background. Title to sheet music. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam. | P. S. Duval, Lith., Phila. | The Bold Brigand | etc. Size 9.6 x 7.4 ins.

HENRY CLAY.

Rectangular, half-length, face front. Inscription—Painted by Wood and drawn on stone by A. Newsam | Lith'd by C. G. Childs, Philad'a. | Published by D. Mallery, 146 Broadway, New York. | Copyright secured. | Henry Clay. | Size 9.4 x 7.3 ins.

NICHOLAS COLLIN.

Undescribed as to figure and size. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam. From a drawing by Rev. H. G. Morton | Lehman & Duval, Liths., Phila. |

JOHN COLLINS.

Rectangular, $\frac{3}{4}$ length, seated, face front; hat on head, gloves in right hand, cane in left. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam from a Daguerreotype by M. A. Root | P. S. Duval, Lith., Phil'a | J. Collins (auto) | John Collins, Esq'e, | Irish Comedian & Vocalist | Size 7 x 5.10 ins.

ESH-TAH-HUM-LEAH.

Half-length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Inscription—Painted by C. B. King | Newsam | Lehman & Duval, Lith's. | Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle | (Copyright 1836) | Esh-Tah-Hum-Leah | or the Sleepy Eye. | A Sioux Chief | Size 12.2 x 8.13 ins.

A. C. DODGE.

Full bust, face almost front. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam from a Dag't | P. S. Duval & Co. Steam lith. press Phila. | Your friend | A. C. Dodge (auto.) | A. C. Dodge | U. S. Senator from Iowa. Size 9.7 x 7.10 ins.

FIRST TROOP, MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

Figures representing the uniforms of this troop and published in the U. S. Military Magazine, Vol. I., and lithographed by A. Newsam.

PETER FRITZ.

Full length in uniform, seated, arm on table; in middle a soldier standing at rest; to left an officer holding the flag of the National Greys, of Philadelphia. On a certificate of Membership in the National Greys, filled out in 1835. Inscription—From life on stone by A. Newsam | P. S. Duval, Lith. Phila. Huddy & Duval, Publishers | Size —.

HENRY HERTZ.

Half-length, $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. Inscription—A. Newsam | P. S. Duval's Lith. Philad'a | Souvenir | de | Henry Hertz. | Probably from a title to sheet music. Size 5.3 x 4.8 ins.

JENNY LIND.

Three-quarter length, face front. On sheet music. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam. | P. S. Duval, Lith. Phil'a. | Title cut off. Size 10.8 x 8.14 ins.

N. M. LUDLOW.

Full bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to right. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | Lehman & Duval, Lith. Philad'a. | N. M. Ludlow (auto) | Comedian & Manager of the Mobile and St. Louis Theatre. | Size 4.5 x 3.12 ins.

MA-HAS-KAH.

Half-length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left, leaning on tomahawk under chin. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | Painted by C. B. King | Lehman & Duval Lith'. | (Copyright 1837) | Young Ma-Has-Kah | Chief of the Ioways | Size 10 x 8.2 ins.

MARGARET MORRIS—COLLINS.

Full bust, with broad collar and large comb, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam from Original Painting. | Margaret Morris, Wife of Isaac Collins, Jr. | (From a reproduction.)

NE-SOU-AQUOIT.

Half-length, face front, right hand on top of staff, medal of Andrew Jackson at neck. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | Painted by C. B. King | Lehman & Duval Lith' | (Copyright 1837) | Ne-Sou-Aquoit | a Fox Chief | Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle. | Size 14.4 x 11.13 ins.

JOHN NEAGLE.

Undescribed as to figure and size. Inscription—Sully pinx. | Childs direxit | ascribed to A. Newsam.

HENRY A. MUHLENBERG.

Half-length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | Schoener Pinx't | P. S. Duval, lith. Phil'a | Hon. Henry A. Muhlenberg | Minister to Austria. | Size 5.14 x 5.14 ins.

WILLIAM F. PACKER.

Half-length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Inscription—A. Newsam, from an Ambrotype by Walter Denmore, Phil. | P. S. Duval & Sons Lith. Press, Phil. | Wm. F. Packer (auto) | Gen. William F. Packer | Democratic Candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania | 1857 | Size 9.8 x 8.8 ins.

B. FRANK PALMER.

Bust, face front. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam from a dag. by Root | P. S. Duval & Co. st'm lith. press, Phila. | B. Frank Palmer. | Size —.

PO-CA-HAN-TAS.

Three-quarter length, face to left, holding tobacco, etc., in right hand. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | P. S. Duval, lith. Phila. | Po-ca-han-tas | The original portrait painted in London in 1616—was copied by Sully in 1830. From that copy | this likeness was engraved. For detailed evidence of authenticity see McKenney & Hall's Work | on the North American Indians | (Rice & Clark's edition, Phila.) From T. L. McKenney's Memoirs, New York, 1846. Size 5.4 x 4.5 ins.

REDOWA WALTZ.

Man and woman in Bohemian dress dancing. Title to sheet music. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam | P. S. Duval, Lith. Phila. | Philadelphia, A. Fiot, No. 196 Chestnut Street, etc. | Redowa Waltz | A new | Bohemian Waltz | etc. Size 7.8 x 6 ins.

READING ARTILLERISTS.

Vol. I. of the U. S. Military Magazine contains an illustration showing the uniform of the Reading Artillerists, drawn on stone by A. Newsam.

JOHN SCHWARTZ.

Full bust, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left. Inscription—On stone by A. Newsam, Photo'd by C. L. Phillippi, Reading, P'a. | P. S. Duval & Sons Lith. Phil'a. | Major John Schwartz | The Democratic Candidate for Congress in Berks | An Officer of the War of 1812 | Commissioned by | Gov. Simon Snyder. | Size 11 x 7 ins.

TAH-CHEE.

Half-length, face $\frac{3}{4}$ to left, with turban and feathers, knife in belt. Inscription—A. Newsam | Philadelphia, Published by E. C. Biddle | (copyright 1837) | Tah-Chee | a Cherokee Chief | Size 12.7 x 11 ins.

U. S. FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.

In Vol. I. U. S. Military Magazine is a lithograph by A. Newsam of the U. S. Frigate Constitution.

WASHINGTON'S PLAN FOR THE ATTACK AT GERMANTOWN.

BY C. H. LINCOLN, OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The troops to be ready to march this evening at six oclock—

The divisions of Sullivan & Wayne to form the right wing and attack the enemy's left; they are to march down Monatany road—The divisions of Green & Stephen to form the left wing and attack the enemy's right; they are to march down the Skippack road. General Conway to march in front of the troops that compose the right wing, and file off to attack the enemy's left flank. General McDougall to march in front of the troops that compose the left wing and file off to attack the enemy's right flank—

General Nash & General Maxwell's brigade form the corps de reserve and to be commanded by Major General Lord Stirling. The Corps De reserve to pass down the Skippack road.

General Armstrong to pass down the ridge road pass by Leverings tavern & take guides to cross the Wissahiecon creek up the head of John Vandeering's mill-dam so as to fall above Joseph Warners new house.

Smallwood and Forman to pass down the road by a mill formerly Dan' Morris' & Jacob Edges mill into the White marsh road at the Sandy run: thence to white marsh church, where take the left hand road, which leads to Jenkin's tavern on the old york road, below Armitages, beyond the seven mile stone half a mile from which turns off short to the right hand, fenced on both sides, which leads through the enemy's incampment to Germantown market house.

General McDougall to attack the right of the enemy in flank. General Smallwood & forman to attack the right wing in flank & rear.—General Conway to attack the

enemy's left flank & General Armstrong to attack their left wing in flank and rear.

The militia, who are to act on the flanks not to have cannon.

Packs & blankets to be left, the men are to carry their provisions in their Haversacks, or any other manner least inconvenient.

All the pioneers of each division who are fit to march are to move in front of their respective divisions, with all the axes they can muster—

Pickets on the left of Vanderin's mill to be taken off by Armstrong: one at Allen's house on Mount Airey by Sullivan—One at Lucans Mill by Greene—

Each Column to make their disposition so as to attack the pickets in their respective routs, precisely at five oclock with charged bayonets and without firing, and the columns to move on the attack as soon as possible.

The Columns to endeavour to get within two miles of the enemy's pickets on their respective routs by two oclock and there halt 'till four and make the disposition for attacking the pickets at the time above mentioned.

The Columns of Cont: troops & militia to communicate with each other from time to time by light horse.

Proper flanking parties to be kept out from each column.

Endorsed by Washington: "Order of March
and Battle
German Town
4th Oct^r 1777."

LETTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO DAVID HALL,
1765.

(CONARROE COLLECTION, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.)

LONDON, Aug^t. 9. 1765

DEAR M^r HALL

I receiv'd yours of June 20. & 22. I have wrote my Mind fully to you in former Letters relating to the Stamp Act, so that I have but little to add, except what you desire to know about the 2/ one Advertisements. It is undoubtedly to be paid every Time the Advertisement is inserted. As to the Paper sent over, I did it for the best, having at that time Expectations given me that we might have had it stamp there, in which case you would have had great Advantage of the other Printers, since if they were not provided with such Paper, they must have either printed but a half sheet common Demi, or paid for two Stamps on each sheet. The Plan was afterwards alter'd notwithstanding all I could do, it being alledged that Scotland & every Colony would expect the same Indulgence if it was granted to us. The Paper must now be sent back again. But I hope you will excuse what I did in Good Will, tho' it happen'd Wrong.—The Molds I still think you should have, as you see that Paper from hence is much dearer than we can make it, with all the Charge of Carriage, but that I hope to get off.

I would not have you by any means drop the Newspaper, as I am sure it will soon recover any present Loss, and may be carried on to advantage if you steadily proceed as I propos'd in former Letters. I am,

Yours affectionately

B FRANKLIN.

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

(Continued from page 284.)

1759	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
April 28	Ship Unicorn	Henry Dunn	Benj ⁿ & John Bower of Manchester, Great Britain	Philadelphia	150
			Neal Napleton of Barbadoes		
			Tench Francis		
			John Relfe		
			both of Philadelphia		
May 8	Sloop Good Luck	Joseph Terry	Jeremiah Terry	New Jersey	10
			Joseph Terry		
			both of Long Island		
May 11	Brig't Rebecca & Margaret	Robert Hardie	Benjamin Fuller	Philadelphia	90
			Anthony Stocker		
			both of Philadelphia		
May 15	Schooner Dispatch	George Rankin	James Harvey	York, Province of Massa-	35
			George Rankin	chusetts Bay	
			both of Philadelphia		
May 29	Ship Sally	James Taylor	John Murry	Prize taken from the	80
			Samuel Moore	French by his Majesty's	
			James Taylor	ship Boras, Hon. Robert	
			all of Philadelphia	Boyle, Commander	

June 1	Ship Hetty	W ^m Lannen	Thomas Clifford	—	—
June 4	Schooner Mulberry	Joseph Eldridge	Joseph Morris	—	10
			Joseph Fox		
			all of Philadelphia		
June 6	Brig't Joseph	Thomas Lake	John Mifflin	Prize retaken from the	50
			of Philadelphia	French	
—	Snow Denny	Angus Bowies	James Wallace	Prize taken from the	35
			of Philadelphia	French	
June 18	Ship William and Mary	George Nicholson	William Plumsted	Philadelphia	30
			of Philadelphia		
June 27	Ship Dunmore	James Ewing	Robert Draghorne	Philadelphia	120
			William Crawford		
			Tho ^s Dunmore		
			James Ewing		
			all of Glasgow, Great		
			Britain		
June 19	Brig't Spence	Thomas Brice	Henry Spence	Rebuilt at Newport, Pa.	50
			of London		
			Mess ^{rs} Bell & Hamilton		
			& Capt. Charles Lyon		
			all of Philadelphia		
July 3	Snow Patty	Hugh Wright	George Bryan	Prize taken from the	50
			of Philadelphia	French by his Majesty's	
				Sloop of War, the Port	
				Royal	

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

1769	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
July 4	Snow Matty	John Douglass	Colin Dunlop George Buchanan James Simson all of Glasgow, Great Britain Patrick Carrick of Island of St. Christophers	Philadelphia	120
—	Brig't Catherine	Jn ^o Wells	Richard Stiles John Wells James Child all of Philadelphia Charles Cox James Taylor both of Philadelphia	Virginia. Retaken from the French	60
July 19	Ship Jenny	James Taylor	William Whittil of Appoquinimink John Kelso of Philadelphia John Raymond, Esq ^r of London Thomas Dea Cornelius Copping both British subjects residing at Lisbon	Taken from the French by the private Brig't of War Grace, John Rickey, Commander Appoquinimink, Newcas- tle Co., on Delaware	80
Aug. 10	Sloop Batchelor	Thomas Dewick			12
Aug. 11	Brig't John and Thomas	Thomas Roche		Taken by the French and retaken from them	100

—	Sloop Greenwich	John Campbell	Norwood Saltus John Campbell both of Philadelphia	Province of West Jersey	40
Aug. 27	Snow Francis & Sarah	James Reed	—	—	35
Aug. 29	Snow Recovery	Nathaniel Falconer	—	—	—
Aug. 28	Sloop Sally	Joseph Graham	—	—	10
Aug. 29	Brig't Charming Polly	Thomas Cockrun	—	—	—
Sept. 4	Schooner Rebecca	Thomas Mulford	Richard Buther of Cohanzie, West Jersey Thomas Mulford of Duck Creek, Newcastle Co., on Delaware	West New Jersey	10
Sept. 4	Brig't James & Mary	Benjamin Bailly	Joseph Wilson Benjamin Bailly both of Noxinton, North Carolina	Rhode Island	25
Sept. 7	Sloop Dolphin	W ^m Willson	Charles Harrison of Philadelphia	Taken from the French by the private Ship of War, the Royal George, Thomas Reed, Com.	50
Sept. 10	Ship Raymond	Benjamin Spring	John Raymond, Esq ^r of London Thomas Dea & Cornelius Coppinger British merchants residing at Lisbon	Marcus Hook, Pa.	60

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1759	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Tons
Sept. 10	Snow Netherwood	Archibald McCall	Andrew Thompson John Anderson both of Glasgow, North Britain	100
Sept. 19	Brig't Hawk	Peter Dobson	Samuel McCall, Senr of Philadelphia Thomas Randal Henry Arnold Ben ⁿ Eldridge Sam. Bridges Peter Dobson all of New York City	60
Sept. 20	Brig't Hannah	W ^m Barnes	Benjamin Shoemaker Samuel Shoemaker both of Philadelphia	40
Sept. 3	Ship Philadelphia Packet	Richard Budden	Jere ^b Warder Philip Benezet Jn ^o Head all of Philadelphia Daniel Mildred of London	160
			Philadelphia. Retaken from the French by his Majesty's Sloop of War Antigua, Weston Vas- low, Commander	
			Philadelphia	

Oct.	2	Schooner Speedwell	Samuel Bunting	Samuel Bunting Jn ^o Rich both of Philadelphia	Seituate, Province of Massachusetts Bay	35
Oct.	5	Brig't Charming Becky	Alexander Campbell	Charles Cox of Philadelphia	Prize taken from the French Philadelphia	60
Oct.	10	Schooner Betsey	Alex ^r Dyer	Alex ^r Dyer of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	35
Oct.	18	Ship Sarah & Catherine	John Burrow	Joshua Howell Charles Jones William Fisher all of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	80
Oct.	19	Ship Beaver	Hugh Wright	Charles Cox W ^m Dowell Robert Field all of Philadelphia	French Prize taken by the 200 Ship Hercules, Samuel Bayard, Commander	
Oct.	26	Snow Triton	Ferdinando Boud	John Scott John McMichael John Taylor all of Philadelphia	French Prize taken by the 180 provincial Ship of War King George, Benj ^a Hallowell, Jun ^r , Esq ^r , Commander	
Oct.	26	Sloop Two Friends	Jos ^a Valens	Mungo Canuill John Pynar both of the Island of St. Christophers	French Prize taken by the 25 private Ship of War Britannia, Jn ^o McPher- son, Commander	
Oct.	26	Schooner Susannah	Ricloff Alberson	Ricloff Alberson of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	18

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1769	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built Tons
Oct. 26	Sloop Monckton	Nathan Foot	Nathan Foot of Philadelphia	Taken at the Reduction of Louisburg 20
Nov. 1	Sloop Monckton	Nathan Foot	John Campbell Alexander Houston & Co. William Hyndman all of Glasgow, North Britain	Taken at the Reduction of Louisburg 20
Oct. 22	Ship Pennsylvania Packet	William Gardner	Richard Neave of London Samuel Howell of Philadelphia Alex ^r Houston & Co. William Hyndman all of Glasgow, North Britain	Philadelphia 150
Nov. 2	Brig't Scipio	Andrew Lyon	William Lyon	Philadelphia 75
Nov. 2	Brig't Hannah	James Coburn	John Mifflin of Philadelphia	Philadelphia 50
Nov. 8	Snow Joannah	Richard Shield	Samuel Purviance of Philadelphia	Philadelphia 60
Oct. 6	Brig't Mary	Thomas Alex ^r Shurlock	John Scott John McMichael both of Philadelphia W ^m Benson of Dublin	Marcus Hook 40

Nov. 10	Brig't Otter	Daniel Howell	Thomas Paschall Samuel Howell Daniel Howell Joseph Donaldson all of Philadelphia William Killgore John Wilson both of Philadelphia Samuel Mifflin Thomas Ritche both of Philadelphia William Caldwell William Kennedy both of Londonderry, Ireland & James Mitchell of Philadelphia George Bryan Messrs Conyngham & Nesbitt James McCullough all of Philadelphia George Folliot of New York City Thomas Lake George Bryan both of Philadelphia	Maryland	35
Nov. 15	Sloop Harlequin	John Wilson		New England	25
Nov. 15	Ship Hercules	Alexander Adams		A capture from the French by the private Ship of War Hercules, W ^m By- ard, Commander Philadelphia	100
Nov. 22	Brig't Hibernia	Robert Miller			70
Nov. 29	Brig't Hannah	Samuel Montgomery		New Jersey	55
Nov. 30	Ship Speedwell	Thomas Lake		Taken from the French	95

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

1769	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Dec. 8	Brig't Jn ^e and W ^m	Tho ^s Moore	Geo. Folliot of New York City George Bryan of Philadelphia	Prize retaken from the French	50
Dec. 8	Charming Sally	Thomas Gelston	Geo. Folliot of New York City George Bryan of Philadelphia	Taken by his Majesty's Ship of War, the Grif- fin, Thomas Taylor, Esq, Commander Philadelphia	50
Dec. 5	Ship Elizabeth and Mary	Mungo Davidson	Jos. Shewell Cornelius Bradford Mess ^{rs} Fisher and Bickley John Bayard Stephen Shewell all of Philadelphia		60
Dec. 8	Snow Pitt	James Thompson	Geo. Murro of Newcastle, on Delaware John Houston George Thompson Joseph Reynolds Thomas Robinson all of Philadelphia	A Prize	40

Dec. 10	Sloop Betsy and Hannah	William Jarrett	Benjamin Howell of Marcus Hook William Jarrett of Salem, West Jersey	Marcus Hook	10
Dec. 18	Snow Prince Edward	Francis Faris	John McMichael Jno ^r Scott both of Philadelphia	Philadelphia	60

LETTER OF MARQUE COMMISSIONS, COMMENCING 27 NOVEMBER, 1758.

No.	Vessels' Names	Captain	Sum Recd	£.	S.	D.
27.	Ship Jamaica Packet	Joseph Arthur	£. 6..0..0	3..0..0	0	p ^d
28.	Ship Rainbow	Stephen Archbold	6..0..0	3..0..0	0	p ^d
Dec. 5	Ship Unicorn	Charles Lyon	6..0..0	3..0..0	0	p ^d
Do.	Ship Charming Peggy	James Abercrombie	6..0..0	3..0..0	0	"
Dec. 7	Brigg. Knowles	Alex ^r Campbell	6..0..0	3..0..0	0	"
Do.	Ship Louisburgh	Sam ^l Nuttle	6..0..0	3..0..0	0	-
9	Snow Sadler	William Fitzharbert	6..0..0	3	—	—
p ^d	Brigg. Sally	Captain Brown	6..0..0	The above are paid to William		
p ^d	Snow Juliana	Samuel House	6	Peters & he is to receive		
p ^d	Brigg. Molly	David Stuart	6	fees for remainder.		
p ^d	Ship First of August	Ferdinando Bowd	6	9 Jan. 1759		
p ^d	Ship Prince George	Captain Gardner	6	13 Jan. "		
p ^d	Sloop Keen	Elias Davis	6	28 Feb'y		
p ^d	Ship Forbes	James Gibbon	6	14 Feb'y		
p ^d	Boreas Frigate	Henry Allen McDougal	6			

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

<i>Dec.</i>	<i>Vessels' Names</i>	<i>Captain</i>	<i>Sum Recd</i>	
p ^a	Ship Somerville	Captain Jones	£. 6 —	14 Feb'y
p ^a	Schooner Polly	Captain North	6 —	do.
p ^a	Ship Tyrrell	James Miller	6 —	28 do.
p ^a	Ship Unicorn	Captain Dunn	6 —	27 April
p ^a	Ship Hetty	Cap ^a Lannen	6 —	11 June
p ^a	Ship William & Mary	Cap ^a Nicholson	6 —	18 do. paid
p ^a	Brigantine Eagle	Captain Carr	6 —	paid
p ^a	Brigantine Jn ^o & Thomas	Cap ^a Roch	6 —	16 Aug. 1759.
p ^a	Sloop Little William	John Duplessiss	6 —	1 Sep ^t paid
p ^a	Ship Britannia	George Taylor	6 —	8 Sep ^t —
	Ship Raymond	Benj ^a Spring	6 —	10 Oct. paid
	Brig Charming Becky	Alexander Campbell	6 —	do. paid
	Brig Hawk	Peter Dobson	6 —	do. paid
	Sloop Moniton	Captain Foot	6 —	this did not issue by the Gov-
	Brig Rebecca	Cap ^a Powell	6 —	ernor's Order after signing.
			6 paid	

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS OF SEVEN COMPANIES, FOURTH BATTALION LANCASTER COUNTY ASSOCIATORS, COLONEL JAMES BURD, MARCH 13, 1776.—

We the Subscribers Officers of the Fourth Battalion of Lancaster County do Certify that the Following Gentlemen agreeable to their Ranks are voted by a Majority of every individual Private of the Battalion as officers of the said Battalion and Request the Commissioners may Issue accordingly. As Witness our hands this 13th. March 1776.

James Burd, Col.,
Thomas Murray, Lieut Col.,
Cornelius Cox, 1st Major,
Frederick Hummel, 2^d Major.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 st James Croutch, Captn.,
William Mackey, 1 st Lieut.,
Frederick Hubley, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Simon Snyder, Ensign. | 5 th John Reed, Capt.,
James Clark, 1 st Lieut.,
George Clark, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Samuel Oram, Ensign. |
| 2 ^d James Cowden, Capt.,
John Gilcrest, 1 st Lieut.,
William Cochrane, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Thomas McArthur Jr., Ensign. | 6 th James Murray, Capt.,
Peter Sturgeon, 1 st Lieut.,
John Simpson, 2 ^d Lieut.,
John Ryan, Ensign. |
| 3 ^d Joseph Sheerer, Capt.,
James Collier Jr., 1 st Lieut.,
Samuel Rutherford, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Samuel Hutcheson, Ensign. | 7 th Jacob Fridley, Capt.,
John McFarland, 1 st Lieut.,
Mathias Howver, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Philip Blesing, Ensign. |
| 4 th Richard Manning, Capt.,
Thomas Foster, 1 st Lieut.,
Samuel Martin, 2 ^d Lieut.,
Elijah Buck, Ensign. | |

There is two Companys more who have altered their officers on acco^t of Resignations ; when the Returns are given in they shall be Punctually Transmitted.

Signed at the Request of the Board of Officers, the original Remaining in my hands

JAMES BURD,
Col. 4th Batt. Lan. County.

TINIAN, 12th June 1776

SIR,

On the other side is a Return of the officers of my Battalion which I am Requested to Transmit to our County Committee & to Request of

them that they will be pleased to procure the Commissions to the Officers as soon as they Conveniently can of the 7 Companys, the Return of the other 2 Companys will be sent as soon as possible in order that they may also have their Commissions. In the meantime I am with much Respect

Gent^m

Your most Humb^{le} Serv^t

JAMES BURD
Col. 4th Batt.

JASPER YEATES, Esq^r Chairman,
& the other Members of the
Committee of Lancaster County.

RETURN OF THE NON COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND PRIVATES OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, now actually serving in the Southern Army; specifying the Number whose time of enlistment will expire on or before the first day of March 1782 and between the first of March and the last of November in the same year.

	Total Number in Service						
	Sergt Majors	Q. M. Sergeants	Drum Major	Fife Major	Sergeants	Drum & fife	Rank & file
South Carolina							
Camp at Pon-Pon 31 Jan'y 1782	3	3	3	2	78	40	1020

N.B. A part of Col. Craigs Battalion are only enlisted to the first of January 1783.

The Troops serving in the first Reg^t of Cavalry—Col. Moylan's Regiment—and the Artillery companies detached under General Wayne to Georgia are not included.

A True Copy of Col. Williams's return.

EDW^d HAND. A. G^l.

HENRY CHRIST'S ACCOUNT OF PAYMENTS MADE TO THE NON COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, THRO' COL. RICHARD BUTLER, who were enlisted for during the war & yet continue in service in the Pennsylv^a Line.

READING May 26, 1781.

Joseph Mileham,
Samuel Crawford,
Nicholas Delde,
James McElvain,
Andrew Wilson,
Cornelius Deveny,
Samuel Carson,
John Blackwood,
Isaac Vogan,
John Woelin,
John Andrew,
Adam Hill,

William Miller,
Charles Cooper,
John Van der Crummal,
John Person,
William Moody,
William Smith,
William Griffin,
Josiah Tomkins,
Tho^s Brown Jr.,
George Recroft,
John Ross,
Thomas Powel,

Will^m Thomas,
John Hamilton,
Thomas Sands,
Andrew Boge,
James Caruthers,
John M. Hink,
Thomas Hefferman,
Joseph Humphrey,
Everhardt Ferhyen,
Mahlon Forrest,
John Smith,
William Gordon,
John Beltly,
Peter Thomas,
James Evans,
Isaac Jackson,
Richard Leonart,
Benjamin Jackson,
Martin Delany,
Michael Ferrol,
George Bainer,
Elias Peters,
Charles White,
George Feipner Jr.,
John Williamson,
William Delaney,
Michael McCody,
James Smith,
James Johnston,
Samuel Reeder,
Thomas Hustler,
Francis Gowan,
Ambrose Comer,
Christian Frech,
John Summers,
Martin Buchder,
Sebastian Marsheimer,
Michael Smith,
Jacob Hill,
Joseph Jackson,
Christian King,
Peter Dell,
David Rees,
John Philip Long,
William Hunter,
Peter Ferry,
Arthur Murphey,
Richard Wills,
John Day,
John Falls,
John Bivins,
John Fred^k Conrad,
Roger Curry,

Paul Russel,
John Tracey,
George Stull,
Francis Needham,
Thomas Snowden,
James Rowland,
Arthur Keary,
Henry Harper,
Dennis Kennedy,
John Zanes,
George Hart,
Patrick Fernel,
John Welch,
Andrew Nelson,
William Feagan,
John Kergy,
Richard Lavering,
Matthew McEnally,
Arch^d McKendrick,
John Henry,
Joseph Cochran,
Robert Hamilton,
Thomas Service,
Jacob Rosewell,
Edward Nelson,
Robert Allen,
James Dougherty,
William Mably,
Samuel Woods,
William Johnston,
William Loughridge,
Aaron Lochart,
Laurence Burns,
John Dous,
Peter Phelan,
William Brooks,
Silvester Hogan,
David Campbell,
Thomas Peacock,
Thomas Brown Jr.,
Patrick McCrossen,
John Kelly,
William Mand,
John Deveny,
Francis King,
James Mahoney,
George Rowland,
Alex. Allison,
Dennis McGroty,
Frederick Stillwagon,
John Bachn,
Daniel Barnhart,
Christian Young,

William Chambers,
John Marshall,
John Nocten,
Richard Barrons,
Robert Letford,
George Walton,
Daniel Salleday,
Hugh Havean,
John Ripson,
Lochin Morrison,
John Comer,
John Sutherland,
James Matthew,
John Cavanagh,
Samson Dempsey,

John Hamilton,
William Mileham,
John Toppins,
Isaac Harelton,
John McMechan,
Thomas Dodson,
George Duffy,
John Hersh,
Henry Crone,
William Fitzpatrick,
George McLaughlin,
Thomas Flower,
Patrick Rock,
James Baily.

ANTENUPTIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN JACOB SPICER AND DEBORAH LEAMING, 1751 (original in the Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).—

TO MRS DEBORAH LEAMING,
MADAM.

Seeing I Jacob Spicer have addressed myself to you upon the design of Marriage, I therefore esteem it necessary to Submit to your consideration some particulars before we enter upon that Solemn Enterprize which may either establish our happiness, or Occasion our Inquietude during life, and if you concur with those particulars I shall have great encouragement to carry my design into execution; and since Happiness is the grand pursuit of a Rational creature, so marriage ought not to be attempted short of a prospect of arriving thereat, and in order thereunto (should we marry) I conceive the following Rules and particulars ought to be steadily observed and kept, viz.

1st. That we keep but one purse, a Severance of Interest bespeaking diffidence, mistrust, and disunity of mind.

2^d. That we avoid anger as much as possible, especially with each other, but If either should be overtaken therewith, the other to Treat the angry Party with Temper and moderation during the Continuance of such anger, and afterwards If need require let the matter of heat be coolly discussed when reason shall resume its Government.

3^d. As we have different Stocks of Children to which we are and ought to be strongly attached by Ties of Nature, so its proper when such Children, or any of them need Correction it be administered by the party from whom they have Descended, unless in the opinion of both Parties it shall be thought necessary to be otherwise administered for the Childrens good.

4th. That no difference or partiality be made with respect to such Children who live with us in point of Common usage Touching Education, Food, raiment, and Treatment otherwise than usage, Circumstance and Convenience may render it necessary, to be agreed upon between us and grounded upon reason.

5th. That Civility, Courtesy, and kind Treatment be allways exercised and extended towards such Child or Children that now is, or hereafter may be removed from us.

6th. That we use our Mutual Endeavours to Instruct, Council, Im-

prove, Admonish, and advise all our Children without partiality for their General Good, and that we ardently endeavour to promote both their Temporal and Eternal Welfare.

7th. That each of us use our best Endeavours to Inculcate upon the Minds of our respective Stocks of Children a Venerable and Honourable Opinion of the other of us, and avoid as much as possible any Insinuations that may have a different Tendency.

8th. That in Matters where either of us is more capable of Judging than the other of us, or best acquainted therein, that the person so most capable of Judging, and best acquainted do follow his or her own Judgment without Controul, unless the other shall be able to give a sufficient reason to the Contrary, then and in such Case the same to be Conclusive, And that we do adhere to each other in things reasonable and expedient with a Mutual Condescension, and also advise with, and Consult each other in Matters of Importance.

9th. That If any misunderstanding shou'd arise the same to be calmly Canvassed and accommodated between ourselves without admitting the Interposition of any other, or seeking a Confident to either reveal our mind unto, or Sympathize withall upon the Occasion.

10th. That no Suspicions Jealousies of any kind whatever be harboured in our breasts, without absolute or good Circumstantial evidence, and If conceived upon proof or Strong presumption, the same to be communicated to the Suspected person in Temper and Moderation, and not Told to another.

11th. That we be just, Chaste, and Continent to each other, and shou'd either prove otherwise, that then we Separate notwithstanding the most Solemn Ties to the Contrary, unless it shall Suit the Injured Party to forgive the Injury and Continue the Coverture; and in Case of Separation each of us keep such Share of Wealth as we were possessed of when we came together, if it remains in the same state as to Quantum, but if over, or under then in proportion to what we Originally had.

12th. That we neither give into, nor Countenance any Ill advisers, who may have a Design to Mar our Happiness and Sow discord Between us.

13th. That in Matters of Religious Concernment we be at liberty to Exercise our Sentiments freely without Controul.

14th. That we use our Mutual Endeavours to Encrease our Affection, Cultivate our Harmony, promote our Happiness, and live in the Fear of God, and in Obedience to his Righteous Laws.

15th. That we use the Relatives of each other with Friendly Kindness, and that the same be extended to our Friends and Benefactors mutually without grudging.

16th. That the Survivor of us, endeavour after the death of the other of us, to Maintain the Reputation and dignity of the deceased, by avoiding Levity of Behaviour, dissoluteness of life, and disgraceful Marriage, not only so, but that such Survivour Perseveres in good Offices to the Children of the deceased, as a Discreet, faithfull, and Honourable Survivour ought to do.

17th. That in Case Jacob Spicer after Trial shall not think it for his Interest, or agreeable to his disposition to live at the plantation where Deborah Leaming now resides, then and in such Case she to remove with him elsewhere upon a prospect promising to better his Circumstances, or promote his Happiness, provided the Landed Interest of the

said Deborah's late husband be taken proper care of for the Benefit of her son Christopher.

18th. That the said Jacob Spicer be allowed from Time to Time to purchase such Books from our Joint Stock, as he shall think necessary for the advantage and Improvement of himself and our Children Jointly or either of them without grudging.

19th. That the said Jacob Spicer do continue to keep Elisha Hughes and Perform his express agreement to him according to Indenture already Executed and discharge the Trust reposed in him the said Spicer by the mother of the said Elisha without grudging or Complaint.

20th. And as the said Deborah Leaming and the said Jacob Spicer are now something advanced in years, and ought to Take the Comfort of life as free from hard Toil as convenience will admit, Therefore neither of them be subject thereunto, unless in Case of Emergence, and this Exemption to be no ways Censured by each other, provided they Supervise, Contrive, and do the light necessary Services Incumbent on the respective heads of a family, not omitting to cultivate their Minds when convenience will admit.

21st. That if anything be omitted in the foregoing rules and Particulars that may Conduce to our future Happiness and Welfare, the same to be hereafter Supplied by reason and discretion as often as Occasion shall require.

22^d. That the said Jacob Spicer shall not upbraid the said Deborah with the extraordinary Industry and Good Oeconomy of his deceased wife, neither shall the said Deborah Leaming upbraid the said Jacob Spicer with the like extraordinary Industry and good Oeconomy of her Deceased Husband, neither shall anything of this Nature be observed by either, to the other of us, with any View to Offend, or Irritate the Party to whom observed, a thing too frequently practised in a Second Marriage, and very fatal to the repose of the Parties married.

I Deborah Leaming in Case I marry with Jacob Spicer do hereby Promise to Observe and Perform the before going rules and Particulars containing twenty Two in Number to the best of my Power—As Witness my hand the 16th day of December 1751.

[signed.]

DEBORAH LEAMYING.

I Jacob Spicer in Case I marry with Deborah Leaming do hereby promise to observe and Conform to the before going rules and particulars containing Twenty Two Numbers to the best of my Power, As Witness my hand the 16th day of December 1751.

[signed.]

JACOB SPICER.

MRS. WASHINGTON TO MISS MARY ANN AITKEN.—The following in the handwriting of Tobias Lear is in the collection of Mr. C. Fitz Henry Campbell, of Nova Scotia :

It is with regret that Mrs. Washington informs Miss Aitken that she cannot accept the beautiful Screen which Miss Aitken has been so polite as to send her. However painful it is to Mrs. Washington to deprive Miss Aitken of the pleasure which her acceptance of this present might have given her ; yet Mrs. Washington feels constrained to do it in conformity to a line of conduct which she has hitherto observed on such

occasions. The taste and beautiful execution of the Screen are such as to reflect the highest credit on the talents of Miss Aitken—and the time in which it was executed does no less honour to her industry.—

Mrs. Washington begs that Miss Aitken will be assured that she has the same sense of Miss Aitken's politeness and respect towards her as if her present had been accepted.

Thursday Feby. 24th-94.

Addressed to

MISS MARY ANN AITKEN,
MARKET ST.

GERMAN SCHOOLS OF PHILADELPHIA.—Rec^d of the Rec^r General Fifty pounds 4/10^d which with Fifty pounds paid me heretofore is in full for the Money advanced in behalf of the Hon^{ble} Tho^s & Rich^d Penn Esq^r and Lady Juliana Penn, towards carrying on the German Schools to the 1st Instant.

WILLIAM SMITH.

SUICIDE OF MAJOR GALVAN.—Major Galvan, a distinguished French officer, who shot himself through the head on July 24, 1782, and was buried the following day in the Potter's Field (Washington Square), addressed the following letter to his friends, Lieutenant-Colonel Brockholst Livingston, Major Matthew Clarkson, and William Bingham :

Adieu, my dear friends ; life has become a burthen too heavy for me : I shake it off. Men who do not reflect will accuse me of weakness : they will be mistaken. That same courage which enables me to meet death, would have also supported me in bearing any degree of pain : but what end would be answered by it ? Love, in extinguishing in me every other passion, has disqualified me to follow any pursuit from which my country, my friends or my family might receive any advantage. Why then should I preserve a life useless to them and obnoxious to me. I resign it coolly and deliberately : the only regret I carry with me is that the sacrifice was made to my own case, and not to some nobler or more disinterested motive.

I intrust you my dear friends with the execution of my last will : have me buried decently. Pay all my debts and if what I leave here was not sufficient draw upon my brother at Bayonne. I hope Bingham will take the trouble of this if necessary.

Send a copy of my will to my mother, Madam *Henry de Fadat*, at Dominica, and one to my above mentioned brother Francois Louis Galvan De Bernoux. But let neither know the nature of my death. Endeavour to conceal it or at least to make it as little public as possible.

Take care of Hector : I would be glad he would live with my brother, and until he joins him, let him stay with either of you that he chuses.

Present my Picture to Miss Sally Shippen : Tell her my gratitude for her friendship will be one of the last sentiments that dies in me.

Present my last compliments, (and let them be very affectionate), to all my friends male and female ; You know them.

Let such letters as will be directed to me be kept by Bingham and deliver or sent to my Brother as he shall direct. I recommend him to the friendship of you three.

Seal the letters you'll find upon my table and send them to their respective addresses.

I have annexed to this as exact an account as I can recollect of all my affairs here. Sell all my effects except my linnen, which with my papers I desire may be well secured and kept under Keys at Bingham's, to be delivered to my brother if he returns here or disposed of as he shall direct.

The pistols are loaded! Adieu for the last time! Love me after I am dead as I did you while I was alive. Defend my memory against happy lovers, for I suppose no unfortunate one will attack it.

I march off gayly and almost as eagerly as when our friend General Wayne sent me to attack Lord Cornwallis, and hope I shall be more successful in outflanking love than the British army.

GALVAN.

24th July 1782.

You will not my dear Clarkson, call my honor in question. My torments are more than I can bear—be indulgent to me—forgive me.

GALVAN.

CERTIFICATE OF REMOVAL OF GEORGE WOOD, 1682.—Recorded in Darby (Penna.,) Monthly Meeting Minute Book, Vol. II. p. 7.—

A certificate from y^e monthly meetings of Friends belonging to Matlock, Monyash & Ashford meeting Concerning our Deare Friend George Wood y^e 29th 5th month 1682. Darbyshire:

This is to satisfie friends in America or elsewhere y^e George Wood the bearer here of hath since y^e time he hath been among friends walked very orderly & faithfully amongst us & he his deare wife & children have been of good Savour in their Country and in sweet unity with friends in y^e Blessed Truth in which precious love Unity is y^e pure Truth we now part with them tho sorry to be soo far Absent from them if y^e Lord had pleased to have ordered it otherwise: but yet in spirit we hope for ever to feel them with us & are well satisfied in their going, desiring y^e Lord may be ever with them & All His to the end. To the praise & Glory & our eternal joy & comfort for ever: So be it, Oh Lord, let it be so. Amen.

Given forth at our monthly on day & yeare abovesd by us whose names are here subscribed

Sam' Sykes,
Will Bunting,
John Galton,
Jonathan Fisher,

Sam. Johnson,
Anthony Woodward,
Hannah Souter,
Mary Foulke.

JOHN WARDER, OF PHILADELPHIA.—To the *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, London, Frederick G. Cash has been contributing a *résumé* of the manuscript "Recollections" of James Jenkins (no kin of the writer of this), a merchant of London, a Friend, in the period 1761–1821. In the course of it occurs the following:

"On the 21st of Fourth Month, 1778, I was an invited guest at the marriage of Jasper Capper and my kinswoman Anne, the daughter of my quondam master, John Fry. We dined (after the marriage) at the White Hart tavern near the church in Bishopsgate street, and were a pretty large company. Old is the saying that 'a wedding makes weddings,' and so it happened this time, for John Warder, (a native of Philadelphia, then boarding and lodging at John Fry's), was smitten

with the charms of Nancy Head, daughter of John Head, of Ipswich," etc.

Readers of the Extracts from Ann Warder's Journal (kept after her arrival in this country, 1786), published in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vols. XVII. and XVIII., will be interested to have these details added to their knowledge of the lively journalist.

H. M. J.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MEMOIRS OF JONAS INGHAM, LATE CAPTAIN OF BUCKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, MILITIA.—About this time the Revolutionary war broke out. I entered my name on the muster roll and did my duty as a militia man, first as a lieutenant, then as a captain. In the years 1777 and 1778, I think it was, I served a pretty hard tour of duty in the months of November, December, and January near the British lines, who were then in Philadelphia. We suffered much with cold, lying out of doors on the ground the whole of the time with nothing to cover us but each of us a single blanket.

I was at the battle called Gulph Mills and so afraid of being called a coward that I was the last on the battle ground (except two or three who kept me company) and was very near being taken prisoner. After the retreat when I came up with the company now at Sweedford I was among them before they perceived me, and I overheard our Adjutant, Mr. Kennada, relating to the company that he had seen me under the light horsemen's feet and that I was taken prisoner. This was nearly the case. A troop of light horsemen pursued me, were near me and fired at me, I believe all of them, and then rode close up and called upon me and those who were with me (I forget their names) many times, with very hard words and hard names to ground our arms, but we escaped by climbing high fences and taking to some woods.

But we remained yet a great while in the British lines, taking a new position every night after dark, for fear the spies would bring the British out again as they had done before. This made our duty very unpleasant in all kinds of severe weather of which we had a good deal.

On the last day of January I was sent home very sick of a fever, in a wagon, owing I suppose to a change in the way of our living as well as suffering with cold and hardships. . . .

My "going to war," as it was termed, prejudiced the whole Society of Friends against me. . . .

"FALL OF THE YEAR."—Conversing in England, on a recent visit, my friends there remarked upon my use of the word Fall, instead of Autumn, in describing the seasons of the year. I was able to point out to them that in William Penn's narrative of his imprisonment in the Tower for writing "The Sandy Foundation Shaken" (*vide* his fragmentary "Apology," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III. Part 2), he says, "I was committed the beginning of December, and was not discharged till the *Fall of the Leaf* following."

So, too, Lieutenant-Governor Markham, writing home from Upland, December 7, 1681, says, "In the *fall of the Leaf*, or after Harvest, here are abundance of wild turkeys," etc.

H. M. J.

A PAY ABSTRACT OF CAPTAIN JOHN WHETZALLS COMPANY OF RANGERS, Monongala County under the command of Col Daniel McFarland, Ranging in Monongahala and Ohio Countys from the 22nd day of April to the 25th of July 1778 both days included.

Mens names	Commencing	Ending	Months	Days	Pay per month	Conti- nental Currency.
John Whetzall Captain	April 22 paid	July 25	3	5	40 Dols	47-10- 0
William Crawford Lieut	27	do	3		27 do	30- 7- 6
John Madison Ensign	27	do	3		20 do	29-10- 0
Peter Miller Sergeant	22 paid	do	3	5	8 do	9-10- 0
Christian Copley do	May 1st	do	2	26	do	8-12- 0
John Six - Private	April 28	do	2	29	25 do	27-16- 3
Samuel Brown	do	do	2	29	do	27-16- 3
Lewis Bonnell	May 1st	do	2	26	do	26-18- 4
Jacob Teasbaugh	do	July 14	2	15	do	23- 7- 6
Joseph Morris	April 20	25	3	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ do	7-18- 4
Benjamin Wright	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
William Hall	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Philip Nicholas	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
John Nicholas	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Henry Yoho	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
John Duncan	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Thomas Harges	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
John Provence Jr	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Harvey Franks	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Nicholas Cronsber	do	do	3	5	do	7-18- 4
Jacob Teasbaugh	do	April 30		9	do	15- 0
John Six -	do	do		9	do	15- 0
Abram Eastwood	23	July 25	3	4	do	7-16- 8
Conrah Has	do paid	do	3	4	do	7-16- 8
Mark Has	do paid	do	3	4	do	7-16- 8
Martin Whetzall	do paid	do	3	4	do	7-16- 8
Enock Enocks	24 paid	do	3	3	do	7-15- 0
Jacob Riffle	24 paid	do	3	3	do	7-15- 0
Palantine Laurence	do	do	3	3	do	7-15- 0
John Andrew	do	do	3	3	do	7-15- 0
John Smith	do	do	3	3	do	7-15- 0
William Gardner	25	do	3	2	do	7-13- 4

A PAY ABSTRACT OF CAPTAIN JOHN WHETZALL.—*Continued.*

Mens names	Commencing	Ending	Months	Days	Pay per month	Conti- nental Currency.
David Cook	May 25	July 25	2	2	6½ Dols	5- 3- 4
Joseph Yeager	21	June 21	1	2	do	2-13- 4
Philip Call	25	17		24	do	2- 0-11
George Call	25	July 25	2	2	do	5- 3- 4
Joseph Coons	28	do	1	29	do	4-18- 4
Matthew Riffle	30	do	1	27	do	4-15- 0
Jacob Shandler	29	do	1	28	do	4-16- 8
Peter Goosey	June 26	July 3		8	do	13- 4
Philip Barker	April 30	May 17		24	do	2- 8- 0

£ 478 — 17 — 10

I do certify that the within officers and men was sent as Rangers by my order given under my hand August 12-1778.

DANIEL M^cFARLAND.

HEAD QUARTERS PITTSBURG March 25-1780

SIR—Please to examine the within abstract and fill a warrant accordingly.

DANIEL BROADHEAD

To ALEX FOWLER ESQR.

Col Commanding W. D.

A. W. D.

The original is in the Historical Museum of the University of West Virginia, Morgantown, W. Va.

SOME ABSTRACTS OF POWERS OF ATTORNEY on file in Philadelphia, contributed by Mr. William M. Mervine.

Abstract of Power of Attorney. (*Exem. Deed Book No. 11, page 356, Philada.*)

William Green of the Parish and Town of Farrington in the County of Berks in Great Britain, Yeoman, power of attorney to John Lee of London. Whereas George Green¹ heretofore of the Town of Farrington aforesaid deceased, did on or about 1680 purchase Land in the Province of Pennsylvania and whereas the said William Green is heir at law to the said George Green, as it appeareth by the Parish Register's Books kept for Marriage, Baptisms and Burials in the said Parish of Farrington aforesaid, that is to Say the said William Green is the Eldest Son and Heir at Law of John Green who was the Eldest Son and Heir at Law of another John Green who was the Eldest Son and Heir at Law of another John Green who was the next Brother of George Green the Purchaser of Farrington aforesaid.

Signed June 9, 1777.

¹ An early purchaser of Pennsylvania lands was *Henry Green*, of Farrington in the County of Berks, Roper. See list of first purchasers, *Penna. Arch.*, 3d Ser., vol. iii. page 532.

(Page 360.)

John Lee of the City of London and John Hatter of City of Oxford Writing Master declare they did examine the Registers Books etc., on the 6th day of June 1777 and that the extracts or copies of Registers hereunto annexed, marked with letter B, are true copies of Entries in the Register's Books etc.

Signed June 10, 1777, before Edwd. Loth (or Losh) Mayor.

[The copies of entries above mentioned do not appear in the record book.]

May 7, 1781. Power of Attorney, Francis Draper, Henry Draper, Ann Grant, Leonard Draper, of Market Lavington in the County of Wilts Great Britain &c heirs of John Brothers¹ of the same place who died intestate and possessed of sundry Freehold Lands etc and Liberty Lands in Province of Penna., and City and Suburbs of Phila., and in the New Jerseys, to Charles Cecil of Chelso near London, who intends to proceed to North America in order to recover the estate of said John Brothers etc.²

John Williams Curate of Market Levington in the County of Wilts and Diocese of Sarum. Francis Rogers, Minister of Stanton St Bernard in the said County of Wilts and Diocese of Sarum, and Samuel Bowden of Devises in the said County Gent. Severally make oath and Say that the Several Certificates of Marriages and Baptisms and Burials are true Extracts etc etc

From the Register of Parish of Market Livingston in the County of Wilts &c

Ambrose Draper and Elizabeth Brothers both of said Parish were married August 26, 1695.

Ambrose Draper and Ann Bishop were married June 18, 1720.

William Grant and Anne Draper were married August 11, 1741.

Elizabeth, Daughter of John Brothers and Anne his Wife was baptised October 22, 1674.

Ambrose the son of Ambrose Draper was baptised May 10, 1722.

John the son of Ambrose Draper was baptised Feby 2, 1723.

Anne, daughter of Ambrose Draper was bapt. July 19, 1733.

Leonard, son of Ambrose Draper, bapt. Dec. 11, 1737.

Henry, son of John Draper, bapt. May 19, 1752.

John Brotherest buried May 18, 1721.

Ambrose Draper, buried Dec. 22, 1721.

Anne Draper, Widow, buried June 9, 1747, aged 46.

John Draper, buried Aug. 4, 1763.

Extracts from the Register of the Parish of Stanton St Bernard in the County of Wilts etc.

John Draper and Anne More were married June 20, 1751.

¹ Among the first purchasers of Pennsylvania (Penna. Arch., 3d Ser., vol. iii. page 328) appear the names of "John Brother, of Market Levington in the County of Wilts, and Robert Serghill of Weadhampton in the same County, Yeoman."

² The above-mentioned Charles Cecil seems to have made the proposed voyage to America to recover the estate of John Brothers; October 2d, 1783, Charles Cecil enters a Caveat against the acceptance of a Survey of sixteen acres in Blockley Township, in right of John Brother's original purchase. (Pa. Arch., 3d Ser., vol. ii. page 644.) (Also page 52 of same volume gives record of his proceedings regarding said estate.)

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.—The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Germantown will be commemorated by the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution in the Market Square Presbyterian Church, Germantown, on Saturday evening October 4th. The address will be made by John W. Jordan, Registrar of the Society.

HESELIU'S PORTRAITS.—In a letter of Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, "Philada. 9th 18th 1742," occurs the following: "Mrs. Penn's and Mr. Freame's pictures with the Owl, allowed to be exceeding good cyps and according to my judgment the best I ever saw of Hesselius's paintings."

Queries.

THOMAS.—Information is requested as to what branch of the Thomas Family the following records appertain. "Oliver Thomas's Book, 4th July 1729, whose children by his wife Sarah" are as follows:

Evan, b. February 12, 1736/7.

Ann, b. January 1, 1738/9.

Mary, b. March 3, 1740/1.

Margaret, b. October 5, 1743.

Sarah, b. August 13, 1745.

Rebecca, b. May 31, 1749.

Elenor, b. October 13, 1752; d. October 26, 1752.

David, b. May 31, 1754.

"Mary Thomas was married with John Du— the 5th of May 1764, and were also brought a bed a young Daughter named Mary, the 10th of — 1769, and Deceased in childbed the 14th inst.

"Margaret Spiering, wife of John Spiering, brought a bed the 5th of September 1769, a daughter named Susanna Ursula Sauty Spiering.

"Rebecca Thomas, daughter of Oliver and Sarah Thomas, deceased the 24th of September 1769, and Sarah Thomas, wife of John Hodgcock Jr., deceased the 25th September 1769.

"Oliver Thomas, aged 55 years the 24th of June 1769, died the 3rd day of October, and was buried the 6 inst. 1769."

FRANCIS M. HUTCHINSON.

MURRAY.—Wanted, the date of the death of George Washington Murray, son of Francis Murray, Esq., born September 25, 1788, in Newtown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

J.

CONNOLLY.—Information is requested of James Connolly, born April 1, 1781, in Philadelphia, and his brother, Thomas Connolly, born April 9, 1783, in London, the sons of Lt. Col. John Connolly, of the British army.

NAZ. H.

Book Notices.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MASON AND DIXON LINE. By Morgan Portiaux Robinson. 1892, 16 pp.

The article begins with the royal grants to the London Company; relates how, after much contention, the present State of Maryland was taken out of the territory originally granted to the London Company and given to Lord Baltimore, and how, later, Delaware was sliced

out of the grant to Baltimore; describes the trials of the surveyors in the Indian-infested wilderness between Philadelphia and the Alleghanies, as far as an Indian war-path on Duncard's Creek, where the Chiefs of the Six Nations notified the surveyors that they must halt, and finally traces the more modern steps that have been taken by the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware to preserve this line, and describes the work of rehabilitation that is now being prosecuted under the supervision of the Superintendent of the United States Geodetic and Coast Survey.

HISTORY OF THE CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA. By Franklin Spencer Edmonds, A.M., Professor of Political Science, Central High School, and Master of Archives of the Associated Alumni. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1902. Small 8vo, 394 pp., with Appendixes, Illustrations, and an Index.

It would be difficult to name a book which so closely approaches the model of what a history of an educational institution should be. It would also be difficult to name a book which surpasses in form and style and general appropriateness to the theme this recent issue from the best-known publishing house of Philadelphia. Professor Edmonds has done his work well, and printer and publisher have clothed it in an attractive dress. The theme,—the Central High School,—the author, and the publisher illustrate three things of which any city may be proud: an educational institution of high rank, a member of the Faculty of that institution competent to write its history, and a publishing house willing to do for the book all that it deserves. The result is that one reads the volume with pleasure, uncertain which to admire the more,—the competency and art of the author or the skill of the printer.

At first thought it may seem a mere pastime to compile the history of a notable educational institution, but a little reflection convinces one of the peculiar difficulties which inhere to the undertaking. Of formal reports, statistics, traditions, and fragments of information of the subject there may be an abundance, but the mass is inert. The theme lacks the life of biography, the comprehension of history, the causal relation of science, and the ethics of literature. The narrative is of a corporation,—a creature and creation of an act of Assembly,—living, it is true, from generation to generation, and subserving the community as an instrument, but to the end a corporation having legal integrity but not always organic unity. An educational institution is a fluctuating quantity, depending for its character on the men who from time to time direct its functions. Primarily, therefore, the history of a school is the history of the men who have controlled its work. But it is more than a series of biographical sketches of professors and instructors. The school is a public institution, supported by taxation, administered by officials who, whether as members of its Faculty or of its Committee of the Board of Education, or as members of Council, reflect public opinion, organize the institution in harmony with that opinion, and thus align the institution with the communal interests of their time. Again, the students are a potent factor in its history. The Alumni of the Central High School of Philadelphia have now for many years composed a sufficiently numerous body to influence public opinion in the city. They are found at the head and front of the learned professions and of the industrial and commercial interests of Pennsylvania and the adjoin-

ing States. Their influence has in part shaped the career of their *alma mater*, at critical times in its history determining the appointments to its Faculty, and even to membership of the committee of the Board of Education in charge of the school.

Nor is this all. No great school remains isolated. It sooner or later becomes a part of an educational life whose organs derive nourishment from a wide domain. The school illustrates, during its career, the rise and possibly the fall of many pedagogical theories. It is in itself a comment on educational ideas which have at times held sway over the public or over the minds of the directors of the school. Thus the history of the school is a chapter in the history of education, and it may be said to derive its chief interest from the relation of that chapter to education as a science.

When Professor Edmonds undertook the task of writing a history of the Philadelphia Central High School, he essayed all the labor implied in preparing an outline of an important educational movement in which the school has been a potent factor. One does not proceed far into the pages of the book before he discovers that the task has been done ably and in excellent spirit. The reader becomes interested in the narrative at the opening paragraph, and the interest remains to the end. This is somewhat remarkable. The theme is not propitious for absorbing interest. One is led to expect a few sketches of the lives of eminent teachers, a few anecdotes well told, a bundle of reports and statistics, and weariness in profusion. The reader encounters not one of these distressing stops. He is carried along by the current of interest,—a current reinforced by a charm and quality of style. Professor Edmonds is careful, modest, generous, and strong. The book gives constant evidence of reflection and sound judgment. Nowhere does he obtrude his opinions. Everywhere there are signs of research and accuracy.

The Central High School, since its foundation some seventy years ago, has fixed the educational pace in Philadelphia. It may be said to have set the educational manners of the town. Its Faculty has at all times enrolled scholarly men, and one of the continuously interesting features of Professor Edmonds's book is his admirable series of biographical sketches of the teachers identified with the institution. Notable among these—not to mention the living—were Alexander Dallas Bache, E. Otis Kendall, Rembrandt Peale, John F. Frazer, John Seely Hart, James A. Kirkpatrick, Henry Hartshorne, and George Stuart. But the biography of the school is complete. Professor Edmonds has by patient research recalled all that is worth recalling of the life and work of every man who has been a member of the Faculty. This forbidding task is done so admirably that the narrative nowhere becomes merely encyclopædical. The art in the book is perhaps here best displayed. Professor Edmonds has succeeded in giving unity to his work by artistically weaving the life of the men with the life of the institution. A less skilful writer would have failed here signally.

Running through the volume is a narrative of the evolution of education in Philadelphia during the last seventy years. To many readers this quality of the book will be its most attractive feature. The history of courses of study in a public school is not of itself very exciting reading. Professor Edmonds has succeeded in making this roster not merely readable but interesting. The history of education is the history of the human mind, and offers opportunities to the historian. The

reader of this volume need have no difficulty in following the struggle for a curriculum as it was carried on in this school. The battle has been lost and won by the classical party and by the commercial party. Notable campaigns have followed in succession, culminating in crises in the history of the school. President Bache inaugurated a régime of scientific research, resulting in the growth of a curriculum strong in scientific studies; President Hart developed a curriculum equally strong in the classics; President Riché devoted his strength to commercial and practical studies; President Taylor co-operated in breaking with tradition, and inaugurated the era of university trained instructors; his successors have developed a curriculum notably strong in historical, economic, and social subjects. In other words, the school has reflected the times,—Bache, the time of the revival of science, in the early forties; Hart, that of the classical revival, in the decade before the civil war; Riché, that of the industrial revival which followed the outbreak of the war; Taylor, that of the extension of the influence of the University of Pennsylvania under Dr. Pepper; and the later Presidents of the school the evident tendencies of our own times.

There was eminent propriety in Professor Edmonds's writing a history of the Central High School. Himself a graduate, *cum summa laude*, of the institution in 1891; an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania, at which his career was notable and most promising; Fellow in Political Science at Cornell University, and soon afterwards appointed professor in this subject in the Central High School, he embodies the best traditions of the institution, together with the training which comes by the assiduous pursuit of knowledge under highly favorable conditions. The High School is fortunate in its historian, and the cause of sound education has been advanced by this excellent narrative. The educational institution of Philadelphia which is the theme of this admirable volume will henceforth appeal more strongly to the loyal support of the people of the city because its long and instructive history has been so well written.

T.

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No. 4.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY, THE LOYALIST POLITICIAN.

BY ERNEST H. BALDWIN, PH.D.

(Concluded from page 321.)

AUTHOR OF PLAN OF UNION.

The idea of a plan of union between England and America was not a new one in 1774. Since 1754, when Benjamin Franklin's plan of colonial union was rejected, there had been considerable interest and thought regarding the subject. The Stamp Act quarrel revived the discussion, and in 1766 Franklin considered such a thing desirable, but thought the sending of representatives to Parliament would be too expensive, and "when we are more able, we shall be less willing than we are now."¹

Plans of union had been mooted in Philadelphia also. In 1770 quite an elaborate one had been printed and circulated as a broadside there. It provided for proportional representation of all the American Colonies and Ireland in the British Parliament, and the creation of ten American

¹ Franklin to Evans, May 9, 1766. (Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. III. p. 465.)

lords.¹ Although Mr. Galloway was in favor of sending representatives to Parliament, it is not known that he had anything to do with this proposition.²

In July, 1774, Thomas Wharton, a prominent Quaker, wrote Thomas Walpole that a plan of union was being considered among Philadelphians, and would engage the attention of the coming Congress.³ That Mr. Galloway was interested in these discussions and participated in them is very probable, for Wharton was an intimate friend.

Mr. Galloway's plan for a constitutional union, which he presented to the first Continental Congress, contained a prefatory resolution couched in the most respectful, loyal, and lucid language :

"Resolved, That this Congress will apply to his Majesty for a redress of grievances under which his faithful subjects in America labor, and assure him, that the colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities on the British government, and most ardently desire the establishment of a political union not only among themselves, but with the mother state, upon those principles of safety and freedom which are essential in the constitution of all free governments, and particularly that of the British Legislature. And as the colonies from their local circumstances cannot be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain, they will humbly propose to his Majesty, and his two houses of Parliament, the following plan, under which the strength of the whole empire may be drawn together on any emergency ; the interests of both countries advanced ; and the rights and liberties of America secured."

The plan itself provided for a union of Great Britain and the thirteen American Colonies by means of a British

¹ Etting Collection, Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is interesting to note the relative importance of each Colony in this plan : Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, and Jamaica were to have four representatives each ; New York, Maryland, and Canada, three each ; Connecticut and New Jersey, two each ; New Hampshire, Nova Scotia, Rhode Island, Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, West Florida, and East Florida, one each.

² William Franklin to Galloway, March 12, 1775.

³ Stillé, "Dickinson," Vol. I. p. 115.

American Legislature consisting of a President-General and Grand Council, forming an inferior branch of the British Parliament and incorporated with it.

This Legislature, so constituted, was to regulate "the administration of the general affairs of America;" but under this arrangement each Colony was to retain its existing "constitution and powers of regulating and governing its own internal police in all cases whatever."

The President-General was to be appointed by, and hold office during the pleasure of, the King. It was to be his duty to execute the laws, to call the Grand Council the first time "as soon as convenient after his appointment," and afterwards on such occasions as emergency might require; his assent was to be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council; and he was, "by and with the advice and consent of the Grand Council, to hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities, necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies, in which Great Britain and the colonies, or any of them, the colonies in general, or more than one colony, are in any manner concerned, as well civil and criminal, as commercial."

The Grand Council was to consist of representatives chosen by the Colonial Assemblies once in every three years; representation was to be proportional, although the proportions were not stated; vacancies by death, removal, or resignation were to be filled by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly in the Colony affected; the place of meeting was to be determined later; the first meeting was to be at the call of the President-General, the times and places of subsequent meetings subject to the will of the Council or the call of the President-General; but meetings were to be held yearly if it should be thought necessary, and oftener if occasions required; it was to choose its own Speaker, and to "hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties, and privileges as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great Britain." With the

President-General, it was to share legislative rights and be "an inferior and distinct branch of the British Legislature, united and incorporated with it for the aforesaid general purposes."

Acts might "originate and be formed and digested" in either the Parliament of Great Britain or the Grand Council; but such acts must be agreed to by both bodies to be valid; one exception was made to this,—namely, that "in time of war, all bills for granting aids to the Crown, prepared by the Grand Council, and approved by the President-General," should be valid and "passed into a law without the assent of the British Parliament."

Mr. Galloway's object in proposing this plan was "to prevail on the Congress to take the ground of accommodation, and to avoid that of arms; and therefore, in forming the plan, I omitted several things that I thought might obstruct their taking that ground. I do not, therefore, propose it as a perfect plan, nor altogether as a plan of my judgment. The reason why the plan was not altogether to my judgment was, because I thought it would admit of some very material additions, and not that I disapproved of the plan as far as it went."¹

What additions Mr. Galloway meant is indicated in a letter to Governor Franklin. Franklin had objected to the plan as deficient in not having an Upper House, consisting of some of the principal men of fortune in each Colony holding office for life.² Mr. Galloway replied,—

"Your sentiments and mine are not different respecting the proper union with Great Britain, nor respecting the addition to my proposed plan. I thought of it at the time, but omitted it because I knew the plan would be less exceptionable to those democratic spirits to whom it was to be proposed and by whom it was to be adopted in the first instance, and because I thought it might be added in the negotiation. The great end I had in view in offering the Plan I have often before

¹ *Examination*, p. 47.

² Franklin to Galloway, March 12, 1775. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 578.)

told you was to prevail on the Congress to take the ground of negotiation and proposition.”¹

An examination of the document itself will show how carefully Mr. Galloway kept this aim in view in its preparation. The brevity of it, in comparison with similar contemporary plans, shows it to have been intended as a merely suggestive outline of a design which would necessarily be elaborated and perfected later. It offered as few points for attack as possible. This is evidenced by its omissions. The place of meeting and the number of representatives, with their qualifications, privileges, and salaries, were not stated, all of which subjects would have caused contention. Methods of taxation and regulations for money issues and military levies were not mentioned. Such questions would have provoked strife and endangered the success of the whole project.

It was designed rather to win the approval and support of both sides. The guarantee of the existing Colonial governments with the rights of internal regulation would attract the Colonies. The right of the Grand Council to choose its Speaker and meet and adjourn at pleasure, without which neither Pennsylvania nor Mr. Galloway himself would have been content, was one which was essential to any plan designed to meet the acceptance of the Colonies.

Provisions framed to secure the royal assent included the right of the King to appoint the President-General, the right of veto by the British Parliament, and the last clause enabling the Colonies to grant aids promptly and at will.

No plan of union was likely to find general favor either in England or America at that time. Had the Colonies adopted such a policy it is very doubtful if the obstinacy of George III. or the stupidity of his ministry would have allowed its consummation.² Could such a union have been

¹ Galloway to Franklin, March 26, 1775. (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 585.)

² This is opposed to the view of W. W. Henry. (“Patrick Henry,” Vol. I. pp. 229, 230.)

effected at that period, however, and been maintained until the invention of steam navigation and the telegraph, the two great English-speaking nations would probably have been united politically to-day.

It has been alleged that Mr. Galloway proposed his plan of union in SECRET concert with the Governor of New Jersey and Governor Colden, of New York.¹ Whether this assertion has any foundation in fact may be judged from an examination of the correspondence of those concerned. The correspondence of Governor Franklin indicates that he did know that Mr. Galloway intended to introduce a plan into the Congress, but he did not know what it was. In a letter to Lord Dartmouth dated September 6, and already quoted above,² he said that Mr. Galloway did so intend, and that "the principal part of his plan, as I am told, is the making application for leave to send representatives from each colony in America to the Parliament in Great Britain." But that was not the plan! And when Franklin did see it he did not like it, and wrote to Mr. Galloway his objections.³

That Governor Colden did not know of the plan is certainly implied in a letter he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, December 7, 1774. He said that Mr. Galloway had just been to New York on a visit. "He furnished me with heads of a plan for a government of the colonies proposed by him to the Congress."⁴ There is no evidence that Mr. Galloway had had any correspondence with Governor Colden.

In connection with the formation of his plan, and in order to "prepare the minds of the people for it, and put them in a proper train of thinking on the subject," Mr. Galloway wrote a pamphlet entitled "Arguments on Both Sides in the Dispute between Great Britain and her Colonies."⁵ Although this was printed, it seems never to have

¹ Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. IV. pp. 69, 70.

² Page 74.

³ Vide p. 82.

⁴ "Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York," Vol. VIII. p. 513.

⁵ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 474.

been distributed. It is not unlikely that he judged the temper of the independents to be such that its publication would serve merely to arouse opposition and defeat his plan before it could receive a fair hearing in the Congress.¹

John Henry's remonstrance against the plan of union in Congress has been mentioned. But the two chief objections raised there were answered by Mr. Galloway in his "Candid Examination." The first, that "the delegates were not authorized to consent to a political union between the two countries," was replied to by quoting the instructions of the delegates which gave such authority or none. The second, that it deprived the Colonial legislatures of a part of their rights, was answered by showing that their rights were not only not abridged but extended; that they received a new jurisdiction to decide upon regulations which related to the general affairs of the Colonies.

The plan was "so formed as to leave no room for any reasonable objection on the part of the republicans if they meant to be united to Great Britain on any grounds whatever. It included a restoration of all their rights, and a redress of all their grievances, on constitutional principles; and it accorded with all the instructions given to them as members of the Congress."²

Among the comments made upon Mr. Galloway's plan after the meeting of the Congress, by friends who were able to secure a copy of it, that of Benjamin Franklin is interesting. In a long letter to Mr. Galloway, dated February 25, 1775, he recounts the preliminary steps which, in his opinion, would be necessary before any plan could be adopted. Among these steps was the repeal of the obnoxious acts of Parliament then in force. But his objections concerned not the details of the plan, but the idea itself:

¹ *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. p. 474.

² "Historical and Political Reflections." Mr. Galloway was charged with having an ambition to be an office-holder in the new government. It is difficult to see why that, even if true, was any objection to the plan.

"I have not heard what objections were made to the plan . . . nor would I make more than this one, that when I consider the extreme corruption prevalent among all orders of men in this old rotten state, and the glorious public virtue so predominant in our rising country I cannot but apprehend more mischief than benefit from a closer union." ¹

The publication of the "Candid Examination" early in 1775, containing the plan of union, caused much bitter criticism, aimed rather at the author than his plan. The *Pennsylvania Journal* published Franklin's Albany Plan, calling attention to its strong resemblance to that of Mr. Galloway, and desiring thus to "take the child from its putative and restore it to its real parents." ² This was answered in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 26, 1775, by pointing out the essential differences between the two plans: The plan of 1754 provided for a union of the Colonies only, that of 1774 for a union of the Colonies and Great Britain; the former provided for an inferior legislature without connection with the British Legislature, the latter, just the opposite; the former made acts subject to the King's veto, the latter to that of Parliament; the former left the legislature subordinate, the latter on an equality with the British Parliament; and, finally, the plan of 1754 left American rights unrestored, while that of 1774 restored them. The writer then stated that Mr. Galloway carried the plan of 1754 into the Congress for comparison and in order to have improvements made. ³

The knowledge of these attacks upon Mr. Galloway and his plan rather pleased the British courtiers, for they considered them a confirmation of their belief that the Colonies were weak and divided. ⁴

¹ Bigelow, "Franklin's Works," Vol. V. p. 435.

² No. 1687.

³ "Among Mr. Duane's papers is found a copy of Franklin's plan of 1754, with an endorsement that it was offered to the Congress September 28th, by Mr. Galloway. . . ." (*Documentary Hist. of N. Y.*, Vol. IV. 1072.)

⁴ Samuel Wharton to Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. Galloway's failure to secure the adoption of his plan of union by the first Continental Congress did not cause him to abandon the hope that at a future time it might find favor. In his examination before the Parliamentary Commission in 1779 he presented the plan, and referred to it as though still a factor in the dispute between the two countries. And later his interest in such schemes was not destroyed. Even after the thirteen Colonies were acknowledged free and independent, he prepared a plan of union for those left to the British Crown. This is of interest as indicating the growth of the conviction in his mind that the predominance of the royal power was necessary in Colonial administration. The Governor-General, in this plan, was given almost unlimited power over the Colonial governors, militia, and laws. All officers, civil and military, heads of colleges, students, and lawyers were to take an oath to obey the laws of Parliament. This oath was to be expressed "in as strong terms as the English language can furnish." Town meetings were to be greatly restricted in their privileges; and "in all colleges and other public seminaries of learning caution ought to be taken to prevent the principal trusts being lodged in the hands of gentlemen whose religious tenets point them decidedly to republicanism."¹ We could not find a more characteristic illustration of Mr. Galloway's political principles than this.

TORY SUSPECT.

The conduct of Mr. Galloway after the close of the Continental Congress was both courageous and consistent. After a journey to New York, where he visited Yonkers and Long Island, he returned to his country-seat, Trevoise, the first week in December, 1774.² But before he could return to Philadelphia and take his seat in the Assembly,

¹ MS. in the Library of Congress.

² Galloway to Verplanck, December 7, 1774, and April 1, 1775. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 477.)

that body, under the leadership of John Dickinson, had ratified the acts of the Congress.¹ Mr. Galloway entirely disapproved of this, however, and when, a few days later, they reappointed him a delegate to the next Congress, he protested, but in vain.

"That I might not appear to undertake the execution of measures which my judgment and conscience disapproved I could not serve them as a delegate at the ensuing Congress. And yet I could not prevail in persuading them to a new appointment in my stead."²

It was hoped that he would change his mind before the next session, however, and even Mr. Dickinson sought to obtain his consent, fearing his refusal would have a bad effect on the public cause.³ But there was little likelihood of this.

During the recess of the Assembly, through January of 1775, though in very poor health, he was busily engaged in writing his "Candid Examination," which was published about the first of March, 1775.⁴

This pamphlet, which is the most well known of all his pamphlets, contained a very clear exposition of the nature and necessity of the supreme authority of Parliament over the Colonies. It criticised very severely the acts of the late Congress, and made it very evident that its author would not have anything further to do with such assemblages. An attack upon this pamphlet, entitled "An Address to the Author of the 'Candid Examination,'" was soon issued, for which Dickinson was in part responsible. This was in turn answered by Mr. Galloway in a "Reply."

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, December, 1774. Mr. Galloway took his seat and qualified as a member December 13. The acts of Congress had been ratified on the 10th.

² Galloway to Verplanck, January 14, 1775. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 477.)

³ Reed to Pettit, January 14, 1775. (Reed, "Life of President Reed," Vol. I. p. 91.)

⁴ Galloway to Verplanck, February 14, 1775. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 480.)

All this served to aggravate the growing hostility of the independents towards him,—hostility which had been thoroughly aroused by his conduct in the session of the Assembly which reconvened in February, 1775.

Mr. Galloway was pleased to think that the situation was rapidly improving at the beginning of 1775, and that the people of Pennsylvania were “altering their sentiments and conduct.”

“We have been successful in baffling all the attempts of the violent party to prevail on the people to prepare for war against the mother country. . . . I hope . . . all violence will soon cease and peace and order take place of licentiousness and sedition. The Tories (as they are called) make it a point to visit the Coffee House dayly and maintain their ground, while the violent independents are less bold and insolent, as their adherents are greatly diminished.”¹

It is probable that at one of these meetings occurred the incident related in “Notes and Queries,” Vol. II. p. 351.

“In 1775 several Paxtang men were in Philadelphia. One of them, who belonged to that vilified class of ten years previous, the ‘Paxtang Boys,’ denounced, in the presence of Mr. Galloway and other gentlemen whose loyalist sympathies were pronounced, those opposed to resistance to English oppressions as Tories: One of the latter asked, ‘Pray sir, what is a Tory?’ ‘A Tory,’ promptly replied the patriot, ‘is a thing whose head is in England and its body in America and its neck ought to be stretched.’”

The Governor had sent a message to the Assembly acquainting them with the King’s expressed desire that the dispute between the two countries might be accommodated, and had suggested the passage of a suitable petition to his Majesty. Such action, independent of the Congress, was not agreeable to the independents; but Mr. Galloway strove to induce the Assembly to adopt that policy. The account of his efforts and of the proceedings of the Assembly was given by Mr. Galloway in letters to Governor Franklin.

¹ Galloway to Governor Franklin, February 28, 1775. (*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. X. p. 573.)

"On Thursday and Friday last, determined to abide the consequences, whatever they might be either in respect to my person or estate, I spoke my sentiments in Assembly without the least reserve. I censured and condemned the measures of the Congress in every thing—averred that they all tended to incite America to sedition and terminated in independence.

"I stood single and unsupported, among a set of men every one of whom had approved of the measures I was censuring, reprobating their own conduct to them, and endeavoring by cool and dispassionate reason and argument to convince them of their errors. The opposition as I expected was violent and indecent. I kept my temper unruffled and firm which gave me no small advantage. . . . The motion was to petition the King agreeably to the Governor's advice in his message. . . . The success my arguments met with greatly exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Fourteen members came over to me, but there being 38 in the house and finding I should lose the vote without 4 more converts, I was obliged to alter my plan, and to move to postpone the debate until next Wednesday week hoping that procrastination and news by the next packet might assist me. My design being suspected a warm opposition succeeded—however we carried the question 19 for it 18 against it. . . .

"On the Saturday before the day of the further debate the independent party despairing of success in preventing a petition to his Majesty, moved that the doors should be thrown open and the mob let in upon me. I was secretly advertised of this design and had spoke to a number of friends to be there in case the motion should succeed, being determined it should have no other effect but to prepare myself better and to speak with more firmness and more fully upon the measures of the Congress. However upon debating the motion we carried it in the negative 24 to 14.¹ This was an humiliating blow to my opponents. I had hitherto carried every question and constantly by an increased majority and yet altho' I had brought a number of the members (not less than 16 out of 39) to petition upon proper grounds I found it impossible as there were very little hopes of gaining 4 more. . . . "

He therefore changed his ground and determined to secure an adjournment to a later day, thinking that a change would come over the sentiments of the people.

"Under this resolution, I went to the House on the day appointed for the debate; and proposed 4 heads as the substance of an address

¹ *Votes of Assembly*, March 4, 1775. But the vote is there recorded 18 to 13.

to the Governor's message, the three first, after violent opposition were at length unanimously (!) agreed to—the 4th in which I had mentioned the adjournment produced a long and warm debate, the independents opposing any adjournment till after the sitting of the Congress. Upon this the question was put and we carried it in the affirmative 24 to 14. Thus my great point was gained which did not a little distress the other party—and upon this a committee was appointed to bring in an answer to the Governor's message founded on my propositions with only an amendment proposed by Mr. Dickinson to the fourth. When the House adjourned Dickinson came to me and agreed that I should reduce the answer to form and bring it in the next morning. This I engaged to do. But I should here inform you, that the Speaker acted the most shameful and particular part in the appointment of the committee, taking 12 of the 14 negatives and only two of the 24 affirmatives for the adjournment—i.e. 12 of one side and only 2 of the other—I saw the partiality, but as things seemed to be settled, and not suspecting the dirty manœuvre which followed, I disregarded it.

“At this unlucky moment a ship from Bristol arrived and brought those partial and fictitious accounts published in the papers—the independents sounded it through all the streets in the city that all the acts must be repealed, that the measures of the Congress were the measures of consummate wisdom etc. etc. This gave rise to one of the most dirty and scandalous measures which ever was transacted in public life. In my absence and while I was engaged in drawing up the answer—the committee met—Thompson and Ross and I suspect with the privity of Dickinson, had previously drawn up the message you see published—this was laid before the committee of independents where it was resolved that that message should be considered without sending for me. It was agreed to, carried into the House, read the first time and moved to have a 2nd and final reading—this was opposed by my friends but they had not brass enough to insist upon it. In the evening I was informed that a member of the committee had bragged how the committee had deceived, or to use his own expression, flung Galloway.

“On the next morning I moved that the answer should be recommitted and after giving a short account of the facts—I assigned as reasons 1st that the committee had acted a dishonorable, disingenuous dirty and fraudulent part, one unbecoming men in public character—that they had by art and fraud deprived me of the privilege of voting in the committee. That they knew I was absent on my duty to the House on the very business before them and that if they did not choose I should do it, they should at least have sent for me etc. 2nd that they had treated the House with insolent disregard and disobedience: for that they had not inserted in the answer either sentiment or word of

what was yesterday unanimously agreed upon. 3rdly, that it contained palpable untruths. To these I added many other arguments but all was in vain. This was not a time when reason was to prevail—the great news of yesterday had altered the minds of some of the weak and irresolute of the Chester and Philadelphia members and upon the question they carried it against the commitment 20 to 16. The answer went through the House, I opposed it in every stage—and upon the question whether it should be transcribed it was carried 22 to 14—and in order to show that the House was divided—which they much dreaded—I insisted upon the yeas and nays to be taken down and published as you have seen. The House stands adjourned to the first of May.

“I intimated before, that I had met with insults during my stay in the city. Shortly after the two first days debates—late in the evening a box was left at my lodgings nailed and directed to me. Upon opening it next morning I found in it a Halter with a threatening letter.¹ I read the letter and nailed up the box—locked it carefully in my charriott box, determined not to mention it to anybody—as I knew it would be impossible that the person sending it should keep it long a secret and hoping by that means to discover them . . . it had no other effect on me than to fix me in my former resolutions to oppose those lawless measures at all events.”²

After this experience in the Assembly Mr. Galloway was more determined than ever to refuse the appointment as delegate to the next Congress. “I am determined to oppose the appointment in our sitting in May, and exert every nerve to prevent it.”

His success is thus recorded :

“Joseph Galloway, Esquire, having repeatedly moved in Assembly to be excused from serving as a deputy for this Province in the Continental Congress, the House this day took his motion into consideration, and do hereby agree to excuse him from that service.”³

¹ The box also contained an insurance policy that he would not be alive in six days; and the lines “Hang yourself or we shall do it for you.” (Testimony before the Loyalist Commission.)

² These letters were written by Mr. Galloway to Governor Franklin the latter part of March, 1775, and may be found in the *New Jersey Archives*, Vol. X. pp. 579 ff. Mr. Galloway's accounts of these proceedings are somewhat biassed, naturally, but seem to be true in the main. (See *Votes of Assembly*.)

³ *Votes of Assembly*, May 12, 1775.

This vote of the Pennsylvania Assembly (brief, yet full of significance) marked the close of Joseph Galloway's active political career in that Province. And on the same day, "owing to false reports industriously propagated with the malicious design of injuring his character, charging him with having written letters to the Ministry, inimical to America," he published a broadside denying such charges:

"Now in justice to my own reputation and that the good people of this province may not be deceived by such groundless falsehoods, I do declare that these reports are malicious and without the least foundation; and that however easy it might have been to establish a correspondence with administration, was I capable of entertaining a thought inimical to the country where all I hold dear and valuable is fixt, and where I am determin'd to spend the remainder of life, yet I have, neither directly nor indirectly, any such correspondence, nor ever wrote a sentiment to any man in Great Britain injurious to the rights and freedom of America, nor ever recommended any measure whatever to be persued in respect to the present dispute between the two countries. . . .

"All that I have to request of my countrymen on this or the like occasions is, that they will deal with so much candor and justice towards me, as to discredit any malevolent reports until the authors shall exhibit some proof in support of their charges, and this I think no good man will think unreasonable, as he cannot but be aware that the most innocent may be condemned unless this great rule of justice be observed."¹ "Joseph Galloway, Trevoſe, May 12, 1775."

Poor health was one motive which induced Mr. Galloway to retire from "the distressing and ungrateful drudgery of public life,"² and the freedom from such cares apparently conduced to his recovery:

"As to myself I grow fat and more hearty than I have been during the last ten years. Retirement to a like scene to that in which you are now engaged in and a consciousness of having acted my part in it with firmness and integrity towards both countries, whose

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 17, 1775.

² Galloway to Verplanck, June 24, 1775. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 483.)

interest is inseparable, as long as there remained the least prospect of my doing service and my own safety would permit, have greatly contributed to restore my health beyond my most sanguine expectations, and however I may differ with many respecting the mode of redress and the means of accommodating the unhappy differences between them, and preventing the effusion of human blood, of which the prospect daily grows more distressing yet I shall be happy to find in the unforeseen events of things that I have been mistaken and others in the right. Hitherto in this respect, I own I have been unfortunate, as any important incident tends to prove, that we are on the brink of a precipice 'big with the fate of America.'''¹

From the summer of 1775 until December, 1776, Mr. Galloway remained at his country home, subjected to continually increasing insults and attempted violences.² It was during this time that Benjamin Franklin tried in vain to induce his loyalist friend to join the cause of independence, even offering to give security for his personal safety.³ And there is reason to believe that Mr. Galloway at one time during this period did outwardly espouse the patriot side, possibly as a measure of personal safety; but when the British forces began to arrive in America and occupied New York, and the cause of the Colonies seemed hopeless, he again conformed his actions to his convictions.⁴

He was, during the latter part of his stay at Trevoise, a virtual prisoner in his own house. Mobs visited him and threatened to tar and feather him, and were deterred only by the efforts of his friends. One of these mobs, composed of drunken Dutchmen, planned to hang him. The inn-

¹ Galloway to Verplanck, August 17, 1775. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXI. p. 484.)

² Testimony before the Loyalist Commission, MS. Library of Congress.

³ "Hutchinson's Diary," Vol. II. p. 237, and "Testimony."

⁴ Franklin to Bache, Passy, September 13, 1781. Franklin had left some papers with Galloway when he went abroad again, thinking that they would be safe in his house, which stood out of the way of the probable march of troops. It was thought that they were scattered and lost, as the house was later sacked, but his relatives found most of them again. See letter of Mrs. Bache to Franklin, October 22, 1778. (*Letters to Benjamin Franklin, 1751-1790.*)

keeper warned him, and he escaped from his house and did not again venture to sleep there.¹

With affairs in this condition, and an order for his arrest having been made, news of the approach of General Howe through New Jersey was not unwelcome to Mr. Galloway. Hastily loading some valuables into a wagon, in company with several other prominent loyalists, in December, 1776, he quitted his home and made his way to the British camp at New Brunswick, New Jersey.²

¹ "Testimony."

² Mr. Galloway's departure from home is said to have been hastened by the discovery that his only daughter was about to elope with Judge Griffin, a prominent Whig. (See Hazard, *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 260.)

Trumbull's *M'Fingal*, Canto III., thus celebrates Galloway's defection:

"Did you not, in as vile and shallow way,
Fright our poor Philadelphian, Galloway,
Your Congress, when the Royal 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?"

Trumbull said that Galloway began by being a flaming patriot!

General Howe's proclamation of amnesty, issued November 30, was the immediate cause of Mr. Galloway's departure just at that time probably. A Philadelphia paper noticed his flight with the following:

"Galloway has fled and joined the venal Howe
To prove his baseness, see him cringe and bow.
A traitor to his country and its laws.
A friend to tyrants and their cursed cause.
Unhappy wretch! Thy interest must be sold,
For continental, not for polished gold;
To sink the money, thou thyself cried down,
And stabbed thy country, to support the Crown.
Go to and fro, like Lucifer on earth,
And curse the being that first gave thee birth;
Away to Scotland, and thyself prepare,
Coal-dust and brimstone is their only fare;
Fit materials for such Tory blood,
Who wrong their country, and deny their God;
There herd with Bute, Mansfield, and his brother,
Bite, twist, sting, and poison one another."

(Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, Vol. I. p. 369.)

TORY.

To the activity and prominence of Mr. Galloway as a Tory leader in the British camp and later in England are due the unenviable place his name has had among the characters of the American Revolution. And yet the extraordinary obloquy heaped upon his memory, and which has served to discredit his whole career, was undeserved. It is true that he labored as hard, if not harder, to defeat independence after 1776 as he had done before that time; but in this he was not inconsistent, certainly. And however much the alleged desire to save his large property may have influenced him, a careful reading of his correspondence and numerous pamphlets leads to the conclusion that his conduct was inspired mainly by the honest conviction that his countrymen were absolutely in the wrong as to the means adopted to secure their true liberties.

Mr. Galloway was well received by General Howe, and remained with the British army, acting in an advisory capacity. He accompanied it on its retreat to New York, early in 1777, and remained there until June. "I am yet at New York," he wrote Richard Jackson, March 20, "endeavoring to be of service to those entrusted with the great work of reclaiming my countrymen from their delusion . . . and I have reason to believe my information has not been entirely useless or unacceptable."¹

His confidence in the speedy success of the British arms was amazing, and he was still pondering over some plan of union to settle the trouble between the two countries when the Colonies were subdued. In the same letter quoted above he said, "I am anxiously concerned to know what will next be done. That I should be so, you will not be surprised when you consider, I wish to conclude my days here and to leave my posterity and country happy after me."

He then spoke of the favorable opportunity which "the

¹ Stevens, "Facsimiles," No. 2051.

subjection of America will offer to establish a firm and lasting policy of government." He traced the cause of the Revolution to the "religious principles," "political tenets," "want of civil discipline," and "relaxation in the administration of law," which had led to "want of respect for the supreme authority." He considered it fortunate that America had rebelled when she did, for her resources would have been greater later, and she would have succeeded. But some policy to bind the Colonies to the mother state must now be formed and by Parliament alone.

Mr. Galloway joined the expedition for the capture of Philadelphia in June, 1777, and advised General Howe to take the Delaware instead of the Chesapeake route.¹ He rendered material services on the way, securing horses, preparing charts of roads, and sending out spies.²

After the occupation of Philadelphia, Mr. Galloway was appointed Superintendent-General of Police and Superintendent of the Port. This made him the civil governor of the city, and, under the direction of General Howe, he administered municipal affairs. He made regulations governing trade and markets, entrance of boats and vessels, and the care of streets and lamps. He was able to render assistance to his old friends, especially in connection with the quartering of troops, and there is reason to believe that he did not inconvenience himself to lessen the distress of old enemies.³ He numbered all the inhabitants, distinguishing the loyal from the disaffected.⁴ His duties

¹ *Examination.* Jones ("History of New York during the Revolutionary War," Vol. II. p. 109) states just the opposite, but his account of Galloway is wrong in so many respects that no reliance can be placed on it.

² "Testimony." Some of these spies were captured and hanged. ("Letters to Washington," Sparks, Vol. I. p. 363.)

³ Dunlap's Lancaster Paper. See Scharf and Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," Vol. I. p. 360.

⁴ "Testimony."

were, therefore, of great diversity and required constant attention.¹

Mr. Galloway's acquaintance with the surrounding country and people made his advice serviceable in all military movements also. He was particularly useful in the erection of some batteries against Mud Island Fort, and rendered its capture more speedy.² He raised and disciplined a troop of light horse, which did some very effective service.³

When General Howe prepared to evacuate Philadelphia, in September, 1778, he advised Mr. Galloway to make his peace with the Americans. General Clinton advised against it, however, and told him to remain with the army, for success would attend the British arms in the end. Mr. Galloway knew that it would not be safe for him to remain in the city, however, and, leaving his wife to look after their property, he retired with the army and went to New York, taking his daughter with him.

During his stay with the British army, Mr. Galloway had become convinced of the incompetence of General Howe and disgusted with the general administration of military affairs. The failure to destroy the American army (a "miscreant troop," he called it) encamped at Valley Forge, and the neglect and even maltreatment of the loyalists incensed him.⁴

¹ Howe's proclamation appointing Galloway Superintendent can be found in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 6, 1777. The regulations were also published in the same paper from time to time. The published journal of Elizabeth Drinker, pp. 65, 75, contains some notices of Galloway's activity in the city.

² Captain Montresor's testimony before the Loyalist Commission.

³ *Examination*. Mr. Galloway was commissioned colonel July 1, 1777, on the way to Philadelphia. For an account of his services during this period, see the *Examination*, edited by Balch, note on p. 72. For all his services he received about five hundred pounds. General Howe testified that "he was not anxious for rewards." At one time he had desired a judgeship (early in 1774), if certain references in Franklin's correspondence are correctly interpreted. As he was a wealthy man anyway, he had little desire for money rewards, naturally.

⁴ Stevens, "Facsimiles," No. 2074.

With the hope of inspiring the ministry at home with a more energetic military policy, and desiring to escape from his own perilous situation, Mr. Galloway sailed from New York to England in October, 1778.¹ He reached London in safety, and immediately made the acquaintance of Thomas Hutchinson, and was introduced to Lord Hardwicke. He at once sought to convince the authorities that more efficient measures would soon reduce America; that but a small part of the people—not one-fifth—favored the rebellion; that the cause was supported by disarming and intimidating the loyalists; and that suitable protection and assistance would encourage the larger part of the population to openly support the government.²

These representations made by Mr. Galloway were undoubtedly biassed both by his zeal for the cause and the indignities he had suffered. Letters from friends in America, too, supported his claims, and he persisted in propagating such beliefs.³

Charges of laxity in the prosecution of the American war induced Parliament to institute an investigation of the subject in June, 1779. Mr. Galloway was one of the most important witnesses at this hearing, and his testimony was of such a damaging character, and reflected so severely upon the management of affairs in America, that the investigation

¹ Letter of Lord Stirling, October 25, 1778 (*The Historical Magazine*, Vol. II. p. 321). Upon his departure Mr. Galloway wrote a pathetic letter to his sister which was published in the *Remembrancer* and contained the following sentences:

“I call this country ungrateful, because I have attempted to save it from the distress it at present feels, and because it has not only rejected my endeavors but returned me evil for good. I feel for its misery; but I feel it is not finished—its cup is not yet full—still deeper distress will attend it. Was it in my power, I would notwithstanding its severity against me preserve it from such destruction. But it is not for mortals to counteract the will of Heaven.”

² “Hutchinson’s Diary,” Vol. II. pp. 226–264 *passim*, and Galloway’s *Examination*, p. 11.

³ *The Historical Magazine* for 1861 (September, October, November, and December) contains a number of letters written to Galloway.

was dropped and no further action taken on the subject. But Mr. Galloway did not allow the matter to drop there, however, and in pamphlets and letters to the public he sought to convince the English people and government that the subjugation of America was perfectly feasible, and, for the maintenance of the British power in the world, absolutely necessary. In connection with the publication of these pamphlets occurred an unseemly controversy with General Howe over his conduct in America during the campaigns in the middle Colonies. General Howe replied to these charges and cast some reflections upon Mr. Galloway's character.

After the conclusion of the war and the acknowledgment of independence, Mr. Galloway was indefatigable in his efforts to obtain suitable indemnities for the loyalists. His pen was again brought into service, and he published a pamphlet dealing with the provision in the treaty of peace for the loyalists; and he acted as agent for them in England.¹ After an investigation of his own conduct by the Loyalist Commission, he was granted a pension of five hundred pounds a year.²

Forbidden the privilege of returning to Pennsylvania, Mr. Galloway devoted his leisure time to religious studies, and as a result of this published a pamphlet discussing the prophecies of the Scriptures. He here advanced the theory

¹ In a letter written by Mr. Galloway's daughter, some years after his death, are the following words: ". . . few men in the course of a long life settled more business for others than . . . Joseph Galloway, and perhaps seldom anyone gave so much advice gratis. This morning room for twenty years was often crowded, and seldom empty of Americans who received from him his best services in their own affairs." In MS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² "The Board find that Mr. Galloway was a member of the first Congress, but they are of the opinion that during that time he endeavored to promote the constitutional dependence of the colonies on Great Britain—that he has since conducted himself as a zealous loyalist and rendered services to the British Government." (Decision of the Commission.)

that France and not Rome was anti-Christ, and was soon in a controversy with Dean Whitaker over the question. The influence of the French Revolution can be seen in these "Commentaries" of Mr. Galloway, and they are but an evidence of his hatred to "Republicanism," which seems to have grown stronger with advancing years. With these literary labors his life closed. He passed but a short distance beyond the threescore years and ten, and died at Watford, Herts, England, August 29, 1803.¹

CONCLUSION.

In forming a judgment of the character of a loyalist of the American Revolution, although one has the advantages of perspective in point of time and a mind free from animosity, yet it is difficult to appreciate a period when American independence was not a fact, or understand a man who bitterly opposed even the suggestion of what seems to have been a fortunate occurrence of history. And to the average American mind the intimation that there could have been any reasonable or disinterested objection to the Declaration of Independence would be somewhat startling. Yet one need not be an Anglomaniac to recognize that many of the Colonial Americans were loyal to their King in 1776 from honest conviction, and could give a reason for the faith that was in them. Of this number was Joseph Galloway.

¹ "The Thomas Book," p. 319. Mrs. Galloway, who had remained in Philadelphia, hoping to save her own property, was subjected to insults and suffered greatly at the hands of the returning patriots. She was turned out of her house by force, and, after a period spent in vain efforts to obtain relief from her distressing situation, died before peace came. Extracts from the Diary of Ann Warder (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XVIII.), the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker (p. 104), and the Colonial Records (Vol. XI. p. 196) give abundant evidence of the pathetic efforts she made to uphold the honor and interests of her exiled husband.

In connection with the attempt made by Mr. Galloway to obtain permission to return to Pennsylvania, there is extant a letter which he wrote to Governor McKean, in 1793, containing an account of his career in connection with the Revolutionary quarrel and a defence of his conduct.

Although possessing traits of character which were far from admirable, but which are rather common to mankind, Mr. Galloway occupied a prominent position among his contemporaries, took a not dishonorable part in the American Revolution, and exerted a marked influence upon his day and generation. Talented, wealthy, and influential, his conduct was that of a firm and consistent loyalist throughout his whole career. He was not only a loyalist, but a royalist. History, observation, and experience convinced him that a monarchy was the most fitting form of government, and offered the best and surest protection to life and property, especially property, the chief function of all governments.

With a conservatism natural to wealth, and with inherited aristocratic tendencies, Mr. Galloway observed with no small concern the growth of republican ideas. That there could be any true liberty, or any safety even, under a democracy, or what he considered was nearly, if not quite, the same thing, mob rule, he believed impossible. It was with no small degree of apprehension, therefore, that he viewed the growing differences between Great Britain and her Colonies. With a property-holder's natural aversion to taxation, and with a realization of the injustice which might result from measures of taxation by Parliament, he aided in all ways that he considered proper to remove the causes of complaint. The very suggestion that the remedy for the troubles lay in independence was repugnant to him. The remedy lay rather in a closer union with the mother country.

The political experiences of Mr. Galloway in Pennsylvania made him naturally suspicious of the intentions of the noisy elements among the people, and he soon came to the conclusion that ultimate independence was their aim; at least their conduct could lead to nothing less. Hence he determined to exert his best efforts to prevent such a deplorable occurrence. How great a stumbling-block he was in the way of independence may be judged by the anger aroused against him.

An experienced lawyer, habituated to the forms of law and accustomed to argumentation, he thought the dispute might be settled by reasoning. "Calm reason," "candid examination," "reflection," and "cool and dispassionate argument" were his favorite expressions. And the discussion of this question should be left to men who were capable of reasoning and deliberating calmly, "men of property," "men of influence," and "men of consequence," as he called them.

Mr. Galloway not only opposed independence, the logical result of the measures proposed by the patriots, but he offered another method in their place,—a method of settling the dispute which would also prevent all future quarrels. In this, his plan of union, he showed statesmanship. He believed it the only proper or possible way to secure their true liberties. Would not Great Britain accede to such a plan? Then he would go as far as any man "in point of blood or fortune" to preserve their liberties! Was this dishonorable or treasonable conduct?

The plan was rejected by the Congress; but, until this method had been tried and proved ineffectual, he could not consistently violate his oath of allegiance to the King. Furthermore, his belief in the futility of resistance to the power of Great Britain was an additional motive for becoming a Tory.

It was as a writer or pamphleteer, however, that Mr. Galloway displayed his powers and exerted his greatest influence. Although some of his productions exhibit carelessness and haste, and lack literary finish, usually his writing was forcible and his reasoning sound. Judged by their final results solely, one might conclude that his efforts had little or no influence; but it is not unreasonable to believe that his writings did aid in retarding the progress of independence. But for the bold and courageous stand taken by Mr. Galloway in the Congress, and the "Candid Examination," might not the Declaration of Independence have been made earlier than 1776? It is a fair question.

The hesitancy and indecision of which Mr. Galloway gave his contemporaries an impression before 1774 were due, apparently, not to any lack of decision or want of understanding on his part, but to policy. He did not wish to embarrass his plans to prevent the adoption of independent measures. He did not, therefore, foolishly and offensively flaunt his loyalty in the face of the patriots whose approval he wished to win for his plan of union. But when a course had been adopted contrary to his beliefs, no one was left in doubt as to where he stood.

Mr. Galloway's foresight and judgment were shown in the accuracy with which he followed to its logical conclusion the conduct of the patriots, and in the fact that, sooner than John Dickinson, he saw to what the measures of the Sons of Liberty were leading. And he rightly traced back to the tenets and practices of the early Puritan colonists the beginnings of independence.

Although Mr. Galloway showed the qualities of a statesman in his plan of an imperial federation,—a plan which over a century of statesmanship has failed to accomplish,—he lacked that faith in the common people which gave courage to the patriots and enabled them to persevere in what at times seemed a lost cause. In this he failed to rise to the height of the men of faith of his day.

Could Mr. Galloway have been persuaded to join the patriot cause, and use his talents and give the benefit of his experience in the task of establishing a new government, it is not unlikely that his name would have been found in the list of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Certainly he would have supported the Hamiltonian view of a somewhat centralized form of government, and later been in favor of the Alien and Sedition Acts. He would have hated Jeffersonian Democracy as thoroughly as the most extreme Federalist, and government by injunction would have had no terrors for him.

Philadelphia, April 20th, 1786

BROTHER,

IF you wish to celebrate the anniversary of our Antient Grandfather, St. TAMMANY, on Monday, the 1st of May next, you will be furnished with a ticket, by applying to Brother Peter January, treasurer, at the north-west corner of Market and Second streets. and depositing *Ten Shillings*, by Friday, the 28th instant, after which day no tickets will be delivered to any person, on any terms whatever.

Provision will be made for none but those who do pay for their tickets by that day.

The celebration to close at seven o'clock.

A buck's tail and the ticket in your hat, a knife and fork in your pocket.

To Brother

Peter of Glentworth

N^o 257

THE SOCIETY OF THE SONS OF SAINT TAMMANY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY FRANCIS VON A. CABEEN.

(Continued from page 347.)

We now encounter a curious function performed by the Saint Tammany Society.¹

“On Monday last the Sachems of St. Tammany gave an invitation to Cornplanter, commonly called Captain O’Beal, a sachem and five others of the Seneca Nation to visit the Wigwam on the Banks of Schuylkill where he was informed the Sons of St. Tammany meet every year to celebrate the memory of their old Chief St. Tammany. Captain O’Beal accepted the invitation as an honor done to him and said he was sure the Great God above (who directed all our actions) put it in our hearts.

“About three o’clock in the afternoon the Sachems waited on the Chiefs at their lodgings at the Indian Queen, and from thence attended them seperately to an appointed rendezvous near the Wigwam; they proceeded thence (a Sachem of St. Tammany leading each an Indian Chief) to the Wigwam. Three of the Indians had fallen in with a corps of the Militia from whom a deputation had just been sent to offer an escort to the Indian Chief and were by them conducted to the Wigwam. On the arrival of the Chief at the Wigwam a salute of cannon was given by the Sachems and the colours of the State and St. Tammany with the Dutch and French standards, and the Buck Flag, were immediately displayed. They were then conducted into the Wigwam and after proper salutations, Captain O’Beal said he must speak a few words to his brethern, the white folks, on

¹ Independent, April 22, 1786.

the civilities he now received. This he did in a manner truly dignified, in the following words :

“ ‘BROTHERS :

“ ‘Hearken to what I tell you. You know that the Great God, our greatest King, reigns in Heaven above us all. He sees all our doings, so that we ought to be wise and virtuous. This great gathering of our brothers is to commemorate the memory of our great-grand-father. It is a day of pleasure (pointing to St. Tammany colors). You know that your and our grandfathers loved one another and strongly recommended to their children to live in union and friendship with all their brethren and to bury the hatchet forever. I also wish (looking up to heaven) that we may all live as our great-grand-fathers lived, in peace and unity !

“ ‘The business I am come on is to have us all united as one man, and it will be my happiness to have it so. Let us keep fast the chain of friendship, and put the same around us. Then we shall have nothing to fear from the great kings on the other side of the waters. Brothers if we can effect this to become brothers united as one man there is no people that shall think evil of us, that a frown from us will not intimidate. I heard it said our great-grand-fathers are dead. They are not dead. They now look down upon us and know what we are doing. Much more ; God looks upon us and sees what we are doing. I think God Almighty at this time is sorry for the poor Indians. He is grieved at the afflictions now come upon them. The cause of my sorrow is from the English on the other side of the water. They have brought it on us. You thirteen Sires, I am now to speak a word to you. I hope you have observed that I have always tears in my eyes. I am sorry that we have been led astray ; I hope that you will do everything to put me right. Then God will look down upon you and us and help us ; he will have pity on us both, if we do right.’

“ ‘A discharge of thirteen cannon and three huzzas from the company, consisting of upwards of 2000 persons, testified their approval. The Chief was then led by the Sachems of St. Tammany to the council fire at the flag staff, where they and the officers of militia, with a number of citizens, formed a circle round the same, and smoked the great calumet of peace. The Indian Chief now said : ‘that we have been refreshing ourselves with wine, it is fit that our old friend who has gone before us (pointing to the portrait of St. Tammany on the colors) shall have a glass, and if we pour it on the ground, the ground will suck

it in and he will get it.' On this he walked with one of the St. Tammany sachems round the council fire pouring out a libation of wine. The Chief then with his companions, at the request of the company gave a war dance, and was afterwards joined with the sachems of St. Tammany, and the officers of the militia in a peace dance, and a dance of mirth. The Chief and his people and sachems of St. Tammany, having seated themselves on the council seat of the wigwam sent by the Kuskusy Nation, for some minutes after which, one of the sachems of the Wigwam (The old Sachem not being present), gave the following answer to Captain O'Beal.

" 'Brothers we are glad to see you. You say that the great God above sees us and that we ought to be wise and virtuous. He is our great Father. We are his children, and you and we are all one family. He loves us when we love one another and live as brethern. This is to be wise and virtuous. We may say this is a day of pleasure. The Great Spirit is pleased to see us meet as friends, and live as brothers. Our great-grand-fathers lived as brothers, and wished it to be so forever. We meet as brothers, and it is to us a day of pleasure. We remember our great-grand-fathers. We meet here every year to remember our great-grand-father Tammany, and three years ago we buried the hatchet in a great deep hole near that stump; we covered it with heavy stones because we wished it never to rise again. You will see great trees growing over it under which we wish that our children may sit. We kindled a fire here, it is a bright fire, for our young men to sit by, and there are twelve other fires. But there is a greater fire than all of them. We are glad you are going to that great fire. You will find the road plain and bright. They will bind the chain of friendship round their bodies, and it cannot be broken, but by cutting them in two. We have nothing to fear. Our great men will dry the tears from your eyes. Then we will help to keep the eyes clear. We are pleased that you came; to effect this God sent you. He loves peace and friendship. We love you because you are from the great-grand-father, and we shall never forget that you visited our wigwam.'

" A salute of the cannon was then given and three huzzas—the several colours were struck, and the Indian Chiefs with the Sachems of Saint Tammany, were escorted by the militia under arms to their lodgings at the Indian Queen.

"The whole was conducted with great harmony and good humor; and the conduct of the chief and his nation was grand and noble."

We are led to believe that the company of militia referred to in the account of this council fire with the Indians was a volunteer company called the Buck Tails, commanded by a Captain Sproat, and that the buck flag that was unfurled was the flag of this command.¹ We wish to call attention to what purports to be a letter from Cornplanter which appeared in the newspapers shortly after his visit to Philadelphia, but which was never written by him, and it was so understood at the time. From its construction and language it evidently emanated from some member of the Society of Friends, and was intended as a hit against the Saint Tammany Society. We give it in its entirety; though antagonistic, it unwittingly adds lustre to the Tammany celebrations; for while the writer did not approve of them, still they were held by the community in such high esteem that "gentlemen of the cloth" were willing to be seen at them.

"Translation of a letter from the Indian Chief, now in this city, to one of his relations, a Chief of the Seneca Nation.

"NEW YORK, May 6—1786—

"RENOWNED KINSMAN :

"After an agreeable journey, we arrived in this city a few days ago, where we have been kindly received and hospitably entertained by the *Wise men* who compose the perpetual council fire of the new nations of our brothers of this island.

"You know, Kinsman how much pains our white brothers have taken to cause us to renounce our independent and happy mode of life and to exchange it for what they call the pleasures of civilization and religion; but they now think differently, both of their own and of our manner of living from what they did when the great King over the water put dust in their eyes and kept them in darkness. They now begin to see in what the fine dignity and happiness of man consists and that labour, trade, and the mechanic arts, are only fit for women and children; and as for the old stories they used to tell us about religion, no body believes in them now but a few old women. As a proof of this preference of

¹ Watson's Annals, Vol. III. p. 229.

our manners and principles to their own, a large body of the citizens of Philadelphia, assembled on the first day of May on the banks of the Schuylkill every year, and then in the dress of Sachems celebrate the name, character and death of old King Tammany, in eating, drinking, smoking, dancing, and singing around a fire. This entertainment ends as all such entertainments do with us, in drunkenness and disorder, which are afterwards printed in their newspapers in the most agreeable colours, as constituting the utmost festivity and joy. But the principal end of this annual feast is to destroy the force of the Christian religion. For this religion you know forbids self murder and drunkenness. Now by honoring and celebrating the name of Tammany who killed himself by burning his cabin over his head in a drunken frolic, they take away all infamy from these crimes and even place them among the number of virtues. Two or three Priests generally attend at this feast with the ensigns of their professions, that is, with large white wigs and black coats: and as the people here are more disposed to follow the example than the precepts of their priests, the example of these *holy* Sachems, has had a great effect in undeceiving the people as to their notions about religion and in introducing among them our maxims respecting murder and drunkenness. Let us hold fast renowned Kinsman, the customs and traditions of our fathers and disdain to copy anything from a people who are every day advancing to our state of simple manners and national sobriety. Farewell.

“‘CORNPLANTER.’”

This year's (1786) celebration is mentioned in one paper in not a very complimentary manner, but as the account shows that “faction”—*i.e.*, party influences—for the first time is beginning to assert its power over the Society, we give it at length.

“Monday last, being the anniversary of St. Tammany, the day was generally observed, and happily spent and commemorated at different places, by several companies of citizens.¹

“We should do much injustice to Mr. Pole, if we now neglected our respects to him on this occasion. He indeed deserves great *credit* for those *tickets of invitation* which he took the liberty of *presenting* and without whose *particular* services, he might have escaped every kind of notice or distinction. The *principal characters* of the *party* of his

¹ Independent, May 6, 1786.

leaders assembled at the *Council Fire on Schuylkill* and with pleasure, it has been observed, many good and worthy inhabitants of this place, among whom, *some* of the *Sachems* claim, our most sincere respects joined them. Although every mind might not have been altogether pleased and reconciled with the arrangement of matters, yet from the *universal* regard to St. Tammany, there is little if any reason for *serious* complaint among generous Americans.

“When the anniversary again returns, it is to be hoped that the *natives* and citizens of the country will not be treated with the *distance* and *reserve* that has been too often observed. The Poles and Fishing Tackle must be better regulated. Indeed there are many *striking* circumstances to justify the idea, that under the specious purposes of celebrating *St. Tammany's day* the *foxified* objects of *faction* and *policy*—like snakes in the grass, have crept into measures other wise set apart for undisguised sociability. Nothing is more odious and intolerable, than the sly impositions, the craft and artifices of faction. And to an ingenious mind nothing is more abominable than that man who devotes and lays himself out for the scandalous speculations, and the political cutiery of degenerated party. . . . This sort of creature is the tool for knaves to work with . . . and make use of to serve their interests, while he intends only to pursue, though in that line he is sure to *shackle* his own. He values himself on the *promising banquet*, without regard to consequences. He is an inflexible friend to everything that resembles a mystery; thinks *Common Sense* too common and political non sense to be always a proof of propriety and inspiration. Right and wrong (unerring standards) he measures not by the interests of mankind but by trifling and unmeaning rules invented by his *patrons* and *conductors* and calculated chiefly for their own benefit. He is a friend to no man . . . envious, sullen, and morose . . . all his thoughts exceed our notions of social pursuits and manly joy. . . . A sour face and a bitter implacable heart are his qualifications.

"It is wonderful, observes a correspondent, how this stupid animal could ever be in repute, how the most insignificant and worst being in the universe could be any ways acceptable to the best."

It is very evident from the above that Mr. Pole's back had to receive the blows of the opposing party as administered by the editor of the paper, and he also had to bear the punishment intended for more exalted members of the Society, that possibly it was deemed wise or expedient not to mention by name, though most likely they were well known at the time. Here, we may say, was the conception of what in after-years became the Democratic Party, though before it was born its sentiments materially changed from what they were at this time.

The anniversary of the year 1786 is very minutely described in the following account:¹

"Monday last, the 1st of May, being the anniversary of the tutelar Saint of America, the Sachems and brothers of the Society of St. Tammany assembled at their wigwam on the banks of the Schuylkill. Early in the morning, the day was saluted by a discharge of the Society's artillery; at 8 o'clock three guns were fired and the standard of St. Tammany was displayed, supported on the right by the flag of France, and on the left by that of the United States of Holland. At the same time the Buck flag was displayed at the council chamber—at 10 o'clock the brethren generally assembled, and at 12 at beat of drum, the whole of the brothers assembled round the flag staff: soon after which, the sachems of the preceding year advanced from the council chamber into the circle, where at a signal, they all laid down their insignia of office.

"The secretary then came forward and informed the brethren, that the time for which the sachems had been chosen was now expired; and that they were consequently destitute of any officers, grand sachem and others. He asked, whether they would proceed to the choice of 13

¹ Penna. Evening Herald, May 6, 1786.

sachems for the ensuing year? This they agreed to do and the following brothers were duly elected: Charles Biddle, Esq., Jonathan Bayard Smith, Alex. Boyd, Thomas Nevill, Fred. Phile, Daniel Hiester, Wm. Coates, Joseph Dean, Wm. Tharpe, Emanuel Eyres, Zachariah Endress, Thomas Proctor, and Elias Boys. Upon the close of the election of the sachems three guns were discharged, when the sachems retired to the council chamber and then from among themselves, elected as chief or grand sachem the Hon. Charles Biddle, Esq., Vice-president of the State of Penna.

"The whole of the sachems were now dressed and invested with their gorgets and other insignia of office; on the chief's breast was his gorget with the following inscription surrounded with 13 stars; *St. Tammany the grand sachem, or the chief to whom all our nation looks up.*

"On the gorgets of each of the other sachems were inscribed the names of the following warriors, Iontonque, Tataboucksey, Hoowaniente, Pechemolind, Towarra, Deunquatt, Shuctongo, Simougan, Tediescung, Shaubonkin, Kayashuta, and Hyngapushes.

"Upon the appearance of the sachems the brethren again formed a circle round the flag—The sachems entered the circle when the secretary came forward, and proclaimed their choice of the grand sachem, who was ushered forward to the brethren by two of his brother sachems. He was received by the company who testified their approbation by three loud and cheerful huzzas supported by the discharge of 13 guns—upon which brother (William) Pritchard came forward and delivered the following piece, which he had prepared for the day:

" 'When superstition dark and haughty plan
Fettered the genius and debased the man,
Each trifling legend was as truth received;
The priest invented, and the crowd believed;
Nations adored the whim in stone or paint,
And gloried in the fabricated saint.
Some holy guardian, hence, each nation claims—
Gay France her Dennis, and grave Spain her James,

Britons at once two mighty saints obey—
Andrew and George maintain united sway,
O'er humbler lands the same odd whim prevails ;
Ireland her Patrick, boasts her David, Wales.
We Pennsylvanians, these old tales reject,
And our own saint think proper to erect—
Immortal Tammany of Indian Race,
Great in the fields, and foremost in the chase,
No puny saint was he, with fasting pale,
He climbed the mountains, and swept the vale ;
Rushed through the torrent with unequalled might ;—
Your ancient saints would tremble at the sight—
Caught the swift boar, and swifter deer with ease,
And worked a thousand miracles like these.
To public views, he added private ends,
And loved his country most, and next his friends.
With courage long he strove to ward the blow,
(Courage we all respect, e'en in a foe)—
And when each effort he in vain had tried,
Kindled the flame in which he bravely died !
To Tammany let the full horn go round ;
His fame let every honest tongue resound ;
With him let every generous patriot vie
To live in freedom, or with honor die !
Nor shall I think my labor too severe,
Since ye, wise sachems, kindly deign to hear.'

"The secretary then declared the laws which had been enacted in the council for the government of the day, which was that every brother should do just as he pleased ; and if he did not the whole of the brothers were by compulsion to enforce him to do so ; and if he did not then do as he pleased, he was to be laughed at by the whole company—And also, that if any dispute arose between any two brothers, which should tend in any measure to interrupt the harmony of the day, in order to discountenance them, they were both to be laughed at by the whole company.

"The laws being proclaimed, the grand sachem seated himself, surrounded by his brother sachems, upon the council seat presented to the society from the Hughkughkeagh nation, around the council fire when the calumet of

peace was lighted and smoked by the grand sachem and his brethren and was afterwards handed around to the whole of the brothers, who all in rotation took a whiff. Several presents having been made to the society since the last anniversary they were all brought forward, and shown to the brethren assembled, who returned thanks thro' their sachems and gave them severally three huzzas.

"Among the presents was an elegant portrait of the Indian Chief (who was lately in this city) Iontonkque or the Corn Plant commonly known by the name of Captain O'Bail taken from the life by Miss Eliza Phile and done in a very masterly manner, 2 feet and a half by one foot and a half.

"During this interval, a cold collation was spread upon the tables, at the head of which was the council chamber, with feasts prepared for the sachems, under a canopy—The signal being given, every brother repaired with his scalping knife, to the repast, which they executed in a masterly manner; the provisions being tolerably well *scalped* the warriors having played their parts well.

"The whole then retired forming a circle round the flag staff went through their dances and then seated themselves around the council fire, when the heart-cheering glass being introduced, the grand sachem gave the following toasts which were drank by the whole of the brethren during a discharge of artillery and sky rockets.

"1. St. Tammany and the day.

"2. The Great Council Fire of the United States—May the 13 fires glow in one blended blaze and illumine the Eagle in his flight to the Stars.

"3. Penna., and the illustrious President of the State—May wisdom ever preside in our councils.

"4. Louis the Sixteenth.

"5. Our great grand sachem George Washington, Esq.

"6. Our Allies and Friends—May the Lillies of France forever bloom—the Lion of the Netherlands rejoice in his strength and the Irish Harp ever be in union with the Thirteen Stars.

"7. Our Brother Iontonkque or the Corn Plant—May we ever remember that he visited our wigwam and spoke a good talk from our great grand fathers.

"8. The Friendly Indian Nations—our warriors and young men who fought, bled and gave good council for our nation.

"9. Our Mothers, Wives, Sisters and Daughters.

"10. The Merchants, Farmers and Mechanics of Penna.—May the manufactures of our own country ever have the preference of foreign ones.

"11. The University of Penna., and all Seminaries of learning.

"12. May the Whigs of America ever be united as a band of brothers.

"13. May the enemies of America never eat the bread of it, drink the drink of it or kiss the pretty girls of it.

"At this time a great number of the spectators rudely broke in upon the company which obliged the grand sachem to draw off the brethren to the city, which was done in Indian file with music.

"They then proceeded to the wigwam¹ of his excellency brother Benjamin Franklin who appearing was saluted with 13 huzzas from all the warriors, which he cordially received and thanked them for the honour paid him, when the brothers all retired to their own wigwams to see their squaws and papousees.

"FOOT-NOTE.—The Sachems in behalf of themselves and their brothers offer their cordial thanks to Miss Phile for the above present in the following talk.

"These glowing colours our applause command,
The happy work of fair Eliza's hand !
Here as her genius and her taste we trace,
Each savage feature softens into grace,
What various merit must adorn the youth,
How must he shine in valour, wit and truth,
Who wins the heart of this accomplished Fair,
And finds his happy image pictured there."

¹ Situated on the south side of Market Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, old number 116.

The changes in the *personnel* of the Sachems this year were as follows: Charles Biddle, who was made chief, was elected in October of 1785 to the position of Vice-President of the State of Pennsylvania. He early in life had entered upon a seafaring career, and most of his services to his country during the War of Independence were performed upon the ocean, though he was a member of, and saw service with, Captain Cowperthwaite's company of Quaker light infantry. The above incident Mr. Biddle has seen fit to omit in his autobiography, and we are at a loss to account for the omission in view of the fact that occurrences of much less moment are given with minuteness.

Elias Boys, merchant, resided at 80 Penn Street, between South and Almond Streets. He was a member of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick. He married Martha Scull, at Christ Church, September 5, 1767, and died in October, 1792. In 1788 he was made a member of the Board of Port Wardens of Philadelphia.

Zachariah Endriss, brewer, lived in Brewer's Alley, between Second and Third Streets. He was elected a member of the German Society of the city in 1774.

Thomas Nevill, house-carpenter, was located on Front Street, between Market and Arch Streets.

William Tharpe was one of the earliest of what were known as "Fair Play" settlers on Indian lands in Lycoming County, in 1773, and returned to his land after the Revolution and secured his title to it. He with the rest of these settlers had been squatters, but in those days it was overlooked, and their titles were confirmed, owing to their services and losses in serving their country during the war.

William Pritchard, the author of the poem, was a bookseller and keeper of a circulating library, and carried on his business in Market Street, between Second and Front Streets.

The Hughkughkeagh nation mentioned is a little peasantry, for the word represents the sound made by Indians when they cheer.

As to histories of the Indian chiefs whose names are assumed upon this occasion by the Sachems of the Saint Tammany Society, three can be identified. First, Tammany, and of him we have given all the information obtainable. Of Iontonque, or Cornplanter, or Captain O'Beal we have just given an account. Of Tediessung, or Teedyuscung, Heckewelder writes that he was "the last Delaware Chief in those parts east of the Allegheny mountains. His name makes a conspicuous figure in the history of Pennsylvania previous to the revolution, and particularly towards the commencement of the war of 1756. Before he was raised to the station of a chief, he had signalized himself as an able counsellor in his nation. In the year 1749, he joined the Moravian Indian congregation, and the following year, was baptized by the name of 'Gideon.' He had been known before that under that of 'Honest John,' and while at the head of his nation, he was frequently distinguished by the title of 'King of the Delawares,' many people called him the 'War Trumpet.' He was ambitious, thought much of his rank and abilities; liked to be considered as the King of his country, and was fond of having a retinue with him when he went to Philadelphia on business with the government. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drink, the temptation of which he could not easily resist. This unfortunate propensity was the cause of his cruel and untimely death; he was burnt in his cabin in 1763."

We assume that, as Timothy Matlack's name is not mentioned this year as being secretary, Mr. Edward Pole held the position of master of ceremonies, and that in some way he must have slighted the editor of the paper that attacked him with such vigor.

The interchangeableness of the names Pole and Beveridge is shown by the diarist Hiltzheimer in his accounts of the dinners of the Saint Tammany Society.

That other States were worshipping at the same shrine as the sons of Pennsylvania is shown by the following account:

“RICHMOND, VA., May 4th, 1786.

“Monday last, the 1st instant, the Sons of St. Tammany, in memory of the anniversary of their American Saint, gave a very sumptuous entertainment at the Capitol in this city, to which were invited a number of gentlemen of different nations, who participated with them on the occasion, when the following toasts were drank and the day spent in the utmost good humor.

“1. The Sons of St. Tammany.—May the gallant spirit of their sire animate their bosoms and fire them with the love of liberty and independence.

“2. Congress.—May their wisdom and integrity forever cement the union and secure the blessings of freedom.

“3. Our late illustrious Commander-in-Chief.—May he be as happy as he is beloved.

“4. The Legislative, Executive, and judiciary, of Virginia.—May the execution of this important trust reflect splendor on their public characters, and the love of their countrymen attend them in retirement.

“5. Our Ambassadors abroad.—May Republican zeal direct their political talents and their hearts remain true amidst the machinations of Courts.

“6. The Sons of St. Patrick.—May the torch of friendship lighted between them and the Sons of St. Tammany continue blazing to eternity.

“7. Agriculture and Commerce.—May they go hand in hand to bless our country and meet that encouragement they merit.

“8. The Seminaries of Learning.—While they advance Science may they diffuse the spirit of virtue.

“9. The worthy sons of all Saints.

“10. May the Hatchet of American politics never be turned against herself.

“11. May the Sons of St. Tammany always be disposed to exchange the bow and tomahawk for the peaceful calumet.

“13. May the great spirit encircle the whole world in the belt of friendship.”

A letter to the *Packet* from Savannah, Georgia, dated May 4, 1786, is as follows:¹

“On Monday the 1st instant a number of gentlemen from the northern states met at the hotel in this town to celebrate the anniversary of St. Tammany, their tutelary saint, where an elegant dinner was provided, and the day spent in the true spirit of brotherly conviviality. At the table the following toasts, in the ancient and expressive style of their patron, were drank, viz:

“1. St. Tammany and liberty of conscience.

“2. Uncle Hancock and the great council.

“3. Our great brother, the King of France and all his children.

“4. All our brothers beyond the great water.

“5. Our Messengers to all the nations.

“6. Brother Washington our head warrior.

“7. Our old Good brother Franklin.

“8. The ladies that love us and the children they bear us.

“9. Fat Bucks and full ears of corn in their season forever.

“10. A clean calumet and sweet tobacco to all that smoke with us.

“11. A fair trade for good things with all nations.

“12. Wise laws in full force throughout America.

“13. The *true faith* to our tawny brothers, and *sound morals* and moderation to all christians.

“Should the people of Georgia, according to the custom of the nations of Europe, and the example of their northern brethren feel the propriety of a patronage of this kind, they will no doubt canonise this good, jolly old saint and pay respect to this day.”

¹ Pennsylvania Packet, June 5, 1786.

"All Christian countries," says the *Savannah Republican*, "have their tutelar Saint. England has her Saint George, Scotland her Saint Andrew; Ireland her Saint Patrick, France her Saint Crispan and Spain her Santa Jago. In this country, we have Saint Tammany. Through the Revolutionary War the natal day of this saint was observed with great respect by the army, as well as by the people. It was not till Mr. Jefferson's administration, when General Dearborn was Secretary of War that the observance of it by the army was dispensed with and the change was made then only with the view of carrying out the system of retrenchment which the President sought to introduce in the administration of the government. The first fort built at St. Mary's Camden County and perhaps the first in the state was called Fort Saint Tammany. A gentleman now residing in this city was present while a boy at a celebration by the officers and soldiers stationed at the fort on Saint Tammany's Day. The May pole used on the occasion was a tree with its branches and bark removed; and around that the soldiers danced and celebrated the day."

Our Mr. Pole once more had to stand the lash from the newspapers. To better understand the article which follows, we would state that Pole's advertisement was one of the most constant and conspicuous,—a wood-cut of a fish heads it, then follows the offering of poles and fishing-tackle and sporting goods, etc. Who S——dd—S's was or what the transaction referred to, at this late date is impossible to state.

"MR. OSWALD :

"As you have hitherto by frequent encomiums bestowed on me in your newspaper, contributed much towards the establishment of my *reputation* as a citizen and by frequent advertisements (for which you have generously made no charge,) rendered my trade not only flourishing but rapid, I take the liberty of requesting that you will out of your neighborly kindness by inserting the advertisement annexed,

endeavor to draw the attention of the public to that very important article of *Buck's Tails*.¹

“BUCK'S TAILS.

“For St. Tammany's Day may be provided at the *Tuft* and *Tackle Warehouse* in Market Street.

“Ye lovers of frolic, who blithsome and gay,
Resolve to be merry on Tammany's Day ;
I Neddy the Sachem, by some surnamed P——e,
For a moment would like your attention to call.
In barbarous days, ere America rose
The pride of her Friends, and the scourge of her foes,
Old Tammany bounding o'er valley and hill,
Every deer that he met would constantly kill :
So each of his sons in remembrance of that,
On his birthday displays a Buck's Tail in his hat.
Now those who this tuft emblematic must buy,
To me let them come, and their wants I'll supply.
Since S——dd—S's deer skins I plundered of late,
I their tails can retail at a moderate rate :
'Tis the joy of my heart all my neighbors to fleece ;
Come buy my fine Buck Tails at *six-pence apiece*.

“NEDDY THE SACHEM.”

That the usual ceremonies prevailed on May 1, 1787, we can most certainly infer, though an account of the meeting is wanting in the public prints and in its place appears the ode which follows.

“ODE FOR SAINT TAMMANY, THIS DAY MAY 1787.

“TAMMANY. *Balance a straw.*

“Once more on Fair Schuylkill we cheerfully meet,
Our Sachems, our warriors, our brethren to greet ;
The Great King above, has allow'd us again
To bury the hatchet, and brighten the chain.
Then your hands all my sons—who for freedom have stood,
Who rescued my land at th' expense of your blood :
Such honors in hist'ry's bright annals shall shine,
And I glory to think such bold heroes are mine.

¹ Independent Gazetteer, April 21, 1787.

"FIRST SACHEM. *Over the hills, &c.*

"Our hearts and hands are always free,
To brave the storm for Tammany ;
When he commands, his sons obey,
Over the hills and far away.

" *Chorus.*

"Over the hills, like wind we fly,
To crush the foe, or bravely die ;
Our Saint's commands none disobey,
Over the hills and far away.

"De capo—the chorus, the whole.

"SECOND SACHEM. *Peas upon a trencher.*

"To Columbia's glory,
Recorded well in story,
We'll fill the glass,
And let it pass—
'Confusion to each Tory.'

"Chorus repeated.

"THIRD SACHEM. *Once the Gods of the Greeks, &c.*

"Push about the brisk glass, 'twill enliven the soul,
'Tis the wine that absorbs all dull thinking ;
E'er Cupid himself must give way to the bowl,
For his wounds are all caus'd by good drinking.

" *Chorus.*

"For 'tis wine, generous wine, that all sorrow destroys,
And routs our vexations and care :
The bottle was always a fountain of joy,
That wash'd off the dregs of despair.

"Chorus repeated.

"FOURTH SACHEM. *The black rogue.*

"Sing¹ guahee honigee—honigee, makoonos,
Siskee anarichee, saturana waa ;
Oroonyagh makoonos, satira nekoonos,
Sangua taverana kenan anungara.

" *Chorus.*

"Drink round, drink round, each sacheM and brother,
Drink round, drink round, and heed what I say !
A day like this, you'll ne'er find another,
So let us be cheerful, brisk, merry and gay.

"Chorus repeated.

¹ The Mickmack dialect.

“TAMMANY. *Vaudville-balance a straw.*

“Farewell ye fair banks, and ye fresh blooming trees,
Soft scenes of rich plenty and sweet smiling ease ;
Again I return to the regions above,
And leave you my blessing, my wisdom, my love.

“Guard your rights while you live, with your swords and your guns,
And may they descend, unalloy'd to your sons !
While Sol on this day shall propitiously shine—
Be Peace, Independence, and Liberty—thine.

“Four last lines repeated.

“J. P.”

It is very well to know that the first line of the ode makes the statement that

“Once more on Fair Schuylkill we cheerfully meet.”

It is certainly very tantalizing that no mention of those who took part on this occasion is given; the only one we can be sure of is Mr. Edward Pole. It is worthy of note, however, that diarist Hiltzheimer, in his diary of May 1 of this year, states that he dined at C. Breton's place on the banks of the Schuylkill by appointment with the following gentlemen: N. Boys, A. Geyer [Guyer], William Richards,¹ S. McLane, P. Ozeas, Philip Pancake, John Purdon, and Mr. Forbach.

This house is marked on the map as being on the west bank of the Schuylkill at the end of the Upper Ferry, just across the public road from Pole's place. Whether this was where the Tammany Society held its meeting or not, we cannot say; but as Hiltzheimer was pretty certain, as we learn from his diary, to celebrate the 1st of May, we are inclined to think that the party mentioned as dining together were celebrating the day with our Sons.

The histories of those of the party that we locate point to their being very patriotic in their ideas and actions. Geyer held commissions in the Revolutionary army from 1777 to 1781. Philip Pancake was a captain under Colonel Jona-

¹ Captain in the Pennsylvania navy.

than Bayard Smith, both having been associated in the army with members of the Society that we have mentioned before. One of the Boys family was prominent at a previous meeting. Ozeas took a prominent part in the year following in a civic procession celebrating the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The above with Hiltzheimer seem to us to be a party that would seek to keep up the customs of Saint Tammany's Day. About this time the advertisement of Pole disappears from the papers, and from what Heckewelder says, in his account of Tammany, we are led to think that business misfortunes had overtaken him, and we are confirmed in this by an advertisement of his that appears in the following year, of which we will speak later. It is likely that, on account of the above, the nearest place, which was Breton's, was selected at which to hold the festival this year.

We now notice for the first time mention of the Tammany Society of New York which appears both in the Philadelphia and New York papers of this year. Strange to say, in all the histories of the New York Society that we have seen, it is mentioned as starting two years later. Here follows the account of its first meeting.

"New York, May 4th.¹

"Tuesday last being St. Tammany's Day (the Tutelar St. of America) the St. Tammany Society of this city held their anniversary meeting at the Wigwam at Hall's. -

"At eight o'clock P.M., the Society sat down to an elegant supper provided by Mr. Hall, after which the following toasts were drank, viz :

"1st. The Day ; all who honor it.

"2nd. The land of Liberty.

"3d. Congress and their Allies.

"4th. The State of New York, and all who wish its prosperity.

"5th. His Excellency the truly great and virtuous George Washington, Esquire.

¹ Penna. Packet, May 11, 1787.

"6th. Louis XVI, King of France; his amiable Queen and Royal Family.

"7th. Perpetual unanimity and prosperity to the Sons of St. Tammany throughout the world.

"8th. The noble Patriots who fell in the cause of American Liberty.

"9th. May the war hatchet be buried, and the pipe of peace be smoked 'till time shall be no more.

"10th. May the industry of the beaver, the frugality of the ant, the constancy of the dove, be the perpetual characteristicks of the Sons of St. Tammany.

"11th. The daughters of St. Tammany and their papouces.

"12th. May the American chain never be tarnished by the rust of discord.

"13th. May honor, virtue, and true sense of liberty and a detestation of Slavery, be characteristicks of Americans and all their adopted brethren.

"The evening being spent with that cordiality, good humor and love that always prevails when Sons of St. Tammany meet, after drinking the above toasts, and singing some excellent songs in honor of their Tutelar Saint, and smoking the pipe of peace, every man departed to his own Wigwam, and hunting ground—

"In hopes the ensuing year to spend,
In peace and love with every friend.

"A correspondent observes that the establishing the St. Tammany's Society does honor to the promotors, and makes not the least doubt but it will be the most respectable society in the city in the course of a little time."

(To be continued.)

LIFE OF MARGARET SHIPPEN, WIFE OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

BY LEWIS BURD WALKER.

(Concluded from page 334.)

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF MARGARET ARNOLD.

I Margaret Arnold of Bryanston Street, London, Widow, do make & constitute this to be my last Will & Testament in respect to all such Real and Personal Estate as I may die possessed of in England & its Dominions—Attached by principles of the strictest Integrity as well as in conformity to the Will of my late beloved Husband, I am earnestly desirous of doing equal justice to all his children, having had but little expended upon them, and as a very small part of the property I have to bequeath has ever belonged to their Father, I trust that in the dispositions I am about to make of it they will believe me actuated by principles of justice and not doubt my sincere regard for them—It is my wish that my funeral may be as plain as is consistent with the situation of my Family, avoiding all superfluous expense, and that my just Debts may be paid—To my Daughter Sophia Matilda Arnold I give & bequeath all my Furniture, Linnen, Cloaths, Trinkets, Glass, Books, Wine & all the stores in my House in Bryanston Street, together with the Lease of the said House—I also give & bequeath to her all my Plate and plated Articles—As it is my intention, in conformity to his own wishes, to send my son George to India, should I die before he is equipped, for this purpose it is my wish that he should have the means of doing it—I therefore give & bequeath to him the sum of Five hundred pounds for this purpose, or to fit him out in any other line of life that he may prefer, but in case he may be fitted out at the time of my decease I then give & bequeath him Three hundred pounds only—I give & bequeath to my sons Edward & James Arnold One hundred pounds each, and, after paying my Debts & Legacies as before & hereinafter mentioned it is my Will that all the remainder of my personal property in England may be divided into Three equal parts or

shares, one share to be paid to my daughter Sophia Matilda Arnold, and the remaining two shares I give & bequeath to my son William Fitch Arnold—And I intreat my tenderly & equally beloved children to believe that in making this distribution, I am actuated only by the consideration of their different necessities—And it is my Will that the remainder of any property I now have not otherwise herein disposed of, or that I may die possessed of, both Real & personal in Great Britain & its Dominions, namely, Canada, New Brunswick, to be equally divided between my sons Edward Shippen Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, George Arnold & William Fitch Arnold, and my Daughter Sophia Matilda Arnold, their Heirs & Assigns forever, But in case of the death of either of them before having attained the age of Twenty one years, that then their part or share go to the Survivors of my before named children to be equally divided between them, as also all such personal property already herein specifically bequeathed to them—And should my Executors conceive it to be for the benefit of my Children to dispose of any of the Property, either Real or Personal while they are under age, They are hereby authorized to do so, but in the disposal of Real Property I require that it should be with the concurrence of those who are of age—Col. William Fitch having bequeathed to my son William the sum of Five hundred pounds which was paid & irrevocably given by his sisters Anne & Sarah, and vested in the three per cent Consols, amounting at this time, with the accumulated Interest to Eleven hundred & thirteen pounds & eight pence, and a Deed of Trust having been executed by Miss Anne Fitch & myself, I hereby empower my hereinafter named Executors to act jointly with Miss Fitch as Trustees for him—And having authorized my son Edward with the concurrence of Miss Fitch to draw Bills to the amount of Eight hundred pounds to be paid out of the above Trust money in order to obtain for it a better interest in India, it is my desire should he draw previously to hearing of my death, that Miss Anne Fitch as surviving Trustee, in concurrence with my Executors, should pay his Bills from the above Fund to the amount of Six hundred pounds, the remaining Two hundred pounds from the money that I have bequeathed to my Daughter Sophia, the Interest of which Two hundred pounds to be appropriated to her use, the principal also to be considered her property—And I hereby constitute & appoint Miss Anne Fitch & Daniel

Coxe, Esqr, and Jonathon Mallet Esqr and Farguer Esqr my Executors to this my last Will & Testament, In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this Twenty sixth day of January in the Year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred & four 1804

(signed) MARGARET ARNOLD (seal)

Signed Sealed published &c
in the presence of

JANE FARGIER No. 13 Portland Place

E. CARLOW, W. BULL Servants to Testatrix

A true Copy from the Probate of Mrs Arnolds Will in my possession, except the above abbreviation of publishment &c.

(signed) DAN. COXE, Surv. Extr.

LONDON 24th Aug. 1807.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

I, Benedict Arnold of the City of London being of sound Mind and Memory do make and constitute this my last Will and Testament in manner following.

Inprimis. It is my Will that all my Just Debts and Funeral Expenses be first paid; the latter I request may be only decent but by no means attended with any expence that can possibly be avoided.

Item. I give to my Sister, Hannah Arnold Forty pounds Sterling per annum during her natural Life to be paid to her annually out of Interest of such Monies or Income of such Estate as I may die possessed of, provided she shall and does give up to my Heirs or Executors all Obligations that she may have against me; and also does relinquish all Claims against my Estate, except for the Annuity before mentioned.

Item. I give and bequeath to my sons Richard and Henry all Sums of Money that they are in any wise Indebted to me; and having in the course of the last and present year written to them to Draw Bills of Exchange upon me in London for the following Sums of Money, Viz; One hundred and eighty pounds Sterling (to make up a sum of three hundred pounds, part of which I have paid to them) to enable them to Build and Stock

their farm in Canada. Also two hundred and thirty pounds Sterling to enable them to pay two protested Bills; as also three hundred and sixty pounds sterling to enable them to pay all their Debts due in January 1801, to the total amount, adding these sums, of Seven hundred and seventy pounds Sterling. I give and bequeath the before mentioned Sums of Money to my Sons, Richard and Henry equally; and it is my Will and Pleasure that these Bills of Exchange for the before mentioned Sums be honored by my Executors, and paid out of the Estate I may die possessed of.

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 herein 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 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.

Item. I give, devise and bequeath to John Sage, now in Canada, living with my Sons there (being about 14 years of age) Twelve hundred Acres of Land, being part of a Grant of thirteen thousand four hundred Acres of Land made to me as an Half Pay Officer for myself and Family by Order of the Duke of Portland, by his Letter directed to Peter Russell Esqr. President of the Council in Upper Canada, dated the 12th of June 1798, which said 1200 Acres of Land I give to him to be located altogether in one place out of the before mentioned Grant as my Executors may judge equal and fair. I also do

hereby give and bequeath to the said John Sage twenty pounds per annum to be paid to my Sons Richard and Henry for his use for Board Cloathing and Education untill he shall be of the Age of Twenty one Years to be paid out of the Estate I may die possessed of— I also give and bequeath to the said John Sage, fifty pounds to be paid to him when he shall attain the age of twenty one Years.

I do hereby Constitute and Appoint my Beloved Wife Sole Executrix to this my last Will and Testament. And in case my Wife should Marry again or die Intestate, I do hereby Constitute and Appoint Miss Ann Fitch and Miss Sarah Fitch of Devonshire Street, Joint Trustees to manage my Estate, and carry this my Will in Execution, and they are hereby authorized (should it be necessary) to Sell any part of my Real Estate for that purpose, and to give receipts to the Purchasers for the Purchase Money which shall be considered as good and valid.

But should my Wife die Intestate, I do hereby give, devise and bequeath to all my Children all my Estate both Real and Personal, that I may die possessed of after paying my Legacies, &c. Viz. The whole to be divided into twelve equal shares; and to Sophia I give four shares; to William I give two shares; to George I give two shares; and to Richard, Henry, Edward and James, I give each one share, and I do hereby Appoint the before named Trustees to see the same carried into Execution.

And I do hereby Constitute and Appoint my Beloved Wife Sole Executrix to this my last Will and Testament.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal in London this 30th day of August in the year of our Lord One Thousand eight hundred.

BENEDICT ARNOLD. (Seal.)

Signed, Sealed, and Published by Brigadier General Benedict Arnold as his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us who subscribe our names as Witnesses hereof and in his Presence, and in the Presence of each other.

HARRIET NEWPORT

ANN PRINCE

WILLIAM YOUNG.

NEW BUILDING FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The following circular has been issued to the members of the Historical Society:

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

DEAR SIR:

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is about to take a very important step. Its invaluable and constantly growing collection of books, manuscripts, portraits, etc., in many lines unequalled by that of any other institution in the world, imperatively demands enlarged accommodations. The entire available space in the present structure is so crowded that proper facilities for the examination and consultation of these original sources of historical information cannot be afforded. The Society is therefore confronted with a grave problem, which can only be solved by a modified reconstruction of the present building, with such additions as will meet ever-increasing requirements. The new work and the old, extended and improved, must be of the best modern construction and absolutely fire-proof, since much of the material intrusted to the care of the Society is of priceless value, and, once destroyed, its loss would be irreparable. Such reconstruction and addition will demand an outlay of about two hundred thousand dollars. Towards the accomplishment of this object, a distinguished President of the Society, the late Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., made a most liberal bequest, and we hope for the cordial encouragement and financial support of other members and friends of the Society, who, being apprised of the great urgency of our needs, will undoubtedly contribute to the work with their accustomed generosity. The Trustees of the Building Fund ask your personal interest and active co-operation in this enterprise, and an early response on the enclosed subscription blank will be cordially welcomed by them.

Yours respectfully,

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,

THOMAS G. MORTON,

Trustees of the Building Fund.

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

(Continued from page 400.)

By the Honourable William Denny Esquire Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the province of Pennsylvania and Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware.

Whereas in pursuance of the Rules and practice of Warr I have dispatched the Snow called the Hannibal, Commanded by Captain David Dewar, under the protection and security of a Flag of Truce to carry to Port au Prince, in the Island of Hispaniola, the French prisoners, whose names are specified in a List herunto annexed, and to bring from thence such of the Subjects of his Britannick Majesty's as may be delivered in Exchange for the said Prisoners, etc.

A List of nine French prisoners delivered by the Honourable William Denny Esquire Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania, etc., to Captain David Dewar, Commander of the Snow Hannibal to be carried to Port au Prince in the Island of Hispaniola and there exchanged for the like number of English prisoners, for whom he has given a receipt bearing equal date herewith & for whose protection & transportation he has a flag of Truce.

Lewis Groser,
Charles Francis Lainece,
Julian Mocart,
Philip Shavaribarree,
Piere Huché,

Philip Traviere,
Joseph Bajol,
Alexis Leblang,
Jean Baptiste Maude.

By His Honour's Command,

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary.*

PHILADELPHIA, 4 July, 1769.

A List of the Master and Mariners belonging to the Snow called the Hannibal bound to Port au Prince in the Island of Hispaniola with Nine French prisoners under the protection of a Flag of Truce.

David Dewar, Master.
Henry Buck, Mate.

Thomas Howard, }
Thomas Barren, } Mariners.

Robert Lockert, Boatwain.
Edward Wright, } Mariners.
Morris Jordon, }

Cæsar Pennrose, } Negro Mariners.
Thomas Dewar, a Boy. }

By His Honour's Command,

RICHARD PETERS, *Secretary*.

PHILADELPHIA, 4 July, 1759.

A List of Ten French prisoners delivered by the Honourable William Denny Esq^r Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the province of Pennsylvania, etc., to Captain Thomas Moore, Commander of the Sloop Francis and Sarah to be carried to Cape Francois in the Island of Hispaniola and there exchanged for the like number of English prisoners for whom he has given a Rec^t bearing equal date herewith, and for whose protection and Transportation he has a Flag of Truce.

Dominique Robetheau,
Joseph Beaufran,
Joseph Gendreau,
Piere Giraud,
Jacques Langlois,
August 18th 1759.

Jean Petit,
Piere Simone,
Jean Andreas,
Baptist Lafoy,
Andrew Paillone.

A List of the Master and Mariners belonging to the Sloop called the Francis and Sarah bound to Cape Francois in the Island of Hispaniola with ten French prisoners under the protection of a Flag of Truce.

Thomas Moore, Master.
Benjamin Styles, Merch^t.
John McKenny, Mate.
Tho^s Dickinson, Boatwain.
William Talbot, Mariner.

Robert Dickinson, a Boy Mariner.

Esor Thiau, } reed \$20
Jack David, } Negro Mariners.
Joe London, }
Charles —

PHILADELPHIA, Aug^t 18th 1759.

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

1760	Vessels	Masters	Owners	Where built	Tons
Jan. 4	Ship Harvey	James Blair	William Blair of Philadelphia	Whitely Creek, on Dela- ware Virginia	100
Jan. 4	Brig't Robert & Mary	Richard Stratford	William Lyon Margaret Norris, widow Robert Stratford		60
Jan. 10	Ship Susannah	Gilbert Beane	all of St. Christophers Gilbert Beane of Zeatland, North Britain	Marcus Hook	80
Jan. 7	Schooner Success	Benjamin Tryon	Benjamin Tryon of Wilmington William Green	Newport, on Christiana	35
Jan. 31	Ship Quebeck	John Lindesay	Robert Thornbury Robert Scaton and Jemmison of Dublin, Ireland & John Lindesay of Craile, North Britain	Philadelphia	70
Feb. 6	Sloop Molly	James Ross	John Bell Rob't Whyte James Ross all of Philadelphia	Prize taken by the private Sloop of War Free Mason, Rich ^d Simms, Comm'r	40
Feb. 11	Sloop Monckton	Arthur Burrows	William Griffiths of Philadelphia	Taken at the Reduction of Louisburg	20

Feb. 8	Brig't Hanover Packet	Magnus Miller	Samuel Oldman Oswell Eve both of Philadelphia Edw ^d Spencer of Jamaica James Cannan George Kidd both of Philadelphia John Kelfe Teuch Francis James McCollough all of Philadelphia James McGruger John Cowan both of Philadelphia Thomas Robinson Isaac Prettyman both of Sussex Co. Gilbert Barclay of Philadelphia John Hay of the Port of Louisburg Jonathan Robinson of Kent Co., on Delaware Daniel Robinson Benjamin Worren, Jun ^r Jonathan Osbourn	Philadelphia	50
Feb. 14	Snow Bedford	George Kidd		Philadelphia	40
Feb. 26	Ship Rachell	Thomas Grant		Philadelphia	90
Feb. 25	Schooner Peggy	John Cowan		Newbury, Province of Massachusetts Bay	35
March 7	Schooner Dolphin	Thomas Robinson		Sussex Co., on Delaware	15
March 10	Brig't Charming Betsy	W ^m Phipps		Prize taken at Reduction of Louisburg	40
March 18	Sloop Charming Betsy	Jonathan Robinson		Duck Creek	15

SHIP REGISTERS FOR THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, 1726-1775.—Continued.				
1760	Vessel	Masters	Owners	Where built
March 26	Schooner Endeavour	Presgrove Kennett	Presgrove Kennett Ebenezer Franklin both of Sussex Co.	Broadkill, Sussex Co., on Delaware
March 25	Schooner Chance	John Wood	Richard Stevens of Philadelphia	Retaken from the French by the Letter of Marque Ship, the Carrington, Samuel Appowen, Commr
April 1	Sloop Swift	Archibald Gardner	John Wilcocks William Plumstead both of Philadelphia	New England
April 16	Sloop Speedwell	W ^m Read	Valentine Standly James Fulton both of Philadelphia	—
April 17	Ship Sarah	Alexander Katter	—	Philadelphia
April 17	Snow Dunbairn	Edward Welsh	—	—
April 19	Sloop Ruby	Ephraim Jones	Cornelius Kolloch Simon Kolloch both of Lewis Town	Lewis, Sussex Co., on Delaware
April 24	Sloop Little William	Peter Spence	Thomas Ritche John Biddle Samuel Oldman all of Philadelphia	Rhode Island

Tons

15

20

10

12

90

—

20

May	6	Brig't Little Jenny	Reuben Cullingham	Mess ^{rs} Taylor & Leyborne British merchants residing at Lisbon	A Prize	50
				Richard Graham of Virginia		
				Teuch Francis		
				John Relfe		
				both of Philadelphia		
May	17	Ship King of Prussia	James Robinson	William Neute of London	Philadelphia	90
May	28	Schooner Polly	John Stretton	_____	_____	20
May	28	Ship Jupiter	William Hamilton	William Caldwell	Philadelphia	80
				Andrew Cregg		
				Arthur Vance		
				James Thompson		
				William Hamilton		
				all of Londonderry, Ire- land		
May	23	Schooner Recovery	Joseph Brown	Joseph Brown of Philadelphia	Retaken from the French	40
				Samuel Mifflin		
May	18	Schooner Jolly	William Kidd	William Kidd of Philadelphia	Plymouth, Province of Massachusetts Bay	28
June	6	Ship Endeavour	Edward York	Jn ^o Baynton	_____	100
				Samuel Wharton		
				Jn ^o Potts		
				all of Philadelphia		

(To be continued.)

The Late Charles Hare Hutchinson.

We regret to announce the death of Charles Hare Hutchinson, Esq., which took place at Paris, France, on October 4, 1902. He became a Life Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania November 12, 1855; was elected a Councillor May 25, 1885, and Vice-President May 8, 1899. He was also a Trustee of the Publication and Binding Funds and of the Gilpin Library.

Mr. Hutchinson was born at Lisbon, Portugal, February 13, 1833, while his father, Israel Pemberton Hutchinson, was United States Consul at that city. He was a grandson of Dr. James Hutchinson, Director of Hospitals, Physician-General, and Surgeon-General of Pennsylvania during the Revolution, and of Charles Willing Hare, Esq., Professor in the Department of Law in the University of Pennsylvania, and a descendant of Charles Willing, mayor of Philadelphia in 1748 and 1754, and of Edward Shippen, President of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1702-04, and mayor of Philadelphia, 1701. He was graduated Bachelor of Arts at the University of Pennsylvania in 1852, afterwards studied law, and was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia. He was President of the Athenæum, a director of the Academy of Fine Arts and of the Genealogical Society, a member of the Colonial Society, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution.

Mr. Hutchinson was distinguished for his interest in history, literature, and art, and was a liberal benefactor of institutions which fostered them. He had printed at his expense an edition of Wood's "History of the University of Pennsylvania," by the late Dr. Frederick D. Stone. His death entails a loss not only on our own Society, but to the higher interests of our whole community.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

ROLL OF MAJOR THOMAS CHURCH'S COMPANY, FOURTH PENNSYLVANIA LINE, with dates of enlistment.—

Sergeants.

Michael Redman,	January	15, 1777, Promoted Sergeant October 5, 1777.
Alexander King,	February	10, 1777, Corporal to February 11, 1780.
George Donnelly,	June	17, 1777, Corporal to June 7, 1780.

Corporals.

Matthew Hamilton,	February	11, 1777.
John Ward,	March	5, 1778, Promoted Corporal July 6, 1780.

Fifer.

Abraham Vanbrimer,	March	1, 1779.
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Privates.

Joseph Camp,	January	1, 1777, Promoted Corporal May 2, 1778, Sergeant June 19, 1780.
John Chickney,	October	28, 1778.
John McCormack,	August	1, 1777.
John Garvey,	January	1, 1777.
Thomas Harvey,	February	25, 1777.
Stophel Mingle,	May	11, 1778.
Henry Harmody,	June	28, 1778.
Mauns Shank,	May	12, 1778.
Frederick Hill,	May	12, 1778.
Caspar Slicker,	March	10, 1778.
Abraham Hodge,	January	1, 1777.
Edward Lafferty,	March	11, 1778.
Christian Beagle,	May	12, 1778.
John Martin,	February	10, 1777.
William Read,	October	15, 1778, Promoted Corporal February 1, 1781.

MUSTER OF THE CORPS COMMANDED BY CAPT. JOHN PAUL SCHOTT, taken from 1st October, 1779, to 1 April, 1780.—

John Paul Schott, Captain, September 6, 1776, acting Pay Master.

Antoni Selin, Captain, December 10, 1777.

Lawrence Myers, 1st Lieut., April 9, 1777, Adjutant.

Conrad Latour, 2^d Lieut., April 29, 1777.

Sergeant.

John Geelecke, February 25, 1777, Discharged.

Privates.

Hugh Cromwell,	March	1, 1777.
Jonathan Bonwell,	March	10, 1777.
Christian Swanhiser,	January	1, 1779.
Jacob Reynert,	March	10, 1777.
Tobias Ritter,	February	18, 1777, Discharged.
Peter Carback,	March	1, 1777, Discharged.
Gabriel Kline,	May	8, 1777.
William Gennis,	November	24, 1777.

CAPTAIN SELIN'S COMPANY.

Sergeants.

Henry Leiders, Q. M. S.,	April	15, 1777.
Francis McGarran,	July	18, 1777, with D. Q. M. Gen ^l .
Henry Singer,	August	9, 1777.
John Slinhiser,	July	27, 1777.
Martin Lantz,	February	13, 1780.
Frederick Lebe,	March	22, 1777.

Corporals.

George Marx,	January	24, 1777, Furlough Reading.
Samuel Hewlet,	March	8, 1777.

Drummer.

William Mara,	March	22, 1777, Discharged.
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Privates.

James Ridgway,	October	25, 1776.
Christopher Felts,	February	9, 1777.
John Leverin,	March	20, 1777, Furlough Yellow Springs.
John Track,	March	9, 1777.
George Kerse,	March	9, 1777.
John Poorhan,	August	6, 1778.
Martin Breckhall,	March	15, 1777.
Jacob Frey,	—	—
Owen Cooley,	March	25, 1777.
Henry Till,	June	17, 1778.
William Durn,	March	22, 1777, Furlough Baltimore.
John Brecker,	February	13, 1780, Joined.
Adam Seibert,	March	28, 1777.
Henry Tradcher,	May	9, 1777, Command Easton.
John Beggell,	February	6, 1777, Discharged.
Valentine Keyser,	February	6, 1777, Discharged.
John Roge,	February	6, 1777, Discharged.
Basil Lewis,	April	14, 1777.
Michael Track,	—	—

VACANT COMPANY.

Jacob Hiff, Sergeant,	August	9, 1777.
Andrew Hamber, Corporal,	March	12, 1777, Discharged.
Daniel Shitz, Corporal,	March	12, 1777, Discharged.
John Kehler, private,	September	6, 1777.
Adam Brandhefer, private,	March	5, 1777.
Henry Keck, private,	March	6, 1777.

Then mustered Cap. Schott's company as specified in the above Roll.

ZEB^N BUTLER, Col. Com^{dt}
by order of Maj. Gen. Sullivan.

WYOMING, 28 March, 1780.

"ACCOUNT OF THE OFFSPRING OF WILLIAM MAUL AND BETHIAH GUTHRIE, ANCESTORS OF THE LOGAN FAMILY;" the original manuscript being in the possession of Mrs. Gulielma Howland, Wilmington, Delaware.

An Accot of the Numerous ofspring of Will^m Maul & Bethiah Guthrie his Wife father to the great grandmother of James Logan Secretary of y^e Province of Pensilvania.

Will^m Maul was son to — Maul of Panmure & Arburthnet, daughter to the Viscount Arburthnet. He had 3 brothers 1 Maul of Panmure whose son was created an Earl by K. James y^e 1st of Eng^l^d & is in an flourishing condition at this day (2^d James Maul of Guldie.) (3. henry Maul of Skrein (?) he married Bethiah Maul daughter of y^e Laird of Lunnen chief of Guthries & — Henderson daughter to the Laird of Jordell. She had to her 2^d brother M^r Alexander Guthries Heritable Clark of Edinburgh whose son sold it for an Estate of 4000 Marks per Anno her 1st Sister — Guthry was married to the Right honble y^e Earl of Belleary of whom this present Earl is descended & another sister married upon one Henderson a rich merchant in Edinburgh He had by his wife bethiah Guthrie a son who dyed young & 7 daughters all honourably married 1 Marrion 2 Bethiah 3 Margaret 4 Isabel 5 hellenor 6 Janet 7 Bessie.

1 Marrion was married to S^r Alex Seton brother to the Laird of Touch. He was a L^d of y^e Session (his Title My Lord Killereich) his son was S^r Alex who bought the Estate of Greddon in the Mers & Will^m Min^r of Greddon S^r Alex had to his son S^r Walter who bought the lands of Abercorn & he had a son of the same name now alive who sold Abercorn and has another Estate & is an Advocate & married his own Cousin youngest sister to Maj^r General Murray in holl^d He has a sister Lady barbowrie near Edinburgh. These are the Most considerable of her Offspring :

2^d Bethiah was mar^d to James Murray a brother of Philiphaugh a rich Merch^t in Edinburgh he bought y^e Estate of Skirlen. He had by her 3 sons all Knights 1 S^r James Murray of Skirlen 2^d S^r Rob^t Murray of Priestfield provost of Edinburgh. 3 S^r Patrick Murray of Deuchars and a Daughter Bethia married to Elleis of Stenmelns. S^r James had a son of the same name his Lady was Hamilton a daughter of Prestons whose offspring yet enjoys the Estate & the Honour. S^r Robert has a son now a Major Gen^l in holl^d & has a fine Scotch Regem^t & had the hon^t to save the Duke of Malbour.

to Mr Robt Row Min' of Abercorn by whom she had children 4 now alive & y^a Mr. Row dying she marr^d Mr Luke Greenshield now Min' at Dunagan in Ireland who has only by her James now Min' at Tynan in the County of Armaugh writter of this acco^t Eliz is yet alive having Survived all her brothers sisters & Cousin Germans by her Mother & is about 80 years of Age 1706 and is the only Surviving Grandchild of W^m Maul & Bethiah Guthrie. 5 Helenor was marr^d upon Sr Morison of Prestongrange who bore him Sr Alex W^m & Robert (Sr Alex Succeeded him & Married Colt Rougheads daughter by Whom he had several Children W^m now Laird & a Daughter marr^d to Sr Bennet of Grubbet — Marr^d to my L^a Direleton.) Helen had 5 Daughters 1 Bethiah 2 Kath^a 3 Bessie 4 Nicholas 5 hellenor Bethia was marr^d to Sr Robert Spotswood L^a President of the Session son to Prime Spotswood who has a grandson John an Advocate & Laird of Spotswood Kath^a Marr^d Sr Hume of Wedderburn an Accient Knight after Wedderburns death she Marr^d the Laird of [MS. ends].

HOWARD M. JENKINS, who died suddenly October 11, 1902, at Buck Hill Falls, the Quaker Summer Colony, in Monroe County, Pennsylvania, was an esteemed contributor to this magazine. The following are some of his contributions: "Fragments of a Journal kept by Samuel Foulke, of Bucks County, while a Member of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania;" "The Name Gwynedd;" "Genealogical Sketch of Gen. W. S. Hancock;" "The Foulke Family of Gwynedd, Pennsylvania;" "The Family of William Penn;" and "The Mother of Lincoln." He was also the author of "Historical Collections of Gwynedd," "History of the City of Philadelphia," and was engaged at the time of his death on a history of the "State of Pennsylvania." For many years he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Friends' Intelligencer*. Mr. Jenkins was elected a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, December 22, 1882.

PERSONAL.—Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was elected Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, November 4, 1902.

JOHN W. JORDAN, Assistant Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Editor of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, has received from Lafayette College the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

JASPER YEATES'S GOLD WATCH.—The following letter and bill are in the possession of your contributor:

DEAR SIR.

I send by this opportunity the Watch you desired me to purchase, in the Care of Mess^{rs} Carson, Barclay & Mitchell, to whom I have enclosed a Bill of Lading signed by Falconer.

The watch is made by Wagstaffe whose character as a Workman, and a man of Integrity is much respected here;—he warrants her for seven years, and if you should not like her, he will return your money or give you another more agreeable to you. He will repair her at any time you think proper to send her over, without making any Charge.

I shall think myself happy in rendering you any Service in my

power while in England. My best Compliments to Mrs. Yeates and to Mr. Shippen & his good family.

I am D^r S^r

Yr most hble Serv^t

PHINEAS BOND Jr.

Middle Temple,
London,

Jan^r 27th 1771.

[Endorsed "To JASPER YEATES ESQ^R, Lancaster."']

PHINEAS BOND,

Bought of THO^s WAGSTAFFE,

A fine Gold Watch cap^t 9 Jeweled, Silver Wheels—name
Tho^s Wagstaffe London No 6267, with Gold Seal sett with
Corn^a & cut with Cypher & fine Steel Chain. . . . £27.0.0.

Received the Contents in full for Tho^s Wagstaffe.

G. COOPER.

DANIEL DULANY THE ELDER (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XXIV. p. 395).—In the Dulany Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, which has assiduously arranged and indexed them, one finds the epitaph proposed to be inscribed on the family tomb to his memory in the handwriting of his son Walter. This paper was unknown at the time that an inscription was by due authority placed, in July, 1900, upon the remaining space on the top stone, necessarily brief for lack of room. Doubtless, Hon. Walter Dulany had designed it for one of the sides of the altar tomb, but his filial intention was not consummated.

It is as follows:

Here are deposited the Remains of the Honble Daniel Dulany Esq^r one of his Lordship's Council, Com^{'ry} General and formerly Att^{'y} General & Judge of the Court of Admiralty in the Province of Maryland. In the discharge of each of those offices he was conspicuous for his Assiduity Uprightness & Abilities. But the first gave a more ample Scope for the Exertion of his benevolent Disposition & unblemished Integrity. To the Widow & the orphan he was ever a powerful Protector, and the ignorant he advised with clearness & condescension, to the Iniquities of designing men he was an unrelenting Enemy & to the simple & oppressed a firm and persevering friend. His conduct in every public Station every good Citizen wou^d wish his Successor to imitate he was equall^d by few in Abilities & excelled by none in Integrity. In all the Duties of a private charge what he was how amiable as a Husband, a Father, a Friend, a Master, is remember^d with the deepest Sorrow but cannot be described.

T. H. M.

Queries.

KNICKERBOCKER.—Can you tell me whether any descendants of Diedrich Knickerbocker belong to the wealthy, select society of New York or this city? I never see in the papers any one bearing his name, so suppose if there are any relatives living they are known by other names.

M. J. JOHNSON.

WOOD.—Can any one identify James Wood, whose marriage to Catharine Davies took place at Christ Church Smo. 19, 1732? Could this be James Wood, of Whitpain Township, who was married about this time, and family tradition says to Catharine Dawes?

H. D. CRANOR.

CONSHOHOCKEN, PENNSYLVANIA.

BRECKENRIDGE.—Information is desired as to the record of the passage of Alexander Breckenridge and family from Ireland to Philadelphia, supposedly in the year 1728, and in a vessel bearing a name similar to the "George and Annie" or the "Eliza Annie." Also a clue to his place of residence between above date and 1738 or 1740, when he settled in Augusta County, Virginia. Tradition says that he lived in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania.

JAMES M. BRECKENRIDGE.

TWELFTH AND SPRUCE STREETS, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

Book Notices.

SAYRE FAMILY—LINEAGE OF THOMAS SAYRE, A FOUNDER OF SOUTHAMPTON. By Theodore M. Banta. New York, 1901. 8vo. 759 pages.

The great amount of data collected by Mr. Banta relating to Thomas Sayre, of Southampton, Long Island, the founder of the family in America, his four sons and their descendants, indicates the energetic labors of the compiler. The work is well printed, copiously illustrated, and contains that valuable adjunct, a very full index.

THE PRONOUNCING GAZETTEER AND GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, with maps, charts, and illustrations, prepared by DeB. Randolph Keim, of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, has just been issued. The work contains a wealth of information concerning our Oriental possessions, from authoritative and official sources.

PROCEEDINGS AND COLLECTIONS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY for the year 1901. Vol. VII. 258 pages. Wilkes-Barre, 1902. Illustrated. Edited by Rev. Horace E. Hayden.

This volume contains several papers which will prove of great value to historians and genealogists, the original manuscripts being in the possession of the Society. The "Orderly-Book of Colonel Zebulon Butler, at Wyoming, August to December, 1773;" "Correspondence of Colonel Zebulon Butler, June to December, 1773;" "Original Records of Putnam Township, Luzerne County, 1772;" "Marriage Records of Rev. John Miller, Abington Township, 1802-1856;" and "Marriages and Deaths in Wyoming, 1797-1810," will attract attention. A valuable geological paper on "Kansas Glaciation and its Effects on the River System of Northern Pennsylvania," by Professor Edward H. Williams, Jr., of Lehigh University, will repay a careful study.

MINUTES
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
1902.

A stated meeting of the Society was held January 13, 1902, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

General William Watts Hart Davis, of Doylestown, read a paper on "Men I have met and Things I have seen," on the conclusion of which the thanks of the Society were tendered.

A stated meeting of the Society was held March 10, 1902, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in the chair.

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald delivered an address on "Duties and Diversions of Members of Congress in 1776." A vote of thanks was tendered.

The President announced the gift to the Society, by Mr. William H. Jordan, of portraits in oil of Governor Patrick Gordon and President Joseph Reed, for which a vote of thanks was tendered.

Nominations of officers of the Society, to be voted for at the next annual meeting, being in order, the following were made:

President.

Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

Craig Biddle,

Ferdinand J. Dreer.

Vice-Presidents.

Charles Hare Hutchinson,

Henry C. Lea

(both for three years),

George Harrison Fisher

(for the unexpired term of J. Edward Carpenter, deceased).

Recording Secretary.

Hampton L. Carson.

Corresponding Secretary.

John Bach McMaster.

Treasurer.

Francis Howard Williams.

Auditor.

Richard M. Cadwalader.

Councillors.

Charlemagne Tower, George Harrison Fisher,
Effingham B. Morris
(all for four years).

Simon Gratz

(for unexpired term of J. Edward Carpenter).

The annual meeting of the Society was held May 12, 1902, President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker presiding.

The President announced the gift by the artist Albert Rosenthal of a portrait of the late Charles R. Hildeburn, and addressed the meeting on certain phases of his work, especially referring to his "Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania and New York." Justice James T. Mitchell referred to Mr. Hildeburn's connection with the Commission appointed by the Commonwealth to publish the laws of Pennsylvania from the beginning to 1800. Hampton L. Carson, Esq., also referred to his knowledge of prints and portraits. A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Rosenthal.

The reports of the Council and Treasurer were read and filed.

A minute on the death of Charles Roberts, of the Council, was then read.

The tellers reported the election of the officers nominated at the stated meeting in March. Alterations to the By-Laws of the Society were reported for action at the next stated meeting.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 10, 1902, President Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in the chair.

General James Grant Wilson delivered an address on "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln and Grant," after which a vote of thanks was tendered.

The President read a minute on the death of Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, an Honorary Vice-President of the Society, which took place on May 24. The death of Charles Hare Hutchinson, Esq., in Paris, France, October 4, was also announced and a minute of the Council read.

The President announced the gift to the Society, by Mr. William H. Jordan, of portraits of Governors William Bigler and William F. Johnson.

The alterations of the By-Laws of the Society, proposed at the annual meeting May 12, 1902, were unanimously agreed to.

OFFICERS
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.

HON. SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT.

HON. CRAIG BIDDLE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HENRY CHARLES LEA,

HON. CHARLEMAGNE TOWER,

HON. JAMES T. MITCHELL,

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE,

GEORGE HARRISON FISHER.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

HAMPTON L. CARSON.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

JOHN BACH McMASTER.

TREASURER.

FRANCIS HOWARD WILLIAMS.

AUDITOR.

RICHARD M. CADWALADER.

LIBRARIAN.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

HISTORIOGRAPHER.

J. GRANVILLE LEACH.

COUNCILLORS.

JOHN C. BROWNE,

EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS,

WILLIAM G. THOMAS,

WILLIAM DRAYTON,

JOHN B. GEST,

HON. WILLIAM POTTER,

WILLIAM H. LAMBERT,

SAMUEL CASTNER, JR.,

CHARLES MORTON SMITH,

JOHN F. LEWIS,

SIMON GRATZ,

EDWARD ROBINS.

The Council of the Society is composed of the President, Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, Auditor, and twelve Councillors. Hon. James T. Mitchell is President of the Council.

TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION AND BINDING
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THOMAS G. MORTON, M.D.

STATED MEETINGS.

January 12, 1903.

May 11, 1903.

March 9, 1903.

November 9, 1903.

January 11, 1904.

Annual membership	\$5.00
Life membership	50.00
Publication Fund, life subscription	25.00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum	3.00

Payments may be made to the Librarian at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

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